SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND SYMBOLS OF SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY OF THE KENYAH DAYAK OF EAST KALIMANTAN (BORNEO)

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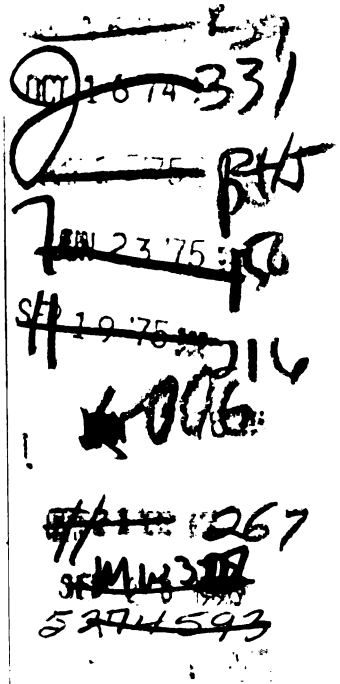

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ABSTRACT

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND SYMBOLS OF SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION:
AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY OF THE KENYAH DAYAK OF EAST KALIMANTAN
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The Kenyah Dayak of Kalimantan Timur (Borneo) are slash and burn agriculturalists with cognatic forms of social organization who live in over 100 multi-longhouse villages in Central Borneo. The over 40,000 Kenyah Dayak are subdivided into forty named subgroups. According to Leach, the class stratification known among many Borneo groups reaches its fullest expression among the Kenyah (1950:76). There is no modern ethnography of the Kenyah peoples with which to explore this stratification and its effects in social organization. The purpose of this work is two fold: 1) to provide an ethnographic sketch of one Kenyah subgroup, the Lepo Tau; and 2) with the ethnography as background, to examine the social organization and social stratification of these people through one of their social institutions, the ba', or baby carrier.

The field research on which this dissertation is based was carried out in East Kalimantan, Indonesia from May, 1970 through June, 1971. Two communities of Lepo Tau Kenyah were involved in the research: 1) Long Nawang, a multi-longhouse village in the interior (the Apo Kayan) and, 2) Mara Satu, a community of migrants from Long Nawang living a

short distance from the coastal town and administrative center of Tandjungselor. Most of the data were gathered from participant-observation and from unstructured interviews. Additional data are from village censuses and from extensive genealogies.

The baby carrier (ba') which is prepared for every child in Kenyah society, in some cases carries a large symbol complex attached to it which demonstrates and validates the status of the individual carried therein. It also lends a spiritual protection to newborn infants in a dangerous period when soul loss is viewed as a primary reason for infant mortality. The symbols which are combined on the baby carrier are too numerous and valuable to be the property of any one individual and are borrowed from kinsmen. Thus the creation of each new ba' creates a network of exchange relations between kinsmen, most notably women, which adds to the unity of the village and especially to that of the upper class in Kenyah society. In most areas of life the elaborate symbol complex of the Kenyah is now disappearing, in part due to the influence of the Christian missionaries, yet in the context of the ba' the symbols remain in use. By examing the social history of the Lepo Tau and then exploring some aspects of their culture and social organization, we can posit some of the reasons for the elaboration of the ba' among the Lepo Tau.

The social and migration history of the Lepo Tau shows how they came to hold a unique position among other Kenyah groups in the Apo Kayan. First the followers of the Lepo Timai Kenyah, the Lepo Tau later, through a series of alliances with the Uma Djalan, the Uma Tukung, and the Uma Kulit Kenyah, rose to become a powerful group in the interior. This position was further validated by the Sultan of Kutei at the mouth

of the Mahakam River, and then by the Dutch who eventually established a military installation in the largest Lepo Tau village, Long Nawang. The Lepo Tau and their leaders (paran) thus became the most powerful group in the Apo Kayan. The greater the social power, the greater the number of power symbols necessary to protect souls in transitional stages (e.g. birth and death) as well as to demonstrate and validate status. Starting in the early 1940's the Christian church exerted its influence, and as a result of the church and other factors, in 1970, we find over ninety per cent of the population of the Apo Kayan, adherents of Christianity. Christianity demanded abandoning most of the symbol complex used by the Lepo Tau to depict status, for these symbols are also bound into the religious system of the Kenyah peoples. The church and local government have stressed the equalitarian nature of man and emphasized mobility through achievement which has also had a negative effect of the hereditary symbols of power and status. In 1970, at the time of my study, most symbols were gone from everyday usage, but they remained on the ba' and on the caskets of upper class individuals. It is hypothesized and supported that these examples of retention and even elaboration of traditional symbols on the ba' is related to 1) a continuing need for the protection of the soul at transitional periods, and 2) more important, as an indication, validation and demonstration of social position, and that 3) the continued usage of these symbols on the ba' provides a form of social unity through the network of kinsmen involved in ba' symbol exchange.

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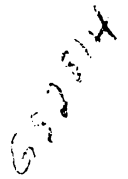

To the Kenyah peoples

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To my chairman, Dr. Alfred B. Hudson, must go credit for the initial impetus that directed me towards Borneo. I am deeply grateful to him and to Judith M. Hudson for their unfailing encouragement and friendship throughout my graduate career. The suggestions and ideas given to me by Dr. Leonard Kasdan and Donna Kasdan will be apparent to them in this dissertation. Not so apparent but equally valuable and appreciated are their concern and encouragement during the early stages of this work. I am grateful to Dr. Alfred B. Hudson, Dr. Bernard Gallin, Dr. Iwao Ishino, and Judith M. Hudson for reading the draft of this work, for their comments and suggestions, and to the first three for serving on my guidance committee.

To all my friends and fellow graduate students, goes my deepest

appreciation for their constant encouragement, suggestions and understanding during the past few months of my asocial, hermitic existence. Specifically, I would like to thank Barbara Beebe who read an earlier version of this thesis and offered many valuable suggestions and criticisms which have improved the final product. My friend and typist Christopher Brewster deserves my heartfelt thanks for her patience and forbearance in a tedious task. Special thanks are also due Judith D. Tordoff who helped me in the chore of proffreading the final copy of this manuscript.

To my mother, Grace O. Whittier, to John B. Van Allsburg, and to Maria Spielberg, I owe a debt of gratitude for their aid in the translation of Dutch and German materials.

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Over a period of several years, the Rev. Ray R. Rudes has been most generous in sharing with me his vast knowledge of and insights into Kenyah culture and society; I am deeply appreciative. The Very Rev. Bishop A. D. Galvin of Miri has also been generous in sharing with me his own insights gained from many years of work with the Kenyah and Kayan peoples of the Baram River area in Sarawak.

My deepest gratitude must go to the Kenyah people among whom my wife and I lived, even though they will not understand it; for, in Kenyah culture, one does not thank people for kindness, patience and

hospitality. I must apologize for not using their names here, but here, as well as throughout this thesis, I felt it would be more suitable to use no names or to use pseudonyms to ensure their right to privacy and anonymity.

There are not words of thanks which are adequate for my wife and colleague, Patricia Ruth Whittier, who has endured much throughout the research and writing periods of my graduate career. Her skill with the pen, as an artist and a master of the English language, appear in more than one way throughout this work.

NOTE ON ORTHOGRAPHY

Throughout this work I have used the standard Indonesian orthography current at the time of my study (1970-71) for all Indonesian place names, Indonesian words, and Kenyah words. The one exception here is that I have used a "y" where the Indonesian would use "j" (e.g. "Kenyah" as opposed to "Kenjah"). For place names in Sarawak, I have used the standard Malay orthography.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In the high interior portions of central Borneo live a people who call themselves and are called by others, Kenyah Dayak. There are about 40,000 Kenyah Dayak, divided into over forty named groups and living in over 100 communities. The Kenyah Dayak are cognatic in their social organization. Subsistence activities revolve around swidden (shifting) rice agriculture which is supplemented by hunting, fishing, and gathering but trade and cash labor are now becoming important adjuncts to their economy. The Kenyah Dayak traditionally live in multi-longhouse villages. Each family in a longhouse has its own apartment, but a common verandah joins them all. One of the largest of the more than forty named groups of Kenyah Dayak is the Lepo Tau Kenyah who comprise more than 4,000 of the total of 40,000 Kenyah, and live in ten different villages. It is with the Lepo Tau Kenyah living in the village of Long Nawang, at the headwaters of the Kayan River in the Apo Kayan, and in the village of Mara Satu, closer to the coast but also on the Kayan River, that I am chiefly concerned in this work. This work focuses on some aspects of the social organization of the Lepo Tau Kenyah.

Among the Kenyah people the class stratification known among many groups in Borneo reaches its fullest expression (Leach 1950:76). Although, at present, the force of class stratification among the Kenyah is lessening, it remains essential to an understanding of Kenyah society.

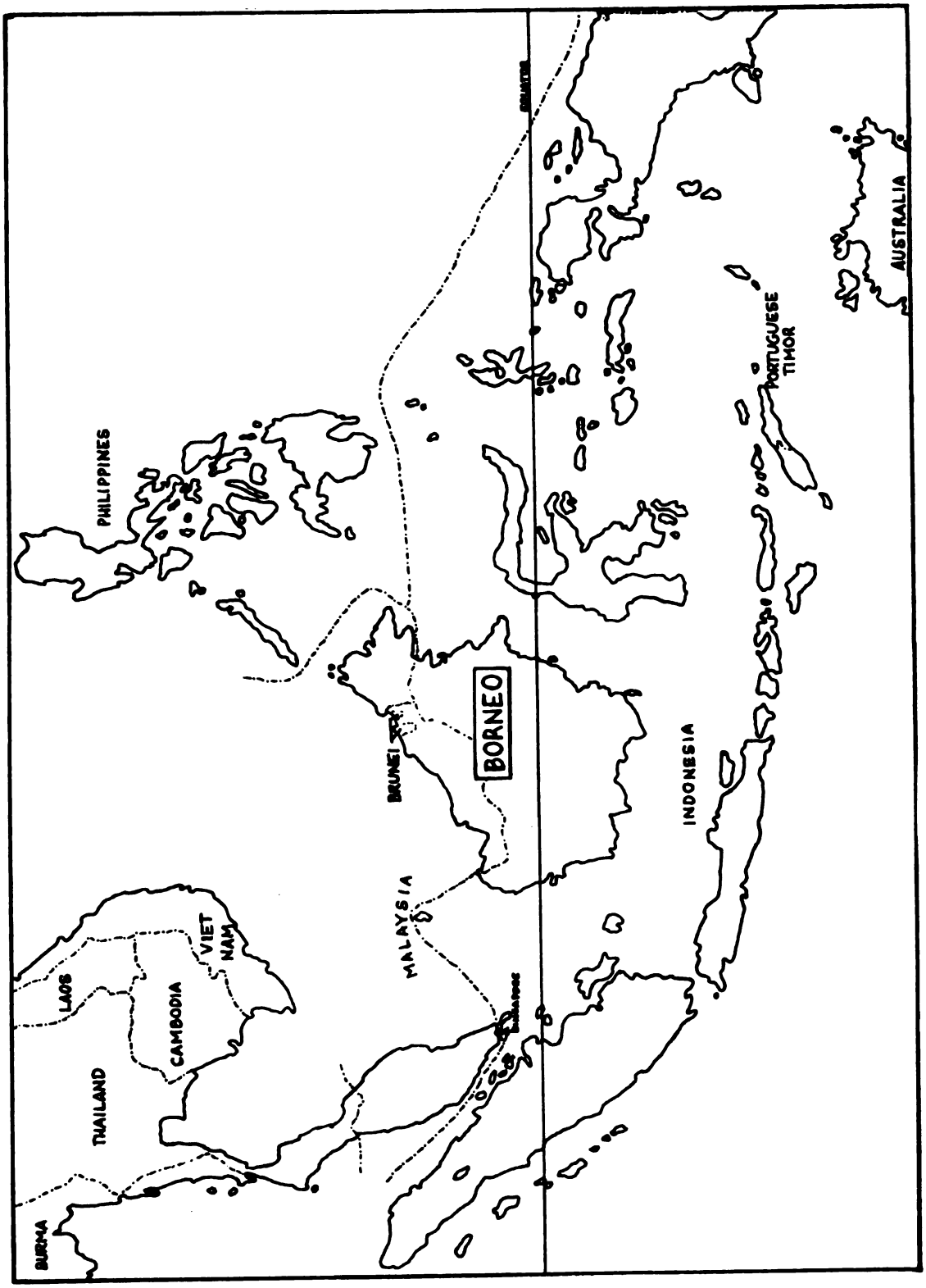

FIGURE 1. Borneo in Southeast Asia

Class differentiation among the Kenyah has traditionally found expression in numerous visible symbols. With the decline in importance of class stratification many of these symbols are also declining in use and in recognition as class markers. At the time of the study, due to the encroachment of Indonesian government ideals of democracy and brotherhood and the philosophy of the Christian missionary church, the occasions of display of many of these traditional symbols were on the wane; some of them all but gone. One of these, however, has been maintained or even increased in its elaboration. This is the use of symbols on the baby carrier or ba'. At the time of my study, the display of social class symbols on the ba' was still very important in Kenyah culture and, more particularly, Lepo Tau Kenyah culture. The decorated ba' is a very obvious symbol of class differentiation and even ranking within classes; these aspects of it were obvious to me quite early in my study.

It was not until the last three months of my study, however, that the full ramifications of this artifact and symbol complex became apparent. These other aspects were only brought out through my efforts to purchase a ba'. I discovered that the ba' was special not just because of its symbolization of status, but also because it was the property of many individuals and, thus, served to tie together a group based on kinsmen of a newborn child. This is not a named group, but rather a network of kin focused on a newborn child.

I will focus on the ba' as an entry to several aspects of Kenyah society and culture. This focus on a particular institution with its associated symbol complex will allow us to look at several important themes in Kenyah life and will also make explicit a number of otherwise

covert aspects of Kenyah social organization. I do not maintain that this is the only, or even the best, way to look at Kenyah social organization but only that it will, I think, allow certain insights into traditional and changing Kenyah society that might otherwise be obscured. Through an examination of the ba' and its symbol complex and the social relations generated through its manufacture and use, we will be able to understand more clearly some of the general principles of social organization and kinship among the Kenyah.

This method of focusing on one aspect of a complex and tracing its ramifications through the various realms of social life is followed by Geertz in Religion of Java. In this work he focuses on the selamatan as a sort of "universal joint" (1960:11) fitting together various aspects of social life. In the same sense, Douglas in Death in Murelaga (1969) focuses on the death ritual as ". . . a convenient vehicle with which to approach the study of the social structure of the local community"(1969:xiv). He compares this with approaching a Nuer community through the cattle theme.

As Geertz approaches the Javanese community through the selamatan, Evans-Pritchard the Nuer through cattle, and Douglas the Basques through death, we will attempt to enter a Kenyah community through a child and his baby carrier or ba'. This is not to say that the ba' is to the Kenyah as cattle to the Nuer, the selamatan to the Javanese, nor death rituals to the Basques, but only that a careful examination of this institution and its symbol complex reveals certain aspects of Kenyah society which might not be discovered in any other way and provides an interesting point of entry for viewing general principles of Kenyah social organization.

I have provided here a great deal of background material in the form of a general historical and ethnographic statement about the Lepo Tau Kenyah. Such extensive background would not be necessary if one could refer the reader to other ethnography on the Kenyah, but such ethnography does not yet exist.

The Lepo Tau Kenyah of Long Nawang have long enjoyed a somewhat special position in the eyes of other Kenyah groups. The historical sketch of the Lepo Tau is an attempt to show how and why they have come to occupy this position.

Chapter II introduces the Lepo Tau Kenyah and places them in a geographical context in Borneo. It also presents a brief outline of their migrations and social history as described in the Lepo Tau oral traditions and in the works of early Dutch visitors to the area. In the discussion of history are included the Lepo Tau Kenyah's interrelations with other groups of indigenous peoples (e.g. Kayan, Iban, Punan and other Kenyah groups), with westerners, with the Japanese and, finally, with the Republic of Indonesia.

Chapter III provides an ethnographic sketch of the Lepo Tau Kenyah of Long Nawang, focusing on organizational principles of the village, the longhouse, the household and organizational features of non-residence groups. A second section of Chapter III concerns the economic system and organization of the Lepo Tau. The ethnographic sketch provides background to the major theme of this study, ba' relations, and it will also add to the general usefulness of this work for other researchers.

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[1] Or, to be more precise, no modern ethnography is available. See Bibliography for the early material some of which, particularly that from Nieuwenhuis and Elshout, is excellent.

Other works which provide good ethnographic material on the Kenyah are dated and, in addition, many are in Dutch which reduces their usefulness to many American anthropologists.

Chapter IV describes the range of symbols associated with class differentiation and stratification and their use in Lepo Tau Kenyah society. We will see that although many of these symbols have disappeared or are quickly disappearing from common use, the ba' symbol complex appears to be much more elaborated than it was in the past.

Chapter V deals with the ba' specifically. A summary of historical references to the ba' in the writings of early travelers establishes geographic and ethnic distribution, and describes the functions of the ba' in the traditional belief system. The next section discusses the manufacture, use and breakdown of the ba' in contemporary Lepo Tau life as well as some of the economic aspects of the ba'.

Five cases involving the ba' are presented and analyzed, illustrating the use of the ba' and the social ties reinforced by it. Here we can see how the ba' social ties contribute to the maintenance of village solidarity and act as a force against village schism.

Chapter VI provides a summary statement and raises some questions for further research.

Fieldwork for this study was carried out in two Lepo Tau Kenyah villages situated on the banks of the Kayan River in Kabupaten Bulongan (Bulongan District) in the eastern province (Kalimantan Timur) of Indonesian Borneo (Kalimantan) during 1970 and 1971. Seven months were spent in the upriver Lepo Tau Kenyah village of Long Nawang in Ketjamatan Kayan Hulu (upper Kayan Subdistrict) and six months in the downriver Lepo Tau village of Mara Satu in Ketjamatan Tandjungpalas (Tandjungpalas

Subdistrict). A segment of Mara Satu was a newly formed (1966) daughter village of Long Nawang. An additional month was then spent living among the Kenyah population of the Kayan River delta town of Tandjungselor.

One of my research interests was Kenyah migration patterns and the effects of these migrations on the over-all life-style of the Kenyah. My choice of study areas was ideal from this point of view. In the first location, Long Nawang, I was able to observe and participate in a fairly traditional form of Kenyah society. In the second village, Mara Satu, I was able to observe some of the changes which occur in Kenyah society as a result of migration from an isolated situation to a location with a market economy, a newly formed timber industry, and near the district level of Indonesian government found in the town of Tandjungselor, two hours downriver by motorized dugout. My third location, residence in Tandjungselor, effectively closed the arena for Kenyah migration patterns in Kabupaten Bulongan.

For the purposes of the study of the ba' and related behavior in this dissertation I will concentrate on the village of Long Nawang but will draw in examples from the village of Mara Satu when relevant. Brief visits to other Kenyah villages in Indonesia and Malaysia provide some information as to variation in ba' practices and some exemplification will be included and questions raised. Due to the limited data from these other villages no attempt will be made to generalize Lepo Tau ba' behavior to the other groups which collectively make up the Kenyah Dayak population.

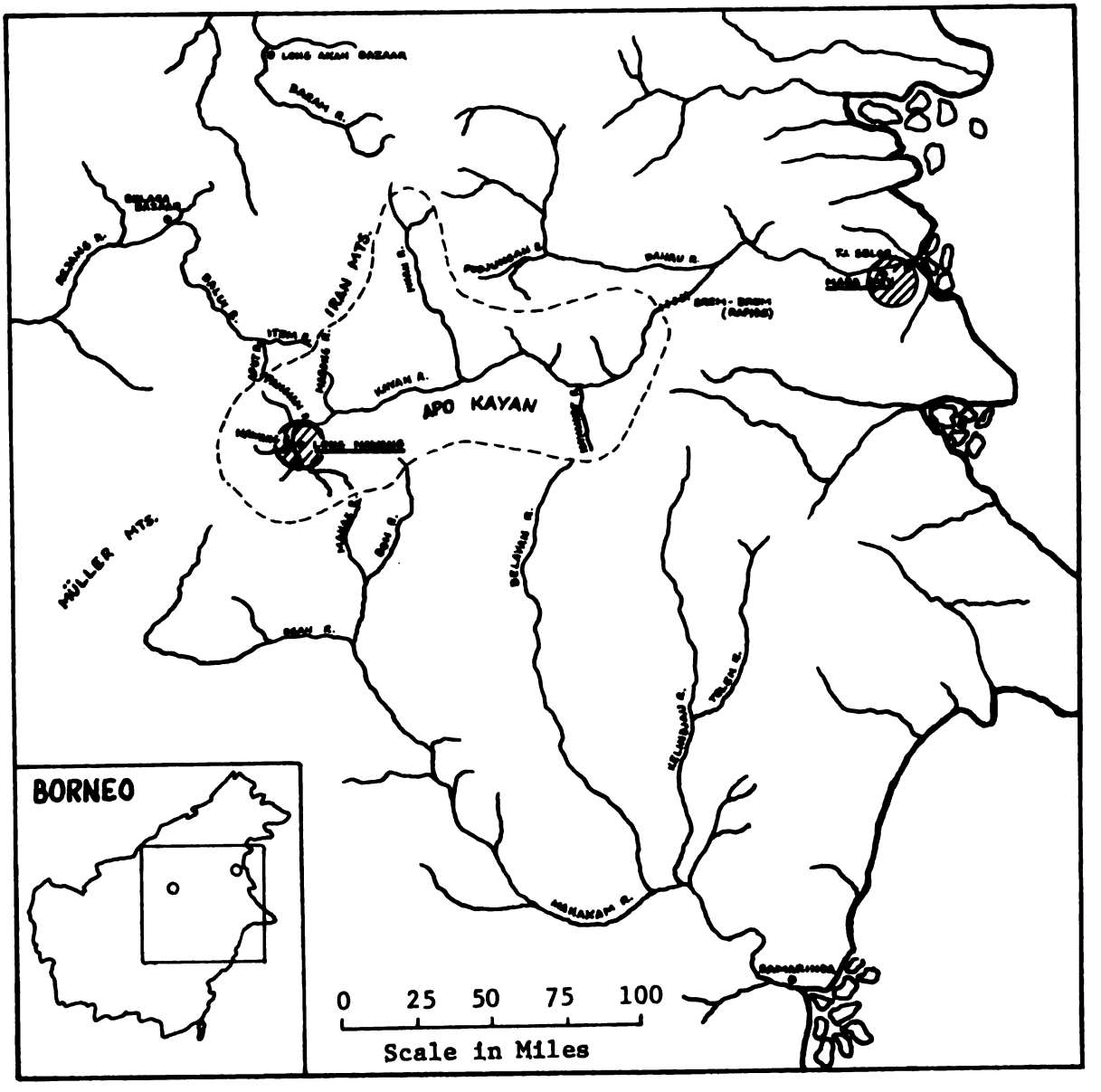

FIGURE 2. Study Areas

CHAPTER II

BORNEO AND THE LEPO TAU KENYAH

This chapter gives an overview of the island of Borneo and its ethnic composition. More detailed information is provided about the areas inhabited by the Kenyah peoples. Finally, the chapter focuses on the Lepo Tau Kenyah in particular with a detailed history compiled from the literature and from Lepo Tau oral tradition.

Borneo

Borneo, the world's third largest island, is located in the South-east Asian seas. Bounded to the north and west by the South China Sea, to the south by the Java Sea, and to the east by the Celebes Sea, Borneo lifts its peaks high into monsoonal clouds reaching its extreme elevation in the truncated cone of Mt. Kinabalu at 14,942 feet. An over-all land mass of 288,000 square miles and a total population of nearly five million yields a population density of less than twenty persons per square mile. To accept this figure alone, however, would give a somewhat misleading image of the demography of this lush island world. Closer examination reveals that the coastal areas, inhabited by a number of ethinc groups, exhibit a much higher population density (thirty to forty per square mile) than the inland areas where the various hill peoples show a density of less than one per square mile.

Borneo, in the eighth decade of the twentieth century, is divided

among three southeast Asian polities (see Figure 3). The southern four-fifths of the island, called Kalimantan, is part of the Republic of Indonesia. The vast area of Kalimantan is divided into four provinces: Kalimantan Barat (West Kalimantan), Kalimantan Selatan (South Kalimantan), Kalimantan Tengah (Central Kalimantan), and Kalimantan Timur (East Kalimantan). Two of the states of Malaysia, Sarawak and Sabah, comprise the bulk of the northern segment of the island. Tucked between Sarawak and Sabah on the northern coast of Borneo is the tiny independent Sultanate of Brunei, once a strong power in these southern seas, which gave Borneo its name.

Ethnic Composition of Borneo

The vast majority of the population of Borneo may be divided into three major ethnic categories: Chinese, Malay, and Dayak. The Chinese comprise about 14 per cent of the island's population (Hudson 1972:11). Most of the Chinese population derives from the southeastern provinces of mainland China. Although there is a great deal of variability within the Chinese community, the other ethnic groups tend to see the Chinese as an undifferentiated group.

Malays form slightly over 40 per cent of the population. Generally the term refers to Moslems of Indonesian origin who speak Malay languages (Hudson 1972:12). For outsiders or non-Malays, the most outstanding characteristic of "Malay" is religion. "Moslem" and "Malay" are almost synonomous; the phrase used to mean "become a Moslem" literally translates as "to enter Malaydom" or "become Malay" (masuk melayu). Except in scattered instances, the Malays generally live in the coastal regions and do not move into the hinterlands.

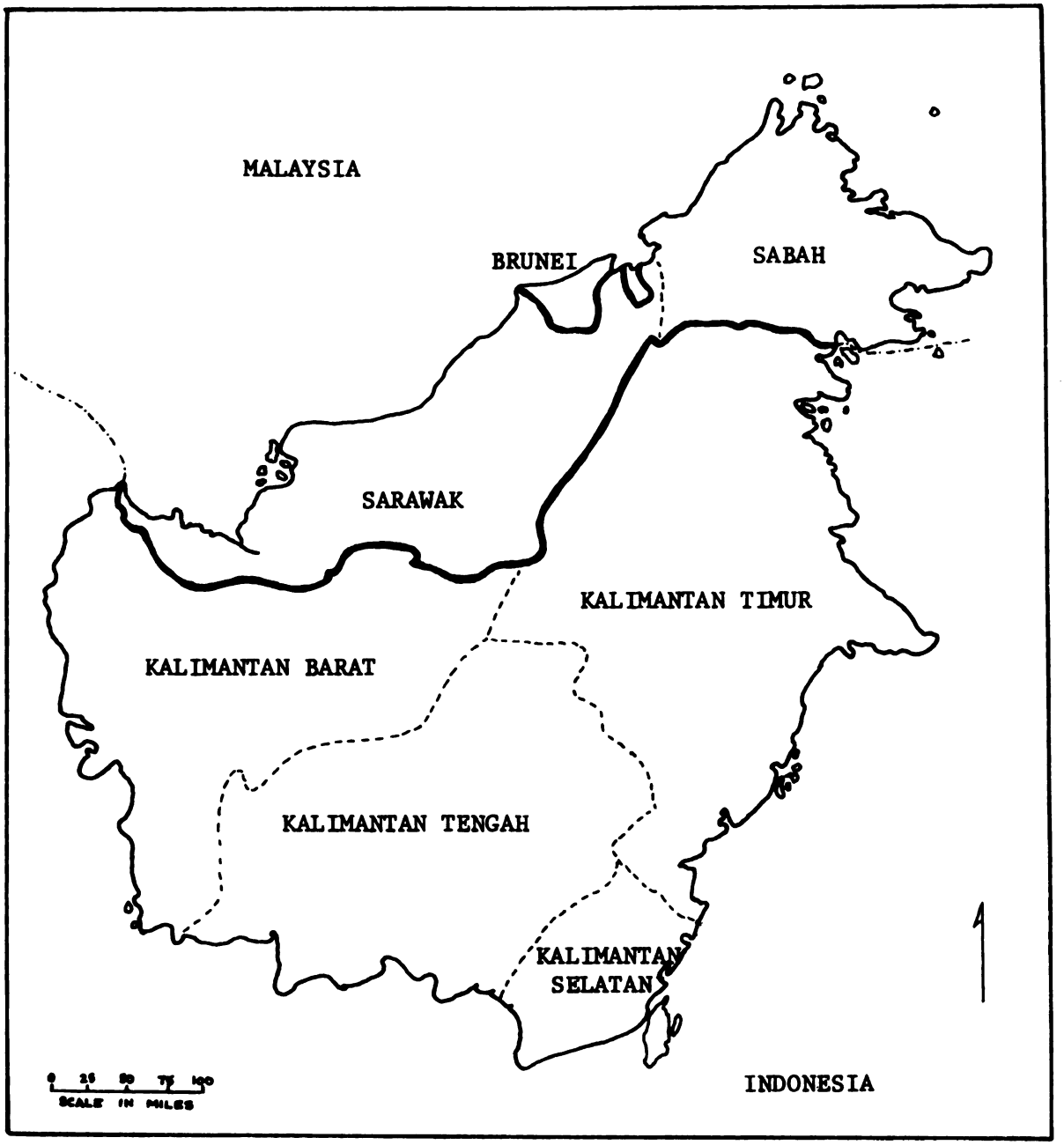

FIGURE 3 : Major Political Divisions of Borneo

The remaining "indigenous" population, about 46 per cent, of Borneo is referred to in the Dutch usage and in general Indonesian usage as "Dayak" and that is the usage I will follow here.[1] The term "Dayak" is, then, a cover term applied by outsiders to a wide variety of indigenous, non-Muslim, interior peoples. Borneo groups did not traditionally use the term themselves and consider it to be pejorative.[2] One of the groups that falls under the term Dayak is the Kenyah. Older Kenyah men, though loath to apply the term Dayak to themselves, definitely see themselves as more closely allied with other indigenous groups than with other Borneans such as Chinese or Malays. The Kenyah word alo or "foreigner" is applied to Chinese, Malays, and westerners but never to other Dayaks. Older men today still dislike the term Dayak, but they will use it occasionally. Younger men, however, have come to use and accept the term with no negative connotations. The term Dayak emphasizes the identity of the indigenous peoples as a group as opposed to "outsiders."

Younger, more educated Dayaks like to speculate on the possible "origin" of words. The most popular theory among the Kenyah on the term "Dayak" is that it is derived from the Kenyah word daya meaning "upriver." The story goes that perhaps some Kenyah who had been downriver to trade encountered some Dutchmen who enquired as to where they were from. The Kenyah, being upriver people, replied, daya or "upriver," and the Dutch from then on referred to them as the "dayak" people.

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[1] British usage generally restricts the term Dayak to two specific groups, the Iban (Sea Dayaks) and the Land Dayaks.

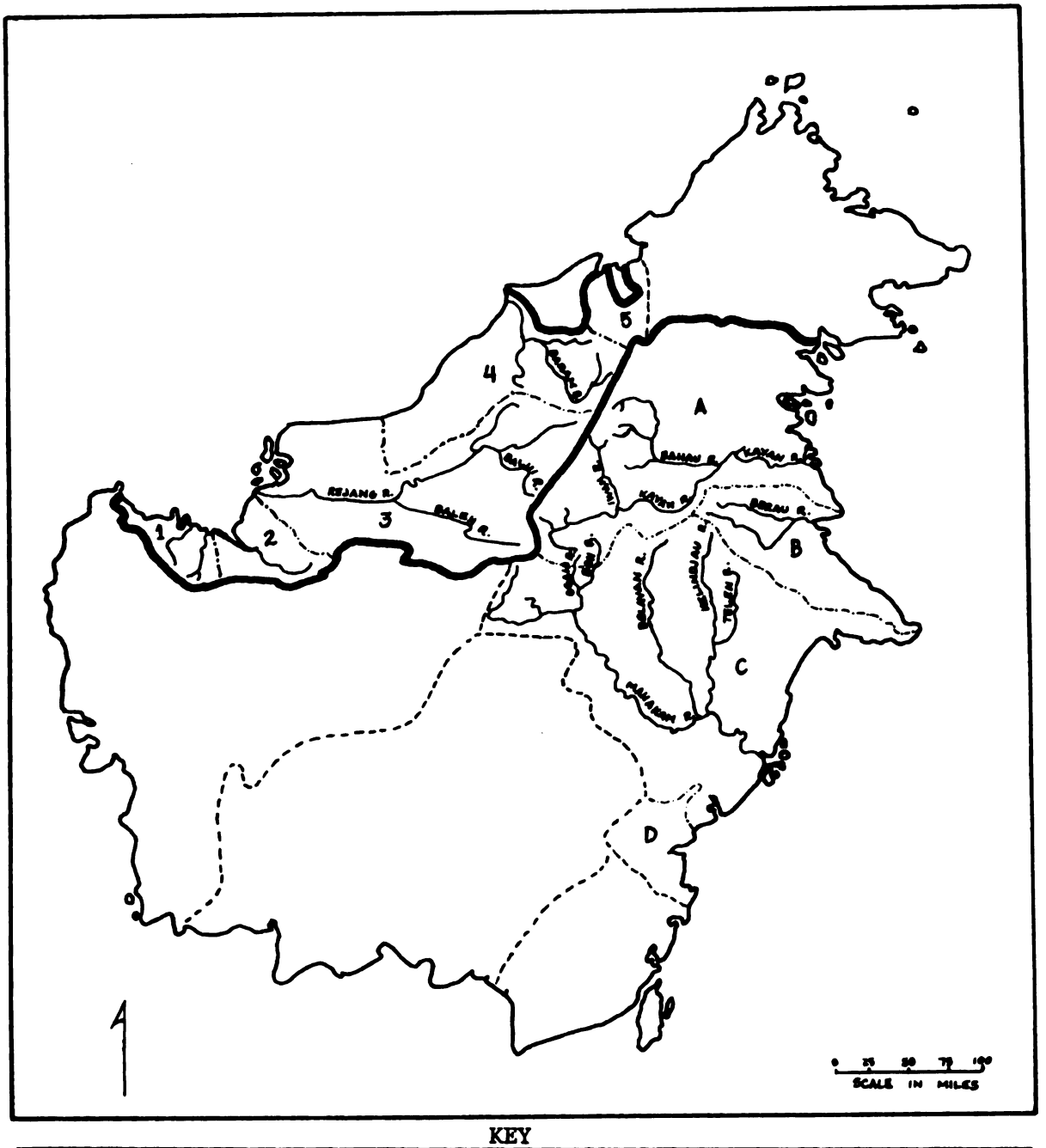
[2] Even today some Indonesians use a word "mendayak" (a verbal form of the noun Dayak) which means "to act crazy," "to dance wildly," etc.

Exactly how this encounter took place, and in what languages is not revealed but many Kenyah are convinced that this is the origin of the term "Dayak." From younger people one frequently hears the combined term "Kenyah Dayak."

Distribution of the Kenyah Dayak

The Kenyah are distributed over parts of both the Malaysian state of Sarawak and the Indonesian province of Kalimantan Timur. Since the political geography of Borneo will be relatively unfamiliar to most readers, it may be useful to give a more detailed delineation of the area in question.

Sarawak is divided into five administrative divisions designated numerically from west to east (see Figure 4). The Sarawak Kenyah make their homes in the upriver areas of the third and fourth divisions, in the headwaters of the Rejang and the Baram River systems respectively. The adjacent Indonesian province of Kalimantan Timur is composed of four administrative districts or kabupaten. These are, from north to south: Kabupaten Bulongan, Kabupaten Berau, Kabupaten Kutei, and Kabupaten Pasir. Prior to the influence of the Dutch, the Indonesian Kenyah lived only in Kabupaten Bulongan in the headwaters of the Kayan River system, notably in the Apo Kayan (which includes the upper Kayan River and its right-handed tributary, the Iwan) and in the headwaters of the Bahau River (a right-handed tributary of the lower Kayan River). At the current time (1972) the bulk of the Kenyah peoples are still in these locations although through migration they are also found in the lower courses of the Kayan River in Kabupaten Bulongan, a few in Kabupaten Berau, and a substantial number in Kabupaten Kutei.



KEY

1. First Division - Sarawak	A. Kabupaten Bulongan - Kalimantan Timur
2. Second Division - Sarawak	B. Kabupaten Berau - Kalimantan Timur
3. Third Division - Sarawak	C. Kabupaten Kutei - Kalimantan Timur
4. Fourth Division - Sarawak	D. Kabupaten Pasir - Kalimantan Timur
5. Fifth Division - Sarawak	

FIGURE 4 : Administrative Divisions of Sarawak and Kalimantan Timur

Many Kenyah have also migrated from what is now Indonesia to Sarawak into both the Balui (headwaters of the Rejang in the third division) and the headwaters of the Baram in the fourth division. In Sarawak the Kenyah number over 8,000, while East Kalimantan has over 30,000 who call themselves, and are called by others, Kenyah.

Kenyah Ethnic Affiliations

In most early Dutch and British ethnic classifications of Borneo peoples, the Kenyah are lumped with the Kayan and other interior groups under the category of Bahau, largely on the basis of similarity of custom, geographical proximity, and some linguistic similarity. Even today the official government census in Sarawak has separate categories for such well known indigenous groups as the Iban, Land Dayak, and Melanau, but it lumps the Kenyah with the Kayan and other groups under "other indigenous."

The Kenyah distinguish themselves from other, superficially similar, inland groups by the criteria of language and custom. The group frequently adjacent to the Kenyah and superficially most like the Kenyah is the Kayan, and, particularly in the Baram area, there is a considerable amount of intermarriage between the two groups.

It is easy to see how early writers could lump the two groups together. Their languages, however, are mutually unintelligible, and any Kenyah or Kayan can play anthropologist and point out significant differences in custom and social organization. Despite superficial appearances and intermarriage with the Kayan, the Kenyah consider themselves a separate group with their own language, history, and customs.

Recent linguistic classifications subsume the Kenyah under the

categories of "Kayanic" and/or "Kelabitic" (Blust 1971:Personal communication) which are sub-units of the Malayic branch of the Malayo-Polynesian language family.

The Kenyah are subdivided into named groups (see Appendix I, Part A, page 232) with associated slight variations in custom and dialect. My informants, from various sub-units, agreed that all Kenyah dialects save one are mutually intelligible.

Among these sub-units, there tends to be greater homogeneity on the Indonesian side of the border. This may reflect several circumstances. First, the Kenyah groups on the Indonesian side are generally, in their outside contacts in daily life, more isolated than those on the Sarawak side. This is not to say that the Kenyah on the Indonesian side are less "modernized" or "acculturated" but only that in daily life, the Kenyah in Sarawak come in contact with a greater range and variety of non-Kenyah. There is also, as mentioned, more intermarriage with other groups on the Sarawak side. Secondly, there may be a phenomenon I call "Kenyahization" operating to a greater degree on the Sarawak side. By this, I mean other groups coming to identify with and regard themselves as Kenyah and attempting to adjust their customs in line with Kenyah custom. Such a phenomenon would produce groups with a significant degree of variation although all calling themselves Kenyah. Only in the Baram River area of Sarawak did I find any hesitation on the part of Kenyah in identifying the sub-group of an individual previously identified as Kenyah. My only experience with the "Kenyahization" phenomenon in Kalimantan Timur was with a group of settled Punan, the Punan Oho'.[3]

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[3] Punan are nomadic hunting and gathering groups of Borneo.

When a group of Punan Oho' men on their way home to Long Top stopped in the Kenyah village of Long Nawang, they presented themselves to me (and to others) as Kenyah and indeed were fluent in the Kenyah dialect of Long Nawang. Later Long Nawang Kenyah said that the men were Punan but were becoming much like Kenyah in that they were settled swidden rice agriculturalists and built large Kenyah-style longhouses, some of which were even finer than those in Long Nawang.

The Kenyah and the Apo Kayan

The area that we will be most concerned with here is the headwaters of the Kayan River, known as the Apo Kayan (literally Kayan Plateau). In its broadest sense the Apo Kayan (see Figure 2) includes all of the Kayan River and tributaries above the great rapids known as the brem-brem and is bordered to the north by the Iran Mountains which form the Malaysian-Indonesian border and separate the Kayan River drainage from the drainage of the Baram and Rejang Rivers in Malaysia. To the west and south are the Müller Mountains which separate the Kayan River drainage from that of the great Mahakam River. A glance at the map will make obvious the strategic superiority both offensively and defensively of the Apo Kayan during the period of warring and headhunting. The Apo Kayan is relatively isolated but its strategic location gives several options of riverine routes to the sea and coastal economies.

Prior to 1965 the Apo Kayan was one administrative unit, first under the Dutch and then the Indonesians. The Apo Kayan area was first called a kewedanan and later a ketjamatan. Since 1965 the Apo Kayan has been divided into two ketjamatan called Ketjamatan Kayan Hulu (Upper Kayan Sub-district) and Ketjamatan Kayan Hilir (Lower Kayan Sub-district).

The pre-election census of the Apo Kayan in 1970 showed a total of twenty-eight villages with a total population of 12,521. The 1970 villages and ethnic composition are shown in Table 1. (See Figure 5)

To demonstrate demographic changes and the degree of outmigration in the Apo Kayan, we have the population figures of the Dutch traveler Tillema which were recorded in 1928. Tillema notes that the Apo Kayan contained nineteen villages with a combined population of 15,832. However, several factors should be clarified before examining his figures. First, as the Punan were nomadic at that time, no Punan villages or population statistics are given. Secondly, Tillema frequently confuses village name with tribal name. For example, at the time of his travels, the Badang, a Kenyah group, were living at Long Betaoh, yet under village name, Tillema lists them as living at Ma Badang which literally means Badang Longhouse. The true village name Long Betaoh, is toponymically descriptive and reveals that they (the Badang) lived at the confluence of the Betaoh River and a larger river, the Pangian in this case (see Appendix I). Thirdly, the basis of the 1970 census was village of residence at the time of the census, whereas, we do not know whether the basis of the census in Tillema's book was village of residence or village of birth. Tillema's figures and villages for 1928 are summarized in Table 2.

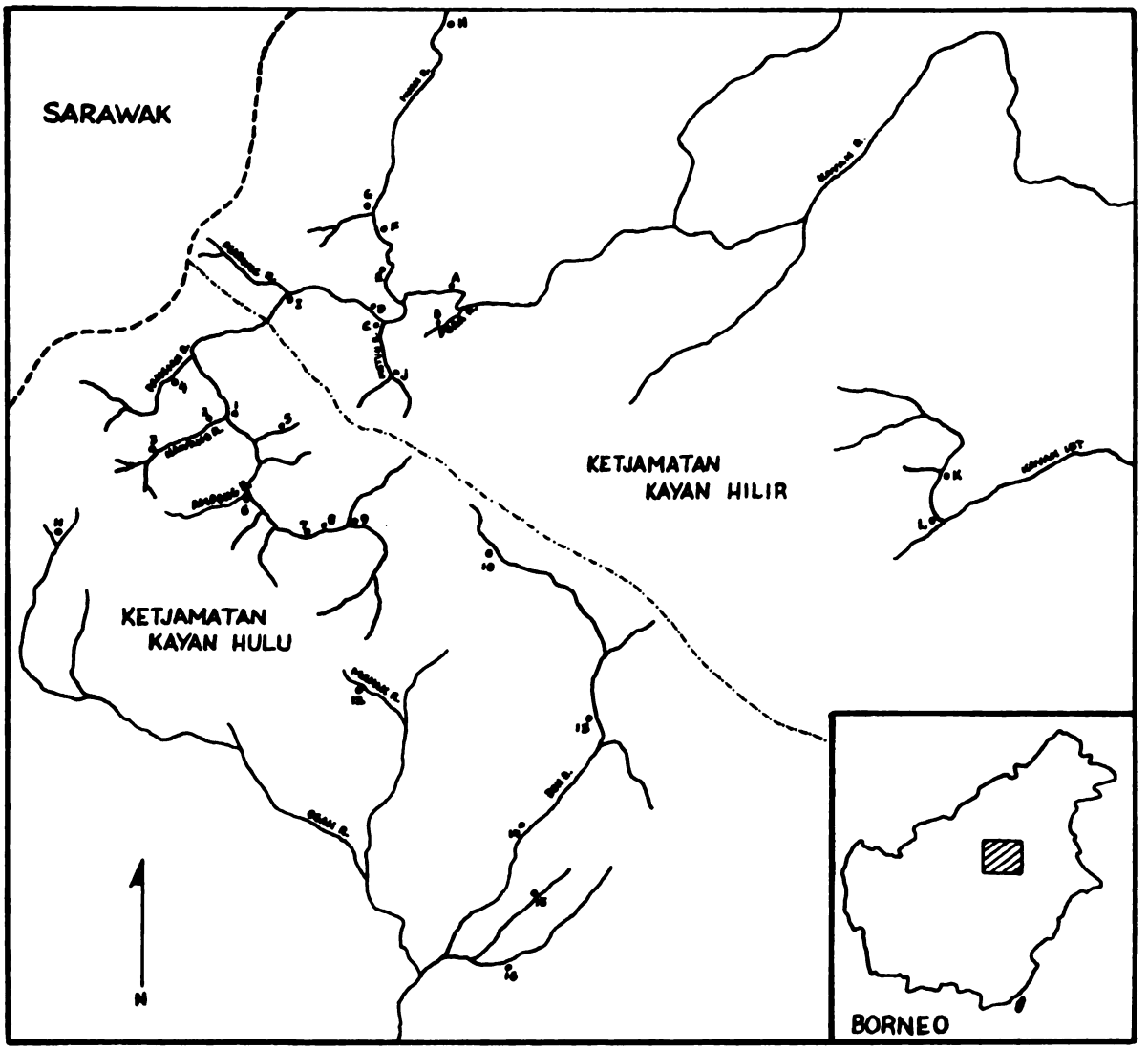
The groups listed in the two censuses above include most of the original Kenyah settlers in the Apo Kayan, though a few groups had passed out of the area before the arrival of Tillema. These groups include the Lepo Aga' who migrated into the Baram via the Balui as well as the Uma Kelap and the Uma Pawe, daughter units of the Lepo Timai, who also migrated into the Balui. Before Tillema's visit the Lepo Timai

TABLE 1

VILLAGES OF THE APO KAYAN 1970

Village	Ethnic Composition	Population
Ketjamatan Kayan Hulu		
1. Long Nawang	Kenyah-Lepo Tau	949
2. Nawang Baru	Kenyah-Lepo Tau	1,122
3. Long Temunyat	Kenyah-Lepo Tau	576
4. Long Uro	Kenyah-Lepo Tau	280
5. Long Lidung Payau	Kenyah-Lepo Tau	365
6. Long Lisi	Kenyah-Lepo Tau	*
7. Long Ampung	Kenyah-Uma Djalan	895
8. Long Payau	Kenyah-Uma Bakung	256
9. Long Metulong	Kenyah-Uma Bakung	1,068
10. Mahak	Kenyah-Uma Bakung	296
11. Long Betaoh	Kenyah-Badang	109
12. Long Dumo	Kenyah-Uma Bakung	249
13. Lulao Adau	Kenyah-Lepo Tukung	108
14. Tebuan	Kenyah-Uma Bakung	545
15. Lebusan	Kenyah-Uma Bakung	216
16. Long Sungai Barang	Kenyah-Lepo Tukung	1,440
17. Long Top	Punan Oho'	77
	Total Population	8,551
Ketjamatan Kayan Hilir		
1. Data Dian	Kayan-Uma Lekan & Kenyah-Uma Udjuk	816
2. Kayan Pura	Kayan-Uma Lekan	543
3. Long Lemiliu	Kenyah-Lepo Tepu	452
4. Long Sungan	Kenyah-Lepo Tepu	416
5. Long Metun	Kenyah-Uma Bakung	446
6. Long Marung	Kenyah-Uma Baka	220
7. Long Sungai Anai	Kenyah-Uma Bakung	245
8. Long Kelawit	Kenyah-Lepo Tepu	361
9. Ma Lisan Bo'	Kenyah-Uma Lasan	64
10. Long Ikeng	Punan Musang	67
11. Long Metun (Kayan Iot)	Punan Aput	194
12. Long Kipa (Kayan Iot)	Punan Aput	146
	Total Population	3,970
	Total Apo Kayan Population July 1970	12,521

* Very recent emigré village. Inhabitants included in census in their natal villages.



KEY

Ketjamatan Kayan Hulu		Ketjamatan Kayan Hilir	
1.	Long Nawang	A.	Data Dian
2.	Nawang Baru	B.	Kayan Pura
3.	Long Temunyat	C.	Long Metun
4.	Long Betaoh	D.	Long Sungan
5.	Long Payau	E.	Long Lemiliu
6.	Long Ampung	F.	Ma Lisan Bo'
7.	Long Uro	G.	Long Ikung
8.	Long Lidung Payau	H.	Long Kelawit
9.	Long Sungai Barang	I.	Long Marung
10.	Long Dumo	J.	Long Sungan Anai
11.	Long Metulong	K.	Long Metun (Kayan Iot)
12.	Mahak	L.	Long Kipa (Kayan Iot)
13.	Tebuan		
14.	Lulan Adau		
15.	Lebusan		
16.	Long Tap		
17.	Long Lisi (not shown)		

FIGURE 5: Villages in the Apo Kayan

TABLE 2

VILLAGES OF THE APO KAYAN 1928

Village	Ethnic Composition	Population
1. Ma Bem Lekakidau	Kenyah-Uma Bem	172
2. Lepo Toekoeng	Kenyah-Lepo Tukong	1,230
3. Long Oeroe	Kenyah-Lepo Tau	941
4. Ma Djalan	Kenyah-Uma Djalan	2,081
5. Bakong Anje	Kenyah-Uma Bakong	1,374
6. Long Temonjet	Kenyah-Lepo Tau	375
7. Long Nawang	Kenyah-Lepo Tau	1,580
8. Ma Badang	Kenyah-Uma Badang	742
9. Ma Baka Marong	Kenyah-Uma Baka	671
10. Lepo Tepoe Kayan	Kenyah-Lepo Tepu	406
11. Long Djelarai	Kenyah-Uma Kulit	731
12. Bakoeng Metoen	Kenyah-Uma Bakung	404
13. Data Genojan	Kayan-Uma Lekan	523
14. Long Iroen	Kayan-	350
15. Long Po	Kayan-	875
16. Nahakramo	Kayan-	1,041
17. Kayan Poera	Kayan-Uma Lekan	483
18. Long Heban		557
19. Long Daha bioe		
Long Daha joet	Kayan	1,296
Ma Lisan	Kenyah-Uma Lasan	
		15,832

(Tillema 1938:144)

themselves migrated out and down the Mahakam.

Kenyah oral history begins with the Kenyah living in the Iwan River area of the Apo Kayan and with the area of the Kayan River itself being occupied by Hostile Kayan.

All of the 40,000 Kenyah look to the headwaters of the Iwan River as their historic homeland. Furthermore, all groups can, within eight to ten generations, give a vilage-site-by-village-site migration route tracing back to the Iwan area. In the Iwan, the Kenyah divided themselves into named sub-units generally based on some specific aspect in nature in proximity to their original longhouses (see Appendix I). At present there are over forty of these named units living in more than 100 villages. It is known that some units have disappeared or have been assimilated into other groups. The exact reasons for the initial migrations from the Iwan are unknown but some hypotheses can be put forth.

I would hypothesize that the Kenyah peoples made the transition from hunting and gathering to swidden rice agriculture while in the upper Iwan. This led to settled villages and large population increases. The geographical expanse of the population, however, was held in check by the presence of large numbers of Kayan along the Kayan River and hostile relationships with the Sultan of Brunei and allied Dayak groups on the Baram River in Sarawak. The population increase, with no room for expansion, led to over-cropping of swidden lands.

Several pieces of information support this hypothesis. In Kenyah mythology the switch to rice cultivation is a very prominent theme. Stories indicate that rice cultivation has a relatively short history for the Kenyah and that the transition occurred in the Iwan. Kayan stories, on the other hand, usually do not elaborate on a pre-rice

period, thus indicating a longer period of rice cultivation for the Kayan. I am suggesting that the Kenyah were hunting and gathering people (similar to the Punan) in their early history in the Iwan and that they learned swidden rice agriculture, most likely from the Kayan. This kind of process is still going on today, as we noted in the case of the Punan Oho' who now prefer to be called Kenyah.

The hypothesis of over-cropping in the Iwan is supported by data from informants indicating large areas of alang-alang (Cylindrica imperata), a tough grass which is the usual by-product of over-cropping on swidden land, are found in the Iwan today.

The hypothesis of the Kenyah being recently settled nomads is also supported in part by the linguistic evidence. On a superficial analysis, the languages of the Kenyah and some of the groups of Punan in the Apo Kayan appear to be more closely related than Kenyah and Kayan.

With the move of the majority of the Kayan out of the Apo Kayan and the cessation of hostility on the part of the Sultan of Brunei, the Kenyah began to move out of the Iwan area in search of more swidden land to support their increasing population. Some of the sub-units migrated north into the Baram River headwaters. Others moved east to the Bahau and Pudjungan River valleys, while still others moved down the Iwan and up the Kayan River, recently abandoned by the Kayan. From the headwaters of the Kayan some groups later migrated to the north into the headwaters of the Balui River, to the south down the Mahakam River, and very recently, down to the lower Kayan River. The formerly populous Iwan remains virtually empty today. The groups who moved into the headwaters of the Kayan prospered, and today the largest concentration of Kenyah is found in the Apo Kayan though new pressures to migrate may soon alter this

situation.

Exactly when and why the twenty-one sub-units of Kayan peoples formerly located in the Apo Kayan decided to abandon their ancestral lands and split themselves territorially by entering the five adjacent river systems (the Mahakam, the lower Kayan, the Balui, the Baram, and the upper Kapuas) is not known. Kayan myths today accord primary responsibility for the split and migration from the Apo Kayan to ill omens read by a mythical ancestor-leader. Another reason, also advanced by contemporary Kayan, may have been increasing incursions of the Iban headhunters from the upper Kapuas and from the headwaters of the Baleh River. It is not possible to assign a fixed date to the Kayan migration from the Apo Kayan; the out-migration was likely a continuous process. We can only say that the majority of the Kayan had left the upper Apo Kayan by the time the Kenyah began to enter, which I date between 1820 and 1850 on the basis of genealogical records and Kenyah migration history.

The Kayan migration process continues into the present. In the lower section of the Apo Kayan, below the confluence of the Iwan River, there were until 1965 four Kayan villages representing two of the original twenty-one sub-units or groups of the Kayan peoples. Today in 1972 there are still two villages of Uma Lekan Kayan living at Data Dian and Kayan Pura in this lower area; the other two villages have migrated to the Muara Wahau, a tributary of the Mahakam River, via the Kayaniot and Berau Rivers.

The Lepo Timai Kenyah, and the other Kenyah groups who followed later into the Kayan River, paid tribute to the migrating Kayan for rights to the Apo Kayan lands. The few Kayan remaining in the Apo Kayan

were downriver, near the present village of Data Dian. The Kenyah relations with these remaining Kayan were not always peaceful; Kenyah paid no tribute to them.

The Lepo Timai Kenyah, or the Uma Timai as they were called when they moved into the Kayan River, were one united group and were considered to be the most powerful and most refined of the Kenyah groups. Even today the Lepo Tau admit that they learned their refinement and adat from the Lepo Timai. The Lepo Timai, now located in the Muara Wahau, a right-hand tributary of the lower Mahakam River, also concede, in an unusual display of Kenyah immodesty, that they were the source of Lepo Tau refinement. The Lepo Timai, or the Uma Timai, began a process of schism on their entrance to the Kayan River valley, and before their departure shortly after 1900, had split into four groups: the Lepo Timai now located at Muara Wahau; the Uma Kelap, now located in the lower Balui above the Bakung rapids; the Uma Pawe, located on the Baram River; and the Uma Udjuk, who live side-by-side with the Uma Lekan Kayan of Data Dian.

The Lepo Timai and daughter groups have had extremely intimate relations with the Kayan, perhaps beginning with some intermarriage on their first entrance to the Kayan River. The Lepo Timai who moved to the Mahakam River maintain to this day a great deal of their tradition and are little Kayanized, but the Uma Kelap and Uma Udjuk are heavily intermarried with the Kayan and all are able to speak Kayan dialects fluently, though both groups maintain their original Kenyah dialect. This linguistic tenacity is a quite interesting phenomenon, especially in the case of the Uma Udjuk who have lived side-by-side with the Uma Lekan Kayan at Data Dian for at least fifty to sixty years. They

maintain their own longhouse, within which Kenyah is spoken, but outside the house, Kayan is used. While most people in the eight door longhouse are heavily Kayan by ancestry, they still maintain that they are Uma Udjuk Kenyah -- even in cases of as little as one-eighth degree of Kenyahness.

The Lepo Tau Kenyah as a Unit for Study

In both the 1928 and 1970 censuses the Lepo Tau Kenyah were the largest group in the Apo Kayan. But numbers alone are not responsible for their being chosen as the group to study. The Lepo Tau Kenyah were selected for study because of the special consideration in which they have been held, not only by other Kenyah and other Dayak groups, but also by other researchers who have touched on their way of life. Harrisson states that the Kenyah of Sarawak still regard the Lepo Tau Kenyah of the Apo Kayan as ". . . the repository of the 'purist' form of their culture and the center of their oldest and most important aristocracy" (1966:287). The various Kenyah groups themselves place the Lepo Tau in a supreme position. They accept the myth that the Lepo Tau are second only to the Lepo Timai in the representation of the most refined aspects of Kenyah life. Lepo Tau song and dance and wisdom are regarded as the ultimate expressions by the Kenyah today. Whether or not this is actually true, the Kenyah in general and the Lepo Tau in particular believe it. Perhaps one reason for the regard in which the Lepo Tau are held by other Kenyah is their political leadership; a sort of "halo effect" occurs whereby leadership in politics expands to encompass a more general cultural superiority.

A discussion of Lepo Tau origins, migrations and relations with

other groups in the Apo Kayan will clarify their position and will further reinforce the choice of the Lepo Tau as a critical unit for the understanding of Kenyah social dynamics.

Early History of the Lepo Tau Kenyah

The Lepo Tau Kenyah, like the other Kenyah groups, came in to their present locations from the headwaters of the Iwan River. One of their folktales relates that their original village in the Apo Da'a (headwaters of the Iwan River) had ten longhouses. The village divided and eight of the longhouses moved north into the Baram River via its tributary, the Silat River. Two longhouses, peoples by the weak and feeble (asu kurap: literally, "mangy dogs") remained behind. These two longhouses, under the leadership of the famous hero PeSurang, then migrated down the Iwan River and moved up the Kayan River at the invitation of the Lepo Timai Kenyah who had preceded them into the Kayan River. The Lepo Tau longhouses that had moved to the Baram River at first prospered and miltiplied, but then they met with two plagues which severely reduced their numbers. Lepo Tau Kenyah in the Baram are now to be found only in the villages of Long Moh, Long Makaba, and Long Wang. Their total population is about 800 today. The "mangy dogs," on the other hand, prospered in the Apo Kayan and are now seven villages, including the downriver village of Mara Satu, of over 3,500 strong.

When the Lepo Tau migrated from the Iwan River, they did not move alone. They were accompanied and followed by other groups of Kenyah. As noted above, the Lepo Tau were not the first Kenyah to move into the Kayan River. The honor of being first Kenyah in the area must go to the Lepo Timai who entered the Kayan River on the eve of the dispersal

of the Kayan from the Apo Kayan. It was the Lepo Timai who made the initial contractual agreements with the Kayan for rights to the Kayan lands and who extended to the Lepo Tau and other Kenyah in the Iwan, the invitation to migrate into the Kayan River area.

From the extreme headwaters of the Iwan, the Apo Da'a, the Lepo Tau first moved to Ikeng Iwan, a large oxbow area one day's travel up the Iwan by paddle canoe (see Figure 6). Here they were joined by the Uma Djalan and the Lepo Tukung Kenyah and collectively the three groups migrated under the leadership of PeSurang to Long Metun. They stayed briefly (one or two years) at Long Metun and then, at the urging of the Lepo Timai, moved to Long Betaoh on the Pangian River where they joined forces with the Lepo Timai, establishing a village nearby. After a period of two to three years, the initial schism of the Lepo Timai occurred and a segment moved further up the Pangian River to a tributary called the Kelap. This group later moved to Sarawak, subdivided again, and became the Uma Kelap and the Uma Pawe. The other segment of the Lepo Timai moved, with the Lepo Tau over the watershed and into the headwaters of the Nawang River, an area designated as Apo Kule (Kule Plateau). After less than one year in the Apo Kule the Lepo Timai and the other Kenyah groups had a disagreement and the Lepo Tau Kenyah asserted that they felt strong enough to stand alone if PeSurang would lead them. Lepo Tau stories relate the schism to the overbearing nature of the Lepo Timai and some instances of crudity (striking the post of a Lepo Tau rice storage house with a walking stick, for example) accompanied by the growing strength of the Lepo Tau and following groups. The majority of the Lepo Tau rejected Lepo Timai leadership and, led by PeSurang, moved downriver to Long Danum, accompanied by the Uma Tukung.

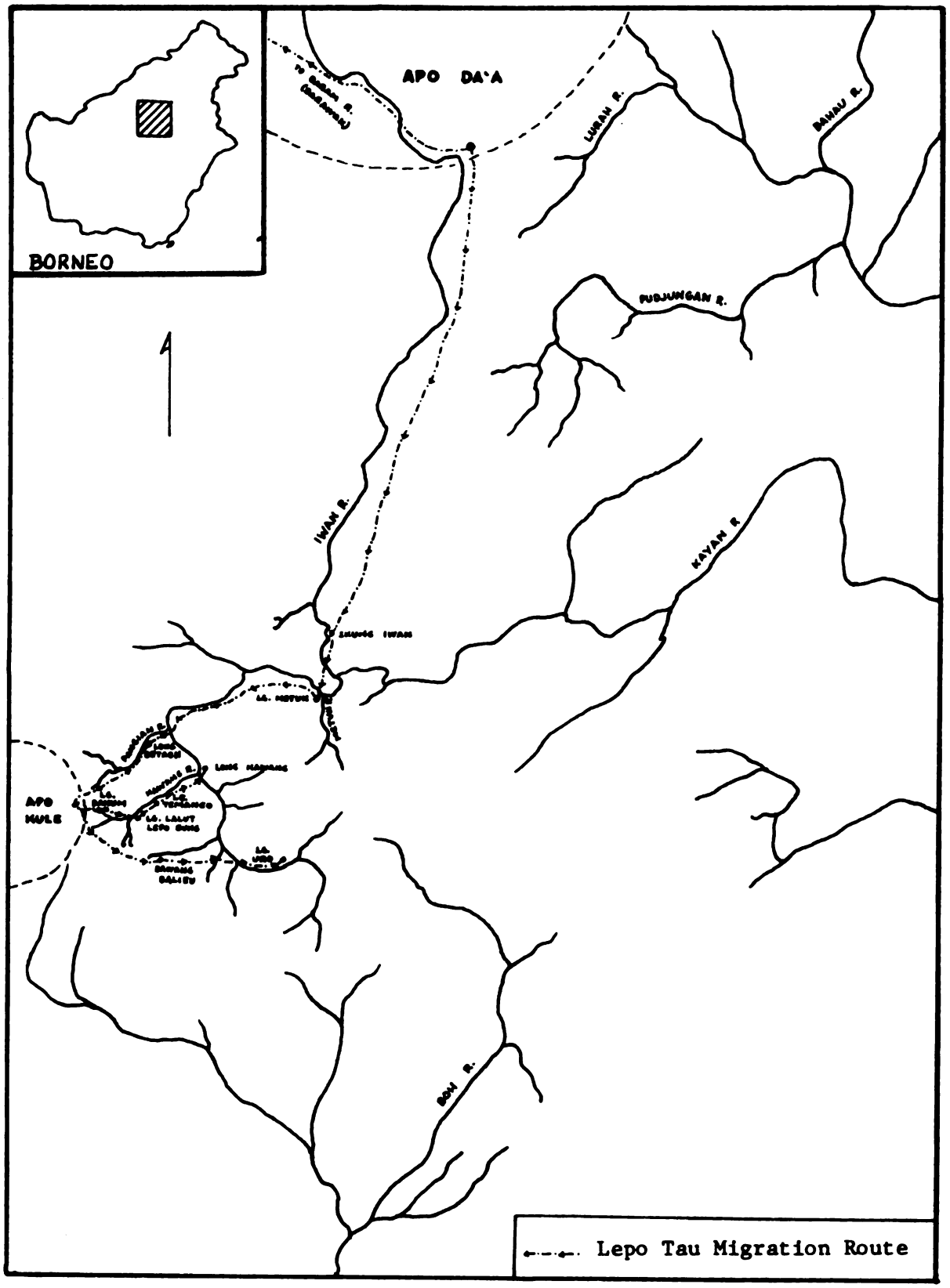


FIGURE 6 : Lepo Tau Migrations in the Apo Kayan

In part because of ill-will and ill-feelings, the Lepo Timai and some of the Uma Djalan and some of the Lepo Tau moved over the next watershed and down into the Ampong River, a tributary of the Kayan upriver from the Nawang. In the Ampong they established a village at Bawang Balieu under the leadership of Djalong Ipui and his brother Adjang Ipui. The Lepo Timai and the small Lepo Tau contingent then left the Uma Djalan and moved up the Kayan to Long Djemahang (also called Tanah Putih). At Tanah Putih Djalong Ipui became known as Bui Djalong. When he died shortly after Nieuwenhuis's visit[4], his nephew Ibau Adjang led the Lepo Timai over the watershed to the south and down the Mahakam River to found a Lepo Timai settlement at Tabang. The Lepo Tau then living with them did not follow but settled at Long Uro' in the upper Kayan River.

The main contingent of the Lepo Tau, accompanied by the Uma Tukung, stayed at Long Danum for six years and then moved down into the Nawang River proper and established a new village at Long Lalut Lepo Bung. Stories indicate that another six year period was spent there.

From Long Lalut Lepo Bung, the Uma Tukung split off and moved to the confluence of the Nawang and the Kayan Rivers. The Lepo Tau were then joined at Long Lalut Lepo Bung by the segment of the Uma Djalan Kenyah that had remained behind in the Apo Kule. From Long Lalut Lepo Bung, PeSurang led his people to Long Temango' about one-half day's paddle up the Nawang River from its confluence with the Kayan. It was at Long Temango' that PeSurang died and was succeeded by his son Pingan Surang. After another period of about six years, Pingan Surang led the

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[4] A. W. Nieuwenhuis visited the Apo Kayan in 1900 as a representative of the government of the Dutch East Indies. For further information on his visit see pages 32-4.

Lepo Tau and the Uma Djalan segment down the Nawang River to the Kayan and in about 1875 established the village of Long Nawang. The Uma Tukung, who had preceded the Lepo Tau to the Nawang-Kayan River confluence, moved far into the headwaters of the Kayan and established themselves at Long Sungai Barang. After a short period of co-residence with the Lepo Tau at Long Nawang, the Uma Djalan who had accompanied the Lepo Tau moved upriver to join their fellow Uma Djalan at the village of Long Ampong.

The travels and interrelations of the Uma Tukung and the Uma Djalan with the Lepo Tau formed part of the basis for an almost permanent alliance among the Uma Tukung, the Uma Djalan, and the Lepo Tau Kenyah. This alliance was to serve the Lepo Tau Kenyah in good stead in a series of minor wars with the Uma Bakung Kenyah and the downriver Kayan. The alliance, cemented by intermarriage, helped to add to the power of Pingan Surang, but even this alliance did little to halt the increasing incursions into the Apo Kayan of small headhunting parties of Iban from Sarawak via the Baleh River.

Before 1900 several large parties of Lepo Tau and other Kenyah, under the leadership of Pingan Surang, visited Sarawak on trade missions and peace missions. In these visits they met with the Rajah of Sarawak, James Brooke (Beccari 1904:362). One such mission, in March of 1900, promised peaceful relations with the Iban if the Kenyah of the Apo Kayan would pay certain fines to groups of Iban that had lost heads to the Kenyah two years earlier. The Kenyah agreed, and began the return trip home, only to become involved in another incident with a group of Iban which resulted in some of the Iban losing their heads. The Kenyah returned home to the Apo Kayan fearing retaliation from the Iban and

from Rajah Brooke.

With the exception of the visits to Sarawak, documented in Sarawak history, the majority of the early history of the Lepo Tau is from the oral tradition. It is only several years after the founding of Long Nawang that we begin to find independent documentation of the history of any of the Apo Kayan Kenyah peoples.

The Lepo Tau and the Dutch

The journey of the Dutchman A. W. Nieuwenhuis to the upper Mahakam River and the Apo Kayan was the first step in the establishment of Dutch rule over the area that would continue for almost five decades. His expedition had scientific overtones; the party carried out extensive mapping and made floral and faunal collections, but it was at base a political mission. Smythies (1955), in an article comparing Nieuwenhuis with the renowned Livingston, says that the task Nieuwenhuis set for himself was ". . . to free the tribes of Dutch Central Borneo . ." from ". . . the chronic inter-tribal headhunting forays, which gave rise to a state of misery and apprehension . . ." (1955:494).

He was convinced that the circumstances in Central Borneo ". . . urgently required government by a European authority, and that this could only be brought about after the infamous and feared territory of the Apo Kayan had been visited by a European . . ." (1955:503).

> When Kwing Irang, on behalf of all the Mahakam tribes, asked him to petition the Dutch authorities to take control of the area, he gladly did so on his return to Batavia; and his tale of woe convinced the government, who supported and financed a third expedition under Nieuwenhuis's leadership, with a primarily political mission -- to explore ways and means of extending Dutch rule to the upper Mahakam and upper Kayan, to extablish peace and security in those areas (Smythies 1955:499).

Nieuwenhuis began his journey to the Apo Kayan in May 1900, accompanied by a photographer named Demmeni, two other Europeans, three Javanese flora and fauna collectors, and a group of "Bahaus," led by his friend and guide on past expeditions, Kwing Irang. His first stop in the Apo Kayan was Tanah Putih, a Lepo Timai village and from there he went on to Long Nawang.

The Kenyah of the Apo Kayan were in fear of raids of retaliation by the Iban of Sarawak. Two years previously five Iban had been murdered, and on the peace mission mentioned above several more had been killed. Rumor had it that the Iban were in process of organizing a punitive mission. The Kenyah were responsive to Nieuwenhuis's overtures and willing to accept Dutch protection but were afraid of incurring the anger of the Rajah of Sarawak. They asked Nieuwenhuis to write a letter to the Rajah informing him of Nieuwenhuis's arrival in Long Nawang, that they were now under Dutch protection, and that they had nothing but good will toward the Rajah. This he did. As Nieuwenhuis departed the Apo Kayan a reply arrived from Belaga in Sarawak stating that since Nieuwenhuis had now arrived in the Apo Kayan and secured the cooperation of the Kenyah, the Rajah was no longer concerned about the area.

Smythies reports that one or two years previous to the arrival of Nieuwenhuis, messengers from Sarawak had arrived in the Apo Kayan bearing letters from the Rajah and the Resident at Marudi (Hose). The Kenyah could not read the letters and were in fear, but the messenger explained that the Rajah only wanted to meet the Kenyah chiefs. Two parties set off and ultimately reached Kuching for a conference in which the Rajah invited them to move to Sarawak and settle in either the Baram or the Balui. The Kenyah declined saying that they did not

want to leave their homeland. The Rajah was satisfied with their reply but remarked that they would fall into the hands of the Dutch because he had learned that "Tuan Doctor" (Nieuwenhuis) was on his way to the Apo Kayan.

Assuming that this story is true, it would seem that the Rajah was not so interested in establishing any sort of sovereignty over the Apo Kayan as in establishing peaceful relations in the entire area adjacent to Sarawak. So long as he felt that the Dutch had matters in hand, he was content to leave the area to them.

Nieuwenhuis's party returned to Batavia on the last day of 1900 and the first step towards the extension of Dutch rule to the Apo Kayan was sealed. In 1902, Kontrolleur Walcheren from Bulongan (at the mouth of the Kayan River) went to the Apo Kayan via the Berau, thus acquiring the Lepo Tau name "Tuan Berau." He spent six months in the Apo Kayan cementing the friendly relations instigated by Nieuwenhuis, then returned via the Mahakam route to the coast. Again in 1906 Walcheren journeyed up the Kayan River, but only as far as the hostile Uma Alim village down-river from the Long Nawang which had closed off the Apo Kayan route to the lower Kayan.

While leaving the Apo Kayan, via the Mahakan, Nieuwenhuis halted on December 3rd at Long Iram where Barth, a member of the expedition, was installed as Kontrolleur of the area to provide an intermediary between the abusive Sultan of Kutei and the upriver Dayak population (Nieuwenhuis 1929:32; Smythies 1955:508). Thus, the coming of the Dutch established peace in the Apo Kayan and opened two routes to the coast, one via the Kayan River, one via the Mahakam River.

Nieuwenhuis had maintained that the key to peace and security in

the area was the establishment of a paramount power to settle differences and prevent feuds. To this end, the Dutch supported and reinforced the position of the chief of the Lepo Tau as head of the entire area.

The support of the Lepo Tau at Long Nawang by the Dutch led to a further decline of originally powerful Lepo Timai at Tanah Putih under the leadership of Bui Djalong Ipui. Upon his death in the first decade of the twentieth century, his nephew Adjang Ipui became the Lepo Timai leader, and led the Lepo Timai over the watershed, into the Mahakam River and down to Tabang, an area under the nominal control of the Sultan of Kutei. According to Lepo Tau legend, the Sultan wanted to extend his area of influence to the Apo Kayan. When he heard that the Lepo Timai were from that area, he called them to his palace and asked them who the most powerful people in the Apo Kayan were. They replied that the Lepo Tau under Pingan Surang were now masters in the Apo Kayan. Upon hearing this, the Sultan dispatched messengers to the Apo Kayan with gifts, most particularly a staff (or scepter) which was to be held by the leader of the area and passed on to his successor. Pingan Surang held the scepter indicating the Sultan's support of him as the leader of the Apo Kayan. The scepter is no longer extant and no further details of any relationship between the Kenyah of the Apo Kayan and the Sultan of Kutei are recorded.

With the establishment of a Dutch post at Long Nawang in 1907 began a period of continuous Dutch presence in Long Nawang and the Apo Kayan which lasted until 1942 when a group of Japanese soldiers arrived and executed the entire Dutch garrison as well as local missionaries and many British refugees from Sarawak. Independence for Indonesia followed shortly after the conclusion of World War II and the Dutch

never returned to Long Nawang although the Missionaries did.

During the period of the Dutch presence and rule in the Apo Kayan, the area was relatively peaceful and inter-tribal warfare virtually halted. There were a few minor instances of headhunting, but the culprits were generally apprehended with speed and sentenced to terms of five to eight years in prisons in the coastal town of Samarinda. Even ex-convicts spoke highly of the Dutch as they reminisced over the pleasant times they had in jail learning to be good. It was an era of general good will.

Across the river from the village of Long Nawang on the west shore of the Kayan River, office buildings and barracks were constructed for the officers and enlisted men of the Dutch outpost. A separate section of small dwelling units was constructed for the Dutch who took local wives. A suspension bridge connected the village with the Dutch quarters. In 1927 a small school was established and Indonesian was first taught as a subject and then used as the medium of instruction. A hospital was built on the east bank behind the village and several small shops for Chinese traders sprang up.

With the Lepo Tau as a primary labor force, the Dutch cleared and maintained a series of wide footpaths connecting most of the Apo Kayan villages. Patrols accompanied by a physician then visited each village monthly. During the monthly visit transgressions of the peace were noted and the ill ministered to.

At the brem-brem, or large rapids, which had previously made travel to the coast via the Kayan River very difficult, the Dutch constructed a portage route with storage houses at either end of the portage. Each month eight cargo canoes were dispatched from the coast

carrying supplies for the garrison and goods for the Chinese shopkeepers. The goods were deposited at the storage house at the lower end of the rapids. Local labor then transported the goods by foot to the storage house at the upper end of the rapids where they were reloaded into eight more canoes to complete the journey to Long Nawang. In the days before outboard engines, the entire transit of goods from the coast to Long Nawang took three months.

The Kenyah were paid in Dutch ringgets (silver coins worth about $2.50 US at that time) with which they could then purchase goods at the Chinese shops.

With their experience on the upriver reaches of some of the most difficult rivers in Borneo, the Kenyah were among Borneo's most skilled canoemen. Because of their skill on the rivers many Kenyah and especially Lepo Tau were hired by the Dutch to aid in their early exploration of New Guinea.

From this early period of Dutch control comes one of the first ethnographic accounts of Lepo Tau Kenyah life. J. M. Elshout, a Dutch military physician, was assigned to the Apo Kayan from 1913 through part of 1915 as one of the doctors caring for both the military and local Kenyah populations. During his residence he gathered both ethnographic and medical information on the Kenyah Dayak which was later published in his two works on the Kenyah (1923; 1926). Although he was not an anthropologist, he was well read in the anthropology of his day and preserved some very valuable information on the life in general and on the religion in particular of the Lepo Tau Kenyah. He attended and described most ceremonies of the ritual cycle including the important <u>mamat</u> ceremonies which involved headhunting, crop fertility, and the end of

mourning periods for aristocrats. He produced a detailed description of the agricultural cycle and gathered and presented detailed genealogies of the leading aristocratic groups (paran) in Long Nawang and adjacent Lepo Tau villages. After Elshout, a series of travelers, explorers, photographers and adventurers made their way up the dangerous Mahakam and Kayan Rivers to record small bits of information on the lifeways of the area. Some of their contributions are mentioned briefly in Chapter V in a section on the history of the ba' and in Appendix II.

The Dutch administration was relatively unobtrusive in terms of demanding changes in the Kenyah lifestyle with the exceptions of head-hunting and warfare which they demanded be halted. The Dutch in the area were not generally mission-oriented and no real attempts were made to curtail traditional religious life.

The Dutch administration in the Apo Kayan came to an end with the Japanese occupation of Southeast Asia. For over a year the isolated Dutch in the Apo Kayan assumed that, because of their relative isolation, they were safe from the Japanese and that shortly the war would be ended and affairs would return to normal. The European contingent was augmented by several English government officers and missionaries who, with their families, had fled from the Japanese in Sarawak. They had come up the hazardous Balui River, crossed the Iran Mountains and sought refuge in Long Nawang with the Dutch. In the lower Kayan River area the local CMA missionaries refused to cooperate with the Japanese who had demanded the use of the mission seaplane. The missionaries burned the plane and fled to Long Nawang via the Pudjungan River. All felt relatively secure in the far interior highlands of the Apo Kayan.

Early one evening, two Lepo Tukung Kenyah arrived from the upriver

village of Long Sungai Barang and told the Dutch commandant that the Japanese were coming via the Mahakam River. The commandant told them that they should not make up stories and locked them up for the unKenyah trait of lying. Upon arising the next morning the Europeans discovered that the Dutch encampment was surrounded by Japanese soldiers. The Dutch were actually in a superior position in terms of men and weapons, but, as they knew that the rest of Borneo was already in Japanese hands, they surrendered and were incarcerated. The Kenyah wives and half-Kenyah offspring of Dutch soldiers were released. As captives the Europeans were poorly fed and some were tortured; the Kenyah were sympathetic but were afraid to act. Several Kenyah women asked for the infant of a British couple that they might care for it, but even this request was refused. Several days later a large communal grave was dug by the Europeans under the watchful eye of the Japanese, and early the next morning a mass execution was held and all the Europeans, including children, were killed. According to Kenyah informants, 109 bodies were buried in the common grave. Kenyah males were then forced to fill in the grave. The Kenyah were horrified, particularly at the killing of the women and children, but still were afraid to act against the Japanese. The Japanese contingent then left Long Nawang and the Apo Kayan.

In 1945, Tom Harrisson and several others parachuted into interior Borneo where they set about the task of organizing the various Dayak groups to resist and eliminate the Japanese. Harrisson was brought to the Apo Kayan from the Bahau River to aid in the organization there. After the visit, people from Long Nawang took Harrisson down the Kayan River to the island of Tarakan where he was picked up by an Australian

plane. Later two Japanese soldiers appeared in Long Nawang fleeing from the Allies. The Kenyah captured them and returned them to the Allies on the coast.

The Dutch re-entrance to Indonesia was met by armed resistance and a 1947 declaration of independence. In 1949, Holland recognized Indonesia and granted independence. All Dutch were asked to leave Indonesia immediately and no Dutch returned to Long Nawang after the war.

The Lepo Tau and Christianity

A second outside influence in Long Nawang has been Christianity in the form of CMA (Christian Missionary Alliance) missionaries from America.

In 1929, George Fiske, an American CMA missionary established himself on the island of Tarakan, not far from the mouth of the Kayan River. Later he moved to the coast and set up residence in Tandjungselor on the Kayan River. From this post he made many trips up the Bahau River and into surrounding areas. Many Dayak, traveling to the coast to trade, fell under the influence of these early missionaries, and took the new ideas home with them, so that Christianity actually preceeded the missionaries into the Apo Kayan. By 1938, the large Uma Kulit village of Naha Kramo, downriver from Long Nawang, was over half Christian. In 1940, Fiske brought a small seaplane to East Kalimantan and made the first plane flight to the Apo Kayan, landing and staying at the Uma Lekan village of Data Dian. By the 1940's the new force of Christianity had been introduced into the Apo Kayan and was fairly well established. This new force, as we shall see, was to have great ramifications for the life of the Kenyah in the Apo Kayan; among other things, it was to provide a new motivation for village schism.

The conversion at Naha Kramo played an important part in the social history of Long Nawang for, in 1938, PeTurut Alut, the current (1972) Paran Bio[5] of the Apo Kayan, visited Naha Kramo to meet Fiske. He arrived too late to meet with Fiske but came away convinced that Christianity was more powerful than Adat Lama. He returned to Long Nawang as the first Lepo Tau Christian in the Apo Kayan. In Long Nawang he attracted a small group of followers to his newly found faith. This new faith was not warmly received by the then current Paran Bio and most of the villagers. But, even though the Paran Bio did not think much of PeTurut's new religion, he was willing to tolerate it, and allowed PeTurut and his followers to erect an all-Christian longhouse. With traditional Kenyah tolerance for the beliefs of others, no one at this point saw any reason why the two religions could not exist side-by-side. It was only later, after the arrival of missionaries whose theology was a bit more securely based than PeTurut's, that it became apparent that the old and the new were incompatible; Christianity and Adat Lama could not tolerate each other.

After the war Fiske returned to Kalimantan with a new seaplane. He and his pilot Dixon, visited Long Nawang in 1948 and 1949 and construction was begun on a house for a resident missionary.

In 1950, fresh out of Seminary, The Reverend Ray R. Rudes and his wife Ruth left the coast and arrived in Long Nawang where they were to reside for four years. There were increasing numbers of conversions

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5 Paran Bio is the Kenyah term for chief of the entire Apo Kayan. Literally, it means "Big Leader".

and increasing tensions among those of various religious persuasions.[6]

Meanwhile, a third stream entered to complicate the religious situation; this was the development of the syncretic cult known as the Bungan Cult.[7]

By 1952, Long Nawang was replete with tensions arising from the conflicts in the three religious systems. Traditional Kenyah tolerance for the beliefs of others was at the breaking point. The missionary saw that the village was at the point of fission and, in a vain attempt to forestall disintegration, set up a rattan border through the village to divide the religious segments. He said that the vine was consecrated so that spirits could not pass and each section could retain its ritual exclusiveness. The ruse worked for several months, but after the harvest the split finally occurred. The Adat Lama portion of the village moved across the Kayan River and up the Nawang River to establish the Adat Lama community of Nawang Baru. According to informants, the missionary had missed the essential point that only a body of water can bar the movement of spirits.

The missionaries left in 1954 and the Christian Church continued under local leadership with graduates of the Bible School downriver at Long Bia. In 1960, the missionaries returned but Confrontation forced their departure before the end of their term. Long Nawang, meanwhile, had become the center of Christianity for the Apo Kayan, reinforcing its political centrality.

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[6] See page 144 and following for a fuller discussion of Kenyah Christianization and relations among the various religions.

[7] See page 152-4 for a description of the Bungan Cult.

The Lepo Tau and Indonesia

From 1963 through 1965, during Confrontation with Malaysia, Indonesian army troops were physically present in Long Nawang. Their presence had far-reaching effects in all spheres of life.

The Indonesian army greatly encouraged conversion of non-Christians to Christianity and worked to abolish "paganism" (i.e. Adat Lama and the Bungan Cult).[8]

After the army left the Apo Kayan, a few people reconverted to Adat Lama and Bungan Malan, but the power of each as viable religious systems had been broken. Another CMA missionary, Gunther Kamphausen, visited the Apo Kayan briefly in 1969 and performed many baptisms. Christianity is now firmly established in the Apo Kayan and will be its sole religion after the deaths of the few old men who still profess Bungan or Adat Lama.

Confrontation brought other significant social changes to the Apo Kayan. Many of the Kenyah entered the military service as guerilla soldiers, and participated in raids into Sarawak. Some became spies, and all aided in meeting the subsistence needs of the foreign troops. In turn the army shared air-dropped salt and provided the Kenyah with arms and munitions. Long Nawang was a critical location for the army because it is adjacent to one of the best routes to Sarawak from the Apo Kayan. During Confrontation traditional politics, already affected by the new religion, suffered another critical change. The leader of the whole area (Paran Bio), PeTau Kule, had acquired his position in the traditional way as the heir to Ujong Kule (or, Kule Ingan), the previous

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[8] For a fuller discussion of the effects of Confrontation on religion at Long Nawang see pages 145-6.

Paran Bio. PeTau, however, did not get along well with the military regime in the Apo Kayan during Confrontation. He was for the Kenyah first and the Indonesians second, and for this he was deposed. The military maintained that the Paran Bio should be elected under their direction and so an Uma Djalan Kenyah from Long Ampong became Paran Bio for the Apo Kayan. He served the military well, but there was little consensual support from the people of the Apo Kayan. In 1965, with the conclusion of Confrontation a general election was held again with guidance. The result of the 1965 election was that PeTurut Alut, the first Christian in Long Nawang, became Paran Bio for the Apo Kayan.

Before ending this chapter on the history of Long Nawang and the Lepo Tau Kenyah and their relations with the outside world it would be instructive to briefly examine this last election as well as the general policies concerning elections and power positions in the Apo Kayan.

In the 1965 election there were five candidates for the post of Paran Bio or Kepala Adat Istiadat Besar, as the position is referred to in Indonesian. Four candidates were from Long Nawang and one was from Long Sungai Barang. The candidate from Long Sungai Barang was PeNgau Lahang, the current Wakil Paran Bio (Assistant Paran Bio). From Long Nawang were PeTurut Alut, his brother Palo Alut, their third cousin PeTau Kule (the deposed Paran Bio), and Djangot. Each of these had a claim to power. The most interesting candidate was Djangot. Djangot was a Menadonese who had come to the Apo Kayan at age seventeen as a trader. He had married a Lepo Tau woman and established a shop at Long Nawang. He was an educated man and a Christian. He became a right-hand man to the Christian missionaries and a powerful man in the local church. Through continuous residence in Long Nawang he became fluent in Kenyah

and extremely well versed in local adat law and custom. PeNgau Lahang, a high paran and leader of the Lepo Tukung, had been influential in extending the Kenyah lands into the headwaters of the Mahakam River by negotiations with the Kayan there. PeTau Kule, of course had the weight of tradition with him (he is a direct lineal descendent of PeSurang, the leader of the migration from the Iwan); under the traditional system, he had already held the position of Paran Bio. Palo Alut, a well-educated man, was mantri obat (clerk of medicine). He was also younger brother to PeTurut Alut. His major selling point was that he was educated and and well traveled. The Alut brothers were paran iot, yet PeTurut had distinguished himself by being an internal leader for the Christian movement. He was also highly ammenable to government suggestion. Not surprisingly, PeTurut won the election and became Paran Bio.

During and after Confrontation the government decided that only literate people could run for and be elected to office, thus easing the problems of administration. This rule included the position of Paran Bio as well as that of Paran Lepo (village chief). Generally this policy was followed and change-overs occurred in administrative heirarchies of many villages. PeBit is an exception to this policy; he is totally illiterate.

At this point I will close the discussion of history and turn to an ethnographic sketch of the Lepo Tau at Long Nawang. One of the main points of this social history of Long Nawang and the Lepo Tau has been to show how the Lepo Tau of Long Nawang came to be unique among the Kenyah of the Apo Kayan. In addition to being a powerful group in their own right, the Lepo Tau of Long Nawang have been the focus of relations of the Apo Kayan with the outside world. Long Nawang was the center of

interactions with the Dutch, the American missionaries and is now the focal point of interaction with the Church and the Indonesian government. This unique position of the Lepo Tau may allow us to more fully understand why the ba' seems to have become more important and more elaborated among the Lepo Tau than among other Kenyah groups.

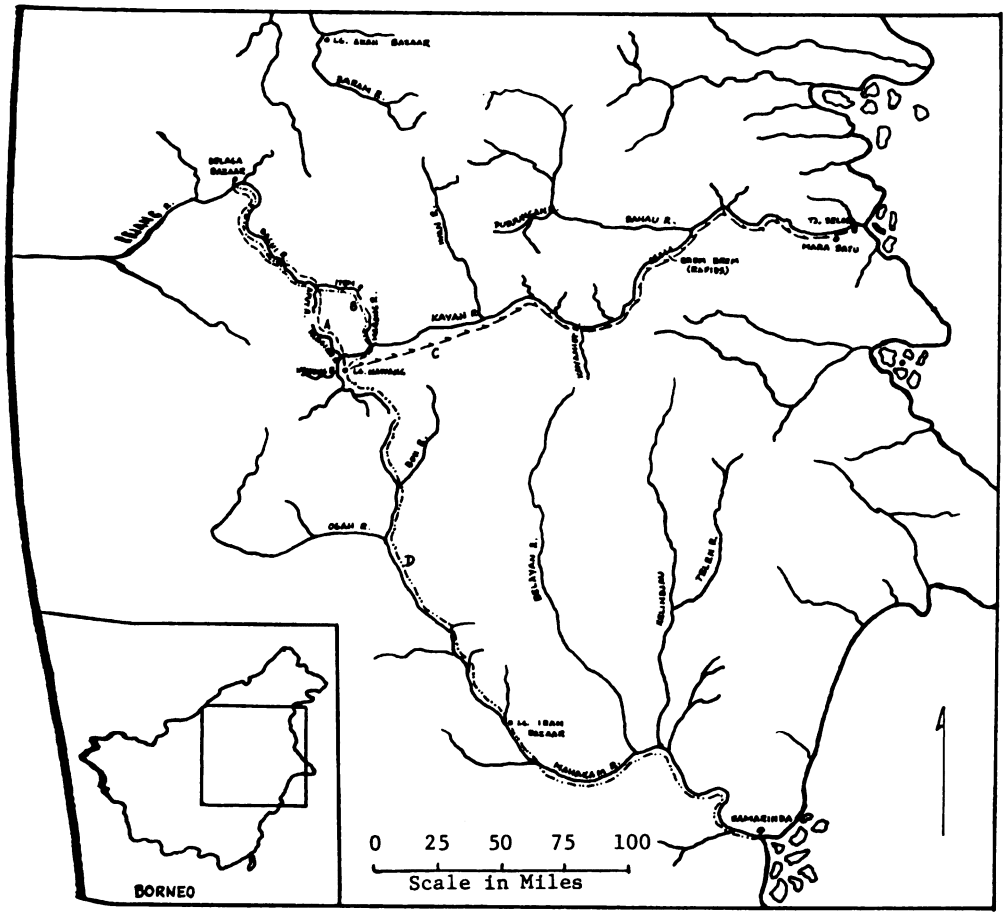
CHAPTER III

LONG NAWANG AND THE LEPO TAU KENYAH TODAY

This chapter provides an ethnographic sketch of Long Nawang as it exists today including social and economic organization, a more detailed account of the religious situation, and current rituals. When present practices constitute changes from traditional practice, such contrasts are pointed out.

Long Nawang today remains a village relatively isolated in a physical sense from the non-Kenyah world. From the Indonesian side of the border, there are several possible routes from the coast to Long Nawang, all involving arduous journeys of a minimum of thirty days by foot and by canoe through dangerous rapids. The shortest journey to a market area, and the one most often used by the Kenyah of Long Nawang, is the trip across the border to Sarawak (see Figure 7). This route is no less dangerous but requires only about half the time. In addition employment opportunities have until recently been better in Sarawak.

But for all its physical isolation, Long Nawang is an unexpectedly sophisticated place. As noted previously, Long Nawang is the "capital" or location of the offices of Ketjamatan Kayan Hulu, a seventeen village administrative sub-district. With one exception, all of the officials are local Kenyah including the top official or Tjamat. The office in 1970 has no radio communication with its immediate superior, the Bupati



KEY

Route A (------): to Belaga Bazaar via the Aput River
Route B (-·-·-·-): to Belaga Bazaar via the Item River
Route C (→→→→): to Tandjungselor via the Kayan River
Route D (-··-··-): to Long Iram or Samarinda via the Mahakam River

FIGURE 7 : Usual Routes to Market Areas from Apo Kayan

on the coast at Tandjunselor. Since a round-trip letter would require a bare minimum of fifty days, the local office is, in day-to-day matters at least, virtually autonomous.

The ubiquitous transistor radio has put the Kenyah in touch with such fascinations of the modern world as Americans on the moon, wars in the Middle East, and the Rolling Stones.

Village Organization

The village itself is situated much as it was when Nieuwenhuis described in in 1900:

> Long Nawang consisted of 17 longhouses each with 20-40 family dwellings, so that the number of dwellers probably had to total 2,500. All of these houses stood on the flat shore of the Kayan at the mouth of the Nawang. Very near the river rose hills upon which no houses stood; all the townspeople lived close by the river, which offered them water and bathing facilities. Between the different houses ran good paths, that here and there were covered with hewn boards or beams, the grounds lying between were kept free of weeds and grass (Nieuwenhuis 1904: v.ii;410-11).

In 1970 the village consisted of twelve longhouses and thirty individual family houses (see Figure 8). The individual houses are a relatively recent development and are occupied mainly by government officials and employees. The traditional dwellings or longhouses (uma) occupied by the majority of the population are somewhat smaller than those described by Nieuwenhuis, being eleven to twelve households on the average. Older Lepo Tau like to tell of former glorious days when longhouses were not only longer, one supposedly having had a hundred apartments, but there were also more impressive structures, the most renowned having been as tall as a three story building.

Long Nawang is the home of the chief of the area (Paran Bio), now called by the government the Kepala Adat Istiadat Besar, literally,

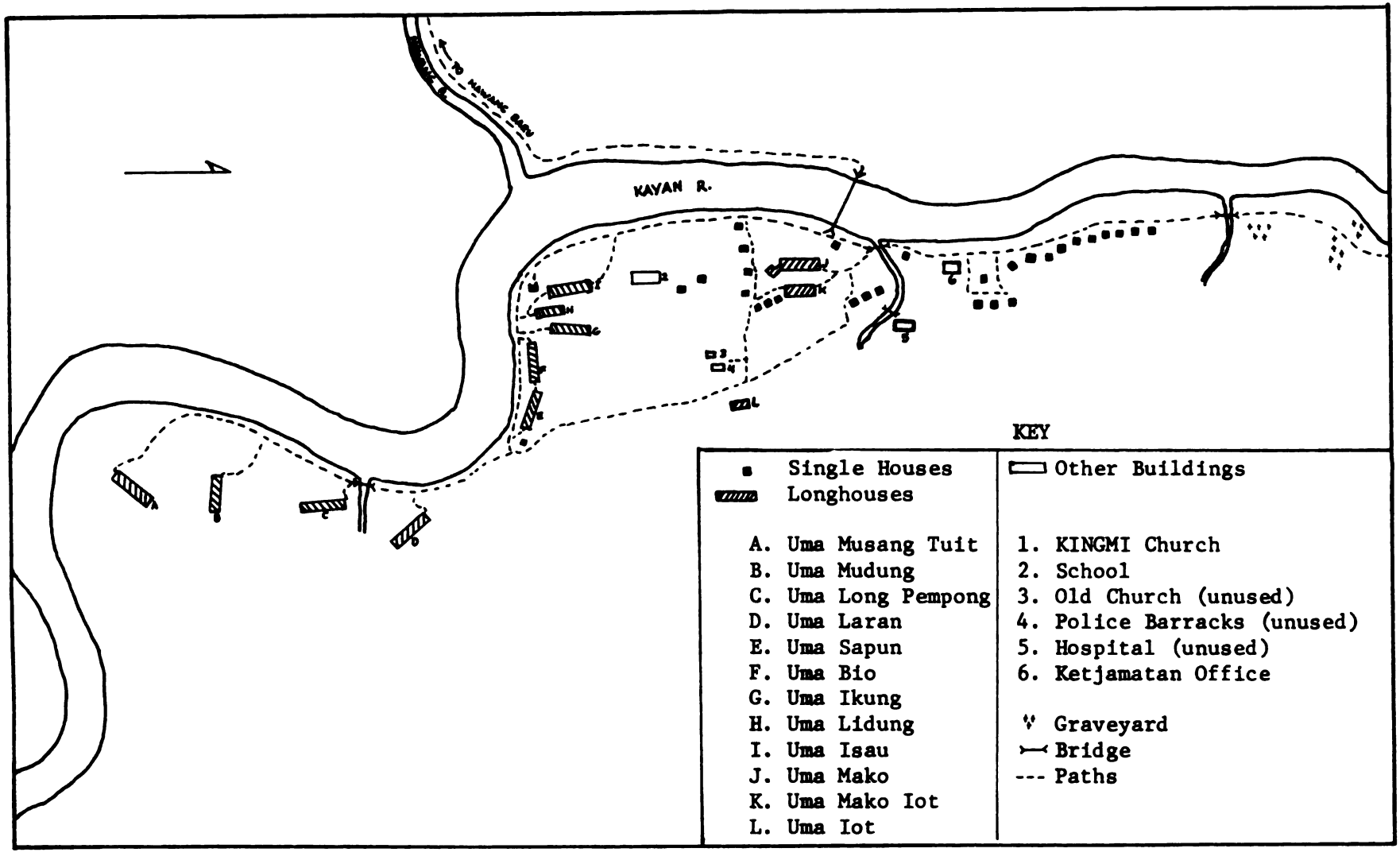


FIGURE 8 : Long Nawang 1970

" High Chief of Customs and Traditions." He is given support and backing by the government and a very nominal salary, but he is not a full-fledged government employee in the civil-service system. The chiefs of the seventeen villages in the area are linked to the government through him; he is considered a liaison man by the Indonesian government.

The position of village chief (Paran Lepo) was, in the past, a semi-hereditary position. The eldest son of the chief became chief on the death of his father if he proved himself worthy of the position. The hereditary position does not always hold at the present time. The government has expressed a preference for literate village chiefs and for participatory democracy. The current chief is not a hereditary one. He is a relatively young man; the literacy criterion necessitates this. He is of aristocratic heritage although not the son of the preceeding chief. He is well-respected and not considered a usurper since the two sons of the past chief have become a government official and a banker in the Celebes. He himself, after several years, is not particularly happy with his position and says that the rewards do not justify the time and effort. He has the ultimate responsibility for affairs within the village and for representing the village to the Paran Bio and the government. Traditionally the Lepo Tau, recognizing that the Paran Lepo has many responsibilities, granted him the privilage of commanding labor on his fields. This custom has been replaced by the provision that each household should contribute one blik (five gallon tin) of rice per harvest to the larder of the village chief. According to the chief, however, many people do not contribute and he must put in a great deal of time in his fields in addition to his official duties. He is considering giving up the position and calling for a new election.

Longhouse Organization

The unit below the village level in Lepo Tau organization is the longhouse. Whereas among certain other Dayak groups (e.g. the Iban) the village and the longhouse are coterminous, among the Kenyah virtually all mature villages contain several longhouses.

In the popular image of Borneo, the longhouse is the Dayak dwelling par excellance[1] and the Kenyah have, in the past, been noted for their magnificent longhouses. The villagers today say that their houses are no match either in size or construction with those of the past. Older men make this admission with some embarrasment and attribute it to two main factors. First, as virgin forest becomes more scarce and far from the village, it is much more difficult to obtain the enormous timbers necessary for the massive structural elements and wide floorboards of the houses of the past. Second, with the area in a state of flux and confusion about the possibilities of migrating to other areas, no one wants to put much effort into construction and maintenance of houses. The largest house in Long Nawang today has thirteen apartments (lamin) with the average number of individuals in a lamin being nine.

There is no ironwood in the area so the task of keeping the houses in repair is a more time consuming one than it is in other areas. Long Nawang villagers say that houses must be rebuilt every ten to fifteen years. The old house is torn down and still-sound timber salvaged. The rebuilding usually takes place immediately adjacent to the old house. One house was rebuilt during my stay in the village. New timber had been gathered in the previous weeks and the actual construction

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[1] The popular image, however, is shaped largely by material from central and northern Borneo. In the southern areas, the longhouse is not so common (Hudson 1972:21).

period was only four days. Each household in the village was expected to send an able-bodied male to participate in the construction.

The Kenyah longhouse (uma dado) is composed of a long covered verandah on the front of the house and a series of apartments (lamin) all of which have a front door opening onto the verandah and a backdoor directly to the outside (see Figure 9). They also may have doors connecting the adjacent apartments if there is a close kinship connection between the two families. Traditionally the roof of the house varies in height, reaching its highest point in the central apartment of the longhouse which houses the longhouse leader (Paran Uma). The apartments to the immediate left and right of the Paran Uma are frequently related by kin ties to the Paran Uma and, as such, also members of the paran class. Their roof tops are lower than that of the Paran Uma, but higher than those of the apartments on their outward sides which house the panyin or commoners. At the end of several of the houses are very small apartments which house panyin lamin.[2]

The common verandah (usé) is a gathering place. It is here that people sit to do handicrafts or other sedentary activities. Others, carrying restless children, stroll with rhythmic steps up and down the verandah. There is little formality as people stop to chat with others, then move on. At various spots along the verandah are fireplaces. During the evening hours people gather around the fires to discuss the events of the day and the plans for tomorrow. After they have retired, the dogs curl up to sleep in the warm ashes.

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[2] Panyin lamin (literally, commoner of the apartment) were formerly slaves who, as their name implies, lived in the lamin of their owners. Slavery is no longer found in Long Nawang, and former slaves, or their descendants, now have their own lamin.

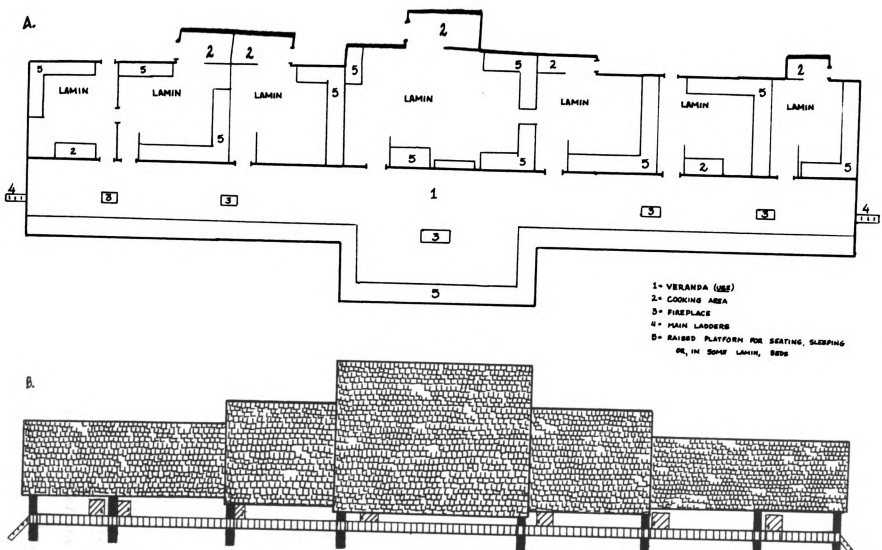
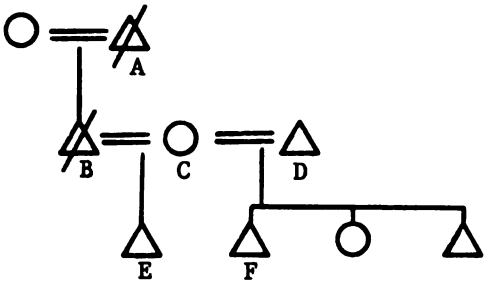


FIGURE 9 **LONGHOUSE** A. FLOORPLAN B. FRONT ELEVATION

Each house has its leader, or Paran Uma. He settles minor intra-house disputes and represents his house at village meetings. He may also act as advisor to the members of his house and help them in personal difficulties. The position of Paran Uma is a semi-hereditary one. Generally the Paran Uma's eldest son who remains in the house becomes the next Paran Uma. If there are no sons, a daughter's husband, if he is of the appropriate class and is accepted by the other members of the house, may become the next Paran Uma. Even a daughter-in-law's second husband may be a temporary Paran Uma as in the following example.

FIGURE 10: SUCCESSION TO POST OF PARAN UMA



Individual A was the Paran Uma. His son, B, had remained in the house and brought in a wife, Individual C, and had become Paran Uma on the death of A. When B died, C remarried to D. B's son E was at the time a child of about twelve years. D was well liked and accepted by the house and became temporary Paran Uma. But it was understood that when E became old enough he would probably succeed to the Paran Uma position. If something unforeseen happened, it might be possible for F to eventually become Paran Uma. There are even occasional cases of women acting as quasi-Paran Uma. These women are usually widows of the deceased Paran Uma, and in all cases the position is considered temporary until a male child becomes old enough to take over or, perhaps, a

daughter marries an acceptable man.

Each longhouse has a name usually based on either a characteristic of the house itself (e.g. Uma Bio-Big House) or the location of the house (e.g. Uma Mudung-House on the Hill). Longhouses are also known by the name of the Paran Uma. When asked which house he lives in, a person may equally reply, "Uma PeTurut" (PeTurut's house) or "Uma Mako" (Crooked House).

Two longhouses in the village, the house of PeTurut, the Paran Bio, and that of Lah Sigau, the Paran Lepo, have special characteristics. Both have areas of particularly wide verandah in front of the lamin of their chief occupants. These large verandahs are for entertaining large numbers of guests.

Most villagers live either in their natal longhouses or in the natal longhouse of a spouse. If asked why he resides in a particular longhouse, the average villager would reply that he was born there or that his spouse was born there.

Occasionally a family moves from its natal house to another longhouse. Such a move is usually brought about by a dispute within the longhouse that cannot be resolved. Moves are not undertaken lightly, and every attempt is made to resolve the dispute before a family decides to move.

If a family does decide to move to another longhouse several factors are involved in the choice of a new residence. The most important factor is kinship. People will generally choose to move to a longhouse where they have relatives. The second factor is the Paran Uma of the new longhouse. People will not move to the longhouse of a Paran Uma they do not like. A good Paran Uma should be capable in solving day-to-day

problems and disputes, tactful, generous, and a good public speaker; he should be respected and capable of representing his house well in meetings. Other factors in the choice of a new house are location, construction and maintenance of the house itself, and the current inhabitants of the house other than kinsmen of the family who wants to move. One spends a good deal of leisure time with one's neighbors in the longhouse and compatibility is important.

When a family decides, for whatever reason, to move to a new longhouse, they must first request permission from the Paran Uma of the new longhouse. The Paran Uma then presents the request to the other inhabitants of his longhouse. If they decide in favor of the new family, the family may erect a temporary lamin on one end of the house, or move in temporarily with relatives or friends in the longhouse. The next time the house is rebuilt, a permanent lamin will be added for the new family.

Occasionally a dispute or other factors will cause an entire longhouse to split and a new longhouse to be formed. We noted previously that when PeTurut Alut became a Christian, he and his followers formed a new longhouse, based on Christianity. When the great leader, PeKule Ingan, died in 1948, his longhouse, a very large one, split into three new longhouses because of religious disputes. One unit, under the leadership of PeKule Ingan's son and heir, Petau Kule maintained Adat Lama. Another unit was composed of Christians and a third of followers of the Bungan cult.

Lamin Organization

The basic unit of economic organization in a Lepo Tau village is the household or lamin (literally, room).

The lamin itself is a single large room with a small projecting alcove in the rear which serves as the cooking and dining area. A more traditional pattern was to have the cooking area inside the lamin itself rather than in an alcove on the back of the lamin. This pattern is still found in some lamin. People usually eat in the immediate vicinity of the cooking area but with the arrival of an important guest or the event of a ceremonial occasion mats are spread on the floor of the lamin proper for eating. Around the sides of the lamin are raised platforms which by day are work areas and at night with the unrolling of the pat (rattan mats) become sleep areas (see Figure 9). In wealthier lamin, wooden beds with mattresses are now replacing the raised platforms and the floor itself becomes a work area. Some Kenyah groups build tiny sleeping compartments along the inner edge of the lamin with small fireplaces inside each, but in Long Nawang this practice does not exist. The Lepo Tau say they did previously use such a small room, but only for the birth of children. The fireplace provided a private place where a women could warm herself close by the fire, a practice which the Kenyah believed would speed the post-partum healing process.

Sleeping mats are rolled and stored in the rafters by day and work implements, swords and guns are hung either on the wall or on the support post nearest the owner's sleeping area. Mosquitoes are rare, but each speeping area has a mosquito net, more for warmth and perhaps the sense of privacy it provides than for mosquito control. The mosquito net area then is the inner-lamin territory of a nuclear family.

Occasionally a lamin may be occupied by only a nuclear family, but this is the exception. Most lamin families are extended families usually composed of three generations.

TABLE 3

LAMIN TYPES IN LONG NAWANG 1970[3]

Nuclear families	32.15%
Stem families	45.00%
Joint families	22.85%
	100.00%

Residence for a newly married couple is ambilocal. The decision of whether to reside in the bride's or the groom's household involves not only the young couple, but also their families. The decision is usually not made immediately. The young couple moves back and forth, laboring for one and then the other household, until their first child arrives. Their choice of permanent residence is based on several factors such as relative age of the parents, residence of other siblings, resources of the households, and personal relations with others in the lamin and longhouse. Thus, a new household is not automatically created when a young couple marries. If a couple should decide, later in their marriage and after several children, that they want to establish an independent household they may do so. Usually, however, they must wait until the longhouse is being rebuilt to have their own lamin. If they are impatient, they may tack a temporary lamin onto the end of the longhouse until such time as the longhouse is rebuilt and they can have a permanent lamin. If a longhouse other than their own is being rebuilt

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[3] In this table, and throughout this work, the term "nuclear family" refers to a conjugal pair and their unmarried children or to a single adult and his/her unmarried children. "Stem family" refers to a unit consisting of one, and only one, conjugal pair in each of at least two successive generations, plus the unmarried children of each conjugal pair. "Joint family" refers to a unit in which there is more than one conjugal pair on a generation. The conjugal pairs are usually related by sibling, or sometimes cousin, ties.

and they want a lamin in the new house, they approach the Paran Uma of the house and request to have a lamin in his longhouse. If the consensus of the other members of his house is affirmative, the house is rebuilt with an additional lamin for the new family.

For the sons of a Paran Bio, Paran Lepo or Paran Uma, the question of post-marital residence might also be dependent on the possibility of succession to office. The first son of a chief would wish to remain in his own household and bring his bride in. As the son of a chief, he could accomplish this by payment of sufficient bridewealth.

With marriages of aristocrats (paran) to commoners (panyin) other factors come into play in the question of post-marital residence. The class of the offspring is dependent on his parents choice of residence. Generally, in a paran/panyin marriage which is the first marriage for both partners, the couple resides with the paran parents.

All things being equal, there is prestige in having a large household. In 1970 there were several newly-wed, unsettled couples in Long Nawang, and in each case both sets of parents assured me that the young couple would eventually establish permanent residence with them. Each set of parents encourages the couple to remain in the parents' lamin.

The average lamin size in Long Nawang in 1970 was 7.8 persons. In lamin size there is a significant difference by class with lamin of paran averaging 9.95 persons and lamin of panyin averaging 7.18 persons. The majority of Long Nawang households contain three or more generations. Again the lamin of paran show an edge. Sixty-nine per cent of paran households are three generations and 9 per cent are four generations. For the lamin of panyin the equivalent figures are 47.5 per cent and 3.7 per cent respectively. In the single family dwellings mentioned

previously, the average household size is 5.4 persons. Only 20.03 per cent of these single-family dwellings house three or more generations.[4]

Paran lamin are also more likely to be composed of units larger than the nuclear family. The statistics above (page 59) are broken down in Table 4.

TABLE 4

COMPARISON OF PARAN AND PANYIN LAMIN AND SINGLE HOUSES BY FAMILY TYPE

Family Type	Longhouse Lamin			Single Houses
	Paran	Panyin	Total	
Nuclear	9.00%	37.80%	32.15%	78.26%
Stem	52.00%	44.00%	45.00%	13.04%
Joint	39.00%	18.20%	22.85%	8.70%

The lamin is the domestic unit, the basic production and consumption unit. The members of a lamin farm in common and prepare food in common. Land rights brought into the lamin by its various members are utilized by the lamin as a unit under the supervision of the lamin head. The lamin head is usually the eldest resident male. The eldest male child remaining in the lamin will succeed to the position of lamin head. If there is no son, or if the son is very young, a daughter's husband will be lamin head. Should the lamin head die leaving only young children his widow will become temporary lamin head until a son marries and resides in the lamin, a son-in-law moves into the lamin, or the widow remarries. If a lamin head's brother or his wife's brother happens to reside with them, and there are no suitable lineal descendants, then

[4] As noted on p. 49, these house are occupied mainly by government employees.

the brother or brother-in-law could become lamin head.

Lamin residence influences inheritance of land rights and household goods. The children living in the lamin receive equal rights to every-day household goods such as cooking ware and furnishings. Should they decide to split the household after the death of the parents, these goods are divided equitably. Heirloom property is divided among all children regardless of their place of residence. Property not readily divisible is left in the household, though all siblings have rights in it.

Rights to swidden lands are acquired by bilineal inheritance. The man who first cuts primary jungle gains rights to that parcel of land. Children remaining in the household inherit primary rights to the land. Those who move to other households in the village retain secondary rights, i.e., they may use the land if no primary right holder wants it. Children moving to other villages, retain a tertiary right to the land, but with land pressure in the area today, it is unlikely that such rights can be activated.

The lamin family farms their swidden as a unit. Each adult member brings to the unit a set of inherited rights to parcels of land, and from this collection, the family chooses its farming areas each year.

Rights to fruit trees descend bilineally from the planter of the tree. When the fruit is ripe, whoever wishes to pick it must inform everyone with rights in the tree. They then decide on a day to go and pick the fruit. Or, one person may pick the fruit, sharing it out among right-holders and keeping an extra share for himself in payment for his trouble. A person who moves out of the village is considered to have temporarily given up his rights in the fruit tree, with the exception

of someone living in Nawang Baru, only a fifteen minute walk from Long Nawang.

The organization of lamin and longhouse provide the basic pattern for Kenyah life.

Single House Units

The single dwellings in Long Nawang present an interesting deviation from the longhouse pattern toward a more "Indonesian" style. As mentioned previously, these houses are occupied primarily by Kenyah who are government officials. These people tend to be highly acculturated Kenyah. By "acculturated" I mean here that these individuals have lived on the coast at one time or another, participated in the educational process on the coast, and, when possible, try to maintain an "Indonesian" life-style. They are still Kenyah as are their families and, in line with the values on community held by the Kenyah, they try to cooperate in all ways with adat in the sense of customary behavior and law. These families form a category of cultural brokers, but they are cultural brokers who are intimately incorporated into the overall community through ties of kinship and the reciprocal rights and duties which accompany these ties.

The other villagers are aware of the fact that the single dwelling is more "modern" but still place value on the longhouse. They enjoy the day-to-day conviviality of the longhouse but especially in times of crisis and celebration does the value on longhouse living emerge. Without the wide verandah of the longhouse there is no place for the large gatherings so important in times of both crisis and rejoicing. During our stay one of the inhabitants of a single dwelling died. This was the occasion for several villagers to remark to us, "See, when

someone dies in a house like this, there is nowhere for us to gather." The word the Kenyah apply to a single dwelling aptly expresses the attitude particularly of older Kenyah towards it; it is a "house alone."

Single House Units at Mara Satu

In the downriver daughter village of Mara Satu, we find a contrast to Long Nawang. There are no longhouses in Mara Satu. There are three houses that share walls but they are not really longhouses; the construction is different and there is no common verandah. These houses were at first considered temporary dwellings. The ex-Paran Lepo of Long Nawang, PeBang Lie, and a few older men assured me that two longhouses would eventually be constructed. But PeBang Lie died during my stay and without his leadership, it is doubtful if there will ever be a longhouse in Mara Satu.

The leader of the Kenyah section of Mara Satu is a young educated man. His single house is already one of the best in the Kenyah section of the village and, at the time of my departure, he was gathering lumber to expand and improve it. He is in many ways a very modern young man, an "Indonesian," and not interested in the kind of prestige to be gained from being the leader of a large longhouse. Again, in Mara Satu, in times of crisis and at times of celebration, older people mentioned the lack of a longhouse and expressed the hope that one could be built, but it seems unlikely that their hopes will be fulfilled. The government does not actually forbid, but discourages, longhouses, and everyone knows that single-family dwellings, "houses alone," are the modern way to live.

One can see a change in interpersonal relationships in Mara Satu

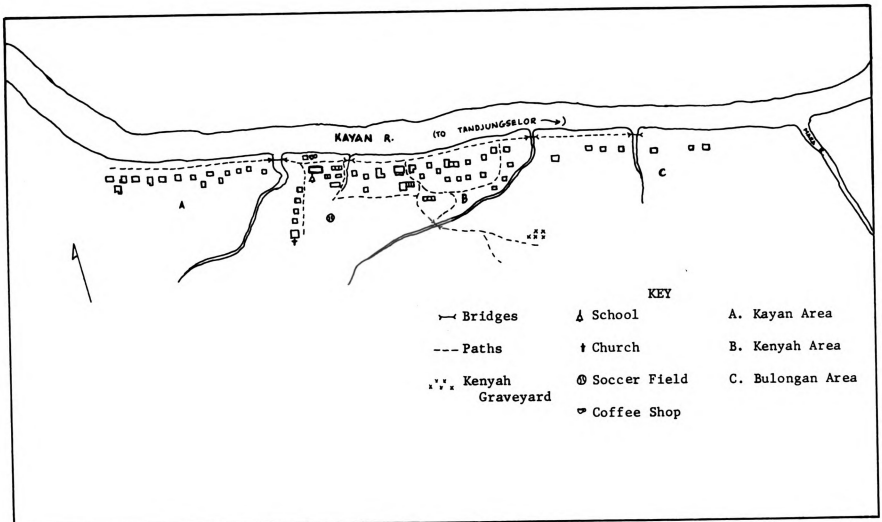

FIGURE 11: Mara Satu 1970

as opposed to Long Nawang. The longhouse provides a common verandah for casual visiting among friends and neighbors. On the verandah, there is no host and no guest. Anyone walking by may simply stop and chat, placing no host/guest obligations on anyone. But in Mara Satu, with no such common area, to visit with someone you must go to his house, thus placing him in the role of host and you as guest. As a host he must serve something to drink and a snack if possible. Consequently, in Mara Satu there is less simple conviviality among friends and neighbors, particularly among men. Women who are close friends or relatives can still slip in the back door and into the kitchen, but for men the traditional evening gathering place for discussing the day's events, the fireplace on the verandah, is gone. A man who comes to your house comes for a purpose and is treated as a guest.

Tudo Organization

The lamin, the longhouse, and the village organize a large sector of Lepo Tau life, but there is one additional unit, the ricefield (uma').

The Lepo Tau have lived in Long Nawang (and now the more recent daughter villages of Long Timunjat and Nawang Baru) for almost 100 years. This long residence and large populartion (over 2,500 in the three villages) have resulted in an overcropping of swidden lands near the village. Many of the fields in use at present are located a great distance from the villages, some as far as an entire day's travel. Some field areas actually border on the lands of other Kenyah sub-groups such as the Bakung (traditional enemies of the Lepo Tau) and the Badang at Long Betaoh. This arrangement is a source of potential inter-village conflict and may even have been one of the influential factors in the

recent move of the Badang across the border into Sarawak.

Because of the distance from the village to the field areas, villagers do not always return to the village at night, but may spend several days or weeks in the fields, particularly at peak work times. These periods of extended residence require greater facilities than the little field huts normally seen in the hill rice areas of Borneo. The more distant field areas actually contain small replica villages, some with single family dwellings and some with one or two small long-houses. These extra-village living areas are called tudo (literally, "spend the night"). They are located in or near field areas which are on small tributaries of the Kayan or Nawang Rivers. Each tudo has a leader who is responsible for generally keeping order and mediating small daily disputes and problems. From the tudo people go out for the day to their fields where they have small huts (lepau) to provide shelter from the sun, a place to cook and eat the noon meal, and temporary storage during the harvest. During harvest if there is a problem with marauding animals, people may spend a night or two in the lepau.

It would seem at first glance that the tudo system with its small, complete replica villages would provide a perfect situation for village schism. Two factors mitigate against such an occurance. First, the Kenyah value large villages. Both in Kalimantan and in Sarawak, Kenyah villages are much larger than the villages of adjacent Kayan groups. Any Kenyah will say, for reasons he cannot quite detail, that living in a larger village is much to be preferred to a small one. Of course, in the days of warfare and headhunting people in larger villages were safer from attack than those in smaller villages. Today, people say large villages are more ramai-ramai which means busier, more fun,

offering more scope and variety. Kenyah take great pride in the size of their villages and disparage small one- or two-longhouse villages.

The other reason that the tudo system does not lead to village schism is that the tudo, although they function in many respects as complete small villages each with its own leader, are incomplete in one respect -- the ritual. Traditionally and now, ritual occasions demand a return to the village proper. In the case of a death, for example, the body is returned to the village and messengers are sent to all tudo to summon all villagers home for mourning and burial. Traditionally, childbirth, an event surrounded by great danger, could not take place in the tudo; a woman anticipating delivery remained in the village. All meetings and celebrations are held in the village proper. Currently, many people return to the village for Sunday church services.

During the 1970-71 agricultural season there were seven field sites connected with Long Nawang. Two of these were partially shared with Nawang Baru and were under leadership from Nawang Baru. In addition to the distant field sites, there was a small area of smaller fields immediately downriver, a fifteen to twenty minute walk from Long Nawang. This area was reserved primarily for the elderly and for government officials.

The Social System

Following the discussion of the basic organizational units of Long Nawang (the village, longhouse, lamin, and tudo), we now turn to an examination of the social system of the Lepo Tau of Long Nawang. This examination of the social system operant in Long Nawang will deal first with systems of differentiation (i.e. class and social stratification),

and then with the kinship system and the system of marriage.

Social Differentiation

In discussing the organization of the village, longhouse, and household (lamin), we have touched on aspects of social class among the Lepo Tau. We have seen the word paran (e.g. Paran Bio, Paran Uma, Paran Lepo) used in the sense of chief or leader. But paran in Lepo Tau has a broader meaning. In the broader sense it may be translated as "aristocrat" and include not just the leaders themselves, but also members of chiefly families reckoned bilineally. It is then, a class of individuals.

Kenyah society may be said to be composed of three classes: paran (aristocrats); panyin (commoners) and panyin lamin (slaves, war captives, or the descendants of either). Each of these classes in turn has its own internal ranking, which is most clear in the paran class. The paran class is collectively referred to as kelunan ketau;[5] panyin and panyin lamin may be lumped together and called anak buah (children/followers). Panyin lamin may be separated from society at large with the appelation ula' (slave).

Indonesian policy, as interpreted by local officials, makes it very bad form to allude to social class. Because of this, nowadays many people are hesitant to use the word paran in even the restricted sense of "leader," since it carries the connotation "aristocrat" also. Consequently the Indonesian term "kepala" (literally, "head") is frequently heard in phrases where "paran" would have been used previously (e.g. Kepala Uma, Kepala Lamin, Kepala Lepo). Likewise, no one today

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[5] "Kelunan ketau" can be variously translated "people of the right hand," "people of the sun," or "people of the tau tree."

may be referred to as panyin lamin or "ula'." Some ula' have been absorbed into the panyin (commoner) category. Others are simply not referred to. If one asks questions about certain individuals, the only reply is that they are "from another village" or that no one knows where they came from, in a tone designed to curtail further question.

Among the kelunan ketau or paran there is an initial break down into paran iot (offspring and their families of mixed marriages between paran and panyin); paran (leaders, ordinary aristocrats, and their families); and paran bio (big leader and/or his immediate family).

Any of the formal status positions of paran (longhouse chief, village chief, area chief) carried with it certain rights and obligations. Among the rights was the right to demand labor of the anak buah or followers. A village chief could, for example, demand a total of seven days' labor in his rice fields from a representative of every household in the village: two days in the clearing of his fields; two days' labor weeding his fields and three days' labor in the harvest of his fields. However, he also had the obligation of providing food and lodging for visitors to the village. This kind of labor was not exchange labor (simunjun); it was an obligation of the populace (ma'hap). When PeTau Kule's father Kule Ingan, as Paran Bio, built Uma Bio (the big longhouse) he commanded a labor force and material contributions from all of the villages in the Apo Kayan. This kind of labor prerogative is now virtually gone.

Not only had the paran special access to labor, but they were also expected to be keepers of the adat, to have special and deep knowledge of customary law. Law cases involving paran are particularly interesting; in any case between paran great fines are levied. In an adultery-incest case where a wife's husband had been involved in an affair with

the wife's mother, a large fine consisting of ten specific items was required to be paid to the wronged wife. One of the items was a rare sword made of locally manufactured steel. Wishing to purchase the sword if possible, I made discrete inquiries via one of my informants. He (a paran) explained that the wife could not really sell the sword because, in about a year's time, the owner (a kinsmen of the adulterous husband) would request the return of the sword and, assuming her heart had cooled down, she would be obliged to return it. Closer inquiry revealed that much of the fine which she had been awarded during the case would eventually find its way back to its original owners. Certain items which could be used up, including cloth for clothing, edible items such as rice, and money, could be kept. My informant explained that what was really important here was the example provided for the anak buah, the followers. The extreme nature of the fine was designed to be instructive of what can happen should the law be transgressed. The anak buah (panyin) did not know that much of the goods would be returned and that part of the case was a sham performance for their education.

Besides having labor rights and special knowledge of the customary law, any paran can trace his genealogy to four and more generations establishing kinship links with members of the ancestral paran. Panyin are generally unable to reach the fourth generation in their genealogies.

Paran, then, are genealogical specialists. In addition they can be defined by "style of life." They must act like paran. An informant told me of some of his early training. Paran young men, he said, must eat in a squatting position (ready to run or make war); in the forest on the trail they must make a shelter for the older men, but must themselves sleep exposed to the elements. They must always toughen themselves.

Even as small children, paran are taught to recite their genealogies. A paran must be generous, must always think of his people and what is best for them. My informant emphasized here that he was not just speaking of "the" paran, but members of the paran class.

Thus, several things can be seen to distinguish the paran from the panyin. Ability to demand labor, special knowledge of customary law, special knowledge of genealogies and the ability to act like a paran are all special attributes of paran. There are also many symbols which are the exclusive right of paran; these will be discussed in depth in Chapter IV.

Panyin, by contrast, were expected to be obedient to their paran. Characteristically, they are less able to remember genealogies, although nowadays many try to make fictional connections with great paran of the past. Panyin are regarded by the paran as being kasar (rough/crude) as opposed to timai (refined). Within the category of those called panyin are two ranks, panyin tiga ("good panyin") and panyin dja'at ("bad panyin").

Panyin lamin (ula'), or slaves and war captives and their descendants were always originally from another group. They may have been taken in war, or given as partial settlement at the end of a war. In the latter case they probably did not originate in the giver's group but were among the slaves of the giver's group. It was not impossible for a slave to accumulate enough wealth and then buy his freedom from his owner, and on occasion an owner would give a slave his freedom.

Slavery was officially abolished in Borneo by the Dutch in 1892 (Hudson 1972:93) but it was not until permanent Dutch residence in the Apo Kayan, beginning in 1907, that slavery began to disappear in

Long Nawang. There are descendants of slaves still living in Long Nawang, but for the most part they have entered the class of panyin and discrimination of any sort is now illegal under Indonesian law. The adherence to this non-discrimination is so well accepted, that to refer to a person as an ex-ula' or the descendant of one would be to invite a large fine from both the Indonesian government and the local adat community. But, in spite of this overt compliance with the principles of equality preached by government and church officials, the category of ula' is still relevant for the Lepo Tau. Two examples may help make this more explicit. In Chapter IV mention is made of the funeral of an ex-ula'. Of all the funerals I attended this was one of the best attended in terms of numbers of people. Informants later confided that many people came to the funeral as a deliberate display of equality. A second example comes from the community of Nawang Baru. One of the high paran of Nawang Baru had been gone for many months on a trip to Sarawak. While he was gone his wife was offered the option of moving downriver to Mara Satu. When the paran returned and found that his wife had moved without him he was so incensed that he proclaimed divorce publicly and married a woman from what had been his family's group of slaves. His public statement of divorce was not held as legal and he was fined by the community of Nawang Baru. Later he made a trip downriver where he and his wife settled their differences, but first he was obligated to pay a fine to her and to the community of Mara Satu. On return upriver, his second wife (now divorced) also demanded a fine from him for the initial illegal marriage to her. What is most interesting here is the indignation which arose among other paran. "One might have dalliance with an (ex-) ula', but a paran would never marry one."

In the past there were some cases in which a panyin male might marry an ula', and obtain her freedom, but a paran would never do so. These examples help to point out that while there may no longer be a legal category such as ula', it is still functional in terms of social organization.

In addition to stratification in terms of social class, there is also differentiation within class. There are two major forms of intra-class differentiation, although today only one of these is operant. The first of these two forms of intra-class differentiation was the suhan which is perhaps best understood as a system of graded ranks. Suhan as a graded system of ranking was inextricably bound together with the mamat rituals which were the central rituals to the adat lama religious system. Mamat actually referred to several different types of rituals carried out by the Kenyah. Primarily, it was a ritual which followed the return of a successful headhunt and was most frequently associated with the ending of mourning periods for a paran or great chief. As most headhunting occurred directly after the harvest, it also functioned as sort of a harvest ritual and feast. Each time a person participated in the mamat rituals he advanced one step in the suhan system. However, all people did not participate in each mamat ceremony.

Suhan applies only to males and the suhan level or rank is literally a device for announcing the number of times a person has participated in a mamat ritual. The number of times a person can participate is in part constrained by economics (e.g. Is a pig or chicken available for the necessary sacrifice?); proximics (Is the person physically present in the village?) and ritual (Is the person in any state of ritual prohibition). In terms of age, a person could begin his participation as

soon as he had been named (after the first year of life). If the participant was a small child, his father would bear him to the belawing (the ornamented post where some of the fresh heads were hung) and, holding a spear in the child's hand, strike the fresh skull. The striking of the skull was one of the central acts for climbing the ranks in the suhan system.

Each rank was symbolized by different ritual paraphernalia and the system is said to have had as many as forty different grades, although but one man in Long Nawang had ever reached the top grade. Both paran and panyin participated in mamat rituals and suhan; but the equivalent grades for paran and panyin were represented by different symbols. For example, none of the panyin symbols could include tiger teeth, while the paran symbols could. Suhan level one for a paran does not have the same symbols as suhan level one for a panyin and this differentiation then lends additional support to the system of class-related symbols.[6]

Suhan is no longer a functional category in the Apo Kayan and people are quite reluctant to even discuss the level of suhan which they had reached at the time of the last mamat held in their village. The visual symbols associated with suhan and mamat are no longer in use in Long Nawang and, thus, are no longer functional indicators of differentiation. It should be pointed out that, on the basis of the literature and the data from my informants, there is no reason to assume that people of the same suhan ever interacted in a special way or as a special group as opposed to people of other suhan ranks. More complete details on the mamat rituals and the symbols associated with the different ranks

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[6] See Chapter IV for a more extensive discussion of class-related symbols.

within the paran suhan system may be found in the works of Elshout 1926: 281-332; Galvin 1966a:296-304; 1970:17-29, and; Harrisson 1966:287-295.

The second form of intra-class differentiation is a ranking system within the paran class. The only place manifestations of this ranking are actually seen is in the number of tiger teeth (jipun lendjau) displayed on the baby carrier of a paran child. Only full paran could use jipun lendjau on the baby carrier. There are six possible ranks within this system with twelve possible combinations of tiger's teeth. A first distinction to be noted is a differentiation within a rank by sex. Male children receive even numbers of tiger teeth up to twelve, while female children of equivalent rank receive odd numbers up to eleven. The highest paran child then if a male, receives twelve teeth, if a female eleven. How the degrees are determined is a function of several factors. The level of each parent at birth is important in determining the rank of their child as was the amount of bridewealth exchanged, the location of post-marital residence and achievement during the life of the parents and even possibly the grandparents of the child. For the child, then, this was an ascriptive rank; he or she would carry this rank throughout his or her life. However, through manipulation of the above variables he might alter the rank of his own children. This is opposed to the differential ranking of the suhan system whereby an individual's rank within a class was based on achievement, i.e. the number of times participated in the mamat rituals. We will return to this ascriptive ranking system reflected by ba' and tiger teeth in Chapter V.

Kinship

Within the different sub-groups of Kenyah there are some differences in actual kinship terminologies employed and what follows represents the

Lepo Tau system only.

Referential kinship terms in Lepo Tau Kenyah are summarized in Figure 12.

Generally, among the Lepo Tau, paran recognize and refer to a wider number of individuals as kinsmen than do panyin. Panyin recognize collaterals to the third degree and lineals to the fourth ascendant and fourth descendant generations as consanguinal kinsmen. Paran, as noted previously, have greater genealogical knowledge than panyin and may recognize and refer to kin of more than three degrees of collaterality as kinsmen. For example, among the individuals discussed in Case I in Chapter V, Buah tau and Augus Alo, fourth cousins, always refer to each other by the term chenganak ("cousin") or by sibling terms.

Collaterals of Ego's generation may be referred to as chenganak ("cousin") or by the sibling terms sadin ("younger sibling") or sekun ("older sibling"). The latter are more likely to be used by individuals who are less acquainted with Indonesian culture and/or who have particularly close and frequent interaction with the kinsmen in question. Occasionally people will refer to an individual as chenganak but are unable to specify the relationship. In this sense they are using the term to mean simply "distant relative." One can elicit the specific terms chenganak sa' (PaSbCh), chenganak dua lewai (PaPaSbChCh), chenganak telu lewai (PaPaPaSbChChCh), etc. These specific terms are rarely used, however; the term chenganak alone generally suffices.

Ego's collaterals of the first ascending generation are commonly referred to by the same terms as lineals: ame for males and uwe for females. Alternatively, mpe may be suffixed to either term for greater specificity (i.e. ame mpe; uwe mpe), or mpe may be used alone to refer

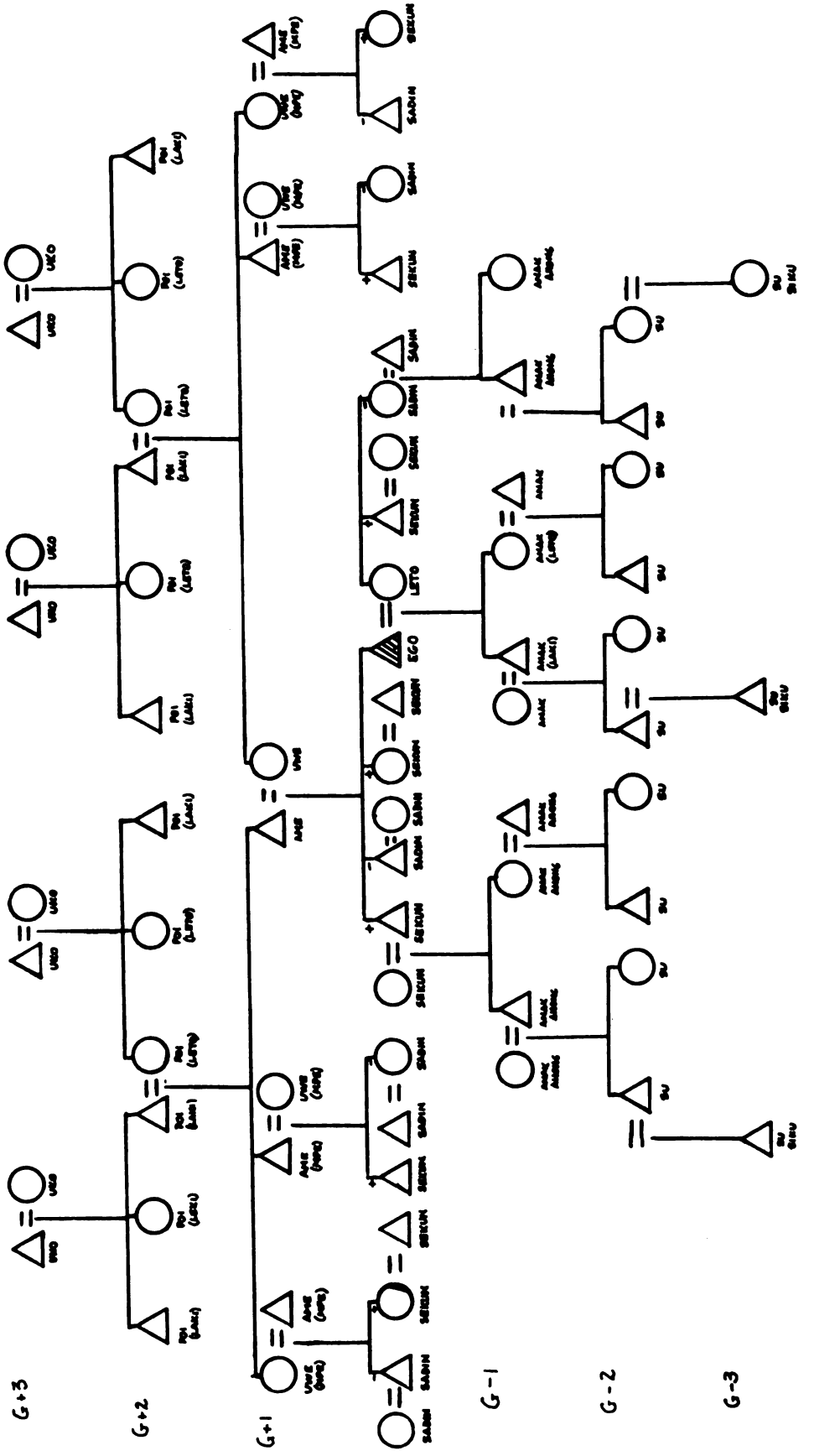


FIGURE 12 : Lepo Tau Terms of Reference

to parent's sibling or other collaterals of the first ascending generation. Some informants maintain that it is appropriate to use mpe when the parent of the same sex as the kinsmen referred to is deceased. But this pattern is not followed consistently.

The terms of reference for both lineals and collaterals of the second ascending generation are poi laki for males and poi leto for females. Alternatively, the second element of the term may be dropped and poi used alone for lineals or collaterals of either sex.

The term uko is used for lineals and collaterals of the third ascending generation and above regardless of sex.

In the first descending generation, Ego generally refers to both lineals and collaterals, particularly if they reside in the same lamin, as anak ("child"). Collaterals, particularly if there is little interaction with them, may be referred to as anak ahong.

Individuals of the second and subsequent descending generations may be referred to collectively as su or the term su may be applied specifically to the second descending generation with the third descending generation referred to as su siku and the fourth as su lap.

I was unable to elicit specific kin terms for affines other than laki ("husband/male") and leto ("wife/female"). Spouse's parents are referred to by the primary kin terms ame ("father") and uwe ("mother") or by descriptive terms (e.g., "my wife's father"). In referring to a spouse's collaterals, Ego usually follows the spouse's usage or uses a descriptive term. There is a kin term, sabai, which means in-laws in general, but it is very rarely used.

In address, Lepo Tau tend to extend primary kin terms widely. Children, in particular, address almost every adult in the village as

ame ("father"), uwe ("mother"), or poi ("grandparent"). The reference term chenganak ("sibling" or "cousin") is almost never used in addressing a single individual of Ego's generation (sekun or sadin are preferred), but it is common in public speaking as chenganak-chenganak ("brethern").

The forms for collaterals of the first ascending generation, ame mpe and uwe mpe, are rarely heard in address, although mpe alone may be used. The most common address terms for collaterals of the first ascending generation are the primary kin terms ame and uwe.

In the second ascending generation, poi is most common used in address for both lineals and collaterals. It is possible to specify sex by appending laki (male) or leto (female) to poi, but this is very rare in address.

For the third ascending generation, uko is the form of address for lineals and collaterals of either sex. Obviously, small children are most likely to have a relative who would be addressed as uko, but the term uko is frequently missing from their repertoires; small children customarily refer to any relative, lineal or collateral, of the generation of parent's parent or higher as "poi."

In the first descending generation, both lineals and collaterals may be addressed as anak, but personal names are most frequently used.

Individuals, both lineal and collateral in the second and subsequent generations are addressed by su or by personal names.

Teknonyms and Death Names

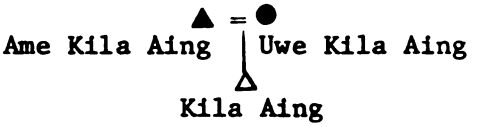
For the majority of adults in the community, the alternatives to kin terms in reference or in address are either teknonyms or death-names. Lepo Tau teknonyms and death names are summarized in Figure 13. The naming system is patronymic; each child is given a dual name, the first element of which is his own personal name and the second element his father's personal name. For example, Aing Apoi is "Aing, son of Apoi." Should Aing decide to name his child Kila, the child's full name would be Kila Aing. The child is called by his given name until he marries and becomes a parent.

As soon as the child receives his given name (Kila, for example), his parents receive their teknonyms, for example, Ame Kila ("Father of Kila") and Uwe Kila ("Mother of Kila"). From this point on, the individual will be addressed and referred to by his teknonym by most people in the village. His close relatives will continue to use kin terms, but in formal situations even they may employ the teknonym. Childless couples generally adopt children and thereby acquire teknonyms. It is generally felt to be inappropriate for an adult to be addressed by a childhood name. In a sense, the acquiring of a teknonym marks a passage into adulthood. In the rare instance of a childless couple with no adopted child, a teknonym may be taken anyway. In one village there was a couple known as Ame Ihin and Uwe Ihin; there was no child named Ihin.

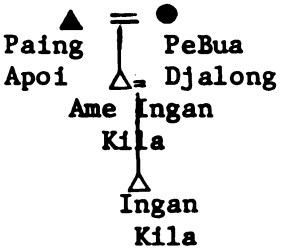
Becoming a grandparent is a second turning point in an individual's life and the occasion for another change of name. Upon becoming a grandparent, one returns to one's original name with the prefix "Pa/Pe" added. For example, Aing Apoi, on the birth of his child Kila became Ame Kila

TEKNONYMS: example: Aing Apoi (▲) and Bua Djalong (●)

1. Parent

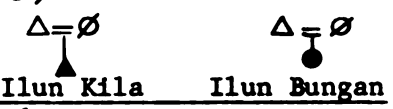


2. Grandparent



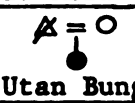
DEATH NAMES: example: Kila (▲) or Bungan (●)

1. Ilun: child whose mother has died

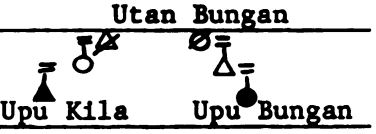


2. Uyau: male child whose father has died

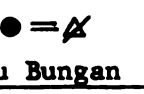
3. Utan: female child whose father has died



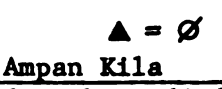
4. Upu: child whose grandparent has died



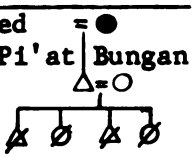
5. Balu: woman whose husband has died



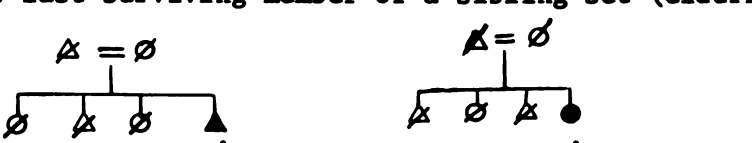
6. Ampan: man whose wife has died



7. Pi'at: person all of whose grandchildren have died



8. Lu'ong: last surviving member of a sibling set (elderly)



9. Names for parents whose children have died:

Uyong - first born child died
Buyu or Ampui - second born child died
Saba' - third born child died
Mawa' - fourth born child died
Sawang - fifth born child died
Uka' - sixth born child died
Ndja' - seventh born child died
Luhu' - eighth born child died
Sadi' - ninth born child died

example:

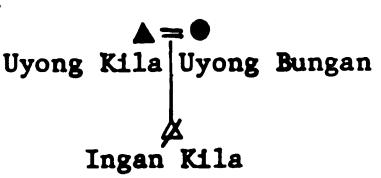


FIGURE 13 : Lepo Tau Teknonyms and Death Names

Aing. On the birth of Kila's first child, Ame Kila returns to the original name Aing Apoi but prefixes it with "Pa" to become Paing Apoi.

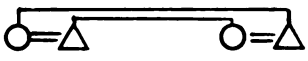
Some individuals do not return to their original names upon acquiring the "grandparent" teknonym, but change their names entirely at this point; it is up to the discretion of the individual. A man whose childhood name was Bit Along and whose first teknonym was Ame Ding, may well be known, as a grandparent, as PeDjalong. The grandparental name change provides an opportunity for joking for some individuals, particularly those who feel old enough for the grandparent designation but have no grandchildren. These people frequently take the grandparent prefix with a name that has humorous implications. For example, a man named Garo Usat was of the senior generation and felt that he should be dignified by the "Pa/Pe" prefix; his contemporaries all had grandchildren and used the appropriate name but he had none. He began calling himself "PeTurut" (turut-"follow, join in") because, as he explained, all his siblings had grandchildren and he was "following" or "joining" them in their status. Another example is PeLampit (kelampit-"having many connections"). He had one daughter who was somewhat promiscuous; she had borne four illegitimate children by various traders, soldiers, etc. Thus, PeLampit felt that the "connections" by which he had obtained grandchildren were many and widespread and had named himself appropriately. Another very old man with no grandchildren gave himself the name PeSukat (sukat-"can, willing to"). An old woman all of whose siblings had grandchildren said that she felt herself "rocking" back and forth among her sibling's grandchildren so she called herself PaLigun (ligun-"to rock"). Most of these humorous names, as noted, stem from the lack of grandchildren. A few people take or receive their names for other personal traits. For example, a man

who is well known for always having an outstanding rice harvest is known as PeLibu (ribu-"thousand") referring to the large size of his harvest.

The Lepo Tau also employ a system of death-names which are prefixed to an individual's original name on the death of a relative. For example, if Ame Kila's first son Kila died, he would return to his original name Aing Apoi plus the prefix indicating the death and be called Ujong Aing. The list of death-names in Figure 13 is the whole system, the details of which can be obtained only from relatively old people today. Many of the terms on the chart are no longer in use, and there is a general lack of agreement on the order, beyond the first two or three terms, of the series applying to parents on the death of a child. The terms still in common use today are those applied to a surviving spouse, to a child whose parent had died, and the first two or three of the series applying to a parent whose child has died. Another term that is in use, although not common, is the term applied to an individual who is the last remaining member of a sibling set. This term is applied to elderly people only and not to children.

Like teknonyms, these death names do not always keep pace with the actual facts. For example, a woman may continue to be called Balu ("widow") even after she has remarried, expecially if she is past child bearing. One Long Nawang paran woman who had been widowed and remarried as a young woman twenty-five years ago is still called Balu. Informants said this was because her first husband had been a paran but her second husband was a commoner. The title Balu reminded everyone that this commoner was not her first husband, that she had married into her own class first and only as a widow had married a commoner.

Marriage

Among Lepo Tau paran, the ideal rule for marriage is class endogamy, at least for the first marriage. First cousin marriage is permitted for paran (not for panyin) though it is not preferred. Brother-sister exchange of the following type:  is ideally prohibited though there are occasional cases of it. Both brother-sister and first cousin marriage are considered potentially dangerous and "hot" (pana) although it is better for a paran to marry a first cousin than to marry a panyin. Marriage with cousins beyond the first cousin is permitted at all class levels. Some informants maintained that patrilateral parallel cousins should not marry whatever their class level since these two individuals are somehow more closely related, more like siblings, than other cousins. But this idea was not expressed consistently nor could informants explain why patrilateral parallel cousins should be "closer."[7]

The rule of class endogamy for paran is losing force today, but many older people still feel that it is inappropriate for a paran to marry a commoner. A commoner who has distinguished himself in some way, such as getting education enough to enter the government service, is more likely to be approved as a spouse for a paran than an ordinary commoner. Paran as a group exhibit a tendency toward village exogamy. Lepo Tau paran frequently married paran of other Kenyah sub-groups and, in the Baram area expecially, even married Kayan aristocrats.

There are two, not mutually exclusive, explanations for the

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[7] Hudson (1967:256-257) mentions some of his Ma'anyan informants also maintained that patrilateral parallel cousin marriage was undesirable, although they could not specify why.

tendency to village exogamy among the paran. The first explanation is a demographic one. In a village at any given time there are a relatively few paran of marriageable age. The second explanation is political alliance. The marriages of Long Nawang Lepo Tau paran with paran of other villages and other Kenyah sub-groups provide a basis for political alliance throughout the Apo Kayan.

There is a great difference in bridewealth based on social class. The bridewealth for a paran can be quite high for several reasons. First bridewealth for a paran girl is intrinsically higher than for a panyin girl. Secondly, paran exhibit a greater tendency toward virilocality than panyin and bridewealth is higher where residence is entirely virilocal. Thirdly, paran exhibit a greater tendency toward village exogamy; bridewealth is higher for a girl who moves from her natal village to her husband's village. Bridewealth was traditionally paid in heirloom property such as gongs, jars, and beads. Today, when bridewealth is paid at all, it is more likely to be in modern items such as radios, watches, and cash.

In the past a match could be initiated by the boy's parents or by the young man through his parents. The parents would ask a relative to go to the girl's parents to discuss the potential match. The representative would carry gifts to the girl's parents and then return to report their response. If the response was negative, no further action would be taken, but if it was positive, then the families would begin to discuss arrangements and bridewealth.

Today, the initial contacts are likely to be made by the young couple themselves, although most seek parental approval. During my stay a young couple, he a paran, she a panyin, decided to marry. The boy's

father was very unhappy about the match but went along with it since it was clear that the couple would marry regardless of his approval or disapproval.

The marriage ceremony today is a combination of the traditional and the Christian. The friends and relatives of the groom gather at his house to march with him to the house of the bride. The bride and her friends and relatives join the procession which continues on to the church. The church has introduced the offices of best man and maid of honor. The bride and groom, together with the best man and maid of honor, sit in the front of the church while the pastor presents a sermon on marriage and advice to the couple and several hymns are sung. Then the couple, with their attendants, stand in front of the pastor and a standard Christian marriage ceremony is performed. The procession then leaves the church, led by the bride and groom, and goes to the bride's house. On the verandah, the crowd is seated in the traditional fashion with the bride and the groom seated on a double seat near the wall. The guests are served drinks and a festive meal. The elders, including the Paran Bio and the Paran Lepo, one-by-one address the new couple, giving them advice on the proper conduct of married life and wishing them happiness and fertility. After the guests have been fed, they leave congratulating the couple as they file out.

The wedding night will not be lonely for the bride and the groom, for several of the bride's friends and younger siblings will accompany them to the bridal bed. This is so the bride will not feel lonely nor frightened in her new status. Informants report that it is sometimes days or weeks before the groom can persuade the bride to send her friends and siblings away and consumate the marriage.

Post-marital residence has been mentioned previously[8] in connection with social class. In that discussion we noted that the ideal rule for post-marital residence is ambilocality, and we also noted some of the variables involved in the choice of post-marital residence. Table 5 presents data, broken down into paran and panyin categories, on the marriages in Long Nawang in 1970.

TABLE 5

POST-MARITAL RESIDENCE[9]

	Longhouse Lamin			Single Houses
	Paran	Panyin	Total	
Number of Marriages	86	45	131	27
Uxorilocal Residence	(47) 54.70%	(22) 48.89%	(69) 52.67%	(6) 22.23%
Virilocal Residence	(39) 45.30%	(23) 51.11%	(62) 47.33%	(21) 77.77%

The high incidence of virilocality in the single houses may be explained by the fact that the government furnished the houses for government employees and their wives must, then, move in with them. The village of Mara Satu is not included in Table 5 since it is an emigre village less than five years old, and many couples living there are living neolocally because their parents and siblings have remained behind in Long Nawang.

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[8] See pages 59-60.

[9] "Uxorilocality" here means that the couple is living in the wife's lamin or single house which may or may not be that of her parents. "Virilocality" here means that the couple is living in the husband's lamin or single house which may or may not be that of his parents. All marriages existing in Long Nawang are not presented in this table. I have included only those marriages in which I am certain of the facts of residence.

Swidden Farming

As are most hill peoples in Borneo and Southeast Asia, the Lepo Tau Kenyah are swidden agriculturalists whose basic subsistence crop is dry rice. Rice and other cultigens are supplemented by hunting and gathering.

Given the local environment and climatic conditions it is possible to grow but one crop a year. Consequently there is a highly regularized yearly agricultural cycle upon which other economic activities of the Lepo Tau are based. Here we should note the variation within the Apo Kayan. It is roughly 120 miles by river from the downriver end of the Apo Kayan to the extreme headwaters and the variation of elevation is as much as 1,500 feet. This variation coupled with the varying proximity of the different mountain ranges enclosing the Apo Kayan provides such variation in local climatic conditions that there is a three to four week difference in the planting/harvesting schedule among the upriver and downriver groups in the Apo Kayan. This, in turn, sets a slightly different scheduling of similar events throughout the area, and may in turn be influential in extra village activities.

For the people of Long Nawang, situated roughly in the center of the Apo Kayan the agricultural cycle begins with the selection of a site for their swidden (uma'). These sites are usually selected by a group of families who will farm in the same location.[10] The leader of this group, frequently a paran Uma, then conveys the information as to choice of site to the village chief, who coordinates all the village swidden areas to make sure that there is no overlap and that there is no conflict between the groups. After the arrangements are checked with the

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[10] See Tudo Organization, page 66.

village chief, the clearing of the fields can begin.

Two factors are important in the allotment of swidden areas. First, given that there is only so much primary forest available, and all of it at considerable distance from the village, everyone in the village must have opportunity to work a segment of this land if he wishes. This is in part cleared up by the conference with the village chief. If the site has been approved by the village chief, decisions as to allocation of land among the group farming in an area fall within the power of the rice field leader. Most land, however, falls into the category of previously cut land and, as such, rights to recut a particular plot must be demonstrated by the individual or family group that wishes to cut there. The principles of land rights are mentioned elsewhere and will not be reviewed here (see page 62). Previously cut land must be fallow for at least seven years, or, as informants describe it, until there are trees as big around as a man's head. Informants reported that previously they would wait as long as fifteen years before re-using a piece of land, but population size and availability of land have forced a shorter fallow period. Once land is cut it is used for two and sometimes three years. If it is used for three years, the last year is never allocated to rice cultivation, but rather to ubi kayu (cassava).

The cutting is the first step in the actual preparation of a swidden site. Both sexes work in the clearing process, with males generally doing the heavier work, such as the cutting and felling of large trees. Women cut down smaller trees and underbrush and gather the material into piles to dry. Large trees frequently stay where they fall and provide footpaths through the fields. One large tree is usually left standing in each field. Informants said that traditionally this

was done so as to maintain a continuity with the forest and not offend the forest spirits. In Long Nawang, the cutting is usually begun in June and completed by early August. Stumps are not removed since the only object of cutting down the trees is to admit sunlight and to return nutrient to the soil from the ashes of the burned over logs; stumps are of annoyance only to the plow cultivator.

Through August and September the felled logs and brush dry, and in September they are burned. There is enough regularity of climate to call the months of August and September a dry season, but toward the end of September the rains begin. The situation is precarious and the decision about when to burn is a tense issue. If the fields are burned before sufficient drying has occurred, the burn will be incomplete and the later crop will be poor unless another burn can be done before planting. If, on the other hand, people wait too long before burning the fields, the rains may begin, soaking the dried tinder and timber which may never have another chance to dry properly for the burn.

Given a successful burn, the fields are ready for planting, but no planting can begin without the word of the village chief. The word of the chief is not arbitrary, but is based on his interpretation of the position of the sun as measured by the longest shadow cast by a special stick during the day. This shadow is measured against the left and right hands and arms of the chief and the date for planting so predicted or indicated. Informants stated that between the wrist and elbow of the right hand is best; if planting takes place before or after this the crop will not be good, or they may run afoul of another wet season during the harvest and much of the yield could be lost.

When the day to begin the planting is selected, the information

circulates through the village in the evening, and planting may begin the next day. At the present time all planting may begin on the same day, but in pre-Christian adat times there was an observance of the class system in the ordering of planting days. The first three days were allocated to the kelunan ketau (people of the right) or paran class. On the first of these days the Paran Bio or Paran Lepo would plant, with the aid of a representative from each household in the village. On the second day the other paran (e.g. Paran Uma and relatives) could plant, aided by the members of their uma (longhouse). On the third day the Paran Iot could plant, often aided by others, but in this case on a reciprocal basis. On the fourth day general planting for all could begin. This could be by individual family groups, but whereever possible it was in groups of reciprocal labor parties. With large groups work went faster, was more exciting (ramai-ramai) and young people could meet and flirt. This pattern of reciprocal labor exchanges (simunjun) is the norm today for planting and harvesting. The paran can no longer demand non-reciprocal labor for their plots. A large rice field, designated as the church's rice field (uma' gredja), is farmed entirely by cooperative labor. Most church members participate, fearing in part, censurous remarks in church. Using reciprocal work parties, an average field can be completed in less than a day. Within a week to two weeks, the entire village's rice fields are planted. Sometime during this period, small field houses appear on each plot, constructed from wood that was cut during the clearing of the field. These field houses (lepau) are built from four to five feet off the ground and serve as a place to prepare meals, sleep, and store grain while in the uma'.

The next phase of the rice agricultural cycle begins about a month

after planting and consists of intensive weeding. This is usually done by family groups and is one of the least pleasurable tasks of the entire cycle, but the Kenyah are very aware that such intensive weeding can bring a significantly larger crop. Every single green plant which is not rice nor one of the other cultigens dispersed amongst the rice is removed from the field by means of a small hand held hoe (bekung). This kind of tedious work begins early in the day; people try to stop by mid-morning when the heat of the day rises.

The harvest usually occurs in February but may go on as late as the end of March. Immediately before the harvest, as the crop ripens, someone from the family usually spends the days and evenings at the rice fields preparing for the harvest and guarding the crop from marauding beasts and birds. If weeding is the least pleasurable phase of the rice cycle, the harvest is the most pleasurable. Everyone is tired of the stale taste of stored rice and hungers for the delicious taste of harvested rice. As soon as even a few stalks are ripe, they are harvested and cooked in a special manner. Reciprocal labor parties are again employed and the gossip of the people as they work centers on happy occasions, such as feasts and weddings, which will follow the harvest. Large groups of people gather for various labor parties, the size of the gatherings in part depending on what is rumored to be part of the luncheon menu. The host may provide a large pig or merely a couple of chickens. In either case, painstaking measures are taken to assure equality in the division of meat for the mid-day meal. On occasion, though seldom in Long Nawang's fields, one may find several large jugs of rice wine (borak) with which workers may quench their thirst while they work.

Most of the participants, using their own rice knives and baskets,

cut rice a stalk at a time while young strong males carry the full baskets to the lepau where they are emptied onto large mats or onto an elevated threshing platform with a woven rattan base. A small group of people, usually including the host, thresh the rice with their feet. The grain is then scooped up from the mats and placed in large baskets. When enough grain has been gathered, the mats are cleaned and, while two to three youths flap winnowing trays to create wind for an initial winnowing, the grain is poured from the baskets to the mats below. Some of this grain may be stored in the lepau for a considerable time, and each day some baskets of winnowed grain are brought back to the village where each household (lamin family) maintains a storehouse (lepau bung).

After the harvest is complete the time for merriment occurs. This is the time of the new year ceremonies. For Bungan Malan people a large feast is held and many chickens and pigs are killed and offered up unto Bungan. For Adat Lama people, this would be the standard time for mamat ceremonies, and in times long past, parties of young men would leave the village to seek fresh heads. Most of the people in Long Nawang today are Christians, and as such a "thanksgiving" festival is held. In the downriver village of Mara Satu also, all the Lepo Tau are Christian and a "thanksgiving" ceremony was held, to which the Kayan chief of the village and his family were invited. Rice flour cakes cooked in bamboo were the mainstay of the meal with small portions of freshly killed wild pig.

At the end of the harvest the food supply is plentiful and people can turn their thoughts from the fields for a few months. It is in this interval that major repairs to or rebuilding of longhouses takes place. People visit their kinsmen in other villages, and men who wish to go

off to work for wages depart. It is also at this time that migrations, if they are to occur, will begin.

Second to rice, ubi kayu (cassava) is perhaps the most important cultigen for the Lepo Tau. Ubi is easy to plant and yields large tubers in return for very little cultivation. Although cassava is not indigenous to Southeast Asia, having been introduced by the Portuguese in the fifteenth century, it forms a solid part of the diet of the Lepo Tau, second only to rice. Ubi is not on the gourmet menu list for the Lepo Tau, but they fully appreciate its sustaining properties in times of poor rice yield.

The leaf of the cassava plant (tong ubi) is as important, if not more so, than the tuber. The leaf, boiled with a bit of salt and pig fat, is the most common vegetable accompaniment to rice. The tubers are eaten, either boiled or fried, usually as a snack rather than as part of a meal. To eat the tubers at a meal implies poverty. One would only eat ubi at a meal in the absence of rice. Toward the end of the agricultural season when the rice supply dwindles, the cassava is often mixed with the rice as a stretcher, and some families may be reduced to eating cassava exclusively. People always complain about this situation and maintain that they are always hungry because they are not getting enough rice even though there may be a large supply of ubi. Sliced and dried tubers can be pounded into flour which can be used for little cakes or can be added to the rice in periods of scarcity. Cassava can also be used to make an alcoholic beverage similar to that made with fermented rice.

Cassava cultivation, as practiced by the Lepo Tau, is a relatively simple matter. The stalk of the mature plant is cut into several

segments or cuttings. The larger end of the cutting is simply stuck into the ground in a relatively clear area; the cuttings are spaced two to three feet apart. The crop is not weeded and in three months the small tubers (about six to eight inches long) can be harvested. There is no harvest season. People just dig as many as are needed immediately. In mature plants a year or so old the tubers may be up to two feet long and four or five inches in diameter. Cassava is usually planted in a second or third year rice field or in small clearings around the house in the village. Most frequently the planting and harvest of the cassava is the province of women and children.

Other Cultigens

Sugar cane (tebu) is another important cultigen, for it provides the major source of sugar for the Lepo Tau and is recognized as a quick energy source. Any expedition to anywhere will take along several small bundles of cane to be chewed during the trip. A brown sugar made from the cane provides sweetening for beverages although it is less prestigious than the white refined product purchased at the market. Cultivation of sugar cane is in small groves within the village, usually close to the longhouse, and in the rice fields near the lepau. Cultivation requires cleared land and propagation is by cuttings. A mature plant is cut into sections each of which contains a node that sends out new roots. Male or female Lepo Tau may equally be found engaged in the cultivation process.

Other cultigens include cucumber, squash, some corn, some beans, some tomatoes (small cherry tomatoes), small hot peppers and leafy vegetables. Small garden plots are usually made near the rice field

huts and also occasionally in the village area proper. Most of the cultivation of these plots is by women, but men may build small fences to surround and protect the garden. Cucumbers and squash seeds are frequently broadcast among the seedling rice and grow here and there in the rice field. Some pineapple is grown but is generally too slow-maturing to be popular as a fruit. At least as important as the fruit, if not more so, are the leaves of the pineapple plant the fibers of which can be twisted into a fine strong twine.

The amount of garden produce available to a household depends almost entirely on the female labor force available to it and the time and initiative of the women. There is great variation from one household to another, some women being inveterate gardeners and others showing little or no interest in garden crops, preferring to obtain vegetable food for their families by gathering. There is also a great deal of variation in garden production from village to village. Although there are in Long Nawang a number of government officials and their families who are willing to trade market goods for fresh produce, Long Nawang villagers seldom produce enough to trade. Instead, village women from Long Payau, a Bakung Kenyah village two hours' travel away, come to Long Nawang to trade produce to these families.

A few fruit trees are cultivated including papaya, cocoanut, banana, tangerine, durian, lemon, and coffee. The papaya is only occasionally allowed to ripen and is more usually picked green and cooked as a vegetable. Cocoanuts are also frequently eaten green. Adults do not generally like the citrus fruits which are eaten largely by children and by younger, more acculturated Lepo Tau. The durian is for the Lepo Tau, as for many Borneo people, the most prized of fruits.

Gathering of the durian is primarily a male task as it is both difficult and dangerous work. Other fruit trees are generally harvested by both sexes with citrus trees being left to small children. The gathering of cocoanuts from the tall trees is generally a task assigned to small boys.

Two important non-edible cultigens are the areca palm and the sirih bush, which yield a pleasurable social chew for the Lepo Tau as well as most of the Southeast Asian world. The pulverized nut is wrapped in the betel leaf and coated with lime paste (made from snail shells or brought from the coast). This mixture is sometimes augmented with a small amount of Indonesian chewing tobacco.

Tobacco is another very important non-edible cultigen for the Lepo Tau. Every lamin family has several plants growing. The development of the plant is watched very carefully and it is well-tended. Usually the tobacco is cut when ripe, then cured before being shredded into cigarette material, but if the supply runs short the men become over-anxious and the tobacco is cut green and not cured properly. Cigarettes are rolled in either dry tobacco leaf, the dried leaf of the wild banana or waste paper from the government office.

Good hospitality requires the host to provide both tobacco and betel for his guests and much care is taken to ensure adequate supplies of both.

Gathering, Fishing, and Hunting

Gathering or produce from the jungle and the river's edge lends variety to the Lepo Tau diet, and is, for the most part, a woman's activity. One of the favorite gathered items is the immature upper section of the paku fern which may be found along river edges. Immature

wild grapes are gathered from the forest's edge and add a slightly bitter, but interesting spice to stews of fern and ubi leaf. A much joked about delicacy for the Lepo Tau is petai, which are the seeds (in pods) of a wild forest tree found only in the jungle. These are usually gathered by men, and when consumed, have the effect of adding a pungent odor to the urine, providing hours of humerous conversation during the petai season.

Also gathered from the jungle are young shoots of rattan and bamboo as well as the heart of the wild banana plant. While the sago palm is frequently used by other Kenyah groups and many other Borneo peoples, the Lepo Tau at Long Nawang disdain the use of sago even as a supplement in times of want. Among other Kenyah groups, it is the male who fells the tree and beats the pithy midsection out and the women who wash and extract the ochre-colored liquid which, when dried, becomes sago flour to be made into a tasteless, poi-like paste.

Hunting is a male activity but both sexes participate in fishing with particular techniques being appropriate to each sex. During periods when the river is in flood women skirt the shallows of the engorged river with hand nets for fish and eels that are feeding in the grassy shallows. Women also fish by hand or with small nets for crayfish and a variety of small shrimp-like crusteceans in the rocky shallows of the river. Some women are devoted to cane pole fishing and sit every afternoon on the riverbank fishing for small pan fish. Maintaining fish traps in the small streams flowing through the rice fields is a technique used by both men and women.

Males employ several methods in fishing. One of the most popular fishing techniques involves the use of circular cast nets, and most

Kenyah males when traveling or going to and from the rice fields carry one of these nets. In the early evening men frequently go out in small canoes, usually with a son or other small boy to paddle, to the confluence of smaller streams and try to net a little supplement for the dinner pot.

Another popular method of fishing is called tuba fishing and is a communal method which involves the poisoning of small streams and rivers. Tuba roots are dug out of the earth and stored until there is a large enough supply and perhaps some ceremonial occasion requiring a feast is near. A rack is constructed over the stream and men beat the roots until the milky sap flows into the river. The sap, a nerve poison, kills all the fish in the area, and downstream women and children wade through the waters gathering up dying fish. This method of fishing is much enjoyed for it involves many people and is ramai-ramai as well as very productive. It may be, however, one of the reasons that fish in the Kayan River today are fairly scarce. Tuba fishing kills all fish, young and old, in a streamlet if enough poison is used and the residue then flows into the larger system. Other Borneo rivers where Kenyah live with lower population density and hence less tuba fishing seem to have much higher fish yields.

Solitary fishing with hook and line is generally not practiced by men, but there are a few old men who enjoy spending the late afternoon and evening hours sitting in their canoes and fishing in this manner. In this activity diligence pays, sometimes resulting in the capture of four to five foot catfish.

Some spearfishing from canoes and in the river itself is done during spawning season. Some of the younger men have been experimenting with homemade rubber-powered spearguns used with face masks purchased

at the Belaga Bazaar in Sarawak.

More dear to the Kenyah than fishing is hunting for wild pig, deer, and a variety of smaller animals. The preferred weapon for most varieties of hunting is the rifle or shotgun, but this is a choice open to only a few of the wealthier Lepo Tau. There are very few guns available in Indonesia, and most of these are very expensive. Furthermore, ammunition is scarce, and most cartirdges are reloads using powder left over from Confrontation-era grenades and cartridges. Most of the guns in the Apo Kayan probably originated in Sarawak, despite the illegality of natives of Sarawak selling arms for export and of Indonesian Dayaks buying arms for import. Nonetheless, each year a number of Sarawak weapons are reported lost in the river only to turn up later as the proud possessions of Indonesian Dayaks. Some ammunition is obtained from Sarawak also, but this source is difficult as the Malaysian government now requires empty shells to be turned in before new ones may be purchased. The rigid control of arms and ammunition by both the Indonesian and Malaysian governments is not directed at increasing the hardship for the Dayak populations, but rather stems from fear in both countries that the weapons and ammunition will fall into the wrong hands.

Most of the guns used by the Dayak are twelve or sixteen gauge shotguns, the cartridges generally being reloaded with five to seven heavy lead shot. While few people own guns (about ten in Long Nawang), many more people actually use guns. People may borrow guns from others, generally relatives, provided that the owner is not using the gun and the borrower provides the ammunition. The owner of the gun receives an extra share of the fruits of the hunt. The skill of the Dayak hunter with a rifle or shotgun is such that should he leave the village with

but one cartridge, as is the usual case, when he returns he will have either the cartridge or game.

The firearm is the preferred weapon for hunting, but most hunting is done with dogs and a spear. The spear points are of local manufacture (though the steel now generally comes from the coast), hafted with thin strips of seasoned rattan to a five to six foot hardwood shaft. Hunting by spear may be an individual pursuit, or a pair of friends may go together and hunt adjacent areas of the jungle. When the quarry is wild pig, the hunter and his dogs set out on the fresh track. When the dogs scent a pig, they run the quarry down, circle it and, by their barking and howling, announce the location to the hunter. It is the dogs' job to either keep the hog at bay, or direct it toward the hunter. In the former case the hunter tries to arrive as quickly as possible at the scene and rushes into the mass of dogs to dispatch the hog, before the beast can hurt one of the dogs. In the latter case the hunter stands in the middle of the hog run and attempts to spear the hog as it bears down on him. There are surprisingly few serious woundings at the tusks of wild hogs, though there are enough semi-lame men in the village to offer testimony to the dangers of wild hog hunting.

When a rifle is the weapon the dogs are generally left home; the reason given is that it would be too easy to accidently shoot one of the dogs. Hunting of both pigs and deer with the firearm frequently takes place at night near rice fields and <u>ubi</u> gardens or the fruit trees where the beasts come to feed. Deer are also sought at salt licks and known deer trails. In these cases the hunter frequently situates himself in a nearby tree, downwind of the area and awaits the game with powerful flashlights or special oil lanterns.

The honey bear and spotted leopard are generally not sought directly, but fall to the hunter's gun or spear if they are encountered by men traveling in the jungle. Occasionally, the dogs corner a bear or spotted leopard, in which case the animal is killed and its skin preserved but the flesh is not eaten.

According to the Lepo Tau there are no more wild cattle left in the Apo Kayan, and rhinoceros are scarce, existing only in the Iwan River valley. The rhinoceros was formerly hunted for its horn, which brought high prices from Chinese traders, rather than for its meat.

Lepo Tau gleefully go after pigs, deer, python and even crocodiles swimming in or across the river. Whatever weapon is at hand, usually a parang (standard work sword) or a spear but sometimes only a canoe paddle, will suffice in the dispatching of the animal. The skin of the crocodile is saved to be sold downriver to the Chinese.

Birds, monkeys, and other small animals are not generally hunted directly by adult men, although they may be obtained as by-products of a trip to the jungle to hunt pig or deer. Immediately prior to and during the harvest, birds and monkeys may be killed or trapped in and around the rice fields in an attempt to protect the rice. These smaller animals are frequently the prey of young boys who like to experiment with various kinds of traps and with blowguns. Whatever their source, many of the smaller animals are welcome additions to the household food supply.

The blowpipe with poisoned dart is still used among the Kenyah of the Bahau and Baram and among the Punan wherever they occur, but it is almost totally out of use by the Kenyah of the Apo Kayan. The reason given is that it is too dangerous to other people; a bullet can be

removed, but once pierced by a dart, chances of survival are slight. There are a large number of conflicting stories about what to do if shot with a poisoned dart which attest to the genuine fear of them. I wished to purchase a quiver of darts to go with my blowgun but for several months people would not let me have them for fear I would injure myself and they would be held responsible. Despite the expressed fear of blowguns, fathers still make small toy ones from bamboo for little boys and young adolescents frequently hunt birds, squirrels, and monkeys with blowguns and poisoned darts. But the blowgun, for whatever reasons, is no longer an adult weapon in the Apo Kayan. During my residence in the Apo Kayan, I never saw an adult hunting with a blowpipe. In the Bahau River, on the other hand, at all the rice field huts I visited, blowpipes and fresh darts were always in evidence.

Most Lepo Tau males have a fine knowledge of trapping techniques and can describe in detail the workings of various kinds of traps including spring and spear devices, pitfalls, and deadfalls, but these devices are rarely used. The occasional use they do receive, aside from the amusement of small boys, is around the rice fields where they may net small monkeys and birds to add variety to the diet at the tudo.

A discussion of hunting would be incomplete without a note on the distribution of the fruits of the hunt. Given a successful hunt, the first task for the hunter is to get home with his bounty, which is a task in itself. The game must be carried through the jungle to the canoe, for the frequently long trip home. While hunting the edge of rice fields for marauding crop despoilers offers little transport problems, most hunting takes place in primary forest, all of which is a considerable distance from the village, part of the trip being made by

canoe. Distribution of the game can begin even during the return to the village. Lepo Tau social conduct demands that, should a traveler be passed by a hunter with game or a fisherman with a large catch of fish, the hunter or fisherman must offer up a portion of his game or his catch to the passer-by. The passer-by need not accept the offer, but the offer must be made. Not to offer a share of game or fish to a passer-by is a serious breach of etiquette. The instance may be mentioned at the next general gathering of villagers, and a fine may be asked by the passer-by from the hunter or fisherman.

Once the hunter or fisherman returns to the village, his game or catch is distributed further. The extent of the distribution depends, of course, on the amount of game or fish, and, in fact, fish catches are usually so small that they go no further than the lamin family. Small animals such as squirrels or small monkeys also need not be divided.

If the hunter or fisherman has been very successful and returned home with a pig or deer or a large catch of fish, soon after his return small children can be seen scurrying from the lamin carrying packages wrapped in banana leaves. Shares of the meat or fish are sent to the other families in the longhouse with a larger share going to the Paran Uma. Shares are also sent to the kinsmen of the hunter who live in the village and to the Paran Lepo and the Paran Bio. If the hunter has borrowed a firearm, a share of meat goes to the owner of the firearm. This distribution is, or course, an ideal, all-things-being-equal pattern. If the pig or deer is a small one, or the fish few, the distribution may go to only the Paran Uma and the closest kinsmen.

The hunter and the others in his lamin dine on the fresh meat for two or three days. None is wasted, including the head, stomach, and intestines. If there is enough, some of the fresh, leaner meat is threaded on bamboo sticks and smoked over the fire for future use.

As important as the meat itself to the Lepo Tau is the animal fat. When asked which animal they prefer to hunt, men will always reply that the wild pig is preferable because it provides fat. Hunters almost always describe the size of a pig in terms of how many "fingers" of fat it carried. The fat is rendered and stored in bamboo tubes for future cooking. Leafy greens and other vegetables are almost always seasoned with pork fat.

Other Kenyah villages do not necessarily follow the distribution pattern described above for meat or fish. I noticed that people at the Uma Bakung village of Long Payau always seemed to have a large supply of smoked meat on hand and not infrequently came to Long Nawang to trade their smoked meat for salt, chewing tobacco, and other supplies. When I asked the Lepo Tau of Long Nawang why the Uma Bakung always seemed to have such a large supply of smoked meat, they replied that the Uma Bakung were a miserly people; hunters and fishermen did not distribute the bulk of their game or fish but kept it for their own use.

Occasionally in Long Nawang game or fish is not distributed. If an individual announces beforehand that he is going hunting or fishing for the specific purpose of getting food for a special feast, such as that held at a wedding, for example, he is under no obligation to distribute his game or fish. While I was in Long Nawang, one man announced that, because his family was out of rice, he was going hunting for the specific purpose of obtaining meat which he would trade for rice.

People generally accepted his position and were willing to trade rice for portions of meat from the large pig he killed, but there was some unfavorable comment, particularly from older people. They maintained that he should have asked for rice from his kinsmen and distributed his pig in the customary manner.

Domestic Animals

The domestic animals kept by the Lepo Tau of Long Nawang are few. Pigs are occasionally kept but never more than one per lamin family, and the vast majority of lamin families do not have a pig. In contrast to descriptions of Dayak villages in Sarawak, pigs in Long Nawang do not run free in the village. Each pig is kept in his own small pen in accord with government regulations. Many people said that this was the main reason they did not keep a pig: if it could not run free, its owner would have to provide its entire food supply. The few pigs that there are in the village are being raised with specific purposes in mind, such as an upcoming wedding. There are other villages in the Apo Kayan in which the watchful eye of the government office is not so close and the pigs are not penned. In these villages, the pigs are, for obvious reasons, more prolific. When a villager from Long Nawang wants a pig to raise for some upcoming event, he usually obtains a piglet from one of these other villages. Very seldom do people in Long Nawang bother to breed their own pigs.

Domestic chickens are fairly common; almost every lamin family has several. The chickens run free and find their own food during the day. At night each chicken is put in its own basket; catching the chickens and basketing them is usually the task of small girls. The baskets

are then hung from the rafters on the verandah or on the supporting beams under the house to protect the chickens from predators. The chickens usually receive a handful of rice when they are let out in the morning and another when they are caged for the night. For the rest of their fare they are on their own.

The chickens are not particularly prolific layers and eggs do not comprise any sizeable part of the diet in Long Nawang. What few eggs there are usually go to infants or to the sick. Chickens are saved for occasions which, though not important enough for a pig, call for something more than the customary rice and greens. Before Christianity, one of the major uses of both domestic pigs and chickens was in sacrifices connected with adat.

The only other domestic animals in the Apo Kayan are the dog and the cat. Neither animal is generally considered edible, though both perform economic functions. Many lamin families in Long Nawang keep a cat or two for the express purpose of keeping the rat and mouse population in check. Cats are not considered pets and are expected to fend for themselves. One is seldom aware of their presence since they rarely come into the lamin proper and almost never approach people. My wife and I kept a small cat which became quite friendly and would come on call. Many people remarked on the animal's unusual behavior, then explained that older women, particularly those with no grandchildren, sometimes kept cats that behaved like ours, that is, were pets.

Dogs are kept primarily for hunting and, secondly, as friends for old men. Men who hunt regularly keep packs of four to seven or eight dogs. Other men may keep only one or two dogs and borrow others to supplement their own when they hunt. A good hunting dog is a very

valuable piece of property. Some have brought as high a price as a large gong.[11] Hunting dogs are fed regularly and sleep on the verandahs of the houses, usually in the warm ashes of the verandah fireplaces.

In general men are much more fond of the dogs than are the women who are continually shooing them away and warning children away from them. Many old men have among the dogs one particular favorite who is a constant companion and may even receive choice bits of food from the old man's dinner. Dogs are generally kept out of the lamin and are shooed away when meetings, formal or informal, take place on the verandah. An old man's companion dog is the exception; he may follow his owner into his or anyone else's lamin and may sit with his master on the verandah. The retired Mantri Obat had such a dog, his closest companion; the old man's daughter was heard to remark, only half jokingly, "He thinks more of Kawit (the dog) than he does of his grandchildren."

For the vast majority of Lepo Tau, dogs and cats do not fall into the food category. Several informants said, "You can't eat them because they live in the house with you." A very few younger Lepo Tau who had lived on the coast and were familiar with the dietary habits of Chinese and Menadanese would eat dog. Twice during my residence with the Lepo Tau, I was invited to a meal of dog, and in both cases the host was an educated, "Indonesianized" man. In both cases I felt that the host was making a statement about his modernity and freedom from traditional beliefs. It is also interesting to note that, in both cases, the animal served was not a village dog. The hosts had each made a trip to a nearby village to obtain a dog for eating.

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[11] For comparison, a large gong may also bring a shotgun, or, at the bazaar in Sarawak, as much as 130$US.

The foregoing remarks about subsistence and food habits reflect the realities of today. It should be noted that in pre-Christian times, certain foods that are now part of the diet were proscribed. Omen birds, for example, could not be killed. Paran were not permitted to eat deer; panyin could eat deer but they had to do so outside the village.[12]

Other Village Economic Pursuits

The dictates of the phases of rice cultivation set the tempo and scheduling for other economic pursuits. Many of the other economic pursuits are intra-village, or inward, oriented. I will not attempt to cover here all of the economic activities within the village, but will note the major activities and their ramifications for social organization. In particular, in this section I shall discuss metalurgy, canoe construction, and some varieties of handicraft such as basket making and mat production, as well as some unique specialities such as the production of tju, a rice whiskey distilled from fermented rice or ubi.

One of the aspects of both Kenyah and Kayan technology most noted by Borneo specialists has been skill in metalurgy. According to Lepo Tau legend, while they were still in the Iwan River valley the Kenyah learned how to smelt native iron ore and produce sturdy metal for use in spear heads, knives and swords, both everyday ones and highly ornate ones for ceremonial purposes. While no Lepo Tau alive today has actually smelted iron from ore, preferring to rework old tools or to obtain pieces of iron, car springs and files from the coast, they still place special value on implements, especially swords, made of native steel. Evidently

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[12] For more information on pre-Christian food taboos and omens, see Hose and McDougal 1912:v.ii, 51-78.

the practice of native steel production was already on the wane when the Kenyah migrated to the Kayan River from the Iwan. Most tales and stories of the smelting of iron refer to the Iwan where one can "still see the large holes dug out by our ancestors seeking iron bearing ore." Interestingly enough, coal is also reported from the Iwan region and was possibly used in the smelting process.

Every Kenyah village today has a forge for the working of steel. The forge in Long Nawang is close to the Paran Bio's longhouse and is quite typical in its construction. An open frame structure with a roof of atap (woven palm fronds) and one small bench for the bellows operator forms the basic structure of the forge area. Attached to the bench are two bellows constructed either from two large segments of bamboo or two hollow pieces of log and powered by two spring hung rods with cloth covered pistons. Running from the bellows to a hot charcoal fire are two smaller tubes to direct the flow of air. Next to the fire-pit are situated a water filled trough for tempering and a large log with small metal anvils pounded into it. The basic operation involves two people: 1) a bellows operator who may be unskilled and may be an adolescent boy, a friend, or the person who is asking to have work done, and 2) the metal worker.

In Long Nawang there are a half a dozen people regarded as highly skilled in working metal. Many others can do rudimentary metal work. Of these skilled people, only one claimed to have learned the skill from his father, the others claimed to have watched and assisted previous craftsmen, perhaps at first as their bellows operators. Among the men regarded as highly skilled are the Paran Bio and his younger brother PeLian, who was Paran Uma of the longhouse adjacent to

PeTurut's house. Another, and perhaps the most skilled metal worker in the village, PeLirong, is a commoner and lives in the single house closest to the forge.

Although many people can handle their own repairs and maintenance at the forge, the construction of new implements falls to the six specialists. Generally, the person who wants an implement made supplies the metal and contracts with a specialist to do the job. The payment is most commonly in padi (unhusked rice) but, if the other person involved were a specialist in another area, an exchange of crafts might occur. For example, if a person were known as a skilled canoe maker, he might be able to offer his services in exchange for the services of the metal worker.

The role of the metal worker and the forge cannot be underrated, for every Lepo Tau, male or female, needs a sword. It is the sine qua non of Lepo Tau technology, the all-purpose tool akin to the machete of Latin America. A Lepo Tau also needs spear heads, axe heads, knives, rice-cutting knives, weeding tools and an adze-like planing device called a bekong which is used in making flat boards from tree trunks. The forge is most busy immediately preceeding the clearing phase of the rice cultivation cycle when new parang must be made and old ones repaired. PeLirong as the major specialist, spent a great deal of time working in the forge, and cultivated only a small swidden plot. His rice yield was inadequate to meet his family's requirements for the year. But, because of the grain he received in payment for his ironwork, he actually had large surpluses of rice at the end of the year when most of the rest of the villagers were out of rice.

Canoes and Canoe Building

The Kenyah are riverine people and, due to the sharp gradient in the highlands, their rivers are among the most difficult in terms of rapids in all of Borneo. The only suitable vehicles for transport on these rivers are sturdy canoes manned by skilled boatmen. It is no accident that the Kenyah are regarded as among the most skilled river people in Borneo. It was this fact that led the early Dutch explorers to use Kenyah canoe men from the Apo Kayan in their exploration of New Guinea.

Kenyah canoes come in many sizes, but are reducible to three types: 1) small canoes for local travel to rice fields, to other villages, and for hunting and gathering trips; 2) large cargo canoes for beginning the trip to the coast; and 3) war canoes capable of seating fifty or more paddlers. The latter category, war canoes, is almost gone from the Apo Kayan. Those few that remain have changed in function from war to spirited intra-village competition in canoe races on special occasions like Hari Merdeka (Indonesian Independence Day). In 1970 there were only two canoes competing, one from Long Nawang and one from Nawang Baru. These canoes were old and required much repair before they could be used. Other villages in the Apo Kayan had war canoes, also old, but did not care to enter into the competition. People explained that it would take too much work to resurrect the canoes.

The war canoes were considered village property and the building and maintaining of them was a village-level project, generally under the direction of the Paran Lepo. Each lamin in the village was expected to contribute at least one person to aid in the building and maintenance of a war canoe when necessary.

The construction of all canoes, large and small, is basically similar. A large hardwood log from the forest provides the basic hull; smaller logs provide the sideboards and seats. Pithy fiberous material and getah (a tar-like substance obtained from the sap of a tree) provide the caulking material and rattan strips are used to attach the sideboards. Paddles are individual projects and one can be produced from a hardwood log already felled in less than an hour although highly ornate carved paddles are a product of hours of careful labor.

Finding the large log necessary for the hull of the canoe is the first problem. As there is no primary forest nearby, and many canoes have already been built, work parties must often go far from the village and the river to find a suitable tree. When a tree is found that is not previously claimed and marked by another individual, it is felled and split on the spot and the preliminary shaping of the hull from one half of the log is done in situ. If the forest is not too dense, the actual finishing of the hull may be done on the spot, otherwise the partially finished hull is dragged out of the jungle to the river's edge. While some men work on shaping the hull from the log, other men search the jungle for smaller logs, each of which will be split and planed with an adze to yield two of the sideboards. Most larger canoes of the war and cargo categories have two levels of sideboards. Older men generally gather and split the rattan and gather the getah and the fiber for caulking. With a large work force a war canoe can be built in three days. A cargo canoe can be built by a crew of eight men in five to seven days.

The shaping of the hull is particularly important, and requires real expertise. A badly shaped hull will cause the canoe to be

unstable and tip easily. The hull of a cargo canoe takes a severe beating on rocks as rapids and shallow spots are negotiated, and so, must be thick enough to stand up to such punishment. On the other hand it should be thin enough so as not to make the canoe too heavy and hard to pull over shallow spots, difficult to portage, and clumsy to handle in the water. Before the final shaping of the hull, the expert drills holes through it along the keel line so that he can keep a constant watch on the hull thickness. In the finishing process the holes are filled in with wooden pegs. After the basic shaping of the hull is completed, it is roasted over a smokey fire with weights on the edges to spread it out. Small refinements may be made after the firing. The hull is then fired again. The firing, besides aiding in the shaping and curing process, also removes any splinters protruding from the bottom. Should a splinter get caught on a rock in rough water it could tear a gaping hole in the canoe.

After the final shaping and firing of the hull, the side boards (one set for an ordinary canoe; two sets for a cargo canoe) are attached, generally with rattan, but with nails if they are available, and the seats are inserted. The canoe is then caulked and allowed to dry. The launching generally reveals the need for more caulking. Some cargo canoes may be fitted with roofs of atap or, near the coast, metal.

Cargo canoes average forty to fifty feet in length and can carry a payload of from one and one-half to three tons depending on river conditions. There is a circulation of cargo canoes with the Apo Kayan, for removing the canoes from the Apo Kayan, when possible, requires overland portage. Going down the Kayan River to the coast, portage is not a possible option; the twenty-five mile walk past the falls and

rapids is too rough and difficult to even consider portage. New canoes can be built at the end of the walk, canoes left from previous trips can be used, or arrangements can be made to be met by other canoes at the downriver end of the walk. The first of these options is becoming very difficult; several generations of travelers on the route have removed most of the nearby trees suitable for canoe hulls. Storage of canoes is becoming risky. Kenyah would not take a canoe stored at one end of the rapids without the explicit permission of the owner, but coastal peoples are now beginning to venture upriver as far as the rapids, and according to the Kenyah, their appearance coincides with the disappearance of stored Kenyah canoes.

Alternate routes via the Kayan River exist and are used especially during migration and were used regularly during a period when the Kayan River walking path was impassable. Figure 14 illustrates the routes to and from the Apo Kayan. One of the routes requires going up the Iwan River for a day, leaving the canoe, and going overland to the headwaters of the Pudjungan, then traveling down the Pudjungan River to the Bahau River and then to the Kayan River. The other route is to descend the Kayan River to just before the rapids, travel up one of the small rivers to the left, walk over the mountain watershed separating the Pudjungan River from the Kayan, and descend the Pudjungan River, the Bahau River and the Kayan River.

The route to the coast via the Mahakam River offers similar obstacles. A two day walk over mountainous rainforest trails is necessary to reach the headwaters of the Mahakam from the headwaters of the Kayan. All of the above routes require an overland trek on which portage of canoes is not possible. New canoes must be built or

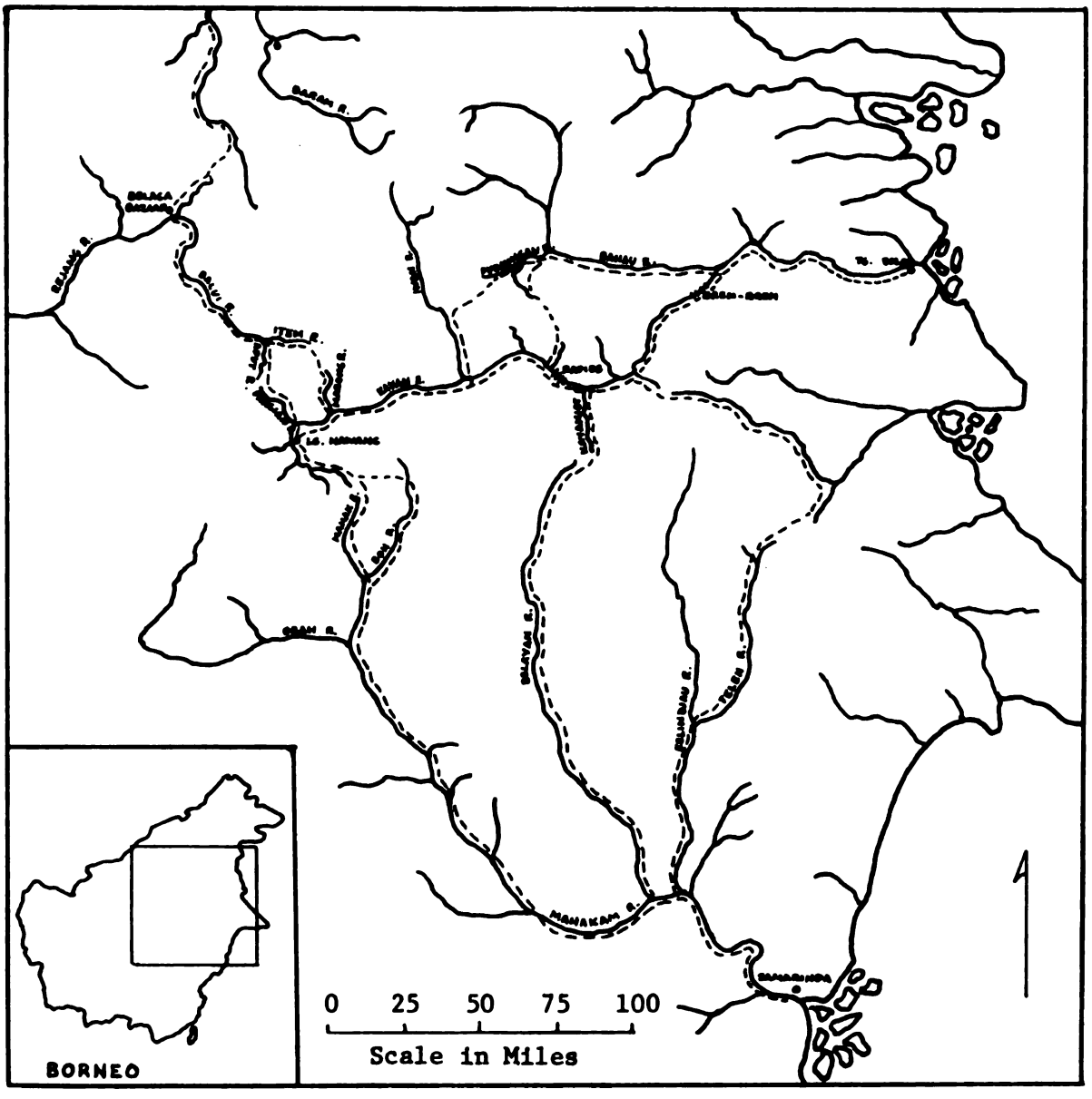

FIGURE 14 : Apo Kayan Trade and Migration Routes

some other arrangement for obtaining canoes at the end of the walk must be made.

Only travel to Sarawak brings the comfortable option of portage. Two routes are customarily used from the Apo Kayan. The people of Long Nawang and points upriver most frequently use the Pangian-Aput route. This means going downriver on the Kayan River for one hour, taking a left at the Pangian River, ascending the Pangian River to the Kesai River and then the Kenyot River. From Long Kenyot it is a two hour walk over the Iran Mountains to Long Iran at the confluence of the Aput River, one of the upper tributaries of the Balui River in Sarawak. Portage by this route varies with the number of men involved. For example, it took the eight men of my outward expedition four days to drag our forty foot cargo canoe over the mountain pass. They assured me, however, that with the many men usually involved in large expeditions with several canoes, that a canoe could be pulled over the pass from one river system to the next in one day. In earlier days, canoes were frequently built anew on the other side of the pass, but several interrelated factors have altered the circumstances which made this possible. First, prior to 1967, the Badang from Long Betaoh on the Pangian, began clearing rice fields on the other side of the pass near Long Iran. Beginning in 1967 and 1968 large numbers of the Badang actually moved over the pass and settled at Long Iran and at several sites along the Aput River. This move was illegal from the points of view of both the national and the local levels of government administration. This, in turn, created ill feelings between the Lepo Tau of Long Nawang, the local administrative center, where most of the officials were Lepo Tau, and the Badang who had long been under the hegemony of

the Lepo Tau. Secondly, the move placed over 1,800 people in an area of virgin forest. The area was rapidly depleted of large trees suitable for canoe building. The move had also cleared a good track through the jungle and made subsequent portaging easier. The ill will between the Badang and the Lepo Tau created a situation in which canoes could no longer safely be stored at Long Iran. Portage of canoes at this point is now the standard operation.

A second route from the Apo Kayan to Sarawak provides an even easier portage. Four hours downstream from Long Nawang is the Uma Baka Kenyah village of Long Marung. To go to Sarawak, the Uma Baka Kenyah customarily ascend the Marung River, where their village used to be located, cross through a short mountain pass, and descend at Long Item, another tributary of the Balui. The portage point is so short that a man at one end can shout and be heard by a man at the other end. This route was taken by the Uma Baka Kenyah who migrated to Sarawak over twenty-five years ago and are now situated downriver at Long Bulan. The only real disadvantage to this route is that the Item River is considered one of the most treacherous, containing many bad rapids and whirlpools. Easy portage induces the Uma Baka to use this route, and some of the Badang from Long Betaoh even used this route in their migration, settling for several years at Long Item in Sarawak. The Lepo Tau, however, prefer the route from Long Kenyot to Long Iran.

Given the circumstances described above, the statement that most cargo canoes circulate within the Apo Kayan becomes more meaningful. Cargo canoes are usually built by a group of men, under the direction of the leader of the canoe group. The canoe is then mutually owned, but is under the leadership of the canoe leader. For example, when

we prepared to make our outward expedition I was able to "lease" a forty foot cargo canoe which had been built in Sarawak and pulled over the Iran pass. Before the negotiations could be completed, the canoe leader had to discuss the proposition and the price with all the canoe holders or builders. A price was agreed upon (five gallons of salt and 1,500 Rupiah or about 4.00$US.) and portions of this sum were distributed amongst all who had participated in the building of the canoe. The terms of the contract are evidently flexible, for I had leased the canoe to carry my crew and belongings to Long Kenyot only; the canoe was to be left behind at Long Kenyot to be reclaimed later by the owning group. On arrival at Long Kenyot, a runner was sent to the other side to see if the prearranged canoes were indeed on the other side. The runner returned and answered that no canoes were there. The choice was to go back or go on. We went on with no further negotiations. Later when we encountered a group of Kenyah returning to Nawang Baru, the leader of my crew gave the men some chewing tobacco to take back to the canoe owner as additional payment since the canoe was to make the entire journey to Sarawak and provide a return vehicle for the crew.

The following example illustrates the formation of a group for a journey to the coast. Palo Alut, the <u>mantri obat</u>, was planning to move his family downriver to the daughter community at Mara Satu. His son-in-law, Daud Njalo, a soldier, was going to accompany him with his own family, his duties having been transferred to the coast. Daud was planning to make the move in one complete step. For Palo, however, this was the second of three planned trips for his move. In an earlier trip he had taken his younger children downriver and started them in school. On this current trip he planned to move many of his valuables

and to build a house at Mara Satu. Later he would return and move his wife, youngest child, and dog. Daud might have followed a similar plan, but as a civil servant he was assured a place to live on arrival in the coastal town of Tandjungselor. These two people formed the core of the expedition. They made it known that they were planning an expedition and that others who wished to join them could do so in return for aid in carrying their goods on the portage and providing paddle power. Over a period of several months many people offered to join the expedition. One person was the teacher at Long Payau who wanted to go to the coast and collect his salary (three years' back pay) and take his ailing wife to the hospital. Several other people wanted to go for medical aid; others wanted to work on the coast for a while to get money to buy medicine and other necessities.

Given that the trip was at the instigation of Palo Alut and his son-in-law it was their obligation to obtain canoes. I accompanied Palo on a trading trip to Long Payau, the closest Uma Bakung village, where, for one tin of chewing tobacco and several injections of penicillin, he purchased an old hull for a cargo canoe. This was one of three which he eventually obtained; two were from the Uma Bakung village and one from Nawang Baru. He explained that there were no canoes available in Long Nawang, and that the Uma Bakung were the best cargo canoe builders in the Apo Kayan. Palo had two hulls and one complete cargo canoe, all of which had to be rebuilt.

The rebuilding, which included making new sideboards and thinning the hulls, was done by the members of the expedition over a period of several weeks. Timing was crucial because Palo Alut had already arranged for several boats to be available at the lower end of the

portage path aroung the rapids. The boats would wait for several days if necessary, but would then return to their villages, so Palo and his crew had to arrive within a closely specified time.

All male members of the expedition worked steadily on the canoes, and the party departed in good time. A large crowd gathered to wish the travelers well; it would be months before they would return to the village.

A sub-category of cargo canoes becoming more prevalent in recent years is the motorized version or tempel. Tempel are built much like ordinary cargo cones, but are modified on the stern end to take either one or a pair of outboard motors. Tempel are common in downriver areas of the Kayan and in Sarawak where motors are more easily obtained and gasoline is available. A few people in Long Nawang brought motors back from Sarawak, but, of course, they quickly ran out of gas and the motors sit today in lamin and on verandahs as tributes to their owners' wealth.

Cargo canoes provide an interesting departure point for discussion of trade and communications with the Apo Kayan, but it is the small everyday local transport canoe that is the mainstay of Kenyah life and inter-village relationships. The small canoe (alut) is included in almost every lamin family's inventory of possessions. These canoes vary in size from six to twenty-five feet, most of them being about eighteen feet in length. They are similar in construction to the larger varieties except for the fact that they have only one sideboard instead of two. While it is possible for one man to construct one of these canoes by himself, most frequently he will solicit aid from a friend, neighbor, or kinsman. This type of dyadic labor exchange

is reciprocal and does not necessarily follow lines of kinship. The small canoes are usually built in five or six days as a casual enterprise; as a rush project, they could actually be completed in two or three days.

Although the Lepo Tau are skilled jungle walkers and can carry large loads for long distances, if they have the option of making the same journey by river, most Lepo Tau will choose river travel even though the time required be doubled. Most people travel to and from their rice fields by canoe, and men use the canoes for fishing and hunting expeditions. Women are also frequently quite skilled in canoe handling, though their performances are not so spectacular as those of the men and they are inclined to be more cautious. Women frequently use the canoes for gathering produce along the river's edge and for gathering firewood, as well as for travel to and from the fields.

Handicrafts

Another important category of village economic pursuits is what may generally be called handicrafted objects. This category would include rattan objects such as carrying bags (belanjat), rice baskets (kiba), winnowers and sifters, sleeping and eating mats (pat), sun hats (sa'ong) and men's hats (based on war hat designs), and the ba' or baby carrier. Many Lepo Tau have some skill in working rattan (rotan), especially in its use as a binding material used, for example, for hafting spear heads to spear shafts. The construction of baskets, mats and other objects, however, requires considerable skill which only a few people have at this time.

With the exception of sa'ong which most women can and do make, most

rattan items are made by specialists. There are two main sources for these specialist items. The major sources of belanjat and sleeping/eating mats (pat), both items requiring very fine work, are the Punan, the nomadic peoples of Borneo. These items are one of the mainstays of extra-village economic relations. The Punan are generally renowned as the most refined rattan workers in the area. Punan women construct fine and sturdy belanjat and mats. In upriver areas they trade these items to the Kenyah and the Kayan for rice, iron, old clothes, kerosene, etc. None of the Lepo Tau in Long Nawang made the fine belanjat or sleeping mats that are prime accouterments of daily life, but obtained all such items from the Punan.

Rice baskets, winnowers, and sifters are generally produced by specialists within the village. These specialists do not necessarily learn their art from their parents; the art may just as often be developed through apprenticeship. The specialist (tukang rotan) usually produces the object on the basis of special order for a predetermined fee, usually rice or chewing tobacco, but it may include anything that the producer wants and the recipient has.

Ba' and the men's hats (topi) are the products of these same specialists, but represent more refined workmanship. Hats and ba' also are arranged for on a system of mutual exchange. The ba' is made entirely for internal village use. The elaborately woven hats, however, besides being a requisite for properly dressed Kenyah adult males at leisure or at a formal meeting, are one of the items traded and sold at downriver bazaars for potential tourist sale, or even sale to other Dayak groups.

The sa'ong (sun hat) is also an item which is now frequently

taken to the bazaar for exchange. I mention it separately, for, as stated above, it is not a product of specialists but is made by most women. People do recognize, however, that some women are more skilled than others and sa'ong made by these skilled women are in demand. The sa'ong is the sine qua non for a Lepo Tau woman's outdoor wear and men also wear them when traveling by canoe or working in the fields. It is also a standard gift item to be given to traveling dignitaries, such as government officials, missionaries, and anthropologists.

While traveling up and down the Kayan River on a village survey trip, I ended up with eight sa'ong. What interested me most was that at each of the villages that I visited, women would want to examine other sa'ong I had collected. In almost all cases the women could tell me, from the distinctive stiching, the name of the village from whence came a particular sa'ong as well as, in many cases, the name of the maker of the sa'ong in spite of a large sample from some eight different sub-units of Kenyah and Kayan over a 120 mile range.

Minor Economic Specialties

Two other specializations round out the village economic sphere; there are artists and moonshiners. In pre-Christian times rice wine was an important ingredient for any gathering, whether a public meeting, a ceremony, or a work group. Since Christianity this practice has waned, and during my stay in Long Nawang, on only one occasion, the building of a new longhouse, was rice wine produced and imbibed. In recent years, however, many native sons, having been educated on the coast, have returned to the village as government officials. They are accustomed to a more sophisticated life on the coast, and a felt need

has arisen among this group for a little spirits. To fill this need, one man in the village has continued to produce rice wine for the explicit purpose of distillation into tju, a beverage of approximately 50 per cent alcohol, frequently associated with the Chinese on the Kalimantan coast. His entire production is purchased by the ranks of the government officials. The medium of exchange is usually rice, which he needs to produce more tju, as well as for his own subsistence needs, and chewing tobacco.

Artists form another category of economic specialists. Artists are generally skilled in both of the basic manifestations of Kenyah art, painting and carving. These artists are always men. Tattoo artists are a separate category and are generally women.

Many authors have noted the fine art work of the Kenyah and Bishop Galvin (1971:Personal communication) and others have said that the Kenyah themselves consider the finest of their work to come from Long Nawang. To judge from the plates in Nieuwenjuis (1904) and Tillema (1938), the arts of painting and carving were indeed once very important in Long Nawang. By comparison, painting and carving are very limited in Long Nawang today. The large paintings on the front of the lamin of paran are uncommon today; no house built in recent years has one. Rice storage houses sometimes have designs appropriate to the class of their owners and caskets are always appropriately ornamented. Carving in wood is rarely practiced today. In 1970 there was only one carved mask in the area and none of the elaborate carving decorating the longhouses as shown in Nieuwenhuis and Tillema. Carving of deer antler as handles for swords is still quite frequent.

People who want a design executed, for example, for a casket or for a ba', contract with the artist. Payment is usually in rice or chewing tobacco. Some artists have even sold their skills outside the village. In the Baram area of Sarawak and in Kuching are paintings executed by Long Nawang artists.

The part-time occupation of artist does not seem to be class-related. Today there are both paran and panyin included among those who gain some income as artists. There is some evidence that in former days, artists were panyin and were under the patronage of paran. This situation no longer occurs in Long Nawang; each piece of artwork is contracted on an individual basis. Tom Harrisson reported that in the Tinjar area of Sarawak, however, the art of carving was being kept alive by the village chief acting in the capacity of patron for several village artists (1968:Personal communication).

The art of tattooing is virtually dead in Long Nawang. Formerly, both men and women were tattooed, but younger people are no longer getting tattoos. Tattoo artists were generally women, although the design itself was often drawn by one of the male artists. In addition to the previously contracted fee for the tattoo, the client paid the tattoo artist an extra small gift at each session to show that he or she was not angry over the letting of blood.

Both the government and the church have been influential in the decline of the art of tattooing. According to local government officials, tattooing is illegal; the mantri obat and local health official actively discourage it on the grounds that it is dangerous and unsanitary, as well as illegal. For men, tattooing was connected with headhunting, and the demise of headhunting has additionally contributed to the decline

of tattooing. No one in Long Nawang today derives income from the practice of the art of tattooing.

Kenyah Middlemen

There is one group in the village that is somewhat unique in terms of its economic position and activities and forms a bridge between intra-village and extra-village economic relationships. This group includes government officials, school teachers, and the Guru Indjil (religion teacher). With one exception, these people are all Kenyah from Long Nawang or neighboring villages. They have all been schooled on the coast and are, thus, more acculturated than their neighbours. Although they all maintain small rice fields, because of their occupations they cannot devote full time to farming and must supplement their small harvests by other economic activities.

The Guru Indjil and school teachers gain some maintenance from communal rice fields worked by church members and school children respectively.

School teachers and government officials all receive a salary and a rice allocation from the government. Both salary and rice, however, are distributed in the coastal town of Tandjungselor. These men try to journey to the coast once a year (or send a representative) to claim back salary and rice rations. It would be absurd to try to transport the rice back to the village; the difficulties of the trip are discussed elsewhere. In addition, the Lepo Tau do not care for government-issue rice, which they refer to as "warehouse rice," preferring their own tasty hill rice. The usual practice is to sell the year's rice ration in Tandjungselor and use the money to purchase easily transportable

commodities to be traded for rice in the village. The most common goods purchased for trade are chewing tobacco and medicine.

This group of people provides an important service for the village by virtue of their economic position. During the Dutch period, the trade goods were provided by traders making regular trips upriver and operating small shops in the village. With the demise of this trade following the eviction of the Dutch from Indonesia, such amenities as chewing tobacco and medicine were very hard to obtain on a regular basis. The government officials render a valuable service for the other villagers in providing these amenities. There is occasionally some misunderstanding in these economic relations, however. Some people do not understand that the officials are selling their rice rations to buy the goods for the express purposes of trading to the villagers for rice in the village. Medicine is a particular source of conflict. Some people believe that the government should provide medicine free and since the traders are government officials, it must be government medicine which should be given out free and not charged for. Others grant the right to officials to sell medicine, understand their economic position, and are pleased with the accessibility of these goods, but feel that the price is too high.

Extra-village Economic Relations

It is necessary to examine external relations in order to account for the bulk of the wealth items in Long Nawang. These external economic relations are of two kinds: 1) those with other villages or with bands of Punan; and 2) those oriented toward the coastal economy.

Relations between villages and bands of Punan have already been

alluded to. For example, when the Lepo Tau and Punan interact in the Apo Kayan, it is usual for the Lepo Tau to trade iron, medicine, clothes, salt, etc., for the fine rattan work of the Punan and for jungle produce such as monkey stones and, in the old days, blowpipes and darts. In exchanges between villages we have already alluded to canoe purchase. This kind of exchange can be generalized to any type of goods that one village has in surplus or excels in the production of. For example, the Uma Djalan and the Uma Kulit excel in the carving of deer antlers into parang handles which are items frequently sought after by Long Nawang people. The Uma Bakung are superior canoe builders and their canoes are much sought after. Rice is not necessarily the chief item of exchange. A man in the Lepo Tepu village of Long Sungan, downriver from Long Nawang, proudly displayed a new hunting dog wich he had recently acquired from the Kayan village of Data Dian. He had exchanged a large gong and several parang for the dog. The dog, he reasoned, would repay his purchase price in meat alone, and, because he was such a superior animal would also sire more superior dogs which would also bring high prices.

While these inter-village economic patterns are important for some items far more influential are the relationships with the coast and the outside world. Just when the Lepo Tau first began traveling to the coast in search of goods is unknown, but early historical accounts of various civil servants in the Brooke regime indicate several large expeditions to Sarawak prior to the twentieth century. These trips were political as well as trading trips; they followed attempts on the part of the Brookes to end warfare in the upriver areas. At that time,

access to the coast via the Kayan and the Mahakam rivers was virtually impossible. The Uma Alim dwelling near the large rapids on the Kayan were hostile to the Lepo Tau at that time and cut off travel downriver from the upper Kayan River. Mahakam travel was not feasible because of ill feelings between the Kayan residing there and the Lepo Tau as well as difficult relations between the Sultan of Kutai and all of the up-river peoples. Travel to Sarawak was the easiest option for both the Apo Kayan peoples and the peoples of the Mahakam, although the Sarawak trip was also dangerous as the Iban were traditional enemies to both the Kenyah and the Kayan.

Several of the first large expeditions to Sarawak were peace making expeditions during which large scale trading occurred. Beccari, reporting on one of the first such missions, reports:

> Finally in March of 1900, a party of 500 Kayans of the Batang Bulungan, belonging to the Leppu Jalang, Leppu Bams, Leppu Teppus and Uma Tukon tribes arrived at the upper stations of the Rejang river. This party had traveled about five months with frequent halts to build canoes, and collect food and forest produce. The expedition was led by Pingang Sorang, who with other of the principle chiefs was invited by the Rajah to visit Kuching . . . The trade which was done by these people at Kapit and Sibu was very considerable. They brought gutta-percha and Indian rubber of excellent quality, valued at thousands of dollars, taking in exchange salt and various goods. Notwithstanding the great distance they had come, they asserted that as long as they were on good terms with the Hivan [Iban] Dyaks, they found the Rejang markets preferable to the . . . markets of their own countries. (1904:362)

The trade of the Lepo Tau and other groups in the Apo Kayan continued on a fairly regular basis until Confrontation.

The volume of trade increased after World War II. Previous to the war and the removal of the Dutch, regular cargo transport from Tandjungselor to Long Nawang provided wares for small shops where the villages

could purchase such necessities as salt, kerosene and cloth. With the cessation of the cargo transport to Long Nawang during and after the war, trading trips to Sarawak increased.

The first trips prior to World War II were based almost entirely on the sale or exchange of forest produce. The forest produce included monkey gall stones (bezoar), rhinoceros horn and deer antler, getah, resins, animal skins, gold, and rattan. Trade also included some handicraft items such as fine rattan baskets and mats, blowpipes, and ornate swords. In areas other than the Apo Kayan, birds' nests were a valued item of exchange. The trade items were exchanged at the first upriver bazaar encountered (Belaga in the case of the Balui) for items requisite to Kenyah life. These items range from fish hooks, iron, axes, salt, cloth and kerosene in the early days to treadle sewing machines, outboard motors, radios, tape racorders and batteries in more recent days.

After World War II, the trading expeditions to Sarawak took a new turn. There was an increasing demand for labor in Sarawak, and the Lepo Tau found it easier to sell their labor than to transport jungle produce and handicrafts on the arduous journey from Long Nawang for a relatively small return. Today, the Lepo Tau take very vew goods to sell in Sarawak, aside from an occasional monkey gall stone or a few pieces of handicraft sent along by a woman who has a craving for a particular item from the bazaar. Instead, they prefer to make the trip unhampered by trade goods and then to sell their labor. They make the trip in groups or eight to ten persons, usually young men led by an older, more experienced man with contacts at the bazaar. They contract to the leader's tokay (Chinese shop keeper) as a group and work from six months to several years for cash. At the end of the work

period the tokay subtracts the cost of the goods used during their stay from their salary and pays them in a lump sum. They then buy their goods and head home, canoes loaded to the maximum.

Timber cutting currently absorbs the majority of Lepo Tau labor. Another important source of employment is the stone quarries on the Baram. A few talented individuals have sold their skills as artists. Lepo Tau paintings now decorate the Sarawak Museum, the Bishop's chapel in Miri, the house of Temonggong Lawai Jau at Long San, and other buildings in the Baram, the Balui and in Kuching.

Previously, the border was open as far as the Kenyah were concerned. It had little meaning to them as a political division. To this day they do not speak of going to Sarawak, but rather of going to the Balui or the Baram, that is, to another river valley and not to another country. The government has now instituted a border pass system, such passes being required, by agreement of the Malaysian and Indonesian governments, for travel between the two countries by citizens of either country. For some years they were used in the coastal areas but were largely ignored for people like the Kenyah and Kayan traveling back and forth in the interior, and the border was as open to them as it always had been. Confrontation brought a halt to this liberal policy, and recently the border pass requirement has been vigorously enforced.

During Confrontation travel ceased and no trade took place. At the end of Confrontation, the Lepo Tau had been without trade goods for several years except for the salt dropped in by the army. Massive expeditions set off for Sarawak, leaving Long Nawang a village of women, children and elderly. A labor shortage resulted and rice crops were poor. In 1970 large numbers of men returned home putting a bigger

drain on already meager rice supplies. Local officials decided something must be done to prevent such a mass exodus again. They instituted a plan whereby no more than twenty adult men from any one village may go on trade missions at once. They have the power to enforce their rule since they must also issue the now required border passes.

So, Lepo Tau trade and travel to Sarawak is now restricted. This restriction, plus greater opportunities for wage labor on the Indonesian side of the border, have increased the amount of trade to Tandjungselor on the Indonesian coast.

Although Long Nawang Lepo Tau no longer transport jungle produce or handicrafts in any quantity to Sarawak, there is one item, other than their labor, that they take to sell -- ritual paraphenalia. Since they are now Christian, the gongs, beads, ritual swords, and etc. no longer have intrinsic value for them. In the Balui especially are a number of Kayan houses that follow either Adat Lama or Adat Bungan and, thus, still value these items. The ritual items are frequently traded directly to Kayan rather than to Chinese as would be other trade goods. In return for these ritual goods an Indonesian Lepo Tau can obtain a shotgun or ammunition, items he, as an Indonesian citizen, could not buy in Sarawak. The gongs and other items would bring a good price from a Chinese in the market, but the Indonesian Kenyah would not be able to buy a shotgun or ammunition in the market. Shotguns are available in Indonesia but are hard to obtain and cost three to four times their price in Sarawak. The arrangement is beneficial on both sides. The Kayan gets his gong and reports to the police that his shotgun was "lost in the river when the canoe capsized in the rapids" and the Kenyah gets his shotgun for what he considers to be a very

good price.[13]

The Concept of Adat

In this and the following sections we will examine some limited aspects of the Lepo Tau belief system, contrasting in some instances the present with pre-Christian practice.

The term adat is used throughout Borneo and Indonesia. A. B. Hudson, in his monograph on the Ma'anyan Dayak of southern Borneo, makes a two part distinction in the term adat. In its broadest sense, adat has the meaning of "custom" or "tradition." In a narrower sense, it has a more specific meaning of "customary law." Hudson (1972:44) reports that among the Ma'anyan an enquiry about a particular custom such as "Why do you wear your head cloth that way?" would be likely to elicit the reply, "It's adat," using the term in its broadest sense of custom or tradition.

I was familiar with the term adat and its two usages as described by Hudson before my visit to Long Nawang, and I was surprised to find that the Lepo Tau of Long Nawang never used adat in the first sense and rarely in the second sense. In the second sense, they substituted the Indonesian term hukum ("law"). Gradually I discovered that their reluctance to use the term was due largely to a fear that I would misunderstand it. As noted previously, the Lepo Tau of Long Nawang are avowed Christians, and regardless of the individual's personal commitment to Christianity, very few will admit, particularly to a

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[13] The gun/gong exchange has been virtually halted as of late 1970; as the Sarawak government instigated more rigid gun and ammunition control laws for upriver areas.

westerner, any doubts in the matter. Adat, in the traditional usage, incorporates for the Kenyah, the aspects of custom, law, and religion. There are no separate terms in Lepo Tau for these; all are subsumed under the term adat. Thus, use of the term adat implies something about pre-Christian religion. To say that something is done according to adat, implies that the Lepo Tau are not Christian, a notion they are anxious to dispell.

Later, as the Lepo Tau became more comfortable with me and felt that I fully realized that they were Christian, we could employ the term adat but always with qualification. They made a three-part, rather than a two-part, division of adat using Indonesian words to qualify the term: 1) adat kebiasaan or custom, tradition, the sense used by Hudson; 2) hukum adat or customary law, the second and more specific meaning used by Hudson; and 3) agama adat meaning traditional religion as opposed to Christianity. Very frequently, the term adat was also qualified by the terms dulu or lama meaning "past" or "old time."

It was clearly very difficult for the Lepo Tau to separate the religious component out of the term adat. Even though, in our discussions, they could and would draw the three-part distinction above, they were still uncomfortable with the term as applied to things in the present. If one asked, "Why does so-and-so do that in that way?" a reply might be an off-hand, "Its adat dulu," or "old time custom" with the implication that the individual in question was quite old fashioned. Non-Christian Dayak groups are frequently referred to by Long Nawang Lepo Tau as being "still adat" with the implication that they are somewhat backward and less progressive and modern than the Long Nawang people. Unless specified (e.g. adat kebiasaan, etc.), the

the term adat definitely carries the connotation of religion for Long Nawang people. If it is used in a more general sense, the qualifying adjectives are necessary. Adat alone or adat dulu or adat lama carries the connotation of traditional religion; the terms adat Kristin, adat Bungan, and adat Islam are also used occasionally.

The fact that the word adat alone is almost never used to refer to present day custom may be partially due to missionary influence. My experience with some of the missionaries was that they used adat to mean "pagan" or traditional religion, and that many seemed quite unaware of the more general meaning or of the meaning "customary law." It may be that the Lepo Tau, accustomed to hearing the supreme representatives of Christianity, the missionaries, use adat as an opposite to Christianity, and themselves anxious to be considered Christian and all that that implies (e.g. modernity), have themselves adpoted this usage of adat.

Many Lepo Tau today employ this contrast when discussing matters of custom and religious belief, employing a phrase "adat times" or "when we were still adat" to mean the pre-Christian period.

Taboo and Ritual Danger

In pre-Christian times there were a number of negative sanctions placed on the Lepo Tau (and other Kenyah) by the goddess Bungan Malan. The three concepts malan, sial, and parib are bound together in the complex of negative sanction. Malan best translates as "taboo" or "forbidden" and concerns restrictions on the use of material goods, on travel, and on behavior in general.

Food prohibitions are in the malan category. Certain foods are

malan for a pregnant woman and her spouse. The meat of the deer was malan for paran in particular lest they should become timid, easily startled, and quick to run from danger. Families or individuals might have their own food prohibitions communicated to them through the spirit medium (dayung) or through dreams.

Even though they are now Christian, many individual Lepo Tau retain certain food taboos. Many paran, particularly older ones, will not eat deer, but, when asked why, they do not say that it is malan but rather that it doesn't agree with them. Dog meat was malan. Now it is eaten occasionaly but generally only by the young, educated people who are particularly keen to demonstrate their freedom from "old-fashioned" beliefs.

Entrance to and exit from ritually cordoned areas was also malan. Prior to Christianity, the lamin of a pregnant woman close to partuition was malan to all males. If a male entered the lamin, he was subject to a large fine from the Paran Uma and the lamin head. During most ceremonies, including mamat, rice ceremonies, purification ceremonies, all comings or goings from the village were malan. Even if an important dignitary were to arrive on the outskirts of the village, he could not enter but would have to remain on the outskirts of the village until the period of malan as past. Omens from the birds or other animals could and were interpreted as signs that some malan had been violated. Should such an omen appear, the people had to perform rituals of propitiation, all travel was proscribed.

The result of the violation of a malan may be sial, a state of impurity or ritual imbalance on a community level. In Indonesian sial means simply "unlucky" or "unfortunate," but for Lepo Tau it

refers to a state of ritual danger for the entire community as a consequence of a violation of malan. The state of sial must be alleviated by rituals of purification. An example will demonstrate the concept more fully.

The following case actually occurred in the Bahau River valley and concerned the Lepo Maut Kenyah and a group of Punan Benilui, but when I discussed the matter with Lepo Tau Kenyah they were quick and unanimous to agree that is is exactly as they would have done in pre-Christian times.

A group of Punan men had been working timber downriver. While they were gone a measles epidemic hit the village, and most of the villagers fled to the jungle in fear of the disease. The work party returned to the village and shortly thereafter so did those who had fled to the jungle. The leader of the work group, Abo, suspected and accused his wife as well as other women of engaging in adultery while in the jungle. The only thing that would satisfy Abo was to have an oath sworn on a tiger tooth. Tiger teeth are very powerful and dangerous symbols which, misused, can not only cause the death of the holder but also place all nearby in danger. Tiger tooth oaths are used, but only in the gravest of situations and always in the deep forest, far from any habitations. Abo had actually ordered that the oath be done in the Punan village which was about thirty minutes walk from the Lepo Maut Kenyah village. Before the oath had actually been administered word reached the Lepo Maut village, and the Paran Bio dispatched runners to stop the ceremony.

The oath, done with proper ritual, by ritual specialists and in the jungle is dangerous enough, but to even consider administering the

oath in the village was malan. Since the oath had already been ordered, the entire village and area had fallen into sial, or a state of ritual imbalance. Speedy measures were indicated to protect both the Punan and the Lepo Maut. Abo was wrong in demanding the oath in such an unorthodox manner and he had to pay a rather large fine some of which was to be used in a pelaki (hawk) ceremony to seek purification for the area.

All the males in the village went to a high hill upriver from the village and a ritual specialist made offerings of rice and wine and meat and called down the hawks to give them a sign. Luckily, the offerings were accepted and the omens were good; two times hawks appeared above the mountains to the west and circled clockwise. The balance had been restored.

Parib differs from sial in that it is a state entered into by an individual, rather than the community, in violation of malan. An individual may become parib by the misuse of material goods or symbols, or by behavior inappropriate to his age or status, by presuming above himself. If one uses the goods or symbols appropriate to a higher social rank or position one may become parib. For example, for a panyin to attempt to use a tiger tooth in any way would be certain to put him into a state of parib, for tiger teeth are in the symbol domain of paran only. Parib also occurs within classes, for example, should a young child attempt to touch or use the sword of his father, he is liable to parib. The main principle is that one should not presume above himself, whether in terms of class or of age. For a panyin to even step over the legs of a seated paran is to invite parib. From Hose's work (1926) in the Baram, it appears that the same concept

was operating among the Kayan in perhaps greater extreme for ". . . it is forbidden, or parit, to a child to lie down on the spot where a chief has been sitting or where he usually reposes. It is a grave offense for a child to jump over the legs of a reclining chief" (1926:59). Hose also discusses a bundle of charms (siap aioh) used to guard a Kenyah household or even an entire village, as being so powerful that even chiefs were extremely cautious in handling it for fear of parit (1926:252).

The results of parib are varied, but generally include a general failing of health, infertility, sickness and possibly death. Skin diseases (korap), in particular, are likely to result from parib. For males, one of the greatest fears is that the genitals will wither and eventually fall off. Parib can affect the immediate relatives, especially the children, of a transgressor as well as the transgressor himself.

Parib was a powerful sanction in pre-Christian Kenyah society; it served to keep people in their ascribed social statuses and thus promote order within the society. Some violations of the use of status markers did occur that were not, however, left to the power of parib. There is one story of a woman in the village who had used the tattoos of the paran class. As she was a panyin, this would not do and the skin on her legs (the area tattooed) was flayed from her limbs, to remove the offending tattoo. In too outrageous a display of class violation, the rest of society could not wait for parib to act.

A paran especially must always keep in mind the danger of parib. The seating order at meetings and ceremonies is rigidly prescribed by social status with the paran in the inner circle near the hearth, but

no paran would dare presume to seat himself in the proper position. To do so would mean publically declaring a high estimation of his own position, an improper act likely to bring parib. Instead the paran, upon arriving at the gathering, seats himself inconspicuously in an inferior seat. Another man than comes to him and tries to lead him to the appropriate spot. The paran protests, saying that he is quite comfortable, but the other insists until finally the paran takes up the proper seat. This procedure is repeated with each paran as well as with some elders and respected panyin until each man is appropriately seated and the function can begin. In all this parib is the controlling element. No one wishes to risk publically overstating his own importance and, thus perhaps enter parib.

While visiting at Long Alongo, the village of the Paran Bio of the upper Bahau River, I noticed that there were no tiger teeth being used on baby carriers. As the use of tiger teeth was common practice in Long Nawang, I asked the Paran Bio why this was so, especially in his own case. He explained to me that, while he was indeed a full paran as were both of his parents, his father, the previous Paran Bio had cautioned him of the dangers of parib, and suggested that he abstain from the use of tiger teeth. Furthermore, his father also suggested that he cease using the elaborate carved symbols of the high paran. This fear of using the powerful symbols was brought on in part by a series of incidents which had befallen the family of the Paran Bio of the Pudjungan River, a downriver tributary of the Bahau River. The Paran Bio there had suffered an untimely death, and all of his children had been born either mentally or physically defective. This series of incidents, as well as several others, were known to both Kila and his

father and formed a basis for their fears. Their view was that it was better to be overly modest and safe than chance the use of even the symbols to which they were, by birth, entitled. Kila also pointed out that class and the markers of class were now illegal in Indonesia.

I stopped at the Pudjungan on my way downriver and in the course of gathering genealogies there confirmed Kila's story. There were indeed many defective children in the ex-Paran Bio family and the current Paran Bio was an affinal relative of the last Paran Bio rather than the usual lineal or collateral. Most people in this village were Christian and refrained from indicating parib as a causal agent, but a few people confirmed Kila's story and said that one indeed had to be cautious of parib.

In discussions with my informants, it was clear, as it is in the information presented above, that the division between sial, ritual danger for the community, and parib, ritual danger for the individual or his family, is not absolute. It may be better viewed as a continuum with sial at one end and parib at the other. In the center of the continuum is a vague area where the two fuse. For example, in the case of the woman who got improper tattoos, the woman herself was in a state of parib or individual danger, and yet the community carried out punishment against her.

Today the Christian Lepo Tau no longer invoke parib or the fear of parib as a sanction for behavior, but the concept remains in terms of values on modesty in actions and personal dealings. One should always take care not to presume above himself and conduct his affairs with humility. Even today, a paran will not seat himself at a gathering but will wait to be led to his proper station. A man giving a feast

will apologize to his guests for the modesty of his offering and his house. In all his actions a man should be modest and humble according to his station.

Religion

Long Nawang Lepo Tau today characterize themselves and their neighbors as Christian. Christianity contrasts, for the Lepo Tau, with adat in the sense of traditional religion. There are very few people in Long Nawang or in the neighboring villages who do not call themselves Christians although, of course, the depth of commitment varies. The few people who admit to being non-Christian are several old men and a few older women, mostly residing in Nawang Baru, who will be discussed in more detail later. These few holdouts are an embarrassment to the Christians and are spoken of somewhat disparagingly as ignorant old people. Christians are particularly reluctant to discuss the alternatives to Christianity with a westerner whom they regard as, by definition, a Christian.

Christianity for the Lepo Tau encompasses much more than just a set of religious beliefs, about which many people are somewhat uncertain, anyway. Christianity symbolizes for the Lepo Tau that which is modern, western, and progressive. Younger people in particular, but also older people, are anxious not to be considered "primitive" or "backward." Christianity is one way in which they can demonstrate their progressiveness and the fact that they are in tune with the modern world as they perceive it.

As we have seen in the history section of this work, the Lepo Tau and especially the Long Nawang Lepo Tau, are fairly well acquainted

with the world outside interior Borneo. They know the coastal areas of both Sarawak and Kalimantan and some have even been to Java, the Celebes, and New Guinea. They are acquainted with coastal Malays, Chinese, Javanese, and many other ethnic groups, including a few westerners, through their own travels as well as through visits by the army during the Dutch period and during Confrontation and through missionaries. From the Lepo Tau point of view, Christianity is associated with the most progressive and modern peoples and cultures. Being Christian gives them, in their view, a slight edge on the Muslim coastal Malays. Many Lepo Tau feel that, despite the technological, economic, and educational benefits enjoyed by the Malays, the Lepo Tau are, after all, Christian and thereby a step closer to modern westerners.

The Lepo Tau attitudes toward Christianity and its connection with westerners and with modernity point to some of the reasons that Christianity has been adopted in such wholesale measure in Long Nawang. There are, of course, other factors. One such factor is the question of economics; being a Christian is economically less burdensome than Adat Lama. Hudson has noted the influence of economic factors in the conversion to Christianity among the Ma'anyan (1972:40). Christianity does not demand the slaughter of animals for feasts; Christianity does not embody the range of taboos of traditional religion with transgressions demanding fines in chickens and pigs. If a Christian commits a taboo act in his own religion (e.g. a sin) it is a matter between himself and God with no economic outlay required. The Lepo Tau are practical people and are quick to recognize the benefits of this system. Another factor in conversion was Confrontation. By Confrontation (1963) many Lepo Tau were already Christian but there were a fair number of

non-Christians and both traditional religion (Adat Lama) and the Bungan Cult were viable. When the Indonesian army arrived in the area, conversions occurred, by the admission of army officers who were there, at gunpoint. The army men followed a line of reasoning which goes, "Communists have no religion; therefore, anyone who has no religion is a Communist." They viewed traditional Lepo Tau religion as "no religion." They recognized only those religions that "have a book" (e.g. Islam, Christianity, Buddhism, etc.) as real religions. Thus, non-Christian Lepo Tau found themselves in a position of having "no religion" and were forced to acquire one with all speed to avoid being accused of being Communists. Of course, the Lepo Tau could have opted for Islam but even the army officers recognized that that was highly unlikely since the main meat source for the Lepo Tau is pork. The merits of the previously rejected Christianity became much clearer. Non-Christians converted and soldiers destroyed many of the accouterments of Adat Lama and the Bungan Cult.

There are three Christian sects in the Apo Kayan today. The majority sect at Long Nawang and throughout the Apo Kayan is the Kemah Indjil Geredja Masehi Indonesia, which is usually referred to by the acronym KINGMI. The KINGMI sect is now an Indonesian church, incorporated in Indonesia, but was originally begun by American missionaries of the Christian Missionary Alliance. At one time this group had missionaries actually resident in Long Nawang (1950-54 and 1960-62) but at present the missionaries are only in the coastal town of Tandjungselor and a Bible school at Long Bia, a short distance upriver from Tandjungselor.

The church at Long Nawang is headed by a Lepo Tau with training

at Long Bia. He is referred to as a Guru Indjil or "teacher of the gospel." He runs the church in conjunction with a set of church officials. The members of KINGMI see themselves as somewhat special and above members of the other sect in the village because KINGMI was the first Christian organization in the village.

The other sect represented in Long Nawang is the Gredja Protestant Bagian Indonesia (acronymed GPBI). Members of GPBI are, in general, later converts to Christianity and GPBI is regarded as being somewhat more liberal than KINGMI. Several GPBI members said that they had left KINGMI because it had "too many sins."

The third Christian sect in the Apo Kayan is Roman Catholicism (acronymed RK) which is found only at Long Sungai Barang. There is no priest there, though one visits occasionally from the coast (coming from Samarinda via the Mahakam), and liturgical services are run by lay catachists. Although KINGMI people have heard from the missionaries that the Catholics are not "real" Christians, their understanding of theology does not quite take this in and they tend to regard the Catholics as another, though of course inferior, sect like GPBI.

In the history of Long Nawang we saw that religion had been a very divisive factor in the past, leading ultimately to village schism. In the past the lines were drawn between traditional religion or Adat Lama, Bungan Cult, and Christianity. In Long Nawang today this is no longer the case. Adherents to traditional religion are virtually gone as are members of the Bungan Cult. For all practical purposes today, all of Long Nawang and Nawang Baru are Christian. The few old men mentioned earlier are neither numerous enough nor taken seriously enough to create any tension.

Today in Long Nawang the lines are drawn between the two sects, KINGMI and GPBI. With some exceptions, there is even a geographical boundary between the sects, with the longhouses at the upper end of the village tending to be GPBI and those at the lower end KINGMI. This division carries over, in general, to the rice field locations with each field area tending to be used by members of one or the other sect exclusively. Long Nawang today is in a state of flux with migration looming large in many people's minds. From the discussions going on at the time of fieldwork, it is clear that the KINGMI/GPBI division is a potential schism line when migration does occur.

It is too simple, however, to say merely that a schism line forms between KINGMI and GPBI as religious groups. To understand the situation we must reconsider the origin of each group as well as the basic differences in religious outlook. In Chapter II, at the conclusion of the section of religious history, we saw that only about half of the population were Christian while the other half were active followers of the Bungan Cult; the Adat Lama people had moved to Nawang Baru. In 1965, through forced conversion, the rest of the population became Christian, but many became GPBI rather than KINGMI. They did this in part out of pride, but also because they objected to the strictness of the KINGMI group. For example, among the adherents of KINGMI, divorce is a sin which leads to expulsion from the church. Among traditional Lepo Tau divorce is a method of insuring offspring; should a marriage prove barren, one of the simple remedies is to try a new spouse. Most Bungan Cult people did not want to enter a system that had, as they put it "so many sins." In addition, GPBI received some new members from the ranks of KINGMI people who had been removed from KINGMI for divorce or

other sins. Thus, GPBI consists not only of ex-Bungan people, but also ex-KINGMI adherents.

KINGMI, in many ways is associated with political power. First, the missionaries with whom Lepo Tau had contact were advocates of KINGMI. Second, most of the highest paran in the village are members of KINGMI. These include PeTurut Alut, the current Paran Bio and PeTau Kule, the ex-Paran Bio. When a new church was built. PeTau Kule generously offered to sponsor the building and at the same time erected his new apartment as part of the building. PeTau had been one of the last to convert, but was quick to sense the power of the KINGMI group as a validating mechanism. His sponsoring of the church building provides him with a powerful support for the covert leadership which he offers the village. Lah Sigau, the Paran Lepo, on the other hand, is GPBI, and the church holds its weekly meetings on the verandah in front of his lamin.

The Lepo Tau feel that the two churches hold essentially the same beliefs except in the matter of strictness of negative sanction for "sinful behavior." The two groups use the same song books and Bibles and the texts of their sermons are similar. At funerals and large ceremonies both groups participate equally. For the Lepo Tau, to be a Christian whether KINGMI or GPBI, means that he will go to heaven on his death where he will not have to work, and where the rice fields are planted and miraculously harvested by invisible hands. Many Lepo Tau pointed out that the Christian ethic, as it applies to daily life, differs little from the Lepo Tau system of values of being courtious, generous, humble and helpful. In Sarawak, the RK missionaries use the name of the traditional Lepo Tau male deity, PeSalong Luhan, as a synonym for God. In KINGMI's attempt to clear the board of any

connection with "pagan" beliefs, no such translation would be publically tolerated, but in private discussions of theology, many people said to me that God must be the same as PeSalong Luhan, Bungan's consort.

Today it is difficult to get information about the traditional religion or Adat Lama. Since it is no longer a viable tradition, there is no opportunity for observation. The memories of older people are the only source of information and some of them have been made to feel so embarrassed about pre-Christian traditions that they are hesitant to discuss them. The following brief description of Lepo Tau traditional religion is, then, compiled from several sources including data from older, but now Christian, Long Nawang residents and from the writings of earlier visitors.

The two chief deities in traditional Lepo Tau religion were PeSalong Luhan (male) and Bungan Malan (female), usually conceived of as unmarried consorts, but sometimes as husband and wife. The singular importance of Bungan Malan in the newer Bungan Cult, makes it more difficult to determine exactly what her position vis-a-vis PeSalong Luhan and other spirits was in the traditional system.

It seems, though, that even in the traditional system, Bungan was the more active of the two. PeSalong Luhan was a more distant god. He was responsible for the form of humans, their shells, but Bungan was responsible for their spirits, their actions, and their personalities. It was Bungan Malan who was responsible for the rules of action and the taboos (malan). Sacrifices to make amends for the breaking of taboos were made to Bungan, and it was most frequently she who spoke through the spirit mediums (Bali Dayung).

Other members of the spirit world had more specific functions.

Bali Atap (literally, "spirit of the roof") was the guardian of the longhouse and his image stood at each stairway into the house to guard against the entrance of evil spirits. He was also called on to cure madness. Bali Utong (literally, "spirit of luck") brought prosperity to the house. Bali Ngo (literally, "spirit of thunder") was associated with storms, rain and hail, but, according to Hose and McDougall (1912 : v.ii; 149) was not directly solicited to bring rain. Bali Sungai (literally, "spirit of the river") was conceived of as a dragon lying at the bottom of the river bed. In flood time, he would become restless, moving around and causing the sudden swirls and eddies of water that upset canoes and cause drownings. He was not actually conceived as a god of the river; floods and other changes in the river were not attributed to him. He was, rather, a spirit who happened to live in the river. Bali padai was the spirit of the rice, and had to be propitiated at planting and thanked at the harvest. There were also numerous minor spirits who were not propitiated individually but were mentioned in litanies and chants.

Ghosts of the dead were spirits which could be potentially dangerous. While a dead person lay in state on the verandah of his longhouse, ritual specialists performed a chant giving the soul (berua) of the dead person detailed directions to the land of the dead so that the ghost would not return. Graveyards were always located across a body of water or even a very small stream, to minimize the danger of a ghost's return; spirits of all kinds were thought unable to cross water. Particularly dangerous was the ghost of a woman who died in childbirth. The ghost of such a woman was likely to return as a pontianak (vampire) seeking newborn infants as her victims. The pontianak could also cause

future infertility in young, unmarried people by touching their possessions. Even among Christians in Long Nawang today, fear of the ghost of a woman who has died in childbirth is fairly common. Several times I heard the topic discussed by women with young infants.

Another Adat Lama spirit that one hears discussed today is the Bali Salung (literally, "black spirit"), perhaps best conceived of as a "force of evil." The exact nature of the Bali Salung is a topic for debate. Periodically, waves of fear, accompanying old and new stories of Bali Salung's evil deeds, sweep through the area. Abductions or unusual deaths may be attributed to Bali Salung.

Of all the Adat Lama gods and spirits, it was Bungan Malan, the most important and active, who was singled out for special attention in what the literature refers to as the Bungan Cult and the Lepo Tau refer to as Adat Bungan.

In 1942 an Uma Djalan Kenyah from Long Ampong named Djuk Apoi announced that the Goddess Bungan Malan had appeared to him in dreams with instructions for reforming Kenyah religious belief and practice. Stories vary as to whether Djuk Apoi had previously been a Christian. At any rate, he had had a long sequence of bad luck. His child had died; he himself was not well, and his crops had failed. In his dreams, Bungan told him that to remedy this situation he must follow her exclusively and reject all the other traditional gods as well as Christianity. She described to him how he should worship her and the sacrifices and rituals he should perform. At first he did not take her advice, but his luck worsened and eventually he tried to follow Bungan's rules. Immediately his luck improved. His health and that of his family was good and his crops were excellent. His fortune was so

great that others began to follow him and refer to him as the prophet of Bungan Malan. He was invited to other villages to tell of his new religion and to instruct others.

The Bungan Cult gained a following in the Apo Kayan but never had the adherants and prestige it had in Sarawak.[14] In the Apo Kayan it remained a cult of the common man and few paran adopted it. According to informants, paran felt that it was a shallow, rootless system. Djuk Apoi was, after all, only a panyin and it was absurd that a religious system should be based on the dreams of a commoner. They considered the Bungan Cult inferior to Adat Lama and some even considered it inferior to Christianity. Christianity, in their view, at least had roots, a history, a tradition as did Adat Lama; the Bungan Cult had nothing. Most adherants to Bungan were commoners and the cult was short-lived in the Apo Kayan.

By the time of my study in 1970, Long Nawang had only two people who claimed to be followers of Bungan Malan. They were both older men who had reconverted after the army departed. The government officials were a little embarrassed by the tenacity of the old men in maintaining such pagan beliefs, but had offered to let them alone if they could produce a written document of justification (a "book" or "Bible") for the Bungan Malan Cult. The two old men worked at length with their limited writing skills in Indonesian and produced a fifteen page work which compares Bungan Malan with Christianity. The government agreed to let them alone. As far as the ritual is concerned, the two were unable to muster enough support to actually have ritual observances,

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[14] For information pertaining to the Bungan Cult in Sarawak see Prattis 1963:64-87; White 1956:472-475; Aichner 1956:476-477.

and so I was unable to witness the Bungan Cult in action in Long Nawang. In the village of Nawang Baru, however, there were seventeen older men and women who had returned to what they claimed to be Adat Lama, although others called it Bungan Malan. While there were not enough personnel to hold mamat rituals, they were able to have small curing rituals one of which I was able to witness and record in detail.

Ritual and Ceremony in Long Nawang Today

The rituals and ceremonies, aside from Sunday church service, in Long Nawang today center around feasting. These feasts occur at such occasions as weddings, funerals, Indonesian Independence Day, at the end of the harvest, and the return of men from a journey. I will describe the latter in some detail, and, as the basic pattern is similar, describe the others briefly.

The feast to celebrate the return of men from a journey is called uman usan (literally, "to eat salt"). Previously I have described the pattern of men traveling to Sarawak or to the coast to work for wages for a year or so and then returning to the village laden with market goods. As soon as possible after their return, the travelers organize an uman usan with the help of their families. It is generally held at the longhouse of the crew leader.

Guests are males, though the wives and daughters of guests may come along and assist or visit behind the scenes with the women preparing the food. All men in the village political heirarchy are invited including the Paran Lepo, the Paran Bio, and all Paran Uma. Other guests include elders and all government officials.

The uman usan usually takes place in the afternoon, with guests

starting to arrive shortly after noon. The verandah is prepared with trays of tobacco and the ingredients for betel chewing.

As the guests arrive and are seated they converse, smoke, and chew betel. When most guests, and all the very important ones, have arrived, the leader of the returned crew stands up. This is the signal for individual conversations to cease. The crew leader welcomes the guests and apologizes for the small amount and inferior quality of the tobacco and betel preparation; he does this regardless of the amount and quality presented. He then suggests an opening prayer which he leads himself if he is skilled or asks the Guru Indjil to lead. The prayer always includes thanks to God for his help and protection on the journey, perhaps mentioning specific incidents, asks God to Bless the meeting, and asks His protection for those who are currently in the midst of journeys.

The crew leader then speaks to the guests about the trip. He relates any significant or humorous incidents and brings people up to date on events in other villages. Any difficulties encountered will be covered in detail. These may include relations among crew members, relations between crew members and people at other villages along the way, difficulties with the tokay and specific problems of river travel. During the course of the trip, problems in interpersonal relationships especially, have been put aside to expedite the trip. But now they are brought out to be resolved.

The crew leader's speech may last an hour or more. Finally he sits down and remains silent to see who will speak to the points he has mentioned. Usually the Paran Bio begins the commentary. He opens his remarks by saying that it is good to see the crew back in good health,

comments on some outstanding aspect of the trip such as a good business deal contracted, and compliments the crew leader on specific instances of good judgement and leadership. Then he begins to probe some of the problems presented by the crew leader, relating past experiences where relevant. As specific problems are brought up, crew members may be called on or may volunteer additional information.

After the Paran Bio has given his opinions on the various problems, the Paran Lepo speaks in the same manner, followed by other paran and elders. After all have spoken, the Paran Bio may give a brief summary talk. The speeches may also be the occasion for discussion of other problems, either within the village or with other villages, that have occurred since the last community gathering.

After the speeches and discussion of issues, the crew members, acting as waiters, begin serving refreshments. These usually consist of Milo (a hot chocolate health drink) and cookies. The waiters circulate, refilling the cups until no one can drink more. Most men, if they are not accompanied by a child or grandchild at the uman usan, package the majority of the cookies to take home.

After the break for refreshments, government officials may deliver brief speeches relating to specific problems, new government edicts, or just general patriotic pep talks. In 1970, the policies on travel to Sarawak were in process of revision, so the new rulings had to be interpreted and explained. These speeches may, in turn, generate questions and comments from the elders and village leaders.

After this round of speech making, the crew members pass out their gifts to the assembled guests. The gifts consist of, at minimum, a small amount of salt wrapped in banana leaf and another package

containing sugar. It is from this former, essential gift that the ritual gets its name, "to eat salt."

If the crew is returning from a trip to the coast on the Indonesian side, the gifts should also include a few sticks of chewing tobacco; the Indonesian chewing toabcco is much preferred over Malaysian chewing tobacco. If the trip has been a particularly good one, other gifts may be provided such as lengths of cloth, extra packs of cookies to take home, and ten-packs of cigarettes.

The gifts are purchased from a portion of each man's salary. Each man in the crew turns his earnings over to the leader. If there are eight men, the leader divides the total into nine shares. Each man gets one share and the remaining share is used to purchase the uman usan gifts.

Before there were local government officials in the village, the gifts went to the village leaders and elders. The reason given for the gifts is that these older men can no longer make the difficult journeys and work to obtain market goods. Thus, the younger men who did undertake the journey must provide for the elders. Today, government officials are included among the gift recipients. The reason given is much the same. Because of their jobs, government officials cannot make the market journeys, so they receive goods, too. This reason, of course, does not hold up since government officials have a higher standard of living than other villagers and rarely lack salt or other market goods. But the fact that they are included as gift recipients means that they are accorded a measure of respect because of their positions.

After the distribution of the gifts, the actual feasting begins. Guests are ushered in groups into the lamin of the crew leader and

perhaps one or two adjacent lamin. Particularly honored guests such as the Paran Bio, Paran Lepo, and the tjamat always eat in the main lamin. The meal is laid out on fine mats. Customarily, it consists of rice packaged in banana leaves and shallow plates of soup with small chunks of pork; tea, coffee or Milo accompany the meal. The food is consumed quickly with little conversation. After each man finishes his meal, he goes home.

The discussion of the uman usan demonstrates the basic form for gatherings in Long Nawang today. The nature of the speeches, of course, varies with the occasion. Those for a wedding consist of advice to the young couple, for a funeral a recitation of and commentary on the life of the deceased. On Indonesian national holidays, the same general form is followed except that the bulk of the speech making is done by government officials and is, of course, very patriotic. At any gathering, except a wedding or a funeral, after the major business has been discussed, other village matters requiring attention may be brought up.

Some village problems are serious enough to require their own gatherings. These are hukum adat or legal cases. These gatherings are generally held at night and take the same basic form as other gatherings. The participating parties present their cases, and one-by-one the elders present their views. The Paran Bio summarizes the arguments then suggests a resolution. The parties involved must agree, as must the elders, that the resolution is fair and just. The discussion continues until such agreement is reached. Not uncommonly, the case goes on all night and some have reportedly continued for several days. When the case is resolved, it is finished off by a feast provided by the families of the involved parties. Again, a court case may be the arena for

bringing out other village problems not worthy of their own gatherings.

The christening of an infant may be a similar feasting occasion if the family wishes it. A christening feast usually occurs only in the case of an infant from a well-to-do paran family. In this case, the pastor or Guru Indjil performs a brief ceremony bestowing the name on the child, and elders then give speeches of congratulations and proper child-raising. Most infants are christened in groups as a part of a regular Sunday service. The christening has replaced the traditional nutong pusa ceremony at which the child was named and officially welcomed to the community.

The preceding sketch of Lepo Tau history and the ethnographic description of the Lepo Tau give us a background for the outline of the Lepo Tau class-related symbol complex described in Chapter IV.

CHAPTER IV

THE SIGNS AND SYMBOLS OF SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION

Now that we have examined the main varieties of social stratification and differentiation found among the Lepo Tau Kenyah, we can turn our attention to an explication of some of the signs and symbols associated with the system of social stratification and differentiation.

A Kenyah carries the symbols of his social class with him, in his possessions and his surroundings, from birth to death. A glance at his cradleboard (ba') or his coffin (salong) immediately tells the observer the position of this individual in his society. The symbols of social class remain constant regardless of the context in which they are displayed or the medium in which they are executed. These symbols are largely drawn from the natural world (i.e. birds and animals) but also include art motifs and house architecture.

In this chapter I will discuss the major symbols of Kenyah social class and then the various contexts in which these symbols occur. By examining the expression of these symbols in various behavioral environments as they are restricted by the concept of parib we will be able to more clearly understand the principles of Lepo Tau Kenyah social organization and with this understanding as background we will be able to more fruitfully examine the ba' and the social relations generated through its construction, use and destruction. Many of the symbols discussed below have disappeared or are no longer used in their former

contexts. Only on the ba' (baby carrier) are the symbols still used with regularity.

The tiger (lendjau) in all its manifestations, as a skin cloak, as a pictorial representation, and in the use of its teeth is always the ultimate symbol of the paran. This is all the more interesting since the tiger does not occur in Borneo, and, according to the archaeological record, has never existed in Borneo (Harrisson 1956:290), although it is found in adjacent Sumatra and Malaya. There is documentation of the arrival of tiger skins in the Apo Kayan as gifts from the Rajah of Sarawak (see below page 162), but the source of the tiger teeth is unknown. Perhaps the Kenyah were using tiger teeth before their arrival in Borneo, and later Chinese traders suppied the demand for tiger teeth recognizing that they were valuable to the interior peoples and could be traded for the wealth of the interior such as monkey stones, gold, and rhinoceros horn.

Animal Skins

One of the more dramatic uses of animal symbols was the use of animal skins as war cloaks or coats for chiefs. A few of these cloaks are still in existence but now are used mainly as a part of the dance costume. Occasionally they are still worn for ceremonial events such as the pre-dance march into the longhouse on Hari Merdeka (Indonesian Independence Day) or on visits of high government officials. On these occasions they are properly displayed, that is, worn by those who, by virtue of their high standing, are entitled to them. When the cloaks appear, as they now do frequently, as part of the dance costume, they may be worn by anyone performing the dance regardless of his age or class.

The highest ranking skin was that of the tiger; the tiger cloak could only be worn by full paran. There were two tiger skins still present in the Long Nawang area in 1970, one in Long Nawang itself and the other in Nawang Baru. I had at first assumed that these items had been traded into the area by the ubiquitous Chinese traders, but further research indicates that the skins were a gift from the Rajah of Sarawak, sent by him in 1898 with a letter to the Kenyah of the Apo Kayan inviting the chiefs to Kuching for a conference with the Rajah (Smythies 1955:506).

At that time the high chief of the Apo Kayan was Pingan Surang and the two skins are now in the possession of two of his lineal descendants, Pato of Long Nawang and PeBali Lie of Nawang Baru. The latter skin was previously in the hands of PeTau Kule the ex-Paran Bio of the Apo Kayan. PeTau, for various reasons, saw fit to convert to Christianity. His cousin, PeBali, did not choose to convert and gathered around him a large group of followers to found the Adat village of Nawang Baru. PeTau passed the tiger skin, as well as the other accouterments necessary and appropriate to high chiefs to PeBali who was attempting to carry on the tradition which PeTau, by conversion to Christianity, had given up. Insofar as I know there are no other tiger skins in the Apo Kayan. The tiger is important as a class symbol not only in the form of the cloak but also in its pictorial representation and the use of its teeth which will be discussed below.

In the Bahau River area, the skin of the orangutan has been used in the same way as the tiger skin in the Apo Kayan. The orangutan skin was also appropriate only to full paran. In the Apo Kayan, the orangutan skin could only be used by those paran who had attained the highest

grade of suhan in the mamat rituals (Harrisson 1966:295).

Each village has the skin of a long-haired black goat or the honey bear, formerly used as the war cloak of the village chief but now as part of the village's dance costume. Occasionally this cloak of the village chief was made of the skin of the beautiful clouded leopard (kule); such a cloak was in use in the village of Mara Satu.

The skin of a small spotted civet cat is frequently made into a miniature war cloak for children. It is also made into a device for frightening chickens away from padi laid out to dry in the sun; because this little civet cat will dine on domestic chickens given the opportunity, the skin of the cat tied to a bamboo pole and waved over the rice is supposed to be particularly effective in keeping the chickens at their distance.

Skins of small animals such as monkeys and squirrels are used to line dart cases for blowgun darts but have no special significance.

Animal Teeth

The teeth of certain animals have important uses as class and rank indicators. The canine teeth of the tiger and the spotted leopard are particularly significant. Males who have been at war or involved in headhunting may pierce the upper shell of the ear and wear a leopard tooth in the hole. Paran males may insert a tiger tooth in the ear. Tiger and leopard canine teeth also figured in the suhan rankings as symbols of ranks achieved. Leopard teeth were used in the lower ranks for both panyin and paran and tiger teeth in the very highest ranks for paran.

At the present time, the major use to which these leopard and tiger teeth are put is the ornamentation of the ba' . In the Apo Kayan both

types of teeth are used, but tiger teeth are used only by paran. In the Bahau River village of Long Alango, however, tiger teeth were no longer in use . Paran and Panyin alike used the leopard teeth, the difference in class being symbolized in part by the number of leopard teeth dispalyed on the ba'. The Paran Bio of the Bahau River area explained that it was on the advice of his father, the previous Paran Bio, that the paran of the area did not use tiger teeth. He explained that paran could use tiger teeth but that they were very powerful and misuse could easily lead to parib. He himself was a full paran as was his wife, the daughter of another village chief, and thus, his child was also a full paran. But, in spite of this, he still felt it better to play it safe and eschew the use of tiger teeth altogether. His high position was clearly demonstrated, however, even without the use of tiger teeth. His child's ba' was ornamented with over one hundred clouded leopard teeth, as well as with twenty valuable heirloom beads.

The use of tiger teeth is common in Borneo though its use varies widely. Use of the tiger tooth for oath taking is described in some detail for the Bisaya by Peranio (1959). Among the Kenyah also the tiger tooth was the ultimate oath taking device in the past; no one could doubt an oath sworn on a tiger tooth. This practice has passed out of favor in Long Nawang with the coming of Christianity, the Bible being now preferred for oath taking. In the Bahau, however, there was a case during my visit of an oath taken on a tiger tooth in the face of a serious accusation of adultery (see pages 139-140).

By far the most important use of tiger teeth in Long Nawang today is on the ba'. Tiger teeth can be used on the ba' of a paran child, and the number of teeth displayed on the ba' indicates the rank within

the paran class as well as the sex of the child. The maximum number of tiger teeth theoretically possible is twelve; this number would indicate a full paran of completely pure ancestry and a male. No one today uses twelve tiger teeth and anyone who did so would certainly be considered presumptuous. According to some informants, there is but one true, pure Lepo Tau paran left today. A paran male child of slightly lower rank would be entitled to ten tiger teeth. Ten would be used today by PeTau Kule, the son of the great Ujong Kule, if he had a child because he is of true aristocratic lineage although his wife is a commoner. The present Paran Bio family uses eight teeth for a male child; the Paran Bio is a cousin of PeTau Kule but not in the pure aristocratic line. A female child displayed one less tooth than the number allowed her male counterpart of the same class and rank.

Other tooth symbols are those of a human (djipun kelunan) and the tusks of the wild pig (djipun babui). The tooth of an especially wise or aristocratic ancestor may be saved in a small bamboo container thus adding to the stregth and wisdom of its possessor. Pig teeth are used in two ways. The lower jaw of the pig with canines intact is displayed on the verandah of the successful hunter to insure future good hunting. More important is the pig tusk referred to as the djipun aput. This is a pig tusk that has grown to form an almost complete circle. Such a tusk is a powerful charm which protects the bearer from any sort of wound by blowgun dart, sword, or shotgun. To be effective the tusk must be from the right side of the pigs jaw and the pig must fall on its left side when killed. These tusks are rare, and they are restricted to the paran class. Even though a panyin may have killed the animal, he must turn the tusk over to a paran. The tusk forms part of the accouterments

of a war and headhunting leader who is always a paran. It would be very dangerous and parib for a panyin to carry a djipun aput.

Feathers

Another category of animal symbols is feathers. Feathers are associated with success in war as well as social class. Warriors placed in their hats feathers of the hornbill as an indication of how many heads they had taken, one feather for each head. Both panyin and paran could use the feathers of the Rhinoceros Hornbill (Buceros rhinoceros); but only the paran could use the long feathers of the Helmeted Hornbill (Rhinoplax vigil). Traditionally no one would dare to wear a hat with the inappropriate number of feathers for fear of becoming parib. One could don a hat with fewer feathers than he was actually entitled to but not one with more. Today the war hat, full of feathers, is used as part of the dance costume and is worn by males and females alike regardless of age or class. Several times, when asked to dance, I would reply that since I had taken no heads I was not entitled to wear this hat, obviously the possession of an accomplished warrior, and feared to wear it lest I become parib. Such a comment was sure to evoke gales of laughter from the young and old alike in the audience. The feathers of the Rhinoceros Hornbill were also used in rows on the back of the war cloak now used in the dance.

Another use of feathers in association with social class is on the large round sunshade hat (sa'ong). A simple undecorated version of the sunhat is worn by almost all Kenyah for protection from the sun. A very elaborate version decorated with intricate beadwork of the appropriate design and topped with a bunch of feathers from the Rhinoceros Hornbill may be worn only by paran. For others to wear it would be,

at the least, presumptuous. This is illustrated by the following incident. A insulted B by the remark, "Just because you wear the feathered sa'ong you think you're a paran." Individual B in this instance was a commoner who had married a paran, moved into his lamin, and was theoretically entitled to the use of the accouterments of a paran. But A's point here was that no one was fooled. Regardless of the fact that B was wearing the hat everyone knew that she wasn't a real paran. A was saying that B did not know the manners and ways of a true paran ; she was only entitled to wear the hat by marriage and not by birth.

Feathers are also associated with certain grades in the suhan ranking system. The second suhan grade (normally held by small children) was symbolized by the tail feathers of a cock. Some of the upper grades for both panyin and paran use the feathers of the Rhinoceros Hornbill while the feathers of the Helmeted Hornbill were reserved for the upper grades of the paran.

Several families had clumps of feathers brought back from trips to New Guinea; my impression was that these feathers seemed to be restricted to paran families but of this I cannot be certain.

Roof Height

Among the important symbols of social class which are now passing out of use is that of roof height. In the previous chapter, the connection between roof height and class was mentioned briefly. A few older houses are constructed with varying roof heights, although the roofs of newer houses are of equal height over each lamin. The highest section of the roof, usually in the middle of the longhouse marks the lamin of the Paran Uma who is usually a full paran. Immediately adjacent to his lamin on both sides are several lamin with roofs slightly lower than

that of the Paran Uma but higher than those of their outside neighbors. These are usually the lamin of relatives of the Paran Uma who are themselves full paran or paran iot. The next descending level of roofs on either side of the house are the lamin of the commoners or panyin. Small lamin on either end of the house may be inhabited by either a new couple who wishes to join the longhouse and who will add in a regular lamin when the house is rebuilt or are the lamin of panyin lamin or war captives and their descendants categorized as slaves. The lamin of the Paran Bio has a roof not only higher than the others of his house, but also higher than the highest roofs of surrounding houses.

The construction of a new house with a level roof provided an excellent opportunity for me to ask questions about the practice. A paran in charge of the construction of the new house gave me the essentials of traditional practice noted above. Then he said, indicating the level roof of the new house, "But this is a new time. We can no longer display this obvious social division. People can have levels in their hearts, but roofs should be level."

Corresponding with roof height is the size of the portion of the verandah in front of the lamin. The verandah in front of the lamin of a Paran Uma is somewhat larger than that in front of the lamin of his neighbors. The difference is more exaggerated when the central lamin houses a village chief (Paran Lepo) or, ultimately, the Paran Bio. This difference is, of course, functional. The verandah is the place for meetings of any kind. Meetings relating to any particular unit are held on the verandah in front of the lamin of the leader of that unit. Meetings or events relating to one house only take place in front of the Paran Uma's lamin; village meetings occur in front of the Paran

Lepo's lamin; and meetings or celebrations for the whole area are held in front of the Paran Bio's lamin. This is also the area for the entertainment of visitors. In the village of Long Nawang, because it held the Paran Bio as its most important resident, visitors were frequently entertained and celebrations held at the Paran Bio's verandah, but Long Nawang is an unusual case. In other villages, guests would be entertained and celebrations held on the verandah in front of the lamin of the Paran Lepo.

Human and Animal Designs

The use of, and restrictions on the use of, certain motifs in both graphic and plastic arts are important in the discussion of the symbols of Lepo Tau social differentiation. First I will discuss the common motifs used as symbols of social class in Kenyah art, then their uses in various contexts.

The human form is commonly seen in Lepo Tau painting and beadwork. It is a stylized form, always in a seated position, and executed in the typical Kenyah style with curvilinear designs emanating from the head and limbs. Only the full paran may employ the full human figure in a design (see Figure 15). A paran iot may use the human head form with the curvilinear designs (see Figure 16). Other people may use designs constructed of curvilinear forms only.

The tiger motif reappears in paintings. Only a full paran may employ the tiger in a painting or beadwork design. In contrast to the human form, the tiger is represented realistically. Since the tiger is not native to Borneo, the question arises as to how knowledge of the tiger's appearance came to the Lepo Tau. The paintings employing the tiger that I saw were crude but were obviously attempts at realistic

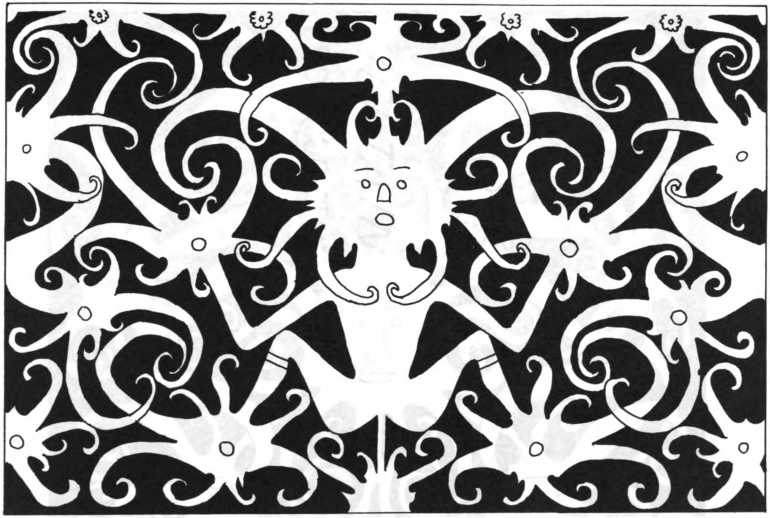

FIGURE 15 : Kalong Kalunan : Paran Aban Design

FIGURE 16. Kalong Ulu : Paran Iot Aban Design

representation.

The hornbill also may be used only by paran. It may be represented either realistically or in a stylized form.

Another sort of motif very frequently employed in the curvilinear pattern is various referred to as dog (asu), deer (payau), or lizard (kabok) design. This is a highly stylized motif and is employed in many contexts. I have reason to believe, along with Thomas (1968), who has done an excellent study of Kenyah and Kayan tattoos, that the design, despite the various names applied to it, represents none of these animals but rather a dragon. Thomas reports that people told her that the design was not a real dog, ". . . but an animal now extinct . . . that lived in the jungle or the river, was very big and ate people"(1968:221). Nowadays, with designs being used by almost anyone who can pay the artist to execute them, this design is seen more frequently, but it was formerly the prerogative of the aristocracy.

There are also purely abstract designs employing the curvilinear patterns which are part of any Kenyah design; these patterns are not restricted by social class in their use.

Lamin Paintings

Some of the most dramatic displays of the symbols of social class in a Lepo Tau village are the enormous paintings on the front of the lamin of high paran. The most famous of these paintings, both among the Lepo Tau and among outsiders through Harrisson's writings , was that on the front wall of the lamin of Ujong Kule the well-known father of the Paran Bio PeTau Kule. The house was called Uma Bio (the big house) and is reported to have been as tall as a three story building. Some of the upright posts and floor boards from this house are still existing,

incorporated into new houses, and their size indicates that Uma Bio was very large indeed as compared with present houses. The house no longer exists, having fallen prey to the ravages of time and tropical climate, but a facsimile of its famous painting, executed by Long Nawang artists, is preserved high among the roofbeams of the Sarawak Museum in Kuching. The Museum painting was produced under the direction and orders of Tom Harrisson, ex-Curator of the Museum, and he has written a great deal about the stories and interpretations connected with the painting. Mr. Harrisson refers to the painting as the "Tree of Life" and interprets it as explaining Kenyah origins and showing their place in the universe (Harrisson 1966:287). No one living in Long Nawang today was able to add to the information collected by Mr. Harrisson; however, I was unable to talk with PeBalan Lihan, his informant. Most Lepo Tau spoke of the paintings simply as designs which were pleasing and decorative. Younger people who have been Christians from birth appear to know nothing about the meanings of the paintings. The only interpretation that I will make here of the paintings is their importance for symbolizing class. The paintings occur only on the walls of aristocrats' lamin and the motifs employed in them show the level within the aristocracy of the inhabitants of the lamin, e.g., a tiger will be seen only on the wall of a very high or full paran.

Currently in Long Nawang there is but one wall painting and that is on the front of the lamin of the Paran Bio, PeTurut Alut. This painting has as its central motif, not a full human figure as did the one formerly decorating the lamin of Ujong Kule, but only the head and shoulders of a human. As we noted previously, the usual motif for a full paran is the full human figure while the paran iot may employ only the head.

The painting here described is neither, but rather a compromise. It is closer to the full figure, however, and perhaps denotes a rising paran; a family on the way up by virtue of circumstances of the modern world; that is, the government interference in local affairs. The use of a full human figure on the ba' design used by the niece of PeTurut would support this. For a traditional Lepo Tau, using a design above one's station would result in parib. PeTurut has been a Christian since 1938, and does not fear parib. He may however, fear community censure; there are undertones of gossip that he really shouldn't be Paran Bio. Thus, in this case it is better for him to correspond with the Kenyah ideal of modesty and not claim full paran status for himself. PeTurut's painting is incidently, a modern one; the figure is portrayed in a white, western-style shirt.

In Nawang Baru, which split from Long Nawang in order to maintain Adat Lama, but has very recently converted to Christianity, there are two large wall paintings. The lamin of PeBali Lie, a founder of the village, is decorated with a magnificent painting with a full human figure as its focus. At another longhouse in Nawang Baru, the lamin of PeBalan displays a very elaborate painting which incorporates some of the aspects of the Uma Bio painting described above. Near the top of this painting is a huge tiger motif executed realistically, and atop the tiger is a hornbill.

At the Uma Djalan village of Long Ampong, upriver from Long Nawang, the Paran Lepo's lamin sports a rather unusual painting in a more modern style. At the bottom center is a large flower pot and from it emerges a twining tree running to the top of the wall. On the branches of the tree are varieties of flowers, birds, and animals. The hornbill is

among the birds portrayed but the tiger is not present. The only other lamin painting I observed in the Apo Kayan was in the Lepo Tukung village of Long Sungai Barang. This picture is not very elaborate and is partially obscured by a large cross and by church posters graphically depiciting life as two paths, one leading to heaven and the other to hell.

The tradition of lamin painting is clearly a dying one in the Apo Kayan, along with the building of very large and elaborate longhouse structures. When people begin living in single family dwellings as the Long Nawang Lepo Tau who have moved to Mara Satu are doing, the lamin paintings are completely eliminated.

Bark Cloth Coats

The human figure motif (kalong kelunan) was also employed in connection with elaborately decorated bark coats. These coats are mentioned by Harrisson and Galvin in connection with the suhan grades taken during mamat rituals. The coats described by Harrisson (1966), Galvin (1966a) and by Kooijan (1958) are all decorated with the full human figure motif which appears in various combinations: two figures upside down; four figures interlocked; and four figures upright. The coats decorated with human figures appear as markers only in the upper suhan grades. Kooijan (1958) indicates that bark cloth coats decorated in the manner described above are connected with burials as well as headhunting. But it may be that burials and headhunting are themselves directly connected for the Lepo Tau and, thus, the appearence of the bark cloth coat in what appears to be two contexts is really one and the same context, namely the end of a mourning period. It is interesting to note here that the dress for the mourning period was, and still is in an attenuated form, plain and undecorated bark cloth garments.

In the Apo Kayan itself there are, to my knowledge, no decorated bark cloth garments still in existence. The only bark cloth that I saw there was in garments of plain cut and without decoration used for mourning dress among older adults. A cheap pink or light orange cloth has partially replaced bark cloth as recognized mourning dress in Long Nawang. Among Lepo Tau living nearer the coast the pink or orange cloth is used almost exclusively, and those in town have adopted the custom of the local Chinese of pinning a small scrap of black cloth to the upper sleeve to indicate mourning. The only use of bark cloth that I was among the Lepo Tau living near the coast was by a very old woman whose husband died during my stay. She made a headband from a small piece of bark cloth that she had brought with her from the Apo Kayan; the rest of her mourning clothing was of the pink or orange cloth.

In the Bahau River area there are still some decorated bark cloth coats which are worn by females. What the use of these garments was in the past I am not certain, but today they are used on very important ceremonial occasions, such as the visit of the Bupati or District Officer. The Paran Bio of the Bahau area said that all people could wear bark cloth coats but that the distinction was in the design employed on the coat. I saw women's coats of the paran class which employed the "dog" motif. For male coats the "dog" and human motifs were the prerogative of the paran. The coats of commoners could employ only the scroll-like designs, never the "dog" or human motifs.

Tattoo Designs

Tattooing, formerly very important and popular among the Kenyah, males and females alike, has been all but stamped out in the Apo Kayan by the combined efforts of the missionaries and the local Indonesian

government. Although a little tattooing goes on nowadays, it is a rather clandestine affair. Younger Lepo Tau maintain that tattooing is ugly and painful and they are not interested in it. The old mantri obat (a government health official) has been active in stamping out the practice of tattooing. Ironically, two of the most recently tattooed women in Long Nawang are his wife, a woman of about fifty years, and his brother's wife, a woman of about the same age. These two decided they wanted tattoos appropriate to their class but dared not ask anyone in the village to do the job. They told their husbands they were going out to the fields. They were gone for some time which is not unusual since many fields are at a great distance from the village; when they returned each had her compliment of arm tattoos. Their husbands were angry but there was nothing to be done.

Traditionally among the Lepo Tau, unlike other Borneo groups, tattooing was the prerogative of the aristocracy. The "dog" and human figure motifs, aristocratic designs in other spheres as well, figured prominently in the tattoo patterns. Within the aristocracy, levels were reflected in the tattoo designs. Thomas, writing of Kenyah women's tattoos says:

> Originally only the upper class Kenyahs could get tattoos at all, but now anyone who has the money to pay for a tattoo may get one whether or not she is from the hereditary aristocracy. Also there was a discrimination of class among those who could tattoo with only the highest able to have five rings on their lower legs going down to the low aristocracy which could only have two bands tattooed on the lower part of their legs (Thomas 1968:210).

In discussing former tattooing practices, informants reported that in the past a person who dared to be tattooed with designs above his station would not only be liable for parib but would also have the offending portions of skin removed.

Death and Funerals

The designs and motifs associated with the different classes are used by the individual from the time of his birth through his death and after. The symbols that have been used on an individual's ba', and in other contexts, go with him to his grave. The casket is decorated in accord with the station of the occupant. Caskets are made from hollowed out logs. Formerly they were interred in structures above the ground. Today, with Christianity, they are buried. The caskets are usually begun before the death of the individual, particularly for an important individual who will require an elaborate casket; the log is usually selected and hollowed out by the individual who will later occupy it, but the finishing touches, paint and decoration, are not completed until after the individual's death. The partially completed casket is stored beneath its owner's house until his death when his kinsmen and other males in the community will finish the work and an artist will decorate it with the appropriate symbols of class and rank.

Traditional funerals are not celebrated today, but the Christian funeral now in vogue retains a few elements of the traditional funeral practice. Traditionally, the number of days devoted to the funeral and associated rituals was directly related to the individual's class, rank, and sex. The funeral of the highest paran should take eleven days; the long session was partly to insure that relatives and leaders from other villages would be able to arrive before the end of the ceremonies. During this time, no one in the village could travel except those dispatched as messengers to take the sad news to other villages. No work was permitted save that related to the funeral. As the parties from each village arrived to join the mourners assembled on the verandah of

the dead man's house, a large gong would be sounded to announce the arrival of each party. The leader of the party, and any other members of the party so inclined, then would go forward and kneel or sit by the casket and wail the praises of the dead man and the grief of himself and his party at the dead man's untimely demise. After the wailing period, the party then came forward to greet the relatives of the dead. If they were close relatives, they took their places fairly close to the coffin. If not, they then joined the larger group on the verandah to chat and gossip. In general, women were expected to do more wailing than men and could approach the coffin and wail whenever so moved. Such a funeral involved a great deal of work for the family, with the aid of other villagers and kinsmen. The family and kinsmen were expected to feed the visitors and to provide for their other needs such as tobacco and betel. Formerly, during the funeral a dayung (spirit medium) would be selected to give a long chant called a nidau detailing the major events of the dead man's life, giving a genealogical sketch including his more well-known ancestors and his descendants, and then drawing a verbal map of the journey of the spirit to alo maloh, the place of the dead. The story giving details of the journey to alo maloh was considered absolutely necessary lest the wandering spirit lose its way and return to the house and village.

On the last day of the funeral the body, in its log casket, was laid to rest in a grave house erected atop a large pole. If it were the grave of an aristocrat, the inside and outside of the house would be ornamented with the possessions of the owner such as war garb, mats, gongs, parangs, shields, etc. The grave house would also be ornamented on the outside with the appropriate symbols of the dead man's class.

The funerals of lesser mortals were abbreviated versions of those of the highest paran. They lasted for a shorter period down to the funeral of a panyin lamin who would be buried in the ground on the day of his death. Funeral guests would be fewer with only close kin coming from other villages. The nidau chant by a dayung was always necessary, however, for no spirits, whatever their social class, should be allowed to return to the village or house. Spirits being unable to cross water, graveyards were always located, either on the other side of the main river, or downriver on the same side with a small stream separating the graveyard from the village proper.

The casket itself bore the decoration appropriate to its occupant. For a paran, a full human figure should be displayed on the casket; for a paran iot, a human head; for a panyin the common scroll-like decoration; and for a panyin lamin, no decoration at all.

I observed a total of five Lepo Tau funerals, four in Long Nawang proper and one in its daughter village of Mara Satu. One, that in Mara Satu, was the funeral of a paran, one was the funeral of a paran iot, two of panyin and one of a panyin lamin.

In the funerals observed at Long Nawang, all used the casket decorated with the symbols appropriate to the class of the deceased. A part of the decoration of all caskets was the Christian cross, usually on the end of the casket. One of the caskets was completely black with no decoration at all save a cross in white on one end of the casket and some fresh flowers. No one would discuss the reasons for the lack of decoration at the time, though much later an informant, convinced that I knew anyway, admitted that the deceased was a descendant of a panyin lamin or slave. This particular funeral was quite well attended and

my informant felt that the heavy attendance was due in large measure to the local government and church emphasis on equality; that in turning out in a large body for the funeral, the villagers were demonstrating their compliance with the edicts of church and local government.

The two panyin caskets, were decorated with scroll-like designs and the paran iot casket featured a human head with accompanying scroll-like designs. The four burial sites were roughly the same, a small plot surrounded by a picket fence enclosure. On some graves, particularly those of children, goods such as clothing, or modern symbols of wealth such as flashlight batteries were placed on a little table within the fence.

The funeral of the paran iot lasted five days; those of the panyin were two days; the panyin lamin died in the evening and was buried the next day. These were all Christian funerals and were much alike except in duration. The body was laid out in its casket on the verandah of the longhouse, in front of the deceased lamin. Villagers, other than relatives who were present more or less constantly, were expected to come and stay for an hour or two. Each lamin in the village was expected to send a representative, usually a teenager, to spend the night on the verandah. The mood among the teenagers so designated, unless they were close relatives of the deceased, was anything but reverent or subdued; they viewed the event as a great opportunity for socialization between the sexes. A meal was served to those present after prayers and songs by the church choir (teenagers). After the meal, the villagers who were not going to spend the night began to leave, and the teenagers began to play card games or choose sleeping spots.

On the day of the burial, villagers assembled, summoned by the

gong, for the final ceremonies. This ceremony consists of prayers and hymns and a eulogy for the deceased. In none of the Long Nawang funerals was there the nidau chant to direct the spirit of the deceased to alo maloh.

After the service on the verandah, the casket was hefted onto stout bamboo poles and borne by the young men of the village to the graveyard with close relatives following immediately behind and wailing and other villagers in a chatty throng following along behind. At the graveyard there was again a prayer by the leading churchman present and a hymn by a group of teenagers. As soon as the young men began to lower the casket, the wails of the close relatives began. After the casket was lowered, the throng began to make its way back to the village with people stopping here and there to wail at or to clean the graves of their own relatives.

Traditionally, a death put the entire village in a state of ritual impurity; all villagers had to return from their fields to the village at the notice of a death and remain for the funeral. It is still a stated ideal that all be present in the village after a death and also that all be present at the funeral although this is not followed in practice. When I asked villagers who was expected to be present at a funeral, they stoutly maintained that everyone had to be present and that a fine could be levied by the village chief against those not present. When I remarked , at one funeral, that not only was everyone not present, but not even one-third of the village was present, they replied that, well, there were extenuating circumstances. For example, those who had small children could be excused as could the sick and the very old and, of course, the very young were not expected to be present.

Since these categories cover almost everyone but teenagers, it is understandable that although "everyone" should attend a funeral, actual attendance was not very high. During the funerals that I witnessed in Long Nawang, there were some people who did not even return from their fields. This was excused by the remark that their fields were very far away. It should be noted, however, that none of the Long Nawang funerals was that of a high paran or a well-known individual. Presumably had such been the case the return to the village and attendance at the actual funeral would have been somewhat higher.

For the funeral of the well-known paran PeBang Lie[1], in the village of Mara Satu, all the villagers were indeed present in the village, and hundreds of people came from surrounding villages to mourn and to join in the funeral ceremonies. The eldest son of PeBang was not a village resident but had been sent for when it became clear that the old man was dying. Fortunately for Bilong, PeBang's eldest son, this call coincided with an official call from the government office at Tandjungselor, which provided for the expensive trip from Long Nawang to the coast. A few weeks previously another son, a banker resident in the Celebes, had returned to the area to get married. He and his new bride had begun their trip back to the Celebes but were still in a nearby town awaiting air travel. Word was sent to him the day before their plane was to depart. They did not return to the village but continued their journey as planned which occasioned a great deal of unfavorable comment. The place of a son on his father's death is in the village

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[1] PeBang was a paran, a first cousin to Petau Kule and nephew to Ujong Kule. He was Paran Lepo (Kepala Kampong) of Long Nawang for thirty-seven years. He had retired and moved to Mara Satu in 1968.

with his mother and siblings regardless of the fact that he is a banker who has already used up his allotted vacation period.

The village chief, a Kayan, the village pastor, and PeBang's son presided at the service. There were several things that differentiated PeBang's funeral from any that I had seen in Long Nawang. First, the number of people in attendance was much greater and included many from other villages. Second, PeBang's casket was much larger and more elaborate than any I had seen. Third, at PeBang's funeral I heard for the first time a nidau. The nidau performed at PeBang's funeral were much abbreviated versions of traditional nidau. Three nidau were performed: one lasting ten minutes; another lasting fifteen minutes; and a third lasting thirty minutes. The third nidau was performed by PeBang's eldest son. This man was old enough to know how to perform the chant (many younger people could not if they wanted to) and anxious to do so out of respect for his father and for Kenyah tradition, but he was also, it will be recalled, a government official, and modern enough to be embarrassed about doing the traditional chant in front of the assembled company. His solution was to borrow my tape recorder and go alone into the woods nearby where he recorded the chant on tape; he then returned to the verandah and the tape was played for the crowd. Later he and his nephew, in discussing the funeral with me, were eager to assure me that alo maloh "really" meant heaven and thus the oration was not "really" pagan but fit in with the Christian funeral.

Although PeBang's funeral was the most elaborate Lepo Tau funeral I saw, it lasted only four days. On asking about the brief duration of the funeral, I was told that it was not necessary for it to last longer since the other villages from which people were coming were not too far

away. Informants also said that the exigencies of the climate near the coast demanded that, despite his status, the old man should be dispatched with all due speed.

PeBang's casket was a magnificent piece of work. The log from which it was made was almost four feet in diameter. Attached to the log were intricate carvings of wood and the whole thing was beautifully painted in traditional designs. But, interestingly enough, there was no human figure motif on the casket. The central figure was the dog motif, surrounded by the traditional arabesque patterns. The top of the casket was decorated with intricate arabesque carvings.

Several reasons might be given for the brevity of PeBang's funeral and the lack of what would traditionally be considered the appropriate decoration for the casket. First, PeBang was a Christian, as was his family. He was much more interested in modernization than most men his age and had led a large group from Long Nawang to move nearer the coast that they might enjoy the fruits of "civilization" such as medical care, education for the children, etc. He was much influenced by his sons, one of whom was a government official and the other a very educated banker, and his grandson who was educated to some extent and very interested in modern ways. Since living near the coast the family was much more involved in the cash economy than was the case for anyone in Long Nawang and could not, or was not willing to, devote the resources to an extended funeral. In addition, family resources had recently been seriously depleted through a more than modest wedding for the banker son.

PeBang was buried on the fourth day after his death. His burial was a combination of the traditional and the modern. The grave was not

in the village cemetery, but at a spot previously chosen by PeBang himself. It is a spot on a hill overlooking a bend in the river below the village. Although the casket itself was buried, the grave is marked by a grave house in the traditional style.[2] The marker is visible for some distance by people traveling downstream toward Mara Satu. This was PeBang's plan. He had said that more and more people from Long Nawang would be moving downriver, as he himself had done, and perhaps the sight of his grave would be soothing to the migrants, especially the older people, who were leaving the lands of their ancestors to move to the very different life nearer the coast.

After a brief ceremony with a hymn at the graveside, the casket was buried. In pre-Christian times, the inside and outside of the grave house would be hung with some of PeBang's belongings, but in this case it was left empty. Informants said that here, near the coast, they didn't dare leave valuable goods in or on the grave house for fear of theft by the coastal peoples.

Plants and Stones

There are two important symbols formerly associated with paran that have completely disappeared from Long Nawang. These are the o'ong, a croton with red leaves (Colodracon jacquinii) and the batu tuloi, a set of smooth round stones.

Formerly, the o'ong was planted in front of the lamin of each Paran Uma. The plant was surrounded by a fence and the area considered to be the dwelling place of certain spirits including the house spirits

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[2] In pre-Christian times, the Lepo Tau did not ordinarily bury their dead but interred the caskets in small, decorated grave houses raised several feet off the ground on poles.

(bali uma) and the spirit of bravery (bali akang). The o'ong and its associated spirits could only be found in front of the lamin of a paran.

Closely associated with the o'ong were the batu tuloi, which were used in the mamat ceremonies. These stones were considered a gift from bali akang and so must remain near the dwelling place of the bali's spirit. Long Nawang no longer has either o'ong plants in front of the lamin of paran nor batu tuloi so I was able to find information about these only through questioning. Galvin (1966a) gives an account of the use of the batu tuloi which differs somewhat from that I obtained from my informants.[3] In his account, the stones, as part of the mamat ceremony, were rolled back and forth on the verandah of the longhouse eight times each way. After the rolling all eight were piled, smaller on top of larger, until all balanced momentarily. In the version my informants gave, the men participating in the ceremony sat in a circle and the stones were rolled around this circle from one man to the next eight times in each direction. My informants did not specify any particular number of stones but said that all of the stones were round save two. One of the two was disk-shaped with an indentation in the center; this was the female stone. The other stone was oblong or egg-shaped and had a face on it; this was the male stone. After the other stones had been rolled, the oblong stone with the face was balanced in the center of the indented stone. As one elder tried to balance the stones, the others cheered him on with the lemalo, a sort of encouragement noise. When the balance was achieved all would jump to their feet and cheer causing

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[3] Galvin's information, it should be noted, comes from the Lepo Tau at Long Moh who have been separated for at least eight generations from the Lepo Tau at Long Nawang. Therefore, we would expect to find some differences in the ritual.

the stones to fall immediately. The action of balancing the stones insured the well-being of the community for the coming year. If nobody could make the stones balance, the next year was certain to bring bad luck to the village.

The batu tuloi came mysteriously to the village by themselves, a gift of bali akang; the stone with the face first arrived, later followed by the indented stone, both making their residence beneath the o'ong. Later, the small round stones appeared. The stones remained as long as people believed and kept the adat, but with Christianity and Bungan Malan, the stones, knowing they were no longer needed, disappeared by themselves.

The placement of the o'ong, the dwelling of the spirits, and the batu tuloi, the gift of the spirits, in front of the lamin of paran symbolized the special position of the paran in relation to traditional adat religion; the paran were the guardians and keepers of the adat. The paran's special position in the community was spiritual as well as social.

This discussion of signs and symbols of social class among the Lepo Tau is, by no means, all inclusive. It has, however, touched on the major symbols, some of which are still in limited use today and others of which have disappeared.

For the Lepo Tau themselves the "meaning" or content of these symbols is vague and amorphous. Many adults can give very detailed information on usage, who may or may not use which symbols and the ways in which they may be used. They cannot, however, detail the "meaning" or content of the symbols. When asked why, for example, the tiger tooth is considered a more "powerful" symbol than a leopard tooth or why the

full human figure should be the symbol of paran, the Lepo Tau are at a loss. The reply to such an inquiry is always either, "I don't know" or "Because that's the way it is." At first I attributed this vagueness to the influence of Christianity and a fear on the part of the Lepo Tau that if they appeared to know a great deal about these matters, I would doubt the sincerity of their commitment to Christianity. Later, though, upon re-reading parts of Nieuwenhuis's (1904) and Elshout's (1923;1926) works, I discovered that they had received similar replies to similar questions even in pre-Christian times.

Even though the symbols of social class have disappeared or are disappearing from many of their former contexts, in two instances they remain: on the casket and on the ba'. We have discussed the use of the symbols on the casket above and noted that, whereas the symbols are still used in this context in Long Nawang, in the downriver village of Mara Satu, there may be a move away from even this overt display of social class. On the ba', however, the symbols continue to be used, and, as we shall see in the next chapter, in this one instance there seems to be no decrease in the use of the symbols of social class.

CHAPTER V

THE BA' AND LEPO TAU SOCIETY

The preceding chapters have discussed Lepo Tau Kenyah history and ethnography and examined the world of visual symbols. In this chapter we turn our attention to the ba', or baby carrier, the focal point of this thesis.

First, we will look at the ba' in historical perspective through the discussions and interpretations of early travelers and ethnographers.

Second, we will examine the construction of the ba' in the present day and discuss the use of visual symbols on the ba'. Here are included some of the social and economic relations engendered in the process of ba' construction and destruction.

Third, a series of cases of ba' behavior will be presented and analyzed in terms of function within Lepo Tau Kenyah society. These cases will exemplify the role of the ba' in demonstrating and validating social relations and social statuses among the Lepo Tau. The analysis will show how the ba' and its associated symbol complex, besides providing the nexus for extremely important social relations, also provides illustration of the variety of "social glue" which helps hold Kenyah society together.

Ba' History

Searching for material on the ba', I have examined the works of Sir Spenser St. John (1862), Ling Roth (1896), Nieuwenhuis (1900;1904), Hose and McDougall (1912), Lumholtz (1920), Elshout (1923;1926), Hose (1926), Krohn (1927), Möjberg (1927), Tillema (1938), and Allard (1945).[1] I have also made specific enquiries of other contemporary ethnographers in Borneo. This material provides an idea of the ethnic and geographical distribution of the ba' as well as an outline of the spiritual significance of the ba' in pre-Christian times.

In the early works, we find the ba' mentioned as being used by Kayan, Kenyah, Kanowit, Sekapan, and, in a photograph, Punan. The ba' is noted in the Rejang/Balui River Valley in Sarawak, in the Baram River Valley in Sarawak and in the Kayan, Kapuas, and Mahakam River Valleys of Kalimantan

The authors mentioned above always note the obvious function of the ba' - to carry small children. Nieuwenhuis, Elshout, Krohn, Möjberg, Tillema, and Allard all discuss the function of the ba' in protecting the child from harm. The ba' protects the infant in two ways: 1) the various items displayed on the ba' frighten away evil spirits by their very presence as well as by the noise they make; and 2) the ba' serves as a resting place for the child's soul during the first few months of life when the soul is most vulnerable and likely to escape.

Only Nieuwenhuis, Elshout and Tillema make reference to the class-relatedness of the various beaded designs and the animal teeth and other

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[1] For a more detailed description of the references to the ba' in the works of these authors, see Appendix II.

ornaments hung on the ba'. Elshout mentions briefly that some of the items displayed on the ba' may be gifts, but he does not give details.

Contemporary ethnographers do not mention the function of the ba' in protecting the child, but Mr. Ray Rudes reports that among the Kenyah and Kayan of the Kayan River, the ba' is a "status symbol" with certain designs restricted to paran(1972:Personal communication). Mr. Jerome Rousseau who has worked among the Kayan of the Balui River says that there ba' designs are not class restricted.

Among the Lepo Tau today, it seems that the spiritual functions of the ba' have lessened while the social functions have increased in importance.

The Ba' Today

In discussing the ba' today we will begin with an examination of the general principles of construction and destruction of the ba'. The basis of the ba' is a wooden seat with a curved back made of strips of woven rattan. The construction of this basic element is not necessarily the work of a specialist; there are many adult men in the village (with the possible exception of a few educated men who have become government officials) who could make it. But there are elderly men who do make them, along with other items such as baskets, mats and other woven items, to trade for rice, chewing tobacco, and other necessities. When a new baby arrives, the basic ba' may either be made anew or an old one, outgrown by siblings or cousins may be repaired. Every baby has this basic ba' and for some it is complete; there will be no ornamentation. But for those of higher wealth and status, the basic rattan and wood ba' is only the beginning. The basic element is decorated and elaborated to become far more than a utilitarian object for carrying a baby. It is

the elaboration, the decoration of the basic ba' which is important in terms of social relations.

The first item to be applied to the basic ba' is the aban or beaded design. This design, measuring approximately ten by sixteen inches is not made on the ba', but is executed separately and then sewn on to the back of the ba'. The bead work is always done by women and older women are generally more skillful at the task. Younger women who are beading will say that they are just learning. The aban is usually executed by the resident grandmother of the expected child. Beading the design is a technical craft which requires skill and not creative ability; there is little room for individual innovation by the beader.

The actual designs for the beadwork are generally executed by the artists mentioned in Chapter III. They are employed to produce a design appropriate to the particular social class of the infant on whose ba' the design will appear. The fee for the execution of a design is variable, depending to a great degree on the skill of the artist, a matter of general concensus. In three cases I knew the artists were each paid fifteen sticks of Indonesian chewing tobacco for an aban design. Indonesian chewing tobacco is an especially valuable commodity because it is not obtainable at Belaga Bazaar but only on the Indonesian side of the border, the nearest source being the coastal town of Tandjungselor. On the coast the price is twenty to twenty-five Rupiah a stick, but upriver the price goes up to fifty Rupiah a stick. The artist's fee is, then, equivalent to 750 Rupiah, about 2.00$U.S.

The artist usually draws only half the design. The woman who is going to execute it then folds the paper over and with a sharp knife laboriously cuts the design through to the other half of the paper

forming a complete symetrical design. The complete design paper is then attached to a beading board. Any smooth board will do but preferred ones have legs so that they may stand on the floor and the woman may then sit in front of it in a sitting or kneeling position. The beading begins from the top and works down. The method of beading is standard. The only avenue for creativity open to the beader is in the choice of color. Even this is standardized to a great degree. The background should be black and the predominant colors should be white and yellow. Small highlights may be done in red, green or blue. This is, of course, an ideal pattern and may be influenced by the availability of beads. Too much blue, for example, would be considered unattractive but may be dictated by not enough black being available. A light yellow is generally preferred over a darker gold yellow, but again one sees a fair number of designs executed with dark yellow beads simply because they were available. Women coming to us to trade for beads could detect fine differences in hue that we could detect only by careful comparison of the bead strings.

A measure of the beader's skill is in the intricacy of the designs executed and in the technical matters such as the smoothness of curves in the design. Tiny curves well executed down to a point only one bead in width are the mark of a skilled craftswoman.

The beading of the aban is the most time consuming part of the ba' construction. It is difficult to say precisely how many hours go into the process because a woman has many other duties and the bead work takes the form of a spare time occupation. Most women said that, working in the evenings and at other odd moments, a complete design would require about three months. Of course, the amount of time available

for such activities depends on the stage of the agricultural cycle. During a slack period a woman might be able to work during daylight hours and thus finish the task more quickly. Since houses are lighted at night only by tiny kerosene lamps, a close task like beading is very tedious at night, particularly for older women whose eyesight is none too good.

The seed beads for the construction of the aban are a scarce commodity. The possession of them is, in itself, a manifestation of wealth. Not all Lepo Tau families are able to obtain the beads to produce an aban.

Generally, when the Lepo Tau are trading goods, they try to never let it be apparent to the trading partner exactly how much they desire the item in question. But when women came to us to trade for beads, it was impossible for them to hide their feelings. They tried to drive hard bargains but the fear of the deal falling through and actually ending with their getting no beads was too great.

For some reason, the beads (of Czechoslovakian manufacture) are not available in the coastal towns on the Indonesian side of the border but they are regularly available in even the smallest upriver bazaars in Sarawak. The nearest source of beads for the Lepo Tau of Long Nawang is Belaga Bazaar located at the confluence of the Belaga and Balui Rivers in the third division of Sarawak. The trip to the bazaar and the type of trading the Lepo Tau do there has already been described. It is men who make these trading journeys, however, and beads are not always high on their shopping lists, particularly for younger men who comprise the bulk of the trading group. Men will bring back beads if they have been specifically requested to do so, if there is enough

money after the purchase of essentials such as salt, and if they remember to do so in the excitement of final pre-departure purchases.

Another source of beads is Kayan men from the Balui who occasionally travel to the Apo Kayan to trade. These men come to the Apo Kayan primarily to trade for gongs and other items of ritual paraphenalia which they can sell at high profit to the still non-Christian Kayan of the Balui River. They also obtain some items such as elaborately decorated swords and small baskets which they sell to Chinese traders who, in turn, pass them on to coastal tourist shops. As trade items, they bring primarily light weight low bulk, high return goods such as cloth, flashlights, batteries, cheap jewelry, medicine, and beads. In the village, they can trade with the women directly and the demand for beads is high. The Kayan traders drive hard, and to us unfair, bargains. They are out of their own territory and unrestrained by ties of kinship or of ethnicity. Their products are low in supply and high in demand. In the Belaga Bazaar, a clump (ikat) of beads (approximately 1,000 beads) costs 40¢M (about 13¢US). In Long Nawang several of these clumps of beads might bring a sword with a carved antler handle which could be sold to a Chinese for 10$US or 15$US. The same sword will later appear in a shop on the coast for 40$US to 50$US. When the traders arrive, the women begin to scout around desperately for items which might appeal to the traders. The bargaining sessions are long and protracted but the trader usually gets his way in the end.

The third possibility for obtaining beads is within the village(s). A woman who has some extra beads may trade or loan them. One is in a more difficult position here, however. The constraints of kinship and neighbor relations are much more binding. It is more difficult to

drive a bargain. A reputation for greed or selfishness is very undesirable. Common trade of beads within the village is likely to take the form of, "I'll trade you a yellow and half a red for a black." Borrowing also occurs among women who are close relatives especially if they are also friends and neighbors, but again it may lead to difficulties. Who can be certain of getting the same or equivalent beads back again? Other items borrowed are readily identified but it is difficult to assert that the beads you loaned to X a year ago were of a different shade of yellow, and certainly a more attractive shade, than the ones she is returning to you.

A fourth possibility exists for getting beads. While the decorated ba' usually only lasts as a unit for one to two years, people try to save the aban intact; it becomes the property of the child when he grows up and may be used or displayed at special occasions. However, if no beads are available from any other source, and the construction of a new ba' is deemed important enough, an old aban may be dismantled to obtain the necessary beads.

The number of beads required for a complete aban is sixteen clumps (ikat). The color distribution is, in general, eight black, four yellow and four white. A few red, green or blue are necessary for highlights. The total cost at bazaar prices would be about 6.40$M (or 2.13$US). My wife and I commonly traded beads for chickens or eggs. The trade value set by us with the aid of friends was that four clumps of beads were worth one chicken of medium size. The price went up to five for a large chicken or down to three for a small one. Eggs were four for one clump of beads. Twelve clumps of beads purchased a small pig for a party. The prices were confirmed over and over by

informants so I have reason to believe they were in accord with local ideas of value.

Traditionally, each aban was drawn and beaded for a specific child; the beading was done by a female relative of the child, usually, but not necessarily the grandmother in residence. A very new trend is the production of aban for sale within the village of manufacture as well as in other villages. Thus, beadwork, as well as the drawing of designs, may become the product of specialists.

Ani, the Lepo Tau wife of the Muslim soldier in Long Nawang, was learning to do beadwork explicitly for the purpose of sale. She had learned the techniques from her mother and from watching other village women. She would visit women engaged in a bead project specifically for the purpose of adding to her store of knowledge. Part of her husband's duties involved traveling periodically to all other villages in the Apo Kayan. Their plan was that he would take orders for aban. The design to be worked would be provided by the customer. His wife would then bead the design and the finished product would be exchanged for rice because the husband's duties prevented his making a large enough swidden to provide enough rice for his growing family. The price that could be demanded for the finished aban varied with the season. Before harvest, during the period of scarcity, an aban could bring twenty blik (a blik is a five gallon can) of unhusked rice or padi; after the harvest forty blik could be asked. It is interesting to note that this husband and wife who have begun to engage in the production of a traditional good with an associated symbol complex for material gain within the area are, in a sense, marginal to Lepo Tau society. The husband is a Muslim, a Bandjar Malay, and a soldier.

Although he has lived in the village for nine years, speaks fluent Lepo Tau, and is married to a local girl, he is considered an outsider and is not infrequently put in the position of a scapegoat by villagers. All other resident government officials are Kenyah except for one who is a Penihing Dayak. The Muslim soldier's wife has added to her already vaguely marginal status by her marriage to him. Her mother was, in fact, only half Lepo Tau having had a Lepo Tau mother but a Javanese father. Had the mother married a Lepo Tau she would have been reincorporated into Lepo Tau society but she did not. She also married a Javanese soldier who was the father of her daughter Ani. After the departure of the Javanese soldier, Ani's mother then married a Chinese trader who spends most of his time traveling and gambling. He has returned to the village periodically to produce Ani's six younger siblings. So Ani, born and brought up in the Lepo Tau village is actually only one-quarter Lepo Tau. Her native language is, of course, Lepo Tau, but her husband is very anxious for her to improve her Indonesian; in fact, he encouraged her to visit us for that specific purpose. He hopes to move the entire family, including the mother-in-law and her brood to the coast in the not too distant future, but that depends to some extent on the army. Perhaps these people, marginal as they are, are the only villagers who could actually engage in the production and sale of these traditional goods, at least on the scale which they are envisioning.

The basic rattan seat and the aban are two essential components of the ornamented ba'. The assembly of the ba' begins with the sewing of the aban to the back of the rattan seat. Next the rim of the ba' is covered with a colorful strip of cloth made by sewing together scraps left over from pieces of clothing. The inside of the ba' is padded and

lined with soft material for the comfort of the tiny infant. Later, as the child grows older the padding is usually removed. For the new infant the seat of the ba' is built up by the addition of a small stool.

To decorate the ba' further recourse must be made to relatives. Additional decorations consist of Dutch coins, animal teeth, and valuable heirloom ceramic beads. With rare exceptions, the parents of the child do not own all the items necessary to decorate the ba' appropriately. To get the items, they approach kinsmen and borrow the goods, or kinsmen may offer the goods of their own accord.

The basic motif on the aban, as well as, the other symbolic accouterments, correspond closely with the symbols discussed in the preceding chapter and collectively form a symbol complex. In the symbol complex each item involved has power and meaning of its own, but their combination on the ba' adds a new dimension of significance to the symbols.

There are three basic patterns for the aban which convey the central message of class for the Lepo Tau Kenyah. The central design may be an entire human figure (kalong kelunan), a highly stylized human head (kalong ulu), or abstract designs based on the dog motif (kalong asu) which has as variants the deer (kalong pajau), the lizard (kalong kabok), the shrimp (kalong udang) and the scorpion (kalong utik). All of the variants on the dog motif are actually so close in their representation that the average Lepo Tau has a difficult time in differentiating them. Artists frequently can point out the distinctive features, but even they have some difficulty today. I think that it is reasonable to assume that they were more distinct previously when specific meanings

were attached to these different creatures.[2] These three designs, the human figure, the human head, and the "dog", then, constitute the three major themes for the Lepo Tau aban. Other designs usually augment the central theme of the aban. These may be other class symbols, such as the hornbill (tingai) or the tiger (lendjau) in the case of a high paran, or simply additional detail and elaboration. The amount of detail and the complexity of the arabesques surrounding the central figure attest to the skill of the woman who beaded the aban.

The full human figure is the symbol of the paran (see Figure 15). Both the mother and father of the child must be able to establish an acceptable link to one or more ancestral paran. The basic kalong kelunan on the paran child's aban may be amplified and clarified in two ways. First, as mentioned above, the aban itself may contain additional paran symbols such as the tiger (lendjau) or the hornbill (tingai). Second, the addition of tiger teeth (djipun lendjau) to the ba' clarifies more exactly the position of the child within the category of paran as well as indicating the sex of the child. As a sex referent, odd numbers of tiger teeth indicate a female child while even numbers indicate a male child. Actual numbers of tiger teeth indicate degree of rank within the category of paran. Highest ranking paran may use eleven to twelve tiger teeth and must be able to trace ascent in both lines to full paran. At the time of my study in 1970 there was only one man alive who could be accorded this rank. He had had twelve tiger teeth on his ba'.

The human head design is used on the aban of paran iot ba'(see

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[2] For example, an Uma Baka Kenyah woman who gave me a tattoo block with a deer motif pointed out that only an aristocratic woman could use this motif tattooed in a circle around the upper thigh.

(see Figure 16). Additional decoration may be provided by teeth of the spotted leopard. In the use of spotted leopard teeth there is no restriction as to number of teeth used. The teeth are customarily hung in pairs with a small beaded sheath at the upper end of each pair.

Panyin children may have ba' that are completely unornamented or there may be an aban with arabesque designs supplemented by a few spotted leopard teeth.

The display of heirloom beads on the ba' is common and indicates that the child belongs to a family of rank and wealth. Heirloom beads on a ba' in themselves indicate a paran since panyin would not own such items.

Dutch coins are frequently displayed on ba', being sewn onto the cloth border covering the ba' rim. The use of these coins is theoretically not restricted by class; anyone who has access to them may use them for the decoration of the ba'. In practice, however, I saw Dutch coins ornamenting only the ba' of paran and paran iot.

Since the items to ornament the ba' must be borrowed, the ba' functions not only to announce visually the class of its occupant, but also to tie together a group of kinsmen around a new member of the group. By contributing to the ba', the kinsmen can validate their own status as well as that of the infant. The cases presented in the next section will illustrate ba' behavior and the social relations generated by the ba'.

Cases Involving the Ba'

Case I is from Long Nawang and illustrates how the exchange of goods for display on the ba' reinforces the ties among paran and the validation of one leader by another. Coupled with material from a court case in which ba' goods were involved, it also clarifies principles of property ownership.

First we must identify the actors in the case (see Figure 17). The focal point of the case is the ba' of Awe Liling, the daughter of Liling Merang, a Lepo Tukung Kenyah from Long Sungai Barang and Augus Alo, a Lepo Tau Kenyah from Long Nawang. Awe's ba' has the aban of a full paran and is ornamented with seven tiger teeth. This in itself reveals that both she and her parents are full paran. To demonstrate this, we must go up at least one more generation and discuss Awe's grandparents. Liling Merang is a paran and is a second cousin to Augus's father Palo Alut. Liling's father's brother, resident at Long Sungai Barang, is Wakil Paran Bio (assistant Paran Bio), and Liling's grandfather's sister is the grandmother of Augus's father. Augus's father, Palo Alut, a respected mantri obat in the area, is a younger brother to the current Paran Bio, PeTurut Alut. Augus's father is technically by birth paran iot, but through achievement is acting in the role of full paran. Augus is a full paran, in part by virtue of the fact that her mother Larim Kadjang is a full paran and secondly by her father's achieved status. PeTurut Alut, Augus's uncle, is technically a paran iot, but through his achievement, namely being elected to the traditionally full paran status position of Paran Bio, has come to act in the role of full paran. PeTurut, however, is aware of the limitations of birth and ascribed status, as well as residual

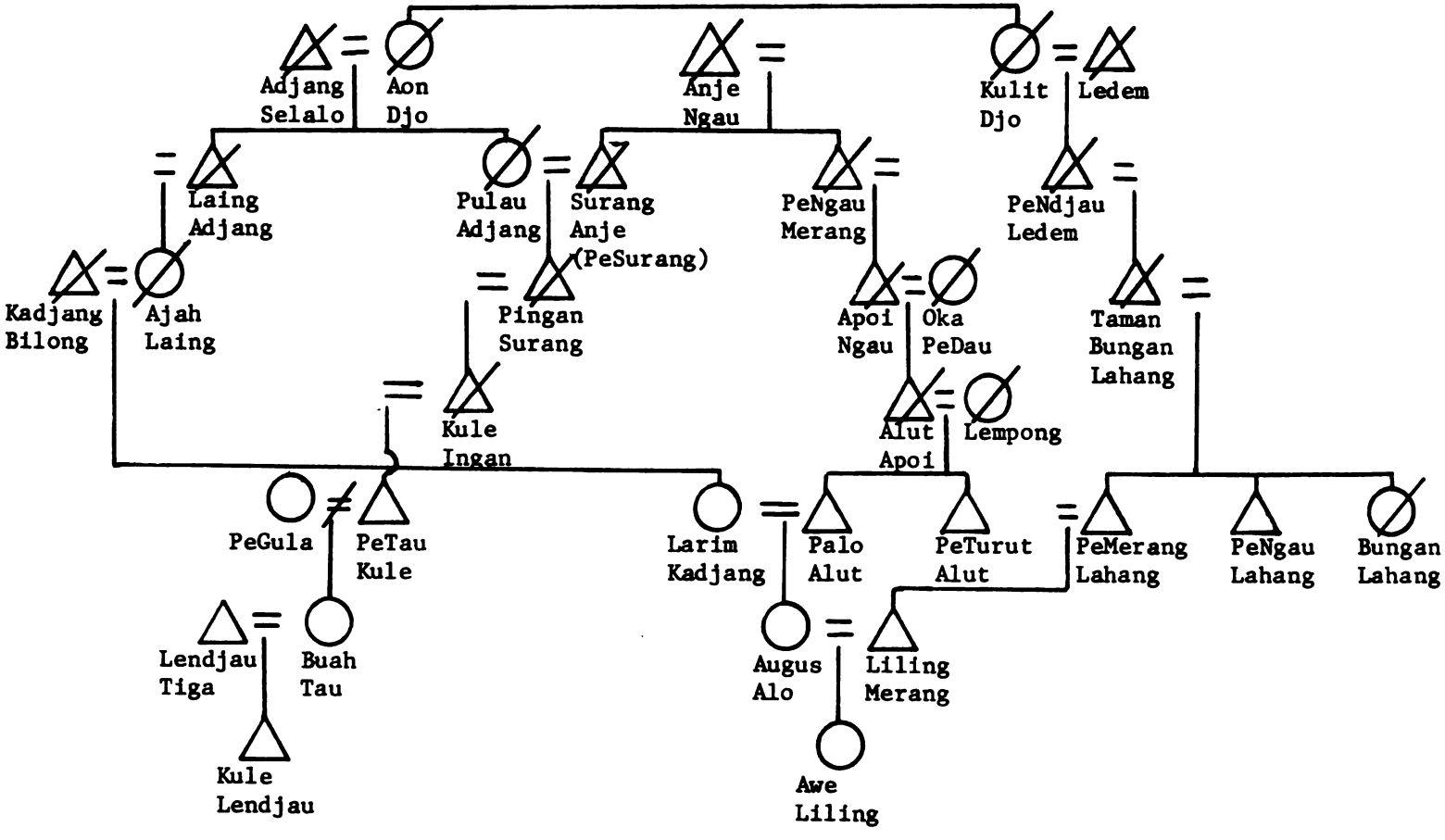

FIGURE 17. Ba' Case I : Kinship Chart

beliefs of the influence of parib and the need for community consensus necessary to legitimize his status and power, and has used a slightly modified paran iot symbol as an overt statement to the community at large. On the wall of his lamin he has had painted the stylized head motif (paran iot symbol), with the shoulders, arms and chest of the full paran motif added. This composite symbol motif may perhaps best be construed as the symbol of an emerging or rising paran.

With this background in mind, let us return to Awe's ba' and its composition. The aban itself was arranged for by Augus and the seed beads were provided by Augus and her mother. It is the tiger teeth, however, that are the critical variable here. Augus had several potential sources for obtaining the requisite teeth. She could go to her mother, a full paran, who would either possess or could get from her kinsmen the requisite tiger teeth. She could also go to her husband's parents in Long Sungai Barang. She could not, ideally, go to her father, or her father's brother (the Paran Bio) because, by virtue of their technically being paran iot, they should not have any tiger teeth in their possession.

The problem was solved by an offer from her neighbor, friend, and confidant, Buah Tau, a full paran, who possessed the requisite teeth. To understand the significance of her offer of tiger teeth, we must examine Buah's kinship relationships. First, and most important, she is the daughter of PeTau Kule, the ex-Paran Bio of the Apo Kayan and the lineal descendant of PeSurang. Her mother, PeGula, was a commoner and is now divorced from PeTau. She had lived virilocally with PeTau and a full bridewealth had been paid which entitled their daughter Buah to full paran status. Buah herself is married to a commoner,

Lendjau Tiga, the Tjamat of Ketjamatan Kayan Hulu. His achieved status as tjamat and her high birth later allowed their first child, a boy named Kule Lendjau, to have the full paran aban placed on his ba'. At the time of the construction of Awe's ba', Buah stepped forward and, in part on the basis of being a third cousin to Augustina, offered the use of six of the needed tiger teeth.

A later court case proved to be related to these same tiger teeth. In the court case, PeGula and Lendjau had to pay a fine to Buah. Among the items PeGula was required to give Buah were six tiger teeth. The six teeth presented to Buah in partial settlement of the case turned out to be the same six teeth Buah had loaned August for use on Awe's ba'. I had noticed earlier that same day, the teeth had disappeared from Awe's ba' but did not know why. The teeth, it turned out, were part of the divorce and child-support settlement Buah's father had given when he divorced Buah's mother. Thus, the teeth were the joint property of Buah and her mother. As a result of the court case Buah's mother lost her rights in the teeth and they became the sole property of Buah, and the next day they reappeared on Awe's ba'.

This case illustrates the validation of paran by other paran. Buah and Augus are related but fairly distantly; they are fourth cousins. But Augus, niece of the current Paran Bio who does not have hereditary right to the position, preferred to get the tiger teeth for her child's ba' from Buah, daughter of the ex-Paran Bio, a direct descendent of the illustrious PeSurang.

Case II illustrates the problems encountered in the circulation of items for display on the ba' and the result of breaking the chain of circulation.

The ba' in this case was constructed at Uma Larang in Long Nawang in 1966 for the child Ulok Apoi. Ulok Apoi, is the grandchild of PeLusat Ipoi, the Paran Uma of Uma Larang (see Figure 18).

When the ba' was constructed in 1966, Paran Lie contributed a valuable bead (ino'). This bead was in the category of named beads (ino' siringan nadan) and, as such, was considered extremely valuable heirloom property. It is not clear whether the bead was solicited, and if so by whom, or whether the bead was contributed with no request. It is also not clear whether the lines followed were the most direct (i.e. Paran Lie is maternal aunt to Apoi Djalong, the father of Ulok Apoi for whom the ba' was being constructed) or a more circuitous route (i.e. PePing Lawai, Ulok Apoi's maternal grandmother, is cousin to Paran Lie). Either route illustrates the mutual support found among paran families. I believe that the first mentioned, direct route was the line that was followed.

PeLusat Ipoi is a Paran Uma, but in the social history of Long Nawang and environs he appears to be rather insignificant. He and the members of his longhouse were members of GPBI. Both Limpang Lusat and Apoi Djalong, the parents of the child, were very young and had achieved nothing notable other than the birth of Ulok. PePing Lawai, the maternal grandmother of Ulok, comes from a line of the more powerful paran in Long Nawang.

On the paternal side of the family, we find again representatives of the most powerful paran in Long Nawang. Apoi Djalong's father PeDjalong Bit was Paran Uma of Uma Djalong. Uma Djalong, until the village split in 1952, was one of the largest longhouses in Long Nawang (approximately sixty lamin). PeDjalong, among other things, claimed

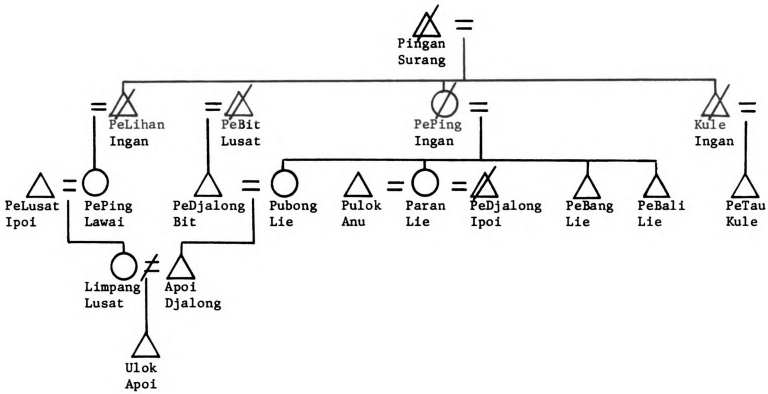

FIGURE 18. Ba' Case II : Kinship Chart

descent from the Lepo Timai leaders and from Bit Lusat, the man who carried the Sultan of Kutei's staff to the Apo Kayan where it eventually became the validating scepter of Pingan Surang, the son of PeSurang. This act validated the Long Nawang Lepo Tau Kenyah's control over the entire Apo Kayan.

Apoi's maternal relatives are even more impressive. His mother Pubong Lie and her siblings were children of PePing Ingan, the sister of Kule Ingan who was Paran Bio after his father Pingan Surang and was succeeded by his son PeTau Kule. The eldest of Apoi's mother's brothers was PeBang Lie, who for thirty-seven years was Paran Lepo of Long Nawang. PeBang's sibling is PeBali Lie, the man who led the Adat Lama group to found the new village of Nawang Baru in 1952. At the time of the move, much of the ritual paraphenalia was passed from PeTau Kule, the Paran Bio at that time, to PeBali Lie, his first cousin. Paran Lie, the donor of the bead was also extremely important in Lepo Tau social history. She had previously been married (as an alliance mechanism) to Djalong Ipoi, the Paran Bio of the Pudjungan River and head of the Uma Lasan, Uma Alim and Puak Kenyah groups. On his death, she returned home to Long Nawang and in her old age married a panyin, Pulok Anu.

In early 1968, PeLusat Ipoi left Long Nawang for a two-year work trip to Sarawak. In late 1968 Ulok had outgrown his ba' and it was decided to dismantle the ba' and return the borrowed items. After all the items had been returned, Paran Lie stepped forward and claimed that her named bead had not been returned. Paran demanded her bead and PePing could not account for it; it had been returned or indeed been lost. Paran maintained that PePing still had the bead and demanded its return. She requested the Paran Lepo (no longer her brother

PeBang Lie but his successor Lah Sigau) to hold a truth finding session to find her bead. Two times the Paran Lepo called PePing and Ulok's parents to adat sessions and two times they refused to attend. Meanwhile, Ulok's parents, Apoi Djalong and Limpang Lusat, were divorced. Eventually a quantity of padai (unhusked rice) was given to Paran Lie in compensation for the missing bead, but no blame was fixed or accepted. Paran Lie, still unsatisfied, tried to appeal the case to the level of the Tjamat. Tjamat Lendjau Tiga, a Lepo Tau from Long Nawang, declared that rice had been given and that the case was closed. He refused to consider the missing bead a matter for government intervention.

Paran Lie, however, did not consider the matter settled and did not withdraw her accusation. As a result of the embarrassment over the accusation and the call to court, PePing Lawai, her daughter Limpang Lusat, and her grandchild Ulok Apoi left their apartment at Uma Larang and moved to Nawang Baru where they moved in with PePing's brother's family already residing there. In 1970 PeLusat Ipoi returned from Sarawak and sized up the situation in Long Nawang. He moved to Nawang Baru to join his family.

When I did a census in June of 1970; the lamin of the Paran Uma at Uma Larang contained an old woman and her grandchild who had moved into the empty apartment from the adjacent apartment. Uma Larang had no Paran Uma in residence, and the other inhabitants were not certain what was to be done. Some people said that PeLusat Ipoi was still Paran Uma and that perhaps he would move back. The position was up in the air. A leader will have to fill the position soon if for no other reason than that the house must have a representative to village level decision-making events. The alternative is for the house to be abandoned and

lamin holders affiliate themselves with other existing houses.

This case illustrates not only the great value of the goods circulated in ba' relationships, but also the consequences when the goods are not carefully accounted for. The parties to the case were all tied into a close web of relationships. Since they could come to no agreement or consensus on a just resolution of the matter of the missing bead, the only alternative was for one side of the conflict to remove itself from the scene.

Case III is from the emigré village of Mara Satu and illustrates differences in the ba' and ba' relations according to social class as well as the differential attention paid to infants of the paran class.

My wife and I resided in the household of the central figures in this case (see Figure 19), and it was during our residence that the two infants, Daud and Lut, were born. Although they were born in the same household, they had different motifs on their aban. Daud was accorded the full paran motif while Lut received only the paran iot motif. Daud, as a full paran, entered into the paran ranking system and this was reflected through the number of tiger teeth on his ba'.

First, let us examine the differences in class between these two patrilateral parallel second cousins. PeDing Uloi and his brother PeLie Uloi, the paternal grandfathers of Daud and Lut respectively, were paran iot. PeDing, however, by initiating the move from Long Nawang, and establishing a community first at Pedjalin and later at Mara Satu, had elevated himself in terms of public consensus to the achieved role connected with full paran. His brother, PeLie, had distinguished himself in no way and had married a panyin woman. Since she lived with him and he had paid full bridewealth their child Ingan was

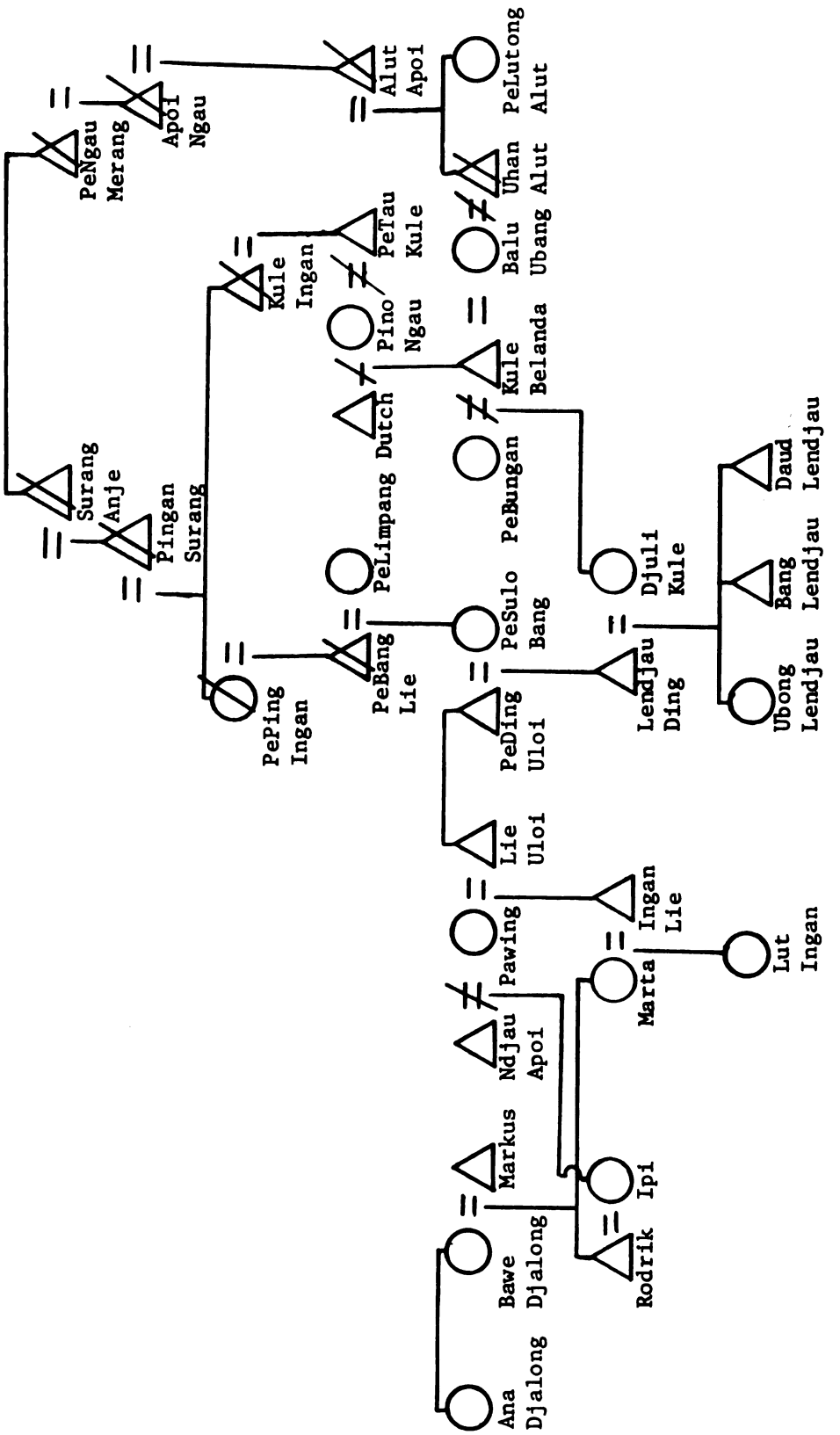

FIGURE 19. Ba' Case III : Kinship Chart

entitled to paran iot status. PeDing, on the other hand, had married PeSulo Bang, the daughter of PeBang Lie, the distinguished ex-Paran Lepo of Long Nawang.

PeDing had brought PeBang Lie and his family to Mara Satu in 1967, shortly after PeBang had retired his position. Normally, for PeSulo to live patrilocally with PeDing's family would lower their offspring, Lendjau, to PeDing's class level of paran iot. In this case, however, the couple was living neither patrilocally nor matrilocally, but rather neolocally. PeDing's parents had remained in Long Nawang and PeSulo's had migrated to Mara Satu.[3] In addition, PeDing is not a common paran iot, but has distinguished himself in leadership. Thus, PeDing and PeSulo's only son, Lendjau, entered the class of paran. Lendjau further validated his class status by becoming a leader in his own right. He is relatively well educated and is now Wakil Paran Lepo (Assistant Village Chief) for the village of Mara Satu. Since Mara Satu is a combined Kenyah-Kayan village, and the Paran Lepo is a Kayan, this means in effect that Lendjau is Paran Lepo for the Kenyah segment of the community. He married Djuli, a full paran daughter of PeKule Belanda and PeBungan. Thus Daud, the son of Lendjau and Djuli was undoubtedly a full paran.

Ingan, Lendjau's cousin and a paran iot, married a commoner, Marta, who is the daughter of a panyin woman and an Ambonese man. Because Marta came to live with Ingan, their child Lut is considered a paran iot.

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[3] In Mara Satu, there are many cases in which residence does not follow normal patterns, since it is a migrant village and much of the housing is temporary.

Lendjau's child Daud and his brother Bang were the ranking paran children in Mara Satu, and as such, given good health and reasonable mentality, would be in line for positions of leadership at maturity if the traditional system of succession were used. Even given the new policy on the election of officials, they will still be preened and nurtured to be likely contenders for any public office. Or, alternatively, they will receive the education to enter government service.

The differential socialization involved between full paran and paran iot children was evident after the births of the children Daud and Lut. While Notong Pusha, or the traditional naming ceremonies, are no longer held among the Christian Lepo Tau, an elaborate christening ceremony has taken over many of the functions of the previous institution. The christening provides the initial presentation of the child to the group and his acceptance as a member of the group with a certain social status.

Daud had an elaborate christening ceremony which was attended by a male representative of each Lepo Tau household as well as the Kayan Paran Lepo and his father. Many of the village women took part in the preparation of the food for the affair. Lut, on the other hand, had no christening celebration, but was christened with a group of children in a church service.

Since the two infants, Daud and Lut, were born about one month apart, their ba' were being prepared at the same time. The basis of Daud's ba' was one long outgrown by his older siblings; the goods had been returned and only the rattan carrier remained. Several people were involved in the construction of Daud's ba'. PeSulo Bang, his paternal grandmother, beaded the aban and PeBungan, his paternal grandmother, sewed the cloth border and lining for the ba'. Dutch coins

for decorating the border of the ba' were contributed by PeBungan, Balu Ubong, Pino Ngau, and PeLimpang, and PeBungan stitched them in place. PeLutong Alut and Balu Ubong each contributed three tiger teeth and a number of spotted leopard teeth. The spotted leopard teeth were sewed onto the ba' but the tiger teeth were held off to see whether an odd or an even number, depending on the sex of the child, would be required.

In looking at the sources of the decorations for Daud's ba', we should recall that Mara Satu is an emigré village and many people have close relatives, whom they would normally approach for ba' ornaments or who would offer ba' ornaments, who have remained in Long Nawang. Thus, in Mara Satu, it is not always the closest relatives genealogically who donate to the ba' but rather the closest relatives proximically.

At the same time that Daud's ba' was under construction work was begun on Lut's ba'. Her father, Ingan, who was quite skilled in handicrafts, made the rattan seat himself. Lut's mother, Marta, obtained a paran iot aban from Ana Djalong, her mother's sister who had been married to a paran. Marta sewed the cloth border herself and Ana decorated it with buttons. Ana also provided six spotted leopard teeth to decorate the ba'.

Thus, we can see that the construction of Daud's ba', partly because it required more ornamentation and partly because of the wider network of kin relations of the full paran, involved many more people and established more exchange relations than Lut's ba'.

I will add here two cases which are related to the ba' yet removed temporally from the initial and effective period of the ba' itself. These could perhaps more properly be called cases of aban related behavior, and they show a continuation of the function of the complete

ba' in terms of validation and representation of social status. One case is from Long Nawang and the other is from Mara Satu.

Case IV: I had originally assumed that when the ba' was dismantled between the child's first and second years so that the goods could be returned to the donors and thus recirculated, the aban was also destroyed and the beads reused. Later I discovered that the aban is frequently retained as a unit and destroyed only on the death of the individual whose ba' it ornamented or if a dire need for beads arises.

The Hari Merdeka celebration in the Apo Kayan was a ketjamatan level affair with all villages in the Apo Kayan sending representatives to Long Nawang to partake in the ceremonies and festivities. After the official Merdeka day ceremonies there were competitive sports during the days and inter-village dancing competitions in the evenings. On the first day of the festivities, following the daytime activities and prior to the dance contests, there was a large feast at the house of the Paran Bio. Partly to symbolize the unity of the area and partly to provide food for the feast, the women marched in village groups down the verandah of the longhouse, each one carrying a small package of rice to the lamin of the Paran Bio. In theory, each household of nearby villages was supposed to be represented by at least one woman. All the representatives from each village marched in, a village at a time, with the eldest women first in each group. Most women carried finely woven belanjat in which were their gifts of rice. Most women wore their finest clothing and there was a great display of beads and heirloom finery. In each group there were several girls in the age group of sixteen to twenty years of age that had beaded designs affixed to their belanjat or carrying bags. On closer inspection I realized that these

were old aban. Friends sitting nearby explained that these had been the girl's aban when they were children. Most of the aban depicted the full paran motif, but there were a few that bore paran iot motifs. Several girls had clumps of tiger teeth as part of their decorations, worn either attached to the belt about the waist or as part of a necklace.

The aban is not destroyed and may be worn at large-scale community functions. I interpret this as a display and validation of status. Most of the girls were unmarried and perhaps there is a connection between their "advertising of status" and their marriageability.

Case V: A second instance of aban retention and display occurred in Mara Satu. Five marriages took place in one combined ceremony in June following the harvest festivities. For the Kenyah, the more bustle and excitement that can be generated, the better the occasion. The parents of the couples also asserted that having the marriages at the same time would be more economical because they could have one common feast. The feast following the ceremony was held at the house of PeGilan, an Uma Djalan who had recently moved to Mara Satu from Long Ampong in the Apo Kayan. In the case of an ordinary wedding, the feast is held at the house where the new couple will initially reside. The house is lavishly decorated with an elaborate bridal bed as its center piece. In this case, however, as several marriages were to be held at once the decorations were a cooperative affair with one bridal bed serving as the focal point. One part of the house decoration was a display of ten aban on the wall adjacent to the bridal bed. These were the aban of the ten individuals being married. Six of them were aban of full paran, while four of them were aban of paran iot. An interesting

note is that the paran iot aban were placed in a row above the full paran aban.

One reason for the display is the demonstration of the statuses of the participants in the event. The other reason, and the one that Kenyah will mention, is pure aesthetics. Aban are considered to be works of art and the finest examples of Kenyah design, worthy of being displayed on the most festive occasions.

Analysis of the Ba'

The ba' is not a central feature of Lepo Tau culture in the sense that Geertz discusses the selamatan as the "core ritual" of Javanese culture. The Lepo Tau themselves would not pick out the ba' as a central focus. But, as we have seen in the previous pages, many elements of Lepo Tau culture and society coalesce in the ba'. A symbol complex, disappearing in many other aspects of life, appears in its most elaborate form on the ba'. Important social relations are generated in the construction of the ba'. Statements of social class, rarely made in other aspects of Lepo Tau culture, are retained in the ba'.

In one respect the ba' can be seen, by the outsider and by the Lepo Tau, as simply a work of art. The Lepo Tau consider the beaded aban to be one of the finest examples of their art. People examining a new aban look carefully at the intricacy of the design, the colors used, and the skill with which the design is executed. They also take note of the workmanship and color in the cloth edging of the ba' and in the bead skirts at the base of any teeth displayed. Coins should be sewed on with neat, even stitches; lack of care or workmanship in these small matters detracts from the aesthetic value of the ba'.

In photographs, people always try to display their decorated ba', partially as a demonstration of class, but also, simply because it is a beautiful object complimenting the fine clothes one should wear in a photograph. People who own fine ba' are proud of them as art objects.

In the references to the ba' in the early literature, we saw that a major aspect of the ba' was its function in the spiritual protection of the child. Lepo Tau today do not overtly mention the protection of the child as a function of the ba', but their recognition of it emerges in behavior. Older and less educated people particularly always carry an ill child about in his ba'. In the pre-Christian belief system, the child was more likely to be in close contact with his soul and thus in better health, when he was in the ba'. The small infant was considered a vulnerable creature and particularly open to soul loss and, thus, illness. The infant mortality rate is still high, and the Lepo Tau exhibit great concern over the health of infants. In Mara Satu was a young, fairly sophisticated girl with an infant who was weak and sickly. Older women encouraged her to carry him in his ba' more. Although they did not explicitly state soul loss as a cause of the infant's illness, they clearly connected the state of his health with infrequent use of the ba' by his mother.

While the function of the ba' in the protection of the child seems to have declined in importance, or, at least, become less overt, the ba' seems to have increased in importance for the Lepo Tau as a display of social class. Elshout, in his discussion of the beaded aban designs, says that, though the various designs are class-related, the distinctions are not rigidly adhered to. Today, the system has solidified so that, not only are the designs rigidly restricted, but further,

the number of tiger teeth displayed demonstrate detail of ranking within the *paran* class. The child's claims are clearly stated on his *ba'*.

The birth of a child and the construction of his *ba'* draw together a group of kinsmen in relation to that child, drawing on previous ties of reciprocity and creating new ties. In their contributions to the *ba'*, the child's kinsmen acknowledge and validate his social position. By their contributions, by the mere fact of demonstrating their ownership and control of the items contributed to a *ba'*, the contributors also demonstrate their own positions. A woman who can say, "I contributed two tiger teeth to X's *ba'*" is also saying, "I am a *paran*. I control the symbols appropriate to my class."

Eventually the *ba'* is dismantled and the items returned to their owners, but the social relations engendered by the exchange remain. Out of all potential donors of items for the *ba'*, several have been selected and have, thus, set up reciprocity obligations with the child and his family. The child's family may then become preferred potential donors, when the need arises, to those who have donated to the child's *ba'*. The *ba'*, its construction and decoration, serves to tie together groups of kinsmen focused around a child. Mr. Rudes mentions the *ba'* as "strengthening family ties" (1972:Personal communication). By this he means the immediate group of parents and grandparents of the child, but, as we have seen in our cases, the ties generated and maintained by the *ba'* reach further into the community and establish ties of obligation far beyond "strengthening of family ties."

Particularly on the *paran ba'* where quantities of heirloom goods are brought together we can see group unity. Almost all *paran* today

trace their ancestry to the same point, PeSurang, who led the Lepo Tau out of the Iwan. The goods displayed on the ba' constitute heirloom wealth passed down from generation to generation. The wealth that belonged to the small group of apical ancestors is, thus, periodically redistributed and recombined on the ba' of the new members of the group, confirming them as members and revalidating the membership of those who donate the goods. The same power symbols that once belonged to a small group of paran reappear in each new generation. The consolidation of heirloom goods on the ba' reaffirms the unity of the paran and their ties to their ancestors.

Unlike most other kinds of reciprocity relations, such as those brought about by distribution of the fruits of the hunt or by a joint travel venture or by joint labor on a canoe, most of the ties generated by the ba' are between women. The mother and grandmothers of the child most frequently approach other women as a source of ba' items. The women may ultimately obtain some of the items from men, but they pass through women and a relationship is established among women. For example, if Augus Alo (see Figure 17) wanted some teeth from PeTau, she would not approach him directly but might, instead, approach one of his daughters. The daughter could get the teeth from PeTau, since, ultimately she will inherit rights to their use. So the ba' generates a set of relationships among women which, added to male reciprocity relations, tie the village together.

These ties, particularly among paran, are one of the forces mitigating against village schism. We have seen that, in general, Kenyah villages are large; the Kenyah explicitly value large villages. Village schism does not occur without very powerful motivation. Cases of

schism in recent years have generally been brought about by outside influence -- the irreconcilable difference generated between Christian and non-Christian.

Today there is still potential for village schism in the realm of religion. It is no longer Christian vs. non-Christian but, rather, one Christian sect vs. another. The major potential schism seems to lie, however, in the question of migration. Long Nawang and its immediately surrounding villages are just beginning to recover from the disruption of leadership during Confrontation. The question of migration is a primary area for the attempts to re-establish power relationships.

The motivations for migration are powerful. The government is encouraging the people of the Apo Kayan to move and is willing to aid such a move with help in transportation and in supplies. Younger Kenyah, and even a few older ones, are generally in favor of migration. Living nearer the coast has great appeal in the attractions of modern life such as movies, market goods, and the magnetic attraction of town life in general. The availability of wage labor, of market goods, and of modern medicine and education are all very attractive promises. Even some older men see education as the future for their children and grandchildren. PeBang Lie, the ex-Paran Lepo who moved to Mara Satu, said that he had moved for his grandchildren, so that they could get an education. "It has changed since my time," he said. "It is no longer enough to know what your father knew."

So, the attraction of migration is strong. Long Nawang is full of talk of migration, but the questions of where and under whom remain. There are four major factions. PeTurut Alut, the Paran Bio, heads the status quo group, willing to remain in Long Nawang. "Neutral" would

actually be a better term to describe this group. PeTurut says he is wainting to hear a consensus. If all wish to move and agree on where, then he is willing to endorse and lead the move. But he is also perfectly willing to stay in Long Nawang. As of 1971 consensus seemed a remote hope. PeTurut is supported by a good many elders. Perhaps part of his reluctance to take a stand is the realization that a move nearer the coast would reduce his power.

A second group, headed by PeBali Lie who led the move of Adat Lama to Nawang Baru, wants to move down the Kayan River to either Sungai Pemping or near Mara Satu. Either of these sites would be within two hours travel to the town of Tandjungselor. PeBali is supported by Palo Alut, younger brother of PeTurut, and encouraged by the government in Tandjungselor as well as by the local Tjamat, Djon, nephew of PeTurut and Palo Alut.

A third group is interested in moving down the Mahakam River to Long Iram. This group is led by Djangot, a Menadenses convert to Lepo Tau life and a long-time leader of the KINGMI church. The majority of people in this group are from the Lepo Tau village of Long Temunjat, but many, like Djangot, are from Long Nawang.

The fourth group is led by PeTau Kule, the last hereditary Paran Bio, who was replaced by PeTurut during Confrontation. Many older and more traditional people are attracted to this group and to PeTau whom they regard as their real, rightful leader. PeTau and his group want to move over the mountains and into the Baram area of Sarawak to join the Lepo Tau that moved into the Baram from the Iwan eight generations ago. Such a move would be quite illegal from the Indonesian government's point of view, and at almost every public meeting the Tjamat makes a

speech to explain that Apo Kayan Kenyah are Indonesians and cannot move to Sarawak. His argument makes very little sense to some people who say that Lepo Tau already live in the Baram and can see no reason why the Apo Kayan Lepo Tau shouldn't join them. PeTau went so far as to confer with the high chief of the Baram Kenyah who encouraged the move, said that there was plenty of room, and that he would be very pleased for Indonesian Kenyah to join his people in Sarawak.[4]

PeBali Lie, leader of the second group mentioned above was present at the conference and was much in favor of the idea of moving to Sarawak, but switched to the lower Kayan when the Tjamat explained to him that such a move would be illegal and that the Indonesian government would aid legal migrations.

When we left East Kalimantan in 1971, the matter of migration was still undecided. No one group wanted to split the village and each group, except for the neutrals, was trying to persuade others to its point of view. The neutrals tended to emphasize ties to Long Nawang but maintained that, if all the others decided to move, they would go too. Each of the leaders tried to enlist the other leaders to his views. The ties binding the paran were strong enough that none wished to strike out alone without the support of others. Though each had a group of followers, none was willing to initiate a split. Each sought

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[4] Part of his reasoning here, aside from the general Kenyah 1 ve of assembling large groups, is that population increase in the Baram would be beneficial. He said that as long as the population in the Baram is relatively small, the government can overlook it. But, if the population were larger, then the government would provide better schools, medical facilities, and other services in the area.

the backing of other paran.[5]

The ba' and the relationships generated by it act as one of the ties holding the paran together. The exchange of items of heirloom wealth for the ba' establishes reciprocity relationships, reinforces those already established, and reaffirms the unity of the paran as a group. Each new child is explicitly confirmed and identified as a paran by a group of kinsmen.

It is the ties among paran that mitigate most strongly against village schism. Because paran know and keep track of geneological connections, their networks of ties are wider than those of panyin. They are conscious of themselves as a group and restate their common ancestry by the recirculation and display of goods formerly owned by the common ancestors.

Today there are forces, such as the church and the government, that mitigate against the identification of paran as opposed to panyin. And, in many cases, the use of identifying symbols is disappearing. The ba' is one instance in which the symbols remain, perhaps because, in the case of the ba', the use of the symbols goes beyond identification to the conscious drawing together of paran. The actual exchange of goods, more than simply identifying a paran by the use of symbols, draws paran into interaction and reinforces a consciousness of kinship ties and common heritage.

The group consciousness of paran is reinforced among the Lepo Tau by outside factors. Partially through the series of events described

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[5] Recent news from an informant is that PeBali Lie has made the break and has led a group of over 200 people to Mara Satu. When I return to the field in 1973, I will investigate this move.

in Chapter II, the Lepo Tau paran came to have greater power than those of other groups. As the Lepo Tau became the center and focus of the Apo Kayan, Lepo Tau paran became more conscious of themselves and their position of status and power in the Apo Kayan. The ba' displays the status of paran and reinforces the unity of paran through the exchanges involved in ba' construction.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In the previous five chapters we have examined the history and social organization of the Lepo Tau Kenyah of East Kalimantan and looked closely at one aspect of Lepo Tau culture, the ba'.

The purpose of this dissertation has been twofold: 1) to add to the ethnographic record of Borneo with a description of the Lepo Tau Kenyah of Long Nawang, and 2) to show how the ba' with its complex of symbols generates and is the product of social relations that it aids in identifying and drawing together paran in particular.

The section on the history of the Lepo Tau and their migrations allowed us to examine the varieties of interaction the Kenyah have had with the outside world and some of the changes that have occurred as a result of this interaction. An ethnographic description of the Lepo Tau provided a basic background against which to later examine ba' relations and functions. This description also provides a contemporary account of one of the central Borneo peoples and hopefully may be of use for those interested in comparative ethnography of Borneo societies as well as those interested in the social organization of cognatic societies in general.

The section on symbols and signs of power is not meant to be a theoretical analysis of the symbolic world of the Kenyah, but rather an inventory and discussion of the social usage connected with these

traditional symbols. These symbols, as has been noted, are almost gone in terms of usage, but they provide an index of the richness of the former system and lend a context to the set of symbols which emerge on the ba' of the paran or aristocrats of Lepo Tau society.

Chapter V focuses in on the ba' and, after a discussion of the construction of the ba', presents a series of cases illustrating behavior connected with the ba'.

The highly ornamented ba' seems to have become particularly important among the Lepo Tau of the Apo Kayan as opposed to other Kenyah and Kayan groups. Not only are the Lepo Tau ba' more elaborately decorated, but the restrictions on ba' ornamentation are more rigid than among other groups. My hypothesis is that this elaboration of and rigid restriction of ba' decoration among the Lepo Tau of the Apo Kayan is due primarily to historical factors. In Chapter II, we saw that the Lepo Tau leadership gained prominence in the Apo Kayan partially by virtue of internal strength in the Apo Kayan and also by a series of interactions with the outside world in the form of the Sultan of Kutei, the Dutch military, the American missionaries, and the Indonesian military. Presently Long Nawang is the center in the Apo Kayan of the influential KINGMI sect, whose leadership there is primarily Lepo Tau. Long Nawang is the administrative center of the Apo Kayan and many of the local officials, including the Tjamat are Lepo Tau. Long Nawang is also the home of the Paran Bio, a Lepo Tau who is supported by the Indonesian government.

I believe that the prominance of the Lepo Tau vis-à-vis other Kenyah groups and in outside relations has led to a paran/panyin distinction more exaggerated among the Lepo Tau than among other Kenyah

groups. This distinction is reinforced by rigid rules restricting the use of power symbols. In addition, through the constant exchange and display of these symbols on the ba', the paran reaffirm their common ancestry and their unity.

Although the use of class symbols has disappeared in many aspects of Lepo Tau culture, it remains in two contexts: on the ba', and to a lesser extent on the casket. For pre-Christian Lepo Tau, infancy and death were danger periods, the former for the infant and the latter for the community at large. Even though the vast majority of Lepo Tau are now Christians, infancy and death are still perceived as dangerous times. Christianity has not dramatically reduced the infant mortality rate, and many people still feel a need for supernatural protection of infants beyond that provided by Christianity. Although few people today are willing to state soul loss as a cause of death for infants, the connection between the infant's health and his ba', which can help prevent soul loss, still remains. The symbols on the ba' help to attract the soul and drive away evil spirits. To this end, the most powerful symbols possible are desired, but this is counterbalanced by the risk of parib. Should symbols be displayed which are not in keeping with the status of the infant, parib could cause his death.

The event of death is a danger period for the entire community. In pre-Christian belief the soul of the dead went to dwell in Alo Maloh. Its transition from the corpse to Alo Maloh was conceived of as a difficult journey, frought with danger. A soul unable to complete its journey might return as a ghost, resulting in bad luck for his family and community. To insure that the soul complete its journey to Alo Maloh, it was necessary, at the funeral to give explicit directions to the

embarking soul and to attract good spirits to help guide the soul. Most Christians today specifically equate Alo Maloh with the Christian Heaven and conceive of the journey there in similar terms. The soul is not usually given directions for its journey today, but the proper decoration of the casket helps to attract good spirits as well as to indicate the social position of the corpse and soul, the same position it will occupy in the afterworld.

The period of infancy and the event of death are still considered, despite Christianity, as dangerous times. Thus, although few Lepo Tau can or will verbalize it, the protection of powerful symbols is still evoked at these times.

Several questions may be suggested for future research among the Kenyah peoples. Ethnographic studies of other Kenyah sub-groups in other areas such as the Bahau/Pudjungan area of East Kalimantan, the Mahakam area of East Kalimantan, or the Balui and Baram areas of Sarawak, would provide data for an interesting comparison of the social stratification common to Kenyah groups. Hopefully, research now being done in the Tinjar ributary of the Baram River will provide such data. Recently completed research among the Kayan of the Balui River in Sarawak now makes possible comparative studies of Kenyah and Kayan. Such studies would, it is hoped, yield information as to the historical relationships of the two groups.

Many Borneo ethnographers have commented on the relationships between Punan groups and their Kenyah or Kayan neighbors. It has been noted that a special economic relationship often obtains whereby the Punan trade their jungle produce and their handicrafts to one particular group of Kenyah or Kayan only. The Kenyah or Kayan group in return

supplies the Punan with salt, cloth, and other commodities. In some cases the Kenyah or Kayan paran can demand labor of the Punan. I was unable to investigate the nature of this relationship since there are no longer Punan in the vicinity of either Long Nawang or Mara Satu, but I believe that such a study would be valuable. A study of Kenyah/Punan interrelationships might also shed light on my hypothesis that the Kenyah are a recently (about 200 to 300 years ago) settled people, who perhaps led a hunting and gathering existence when they were in the Apo Da'a and in the Apo Da'a first learned swidden agriculture, probably from the Kayan.

The question of social differentiation among the Lepo Tau Kenyah themselves merits further investigation. It would be instructive to examine how new avenues of upward mobility, such as education, employment in the government bureaucracy, increasing wealth with increasing availability of wage labor, and position in the church are affecting the traditional patterns of social organization.

A fruitful comparative study of change could be made by systematically comparing aspects of the culture and social organization of the Lepo Tau of the Apo Kayan in Indonesia with that of the Lepo Tau of the Baram area of Sarawak. The two groups according to legend, separated about eight generations ago, and since that time have been under different colonial powers, have been influenced by different Christian missionary groups, and are now citizens of different nations. I am planning to begin such a study in late 1973.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: PART A

LONG, UMA, AND LEPO: SOME DISTINCTIONS

An explanation of the terms long, lepo, and uma will clarify the naming pattern of Kenyah villages and Kenyah sub-groups. Throughout the literature, both English and Dutch, one finds a seeming confusion of referents with sub-group names being applied to village locations and vice versa.

Long, a term common to the Kenyah and Kayan languages, means the confluence of two rivers. As a place name, it is combined with the name of the smaller river to indicate a specific place. For example, Long Nawang, is the place where the Nawang River joins with a larger river, the Kayan River in this case. Since most travel is by water, location at a long provides access to more potential swidden areas and to greater areas of forest for hunting and of water for fishing. For these reasons, Kenyah villages are most often located at long and take their names from these locations. Thus, most Kenyah villages are named Long _____; these are place names, not group names.

Kenyah sub-group names contain, usually, two elements, the first of which is either lepo or uma. Lepo means, literally, "place" or "village." The second element of the sub-group name, according to my informants, refers to a characteristic of the original location of the sub-group in the Apo Da'a of the group itself. The Lepo Tau, for

example, lived near the place of the tau tree.

Uma means, literally, "longhouse." Care should be taken not to confuse this term with the term uma'; the latter means swidden field (Indonesian/Malay = ladang). Within a village each longhouse is referred to by a distinctive name, usually derived from some characteristic of the longhouse or some aspect of nature near the longhouse. Uma Mudung, for example, is literally "longhouse on the hill;" Uma Bio is "the big longhouse;" Uma Long is "the longhouse at the long."

Informants are unable to explain why one Kenyah sub-group should be prefixed by the term lepo and another by the term uma; why, for example, one group is known as Lepo Tau and another as Uma Djalan. Kenyah usually do agree on the unambiguous application of one term or the other to each sub-group. One would never refer to the Uma Djalan, for example, as the Lepo Djalan; as my informants said, "It doesn't mix."

My hypothesis on the lepo/uma distinction in Kenyah sub-group names, based in part on Kenyah oral history, is that they reflect a past situation, perhaps in the Apo Da'a. Groups now referred to as uma were, at the start of the migrations from the Apo Da'a, from only one longhouse and from that house they have acquired the name they still use. Groups referred to as lepo were, at the start of the migration from Apo Da'a, already separate villages consisting of several longhouses. There is some linguistic evidence to support this hypothesis. The Uma Alim, the Uma Kulit, the Uma Timai, and the Uma Lasan, for example, show linguistic similarities which distinguish them from other groups. These similarities would seem to indicate that in the not-too-distant past they were all longhouses, or uma, within a single

village, or lepo.

Over a period of time it is possible for the referent to change from uma to lepo if a group prospers and grows strong. The sub-group now occasionally referred to as the Lepo Bem, for example, was referred to in the early literature as Uma Bem. The referent seems to be in the process of change at present since many informants in Long Nawang seemed unsure of the proper referent in this case, sometimes using the appelation Lepo Bem and other times Uma Bem.

APPENDIX I: PART B

LIST OF KENYAH VILLAGES

	Village Name	Kenyah Sub-group
	Apo Kayan Area -- Kalimantan	
1.	Long Nawang	Lepo Tau
2.	Nawang Baru	Lepo Tau
3.	Long Temunjat	Lepo Tau
4.	Long Uro	Lepo Tau
5.	Long Lidung Payau	Lepo Tau
6.	Long Lisi	Lepo Tau
7.	Long Payau	Uma Bakung
8.	Long Metulong	Uma Bakung
9.	Mahak	Uma Bakung
10.	Long Metun	Uma Bakung
11.	Long Sungai Anai	Uma Bakung
12.	LeBusan	Uma Bakung
13.	Tebuan	Uma Bakung
14.	Long Dumo	Uma Bakung
15.	Long Ampung	Uma Djalan
16.	Long Sungai Barang	Uma Tukung
17.	Lulau Adau	Uma Tukung
18.	Long Betaoh	Badang
19.	Data Dian	Uma Udjuk/Kayan
20.	Long Marung	Uma Baka
21.	Long Sungan	Lepo Tepu
22.	Long Kelawit	Lepo Tepu
23.	Long Lemiliu	Lepo Tepu
24.	Ma Lisan Bo'	Uma Lasan (Lisan)
	Bahau and Pudjungan River Area -- Kalimantan	
1.	Long Lat	Lepo Ke
2.	Long Lijo	Lepo Ke
3.	Long Pengajan	Lepo Ke
4.	Apau Ping	Lepo Ke
5.	Long Atua & Lulao Bulan	Lepo Ke
6.	Long Aking	Lepo Ke
7.	Long Berini	Lepo Ma'ut

	Village Name	Kenyah Sub-group
8.	Long Alango, Long Kemuat, & Long Sungai Ait	Lepo Ma'ut
9.	Long Uli	Uma Long/Lepo Ndang
10.	Long Sa'an	Uma Long
11.	Long Bena	Badang
12.	Long Peleran	Badang
13.	Long Apan (Aren)	Uma Bakung
14.	Long Pudjungan	Uma Lasan
15.	Long Ketamen & Long Pua'	Uma Alim Uma Puak
16.	Long Mesahan	Uma Lasan

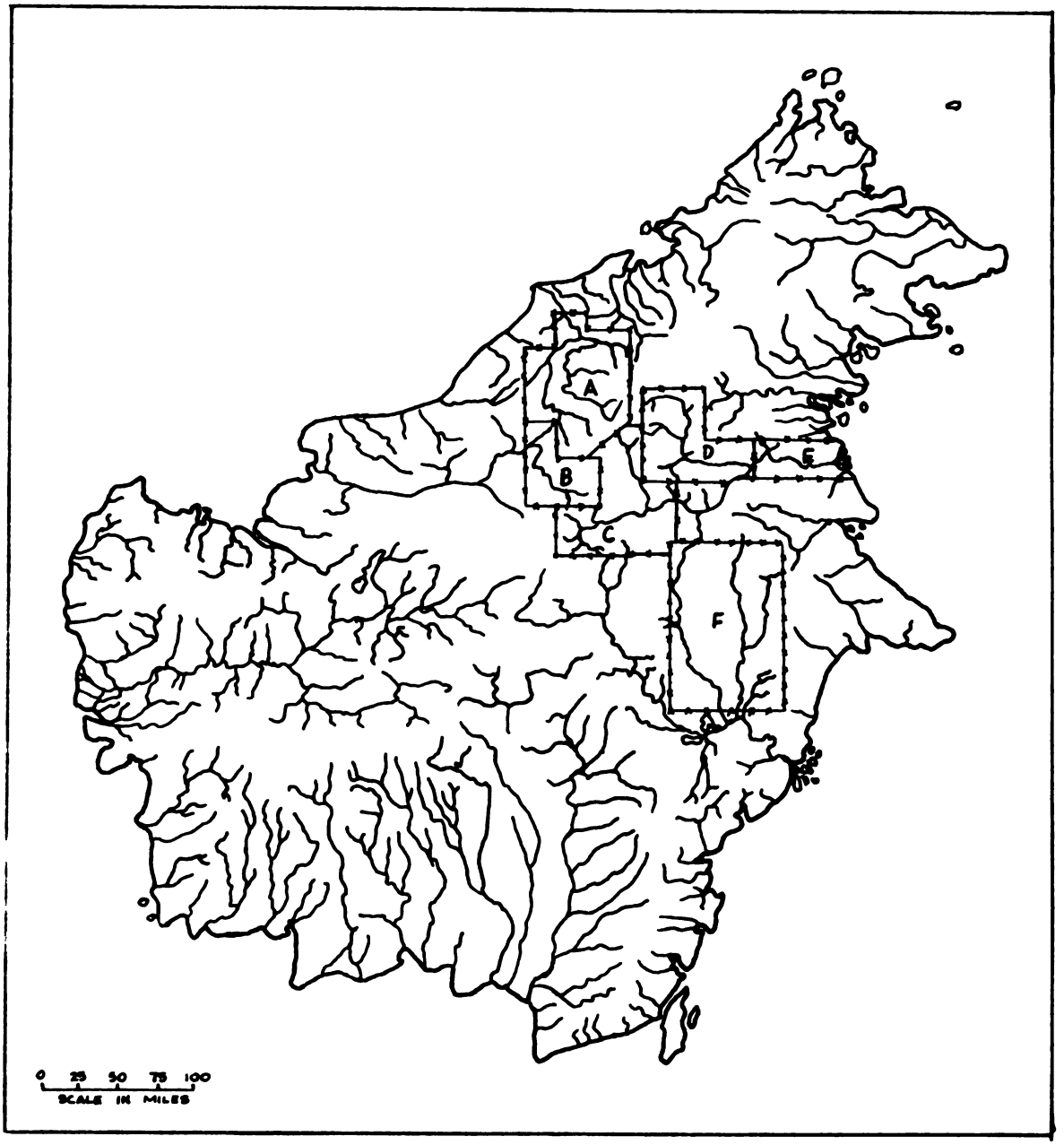
Lower Kayan River Area -- Kalimantan

1.	Long Pelban	Uma Kulit
2.	Long Ledju	Uma Kulit
3.	Djelarai Selor	Uma Kulit
4.	Long Lian	Uma Kulit
5.	Long Tungu	Uma Kulit/Kayan
6.	Long Peso	Uma Kulit/Uma Alim/Kayan
7.	Long Buang	Uma Kulit
8.	Long Pedjalin	Uma Alim
9.	Mara Satu	Lepo Tau
10.	Long Bang	Uma Bakung/Kayan
11.	Long Telendjau	Uma Baka/Kayan
12.	Long Beluah	Lepo Ma'ut/Uma Long

Mahakam River Area -- Kalimantan

1.	Muara Antjalong	Uma Bem
2.	Long Lees	Uma Bem
3.	Long Pedohun	Lepo Tukung
4.	Muara Ritan	Lepo Tukung
5.	Uma Kramo	Lepo Timai
6.	Bengien	Lepo Timai
7.	Kampong Baru	Lepo Timai
8.	Kerangau	Lepo Timai
9.	Uma Dian	Lepo Timai
10.	Batu Madjang (ulu Long Iram)	Lepo Timai
11.	Kampong Sangai Akar	Lepo Timai
12.	Bulu Sen	Lepo Timai
13.	Muara Ritan	Lepo Timai
14.	Uma Na'a	Lepo Timai
15.	Marah Kenjah	(not known)
16.	Djuk Adjak	(not known)
17.	Long Segar	(not known)
18.	Long Noran	Uma Kulit

	Village Name	Kenyah Sub-group
	Baram River and Tributaries Area -- Sarawak	
Part A.	Villages from Galvin (1967)	
1.	Long Tutoh	Long Kiput
2.	Long Ikang	Long Sebatu
3.	Long Ikang	Long Ulai
4.	Long San	Long Tikan (Lepo Mbo')
5.	Long Sela'an	Long Belukun
6.	Long Sela'an	Tepu'an
7.	Long Banyoh	Morik
8.	Long Semiang	Morik
9.	Long Pua	Uma Akeh
10.	Long Apu	Uma Pawa
11.	Long Anap	Lepo' Sawa
12.	Long Selatong	Lepo Ga
13.	Long Selatong	Likan
14.	Long Julan	Lepo Abong
15.	Long Palai	Lepo La'ang
16.	Long Je'eh	Lepo Aga
17.	Long Moh	Lepo Tau/Lepo Ngau/Lepo Jingan/Lepo Ke
18.	Long Tungan	Lepo Nyamok
19.	Lio Mato	Badang
20.	Long Loyang	Sebob
21.	Long Kapeh	Sebob
22.	Long Atun	Lepo Anan
23.	Long Nibong	Lirong
24.	Long Latu	Long Wat
25.	Long Aya	Seping
26.	Long Sobeng	Seping
Part B.	Additional villages from author's survey work in 1971	
27.	Long Makaba	Lepo Tau
28.	Long Wang	Lepo Tau
29.	Long Tap	Long Tikan (Lepo Mbo')
	Balui River and Tributaries Area -- Sarawak	
Part A.	Villages from Galvin (1967)	
1.	Long Jawi	Uma Kulit
2.	Ulu Belaga	Sambob
3.	Belaga	Long Bangan
Part B.	Additional villages from author's survey work in 1971	
4.	Long Musang	Badang
5.	Long Geng	Badang
6.	Long Bulan	Uma Baka
7.	Long Sah	Uma Kelap



KEY

A. Baram Area (Sarawak)
B. Balui Area (Sarawak)
C. Apo Kayan Area (Kalimantan Timur)
D. Pudjungan-Bahau Area (Kalimantan Timur)
E. Lower Kayan Area (Kalimantan Timur)
F. Mahakam Tributaries Area (Kalimantan Timur)

FIGURE 20 : Kenyah Areas in Borneo

APPENDIX II

THE BA' IN THE BORNEO LITERATURE

In the context of my research on the ba' among the Lepo Tau, I have gathered information from earlier works on Borneo and solicited information from contemporary ethnographers who have worked in central Borneo. This data provides an idea of the ethnic and geographical extent of the ba' and of the functions of the ba'[1] in pre-Christian times.

I have examined the works of Sir Spenser St. John (1862), Ling Roth (1896), Nieuwenhuis (1900; 1904), Hose and McDougall (1912), Lumholtz (1920), Elshout (1923; 1926), Hose (1926), Krohn (1927), Möjberg (1927), Tillema (1938), and Allard (1945) and others for references to and photographs of the ba'.

One of the first references in the literature to ba' types of baby carriers is found in Spenser St. John's work, Travels in the Forests of the Far East. While traveling in the Baram River, he stopped at a Kayan village and observed the abat of a Kayan maran (aristocrat) woman. He describes her baby carrier as ". . . a rattan seat covered with fine bead work . . . when women go out, the child is placed in this, which is slung over the back" (1862:v.i;130). While no reference

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[1] In the quotations in this Appendix, there are several terms used to refer to the baby carrier that the Lepo Tau Kenyah call ba'. The Kayan of the Balui River use the term abat; the Kanan of the Mendalam River use the term havat or hawat. Some authors use the spelling bah rather than ba'.

is made to other than its obvious function as a conveyance for a child, the mention of it by St. John provides some index of its antiquity and its areal and ethnic distribution.

Probably the best known of all ba' is a Kayan one (Kayan = abat), part of the Brooke-Low collection housed at the Sarawak Museum. Photographs of this abat appear in the works of Ling Roth (1896:v.i;100), Hose and McDougall (1912:v.i;232), and Möjberg (1927:160). This Kayan abat is somewhat unusual in that it is carved in wood with three human faces, carved one above the other. The carving is ornamented with ground shells for eyes and ground shells in rows on either side of the faces. None of the authors who picture the abat in their works, however, make any reference to its functions other than the obvious one of carrying an infant.

Ling Roth, in The Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo (1896) makes no mention in the text of the ba' except to quote St. John (as cited above). On page 25, he gives a photograph captioned "Kanowits(?)" which shows two ba'. They appear to be made of rattan and hung with beads and animal teeth. A round object on the one on the left may be a shell. This picture is interesting also in that it is obviously a formal posed portrait in which the ba' are conspicuously displayed. The one on the left (with a baby in place) is being worn on the front (unusual) so as to display it to better advantage. The one on the right has no occupant but is simply set facing the camera. In Long Nawang I was frequently called upon to make family portraits of this same type, and any family who had a well-decorated ba' always contrived to display it in the manner described above.

The first detailed information on the ba' is found in

A. W. Nieuwenhuis's work Quer durch Borneo (1904) which describes his journey across Borneo and to the Apo Kayan. He describes the use of the ba', then goes on to discuss the various articles hanging on the ba' as helping to protect the child. According to Nieuwenhuis, the child's soul is considered to be closely connected to the ba' and may rest in the ba' when it is absent from the child. Some of the items hanging from the ba' are small carvings which are considered especially attractive to the soul and thus encourage it to remain with the ba'. Other articles drive away evil spirits from the child (1904:v.i;71). He gives a photograph of a ba' with a carved wood frame; the ba' is hung with various items including several kinds of shells, beads, small leaf packets, and a tiger tooth. The inside of the ba' is covered with a cloth decorated with a cutout design depicting a human figure (1904:v.i;plate 14).

Later in the same work, in a section on art, Nieuwenhuis describes in some detail the beaded designs found on the ba' (as well as on other articles), but his main interest here is in discovering the "origins" of the various motifs. He makes only one brief reference to the relation of particular designs to social class, stating that a certain kind of design is used to ornament the hats of high status women (1904:v.ii; 274). In his discussion of the various motifs, Nieuwenhuis mentions a human figure with genitals clearly portrayed that may be found on the ba'. He says, "If one considers the possibility that, in the decoration of the hawat, there may have been a wish to keep the bad spirits away from the child, then such a dramatic presentation of genitals, which would scare the bad spirits, is understandable" (1904:v.ii;239).

In Hose and McDougall's work (1912), a drawing of the Brooke-Low

collection ba' mentioned above appears in a section on decorative art (v.i;232). The ba', however, is not mentioned in the text of this section. Hose and McDougall note the beaded designs used on hats, headbands, war coats, sword sheaths, and other items, but do not mention their being used on the ba'.

Plate 166 in Volume II portrays a ba' in use. It has no beaded design but is hung with objects which appear to be beads and shells. The photograph is captioned "A Sekapan (Klemantan) Woman, carrying a child in a cradle." The Sekapans live on the Rejang River and probably represent the furthest downriver use of the ba'; the Iban, downriver from the Sekapan do not use it. Hose and McDougall describe the use of the ba' (or havat, as they call it) as follows:

> The infant is carried by the mother almost continuously during the waking hours of its first year of life; it is generally suspended in a sling made of wood or of basket-work, resembling in shape the baby's swing familiar in our own nurseries; the child sits on a semicircular piece of board, its legs dependent, its knees and belly against the mother's back, and its own back supported by the two vertical pieces of the cradle (1912:v.ii; 158-9).

Hose and McDougall describe a dance involving the ba' among the Kayan. The dance is performed by a friend or female relative of a woman in labor and is believed to facilitate delivery. As she dances, the woman carries in her arms a bundle of cloth which she handles like a baby. At the end of the dance, the woman places the bundle into the child's ba' (1912:v.ii;157).

According to Hose and McDougall, none of a child's possessions, including his ba' can ever be sold or lent; they should be retained by the parents. They may, however, be used by a younger sibling if their original owner has thrived and is healthy (1912:v.ii;158).

Through Central Borneo (Lumholtz 1920:v.i) includes a section on the Kenyah and Kayan of the lower Kayan River. Lumholtz mentions the use of the ba' for carrying an infant, and is particularly impressed by the beads used to decorate it.

> When children are small, they are carried on the backs of their mothers in a kind of cradle, the outside of which is often elaborately adorned with beads. The chief in Long Pelban had one, the value of which I computed to be two thousand florins. The choicest beads are very old and have been kept for centuries in Borneo (1920:v.i;77).

A photograph shows a Kayan woman with a child of perhaps three in a ba'. The ba' appears to be made of rattan and decorated with large beads and shells, but no design is visible (1920:facing page 39).

J. M. Elshout's (1923) dissertation on Kenyah medical practices and religion discusses the ba' with a good deal more insight than previous works. In a lengthy section on childbirth and childhood, he discusses the ba' and its importance in establishing a firm connection between the newborn child and its soul. The pre-Christian Kenyah believed that the soul of a newborn was particularly volatile and likely to take flight unless steps were taken to ensure that it remained with the child. Elshout says the soul (berua'), by means of certain charms, is encouraged to remain with the ba' and to return to it after its wanderings. Since the infant spends much of his time in the ba', the soul will then be in almost constant contact with the infant and will become firmly attached to it.

At first, according to Elshout, the charms hung on the ba' consist of a kind of snailshell and pieces of the root of a certain plant. Elshout here mentions differences by class. Children of unmixed paran ancestry may have two snailshells (belalang) and four pieces of root

(sin long) whereas those of mixed paran and panyin ancestry (what I have called paran iot) have but one snailshell and three pieces of root. The fallen umbilical cord of the infant is carried in one of the shells.

Other decorations, Elshout says, are added later. He mentions the beaded design (aban), clumps of beads, buttons, and animal teeth. He also discusses the social-class implications of the ba' decorations, saying that the baby carrier (bah) carries upon it the imprint of the rank of the child.

> . . . for radja's [children] tiger teeth are permitted . . . . Others use instead of tigers' teeth, the teeth of the panther (djipen kole, oedang kole) and in the lower ranks one encounters bears' or dogs' teeth (1923:195).

The form of the beaded design is also determined by the rank of the child. Elshout mentions specifically the hornbill and the stylized full human figure as being the province of the highest aristocrats (paran), whereas those of mixed heritage may use only stylized human heads as motifs in the beaded design.

Elshout says that the mother customarily does not decorate the ba' entirely by herself but he does not say who does. He mentions that after the child is six days old, people may come to visit the mother and child bringing gifts the most appreciated of which are beads which are hung on the ba' or worn by the child as a bracelet. He does not, however, discuss the role of kinship relations in the gathering of materials for and the construction of the ba'.

Elshout's later work (1926) presents more complete ethnographic material, particularly on religion, ceremonies and death, but he does not add to his discussion of the ba' in particular or childhood in general. On these topics he refers the reader to his earlier work.

Hose's Natural Man (1926) adds nothing to what was already mentioned in his earlier volume with McDougall except for a photograph (facing page 35) of a Punan woman wearing a crude ba'. What references there are to the ba' are quoted directly from the earlier work.

In Borneo Jungles (Krohn 1927) is a very general, traveler's account of Dayak life on the Mahakam. Although Krohn does not use specific tribal names, he seems to be discussing the Kayan (or Bahau or Busang as they may be called in the Mahakam). In a section on dress, he mentions the ba', contrasting its elaborate decoration with the nakedness of its occupant:

> While the baby is stark naked, except for these trinkets of jewelry, the knapsack arrangement in which his mother carries him on her back is decorated with countless articles. Among these are bits of colored cloth, strings of small mollusk shells, grain filled heads of rice stalks, and often times, various fruits. The two latter are supposed to feed the good spirits that hover about the child. To frighten away the evil spirits that may be lurking near, a dog's tooth is tied to this baby basket in a conspicuous place so as to be readily seen (1927:148-9).

Krohn does not connect the dog's tooth or other decorations with social class. Indeed, it may be the case that among the Mahakam groups that the baby carrier does not serve as a display case for class and ranking. Krohn does mention, however, that social class appears in the form of the beaded design on the sa'ong (hat) and gives a photograph (facing page 276) contrasting the sa'ong of a "rajah" with an ordinary sa'ong.

Krohn presents two photographs (facing page 150) labeled "kiang benang" (the term he gives for ba'). The top photograph does depict a baby carrier. The bottom photograph, however, is a standard carrying basket in use by most central Borneo groups.

Eric Mõjberg, who was Curator of the Sarawak Museum from 1922-1925,

did a good deal of traveling in the interior and in 1927 published a book with the inevitable title, Borneo, Het Land der Koppensnellers. He gives a photograph of the previously mentioned "Kayan abat" in the Sarawak Museum collection but in the caption uses the Kenyah term "bah" (160). On page 249 is a photograph of an object Möjberg refers to as a child's toy. It is made of bamboo and hung with snail shells, and could well be a toy ba'. Such toys are in use in Long Nawang today. The caption under the photograph reads "The snail shells hit against each other, making a noise which causes malevolent spirits to flee quickly" (1927:249).

Tillema, in his volume on the Apo Kayan, shows a photograph of a ba' accompanied by the following commentary:

> Wicker Baby Carrier: the baby carrier can be thought of as protecting the baby against angry spirits, for that purpose the magical baby carrier is prepared with coins, old trifles, etc. You can see the coins at the top. Left and right in the center of a flat sharpened shell is a large bead. The bead is very old, perhaps centuries old. The wicker basket makes a particular sound and in the beadwork a complete human figure is portrayed. This sort of magical adornment can only be permitted a mother of high birth. She is strong enough to resist the magic of such a figure. A mother of rank would put aside the carrier in which she carries her baby for no money in the world. In that wicker shelter is a part of the "soul" of her infant. With feces and urine the infant dissents, but to yield would mean sickness or death for her baby" (1938:168).

In this commentary, besides the references to magical powers and the soul, we have one of the few references to the class connotations of the ba' and aban motif. Only women of high rank could use the full human figure.

Elizabeth Allard in her study of Animistic Beliefs and Rites in the Malay Archipelago (1945) touches briefly on the ba'. Synthesizing material from Nieuwenhuis and others she discusses pregnancy and birth

and the customs and taboos associated with each state as well as the early years of childhood. She doesn't specifically identify the group she is discussing, but uses the term Bahau which is generally accepted as being composed of Kayan and Kenyah peoples. For a full understanding of her contribution I include her remarks about birth.

> Only women may attend to a birth; men, taking all swords and iron implements, should leave the place. Immediately after birth the child receives an arm bracelet, which is meant to ward off evil spirits; when the umbilical drops off this bracelet is replaced by another one, and again after a month, at the first name giving, by a third one. The mother wears these bracelets around her neck until the second name giving. At the end of the period of prohibition they are put in a little cotton bag and tied to the wooden carrier in which the mother takes the child about, the carrier hanging on her back.
>
> The Bahau believe that the soul of the child is intimately connected with the carrier in which it is carried. Each morning and evening the mother brings the child into intimate contact with the carrier, while she pronounces a formula. The soul of the child is thereby invited to return to its proper seat, as a prolonged absence would cause sickness and death. Attached to this carrier are all sorts of charms, which should ward off the evil spirits and propitiate the good spirits (1945:103-4).

Allard's discussion draws close attention to the idea of the "ba'," properly adorned, as a protective device for the child and its soul. She does not, however, recognize the class relatedness of aban motifs, nor does she discuss the ba' as it relates to the concept of parib.

In these earlier works on Borneo, where the ba' is discussed in greater depth than its obvious function as a carrier, the greatest attention is given to the ba' as it involves protection for the infant. It protects the infant in two ways: 1) the various items hung on the ba' repel evil spirits; and 2) the ba' serves as a resting place for the child's soul during the early years when it is vulnerable. The hanging objects also make noise to frighten away evil spirits.

From these early descriptions it would seem that the ba' has been

in use for some time by Kenyah and Kayan (or Bahau, Busang). One photograph of its use by a Punan was noted, but this use may be borrowed by some groups from nearby Kenyah or Kayan. There are many Punan groups today who do not use it at all.

I have questioned several people who have done very recent work among Kenyah and Kayan groups about the use of the ba'. Mr. Ray Rudes, a missionary and very astute observer of Kenyah and Kayan groups in the Kayan River, comments that he saw the ba' as a "status symbol," with certain ornaments and designs restricted to paran. He sees the cooperation in the actual construction of the ba' as "strengthening family ties" (1972:Personal communication).

Jerome Rousseau, an anthropologist who has worked with a Kayan group in the Balui, reports that highly decorated ba' (Kayan havat) are used there but they are without social significance. Anyone may use any design he wishes, the teeth of the tiger and leopard are not used at all, being considered so powerful that they would bring spiritual danger to both mother and child. The only decorations, besides the beaded design, are round shells which are not borrowed or traded; any exchange of shells is an outright sale (1972:Personal communication).

Mr. William Conley, another missionary who has worked very recently in the lower Kayan River area, reports that he found little social significance to the ba'. He feels that restrictions applying to the use of certain designs are no longer apparent. But, he also states that he did not enquire specifically into the use of the symbols or into the sources of goods for the ba' so his information may be incomplete on these questions (1972:Personal communication).

FIGURE 21 : Two Lepo Tau Kenyah Paran Ba' from Long Nawang

FIGURE 22 : Lepo Tau Kenyah Paran Iot Ba' from Mara Satu

FIGURE 23 : Uma Kelap Paran Ba' from Long Sah, Balui River. (Photograph by J. M. Hudson)

APPENDIX III

GLOSSARY OF KENYAH TERMS

The following list of terms represents Lepo Tau Kenyah. Included are several Indonesian terms in common usage in Lepo Tau Kenyah; these are marked (I). Primary kin terms only are included in this list.

aban	A beaded design used to decorate ba', sa'ong, or other items.
adat	Custom or tradition, traditional law, traditional religion, or all three. Adat may also be used in the sense of "belief system" as in "Adat Kristen" or "Adat Islam."
adat lama	Literally, "old custom." Lepo Tau use the term adat lama to refer to traditional, as opposed to Christian, religious belief and practice.
ame	"Father;" male lineal or collateral of the first ascending generation. Ame may be used in address to any male of the next higher generation from Ego. Ame is prefaced to a man's child's name as a teknonym. For example, Ame Kila is "Father of Kila."
alo	A small river; see also lalut and sungai.
Alo Maloh	Afterworld, place of the dead in pre-Christian Lepo Tau belief.
alut	Canoe.
alo'	Foreigner, non-Dayak; applied to any persons or goods that are non-Dayak or that come from outside, e.g. kelunan alo' -- "foreign person," sampe alo' -- "guitar."
anak	Child; lineal or collateral of the first ascending generation.

asu	Dog; kalong asu is the dog design seen in paintings and on aban.
bali	Spirit; ghost.
ba'	A rattan seat for carrying an infant or small child.
batu	Rock, stone; hard. Batu tuloi (literally, "spirit stones") are used in rituals.
bekung	Small, short-handled hoe for weeding.
belalang	A kind of snail; the shell of the snail, formerly hung on the ba' to hold the child's umbilical cord.
belanyat	Finely woven carrying basket worn on the back.
berua'	Soul; spirit of a person; loss of one's berua' means sickness or death.
bio	Big, large; important.
blik (I)	A five-gallon can used as a measure of dry items such as rice or salt.
borak	A fermented drink made of either rice or cassava.
bulu'	Feather, fur (of an animal), body (but not head) hair of a human.
Bupati (I)	District officer. In the administrative hierarchy, the Kabupaten, or area administered by the Bupati, is the next level below the Province.
chenganak	Sibling; cousin. Chenganak-chenganak is used in public-speaking to mean "brethern."
daya	Upriver; headwaters.
dayung	To sing, singer; religious specialist, shaman.
GPBI (I)	Acronym for Geredja Bagian Protestant Indonesia or Church of the Protestant Sect in Indonesia.
Hari Merdeka (I)	Indonesian Independence Day, August 17th.
ikeng	An ox-bow area in a river.
iot	Small, few, a little; unimportant.
ino'	Bead.

djipun — Tooth.

kabok — Land lizard. Kalong kabok is a type of design seen in paintings and on aban.

kalong — Design, motif.

kanan — Food; cooked rice.

kabupaten — See Bupati.

kelabak — A clump of small beads.

kelunan — Human being; mankind.

ketjamatan — See tjamat.

kiba — Carrying basket. There are two varieties; one like a pack frame and the other a conical one for carrying rice.

KINGMI (I) — Acronym for Kenyah Indjil Geredja Masahi Indonesia, or literally, the Tent Gospel Christian Church in Indonesia.

kurap — Skin disease, ringworm. Korap was formerly considered to result from parib.

kule — Spotted leopard.

laki — Male; husband.

lalut — A very small stream.

lamin — Apartment in a longhouse; a room.

lindjau — The striped tiger.

lepau — Fieldhouse; small shelter.

lepo — Place, village.

leto — Female, wife.

long — Confluence of two rivers.

luhan — The shell or physical body of a human.

malan — Prohibited, dangerous, taboo; prohibition.

ma'hap — Obligatory labor such as that owed to paran by panyin.

mudung — Hill, mountain.

naha — Sandbar or pebble bar in a river.

nidau — Chant performed at funerals to direct the soul of the dead to Alo Maloh.

o'ong — A red croton (Colodracon jacquinii) formerly associated with valor in war and planted in front of lamin of paran. O'ong were also used by graves of male paran who had been valient in headhunting.

padai — Unhusked or growing rice.

panyin — Commoner, ordinary person. See paran.

panyin dja'at — Literally, "bad commoner." Lower in class than panyin tiga but higher than panyin lamin.

panyin lamin — Literally, "household commoner;" slave. See ula'.

panyin tiga — Literally, "good commoner;" higher in status than panyin dja'at but lower than paran iot.

paran — Leader, chief; more broadly, the aristocratic class.

Paran Bio — High chief; head of several villages. Paran Bio are recognized by the Indonesian government but are called Kepala Adat Istiadat Besan, or High Chief of Customs and Traditions.

paran iot — People of mixed paran/panyin heritage; lower than paran but higher than panyin in status.

Paran Lepo — Village chief.

Paran Uma — Longhouse chief.

parib — A state of ritual imbalance or impurity for the individual. An individual may become parib by breaking specific taboos or simply by presuming above himself.

payau — Deer.

pengamin — Family; those people residing in one lamin.

pontianak — Ghost, vampire; especially the ghost of a woman who died in childbirth.

sadin — Younger sibling; young cousin.

sa'ong — Wide, circular sunhat, can be worn by both men and women.

sekun — Older sibling; older cousin.

sial — A state of ritual imbalance or impurity for the entire community.

simunyun — Reciprocal exchange labor.

suhan — A ranking system for men based on participation in the mamat ritual. Each rank has its associated symbols.

sungai — River; larger than a lalut or an alo.

tiga — Good, nice.

timai — Fine, very minute; refined.

tjamat — Sub-district officer. In the Indonesian administrative hierarchy, the ketjamatan, or area administered by a tjamat, is the level below the kabupaten.

tuba — A root used to poison streams to kill fish.

tudo' — To spend the night; a place away from home to spend the night.

tukang (I) — A specialist, a skilled craftsman.

ula' — Slave; see panyin lamin.

ulu — Head (of a person) or headwaters of a river.

uma' — Swidden field.

uma — Longhouse.

uman — Eat.

usan — Salt, salty.

use — Verandah of a longhouse.

uwe — "Mother;" female lineal or collateral of the first ascending generation. Uwe may be used in address to any female of the next higher generation from Ego. Uwe is prefaced to a woman's child's name as a teknonym. For example, Uwe Kila is "Mother of Kila."

wakil (I) — Assistant.

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