

THE SEA DAYAKS
OF BORNEO

BEFORE WHITE RAJAH RULE

BENEDICT SANDIN

*With a preface by Tom Harrison
and an introduction by Robert M. Pringle*

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Preface

THIS book is the result of an unusual collaboration. It is to be hoped that it may serve as a modest example for further studies in the same manner in this part of the world. For more than twenty years, the author, Benedict Sandin, has been energetically collecting the folk-lore and traditions of his own people in Borneo, the Iban or Sea Dayaks. I first met him when I became Curator of the Sarawak Museum in 1947, and was much impressed both with his efforts and the results. As soon as possible, the new post of Research Assistant was created for him on the museum staff. This he occupied from 1952 until, via the Assistant Curatorship, he succeeded me as Curator and Government Ethnologist in September 1966.

During recent years he has been able to devote himself almost exclusively to the Iban material. A series of important papers has resulted, appearing in the *Sarawak Museum Journal*, which is currently coedited by both of us and publishing about 400 pages of original local research annually. But it is — or was — easier to accumulate this sort of material by field-work than to assimilate, translate and co-ordinate it for the press. With Professor George Kahin a plan was developed by which Cornell University, New York, should help the Sarawak Museum in working up this — and I hope presently other — material for publication. In return for the months spent with the Research Assistant in effectively organising a text, a visiting graduate student would then be actively assisted in the field by all the facilities which the Museum can command in Sarawak: and these are considerable. Visiting Cornell on leave, I met Mr Robert Pringle, who seemed to fill exactly the bill we had in mind. He wanted to come to Borneo and do a doctoral thesis on the history of the Dayaks and Brooke rule. At the other end we wanted a parallel if rather different treatment, with historical disciplines, for the pre-Brooke material collected by Mr Sandin; or, at least, a part of it.

Our plan has worked. Mr Pringle helped the Museum generally and Mr Sandin specifically; and one result is this book. His own parallel study completed back at Cornell will be processed separately. All parties have gained from the collaboration: both authors and their supporting institutions are satisfied. Some sort of give-and-take along these lines is now appropriate in south-east Asia. Sarawak, anyway, is tired of visiting students, scholars, scientists, graduates or undergraduates who come out to advance their own careers only, without reciprocating. Desirable as it may be to forward pure research everywhere, the sensitive mood of these new proud nations now seeks something more; especially where the study of humans and their history (or prehistory) is concerned. Research knowledge can benefit directly as a result, also.

Dr Pringle will explain his side of this particular project in his Introduction, following. A few words here, then, first about Benedict Sandin, then one or two wider matters.

Born at Kerangan Pinggai longhouse on the Paku River in the Saribas District of Sarawak's Second Division in 1918, of a senior Iban family, he was educated at St Augustine's School, Betong, and subsequently at St Thomas's School, Kuching, breeding ground for many leaders of today. Before the Second World War he served as a government official under the Brooke regime. He did two years' special training in New Zealand during the fifties, to equip him for the museum job.

Such qualifications and experience place him among the best-educated Ibans in Sarawak, a group which today includes the first and second Chief Ministers of the State, and the first Asian State Secretary (head of the Civil Service). But unlike many who received Western education, he has retained, and even enlarged, a deep interest in the traditions of his own people. Since childhood, he has devoted himself to mastering a body of ritual, folk-lore, legend and history which is almost staggering in its volume and complexity. Today, Mr Sandin is the unchallenged authority on all such matters, among his own people as among outsiders.

The complexity of this Iban lore and belief can indeed hardly be exaggerated. In a recent study of the earlier materials from the

gawai festival chants (published as *Sarawak Museum Journal*, Special Monograph No. 1 (1966), p. 360) he and I have sketched the surface of the wealth and depth in the earlier traditions, which reach back over into Sumatra, India, China and even into 'Istanbul'. These earlier phases are associated with a hitherto undescribed system of writing on boards. The writing boards (*papan turai*) kept the tally of the ancient past and its proper observances into the present, as the privileged knowledge of the initiated shamans (*lemambang*). The world of theology thus revealed is so elaborate and extensive that I have suggested (in the above-mentioned Monograph) it deserves to be called 'universism'. The usual term, 'animism', is inadequate — if not insulting — as a description of this rich theo-philosophy for the living and the dead, which sweeps down from the stars and outer space to the explanation of curious stones, the echo-location of caverniculous bats and that night call of a cricket in the smoky longhouse roof.

It is against this background that the present proto-historical study must be seen. The decision broadly to take 'fifteen generations back' in genealogical lore (*tusut*) as a basis for the present study is a sound one. Beyond that we get into a spectrum of increasingly remote and also increasingly non-historical, though still deeply relevant, oral documentation. Several of the more elaborate genealogies are, however, included in the Appendixes (e.g. Genealogy 4), going back as much as twice as far behind the present Pringle-Sandin $15 \times$ limit. Elsewhere, it will presently be demonstrated that at generation 30 back it is possible to associate the personalities mentioned with actual places or phases in the prehistory of the area. Merom Panggai (in Genealogy 2), for example, is associated almost certainly with the Persian settlements in India from before A.D. 1200, notably at Gujarat in the north-west, whence came new trade, metal-age technologies, and one main impact of Islam (mixed with Indian mysticism) into Indonesia via Sumatra and presently across Borneo. Benedict Sandin is the twenty-sixth-generation descendant of Merom Panggai — and, like all other Ibans who can so claim, deeply proud of it. Whatever the 'historical validity' involved, such feelings are a profound element underlying Dayak character to this day; and especially in

determining their attitudes to other peoples who seek to claim any sort of superiority over them in space and time. (The same, of course, applies to other 'pagan' peoples too: Kenyah, Kayan, Kelabit, Melanau, Land Dayak, Bisaya, Dusun, and so on. Over the past two decades we have sought to preserve the record for all of these, not only the Iban.)

But it is to the equally proud though rather (only rather) more tangible and limited information lower down the traditional time scale of Iban universism that we must now turn, thanking Robert Pringle on behalf of Sarawak for his highly intelligent, amiable, patient assistance in forwarding this Sarawak Museum project a significant phase further. Sarawak hopes to see the likes of his generous approach again — and can do without the other sort quite easily, at that.

Kuching: Cornell
1967

TOM HARRISON

Introduction

THE present work has drawn upon a small amount of material included in the author's previous publications, as well as a great deal which has not hitherto been presented in any form. As a Cornell University graduate student of Southeast Asian History, working during 1965-6 in association with Mr Tom Harrisson, Curator Sarawak Museum, my own role in the preparation of the current work has been the mechanical one of assisting the author on points of style and organisation. In addition I prepared the footnotes and evolved a tentative method of citing dates according to *tusut* genealogies, which is discussed in the Appendix.

The Sea Dayaks of Borneo before White Rajah Rule is an essay on the history, or proto-history, of the Ibans based entirely on oral materials known to the author. Only in its final portions does it overlap to some extent with materials in any way touched upon in Western written sources. These portions have been indicated in the footnotes, together with some discussion of discrepancies and agreements between Iban oral and Western written versions.

It was recognised that by concentrating on history, as opposed to ritual, legend, or just plain story, some distortions would inevitably result. The author has quite deliberately selected from his own fund of knowledge material which seems likely to be historical — which appears to deal with actual events, people, population movements and other historical processes using the term 'historical' as the Western-trained historian generally understands it. Common sense has been the main criterion in this process of selection.

As the author explains in Part One, he has omitted any discussion of a great amount of earlier tradition dealing with events which may be dated, according to *tusut* genealogies, from fifteen to thirty or more generations back from the present. The present study begins at approximately the fifteenth generation, when the initial

Iban movements from the Kapuas valley of what is now Indonesia into Sarawak territory are recorded in the oral literature.

The fifteenth-generation approximate starting place is to some extent arbitrary. But it is also clear that there is a significant difference between the earlier body of material, neglected here, and that with which we are concerned at present. A preponderant amount of the material linked to persons *later than the fifteen-generation* line is exceedingly secular in tone. Stories of law-giving and the feats of men and divinities intermingled, which are typical of the earlier period, yield to more mundane accounts of migrations, wars and settlement. This is not to say that there is no genuinely historical material in the first category, and no myth in the second; the difference is one of degree, but it is there.

There is another cogent reason for starting at the fifteenth generation. The more recent material may be subject to verification by further research in Sarawak, either in the traditions of other groups involved in the same events, or by archaeology. Similar research on the earlier period would have to be conducted in Indonesian Borneo or further afield, at least in part.

Whatever the fruits of future research may be, I believe that the Iban traditions recorded here must be regarded as more than a body of material relevant only to the conditions of the traditional society in which they were found. Modern social anthropology has done such a thorough job of debunking the attempted reconstruction of 'factual history' from such sources that this point needs to be stressed.¹

There is much evidence of a strong element of factual history in the contents of this work. If Iban oral history were *merely* relevant to contemporary social functions, it would be hard to explain why the subject matter of this work shifts so dramatically over the generations down to the present. There are in fact three distinct themes discernible in each of the three parts, which follow each other in largely chronological order. The first deals with pioneer settlement in the area of Sarawak's Second Division; the second with a phase of additional Iban settlement and 'consolidation' in the same river valleys, while the final part discusses contact with

coastal societies and migrations to other parts of Sarawak. It is significant that certain features of the last period, which clearly saw an altogether new and explosive eruption of Iban energy along the coast, are *not* reflected back into the earlier periods.

The use of Malay titles, for example, is restricted to the latest period, with a very few exceptions noted in the text. More important, the kind of events mentioned, such as lengthy sea voyages along the coast both to the north-east and south-west, is wholly lacking in the earlier material. It is very hard to explain this shift of emphasis in terms of contemporary social structure. I believe it is quite reasonable to conclude that a historic change did take place in the political conditions of Iban life.

The very frankness of the narrative is another argument in favour of its credibility. With surprising frequency, a spade is called a spade, and defeats and disgraces are set forth, as well as victories. It might be noted that this material is wholly unaffected by sentimental nationalism of the sort that is greatly complicating the lives of historians in many countries in Asia.

Finally, in those very few portions of the work where the more reliable Western sources (and many of them are of course not reliable) overlap with the oral material, there are discrepancies in details, but no major contradictions.

To argue that Iban oral sources may be taken seriously from the historian's point of view is not to say that they are any less free from a variety of biases than are their Western written counterparts. One probable cause of bias is inherent in the Iban system of land tenure. In Iban society, the clearing of virgin jungle establishes rights over hill rice farmlands. These rights are of two general types. The longhouse community, which in fact is the Iban 'village', obtains a right of access to the territory (*menoa*) in question. But the land is not owned communally; each farm plot is the property of a *bilek* family group. Both right of access and *bilek* ownership of land are a function of pioneer cultivation, at the longhouse and family level respectively.² The author stresses the fact that the pioneer cultivator of old jungle, like the successful warrior, is a figure of tremendous prestige in Iban society. But the land-tenure system makes it equally clear that an individual may have more

than prestige in mind when he sets out to prove that a certain ancestor was the first to clear the jungle along a certain stream.

The Ibans are a highly litigious people, as harassed Brooke officials discovered when the White Rajah's rule first reached Iban territory in the mid-nineteenth century. In the Second Division, court cases involving disputed lands and fruit trees were at one time restricted by Government fiat to three months out of the year, in order to prevent a complete crowding out of other necessary legal business. In the current work, since it is drawn from many sources, individual biases probably cancel each other out, but they undoubtedly are present, and this should be borne in mind.

A more general bias inevitably results from the fact that most of the material is drawn from the Second Division, from the Saribas district and areas to which Saribas people migrated, and in particular from the Paku, the author's home river. As he notes, this is due partly to the fact that he quite naturally knows his own home territory best, but it also results partly from the long-settled character of the Saribas district. By contrast, the leadership of most other Iban areas in Sarawak has had much less continuity, owing to migrations both in and out; populations are typically more diverse, and unsettled political conditions have persisted to a much later date. This is true in particular of the Skrang river in the Second Division, and of the entire Third Division. As a result, traditions have apparently not been recorded in such depth. If this is not the case this work may hopefully stimulate others to gather more material from other areas.

From what has already been said it will be clear that the contents of this study have been drawn from many different types of oral sources and then organised along lines that are quite alien to any traditional Iban form. The author has gathered much simply by talking to informants, but he has relied equally upon his knowledge of various specific forms of Iban oral literature. These include *tusut* genealogies as well as a wide range of song and story types.

A *tusut* genealogy may be merely a list of names, indicating who married and begat whom, beginning with the most remote ancestor and working down to the present. But more often it will

include short descriptive passages about some of the major ancestors. An evaluation of the possibilities of dating from *tusut* is included in the Appendix, together with one *tusut* as it would actually be related in the Iban language. The Appendix also includes many more *tusut* which have been cited in the text, presented in a simplified diagrammatic manner.

Without venturing to comment on the kinship significance of *tusut*, it should be noted that an Iban may record his ancestry back through both male and female forbears, as he sees fit. There is no limit to the number of *tusut* lines any individual may trace back from himself, except his own capacity for genealogical detail. At the lower or more recent end of the *tusut*, one who is a skilled genealogist (*tukang tusut*) will be informed on the exact nature of relationship to relatives at least as distant as third or fourth cousins. In Iban society, *tusut* are essential to the solution of many questions, from determining whether a marriage is incestuous to settling a fruit-tree dispute. The parents of a marriageable daughter may be able to claim a higher bride price if they can document the existence of famous forbears — pioneers, war-leaders or politicians. A host will not be certain of how to treat his guest until he is aware of kin relationship, or lack thereof.

The complete flexibility with which a knowledgeable Iban may select from innumerable lines of ancestors those whom he wishes to include in any given *tusut* recitation, makes for a system which may be manipulated as circumstances require. Writing a century ago, the second Brooke Rajah described how two recently hostile groups of Ibans set about to reinforce a government-sponsored peace-making ceremony:

After this ceremony, they all mixed in the same circle, and told their different relationships, handed down through many generations, and over a large extent of country. . . . This is the common practice of Dyaks, and their eyes sparkle with delight on finding a new Scotch cousin several times removed, although they may have been at feud for years, and only an hour before would have gladly carried each other's head in a bag.³

More purely literary forms of Iban oral materials which often

contain historical information include the *pengap*, *timang*, *renong* and *kana*.

The *pengap* is a long, ritual chant performed before and during any major Iban *gawai* or festival. In it deities and ancestors, including pioneer settlers, are summoned from the spirit world to attend the festivities. Those portions of the *pengap* in which the famous ancestors are summoned are the same for many of the major *gawai*.

Timang include two specialised songs of invocation performed at the *gawai antu*, the greatest of all Iban festivals in many parts of Sarawak, and at the *gawai burong*, of equal importance in other areas. The *timang* is similar in form and function to the *pengap*.

The *renong* is a form of song performed by men only, frequently dealing with themes of love or war, and requiring anything from twelve hours to seven nights for a complete performance. There are many sub-categories. Some *renong* follow a specific memorised pattern; others are improvised. The *kana* is similar to the *renong*, but much shorter.

There are many other forms of Iban oral literature.⁴ Some are primarily ritual in nature, such as the *sugi*, performed at a special healing ceremony. Others emphasise the ability of the narrator to improvise and may be entertainment pure and simple. One such is the *ensera*, which is always fictional and frequently hilarious nonsense.

There is a good deal of regional variation in the various Iban oral forms. Since Mr Harrisson's curatorship started in 1947, the Sarawak Museum, and the author of this study in particular, have collected many Iban texts; this work is continuing, and in the future a complete study of this tremendous subject may be possible. Meanwhile, the Special Monograph of 1966 published by the Museum is a major first step.

Certain features of Iban personal names require a word of explanation. A glance at the various *tusut* appended will make it apparent that Iban names are frequently repeated every four generations; that is, Unggang is likely to have at least one great-grandson named Unggang. This interval is required because according to Iban custom, the names of affinal kin within a range

of three generations may not be repeated. Because of this prohibition against using the names of in-laws, one parent or the other would not be able to use the child's name, without risking serious ill fortune, were he named after a forbear within the three-generation range. However, the repetition of names immediately beyond the prohibited range is fashionable but not required, when the great-grandparent was a famous figure.

An Iban name may be, and frequently is, changed during childhood for various reasons. After maturity, such changes do not normally occur. But in addition to a given name, many Ibans receive auxiliary names of two varieties. The *julok* is bestowed principally on shamans (*manang*) but also on some other notable figures. The *ensumbar*, perhaps best translated 'praise name', is nearly always related to acts of bravery in battle. *Ensumbar* may be bestowed by the war-leader upon his warrior, or may be made up by the warrior himself with the approval of the war-leader. There are many *ensumbar* and a few *julok* mentioned in the pages that follow; they are always placed in parenthesis after the given name.

The practice of teknonymy was a feature of old-time Iban naming, and it is still considered polite even among comparatively westernised Ibans to address a parent as father (*apai*) or mother (*indai*) of the first-born child. In this paper teknonyms have been avoided except, as in the cases of Apai Ramba and Apai Jega of the Batang Ai, where the given name is not known.⁵

In the spelling of place names, an attempt has been made to conform to contemporary Sarawak usage, which is by no means always consistent. In referring to right- and left-hand tributaries of rivers, English usage has been followed. The hypothetical observer is facing *downstream*.

Also in conformity with contemporary Sarawak usage, the terms 'Iban' and 'Sea Dayak' have been used interchangeably. Today 'Iban' is generally more popular, especially in the Third Division. But 'Sea Dayak' (or just plain *Daya*) still finds favour in the Second Division, especially with older people. 'Iban' is a term of Kayan origin which did not come into general use until quite late in the nineteenth century, while the term 'Sea Dayak' was imposed by the Brookes, for reasons which Part Three of this work should

make amply evident. Both terms are thus essentially alien in origin. The Ibans originally had no term which recognised their indisputable ethnic unity. They referred to themselves by rivers — 'We the people of Undup' (*kami Undup*) or 'We the people of Skrang' (*kami Skrang*). Another frequent term of self-identification was, and is, 'We the people of the territory (*kami menoa*) — and *menoa* might refer to an entire river, or only to the territory of a single longhouse.

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PART ONE

Pre-Sarawak Migrations

I. The First Iban Families of Sarawak

IN this paper, I, Benedict Sandin, plan to tell the story of my people from the time of the initial migrations into Sarawak territory, roughly fifteen generations ago, down to the days of Brooke rule, when Western-style written records make their appearance.

The story has been pieced together from three general types of sources. First there are the genealogies or *tusut* which the Sea Dayaks have traditionally kept, often going back twenty-five generations or more from the present day. Secondly, there is a great variety of oral literature, in which the pioneers and other leaders are frequently mentioned. Typical of this literature is the *pengap*, varieties of which are sung by Iban bards during each of the major *gawai* or festivals. In these, both ancestors and deities are invited to come from the spirit world to attend the festival. Finally, ever since I was very small, I have been talking to various informants who knew a great deal either about the history of their own areas, or about Iban history in general.

The Iban people have been migrating across Borneo for many generations. In Part One I will attempt to tell only a small part of this long story, but it is a part which is very important. It deals with the first Iban migrations into the area which is now Sarawak, into the various rivers of the Second Division, the rivers from which later Iban migrations to other parts of Sarawak took place.

It would be altogether misleading to imply that these migrations into Sarawak represent the beginning of Iban oral history and tradition. In fact, they come at only the half-way mark. Most of the genealogies I have collected extend another ten generations further back in time. A great deal of very complex material, which I have not included here, or which will be mentioned only very briefly, falls within this early period.

One example will suffice to illustrate the reason for this partial omission. According to Sea Dayak legend, the ancestors of the people lived at a very remote period in the Middle East. This Middle Eastern 'origin' is mentioned in the beginnings of a few of the longest *tusut*. The legend says that:

Bujang Ganggam lives in the large forest,
Bujang Mereti lives in the wilderness,
And Bujang Biak takes his hat to explore the lands.

This Bujang lived in a fairyland guarded by Kumang, 'whose back was white', scorched by the setting sun. It was also the land of Lulong, who carried her basket to look for snails below the river of the underworld. According to the legend, this land was situated opposite the holy land of Mecca, where the Moslems make their pilgrimages.

The story goes on to tell of Bujang's fabulous descendants, many of whom are named on the *tusut* genealogies. Eventually they migrated from the Middle East to Sumatra, and from Sumatra some of them later continued on to Borneo, where they lived in the Kapuas river valley for a long time. It is at this period that the most famous Iban gods, including Sengalang Burong, are themselves to be found in the genealogies. It was here, according to the stories, that men mingled with gods and learned the customs which still characterise the Iban way of life.

There is much to be studied in this earlier body of traditions, and some of it has been published elsewhere.⁶ There certainly is material of genuine historic value in it. But it seems clear that at this time-level in Iban tradition we are dealing sometimes with symbols as with facts which can be accepted at face value. It is quite likely, for example, that 'migrations' from the Middle East or from Sumatra signify the movement of important ideas, perhaps carried by a few leaders, rather than any actual migration. A degree of symbolic content is probably typical of nearly all Borneo origin myths, including those of the Sarawak Malays, which talk of migrations from Johore and Minangkabau.

It is the less specific, more complex process of cultural migration that should be kept in mind whenever what seem to be straight-

forward population movements are mentioned in this paper.

In fact we cannot say that merely by moving down to the more recent period of Iban migrations into Sarawak territory this symbolic aspect is completely eliminated. In the subject matter of this paper, it undoubtedly remains a factor which must be considered, but its relative importance is *probably* less. Moreover, when we consider migrations within Sarawak, we are dealing with material which is subject to confirmation by the results of such future research as the excavation of old longhouse sites and comparison with oral material from other ethnic groups.

I have emphasised the accounts which tell of the men who were the first to reach the various rivers. Traditionally these pioneers have been well remembered by the Iban people. It was they who did the hard work of clearing old jungle, who met and sometimes conquered the various tribes living in these areas before the Iban themselves arrived. They were of course, frequently great war-leaders as well as pioneers.

It is because the pioneers have been remembered by the Iban people that a good deal can be said about these migrations. But these same heroes are mentioned for many other reasons besides their role as pioneers. Sometimes they made discoveries which benefited their people; more often they had adventures, entertaining in themselves, which have been remembered for many reasons. Therefore it should be said that in stressing the role of these men as pioneers and their importance in the process of migration, I have sometimes left out other interesting material which does not concern migration.

The Kapuas basin is the most important source of the various migrations mentioned in the *tusut*, but they also make some mention of two other sources. One group of non-Kapuas ancestors, led by Sabatin and Drom, landed at Cape Datu, at the extreme western end of Sarawak territory. From this group are descended not only Ibans, but Melanaus and other peoples as well, as will be described.

The second group of non-Kapuas ancestors came from Java, and landed on the coast of Borneo near Merudu Hill, not far from Brunei. At least one famous descendant from this group later

returned to Indonesian Borneo, where he met and inter-married with the forbears of pioneers who themselves then migrated back to Sarawak territory.

Despite these two other sources of Iban migration, it is clear that the movements originating in the Kapuas were the most important, and they will be the major subject of this paper.

I have organised the material by rivers, discussing each of the major migration areas in turn. The rivers were settled roughly in the order in which they are discussed, so far as can be determined. But the actual situation was much more complicated than this organisation would appear at first to suggest. Some of the most famous pioneers were the first to live in, not one, but *several* areas. Sometimes a famous leader migrated over a huge distance, leaving behind him much unused land to be filled up by later migrants. Far from being an orderly process, Iban migrations have always been the end result of many individual decisions.

II. Migration to the Undup

The Undup River and the Kumpang (a tributary of the Batang Ai) were among the very first areas to be populated by Ibans coming from what is now Indonesian Borneo. This is probably because both of these rivers are easily accessible from the lower Kapuas.

After the death of Sengalang Burong and the people of his generation, his grandson Sera (or Surong) Gunting,⁷ who was living at Merakai in the Kapuas drainage, held an historic conference to organise migration routes into the Undup and the Batang Ai.

It was from Merakai that an ancestor, Kajup,⁸ was ordered by Sera Gunting to lead his followers to migrate and settle in the Undup river, whose mouth is just above the modern town of Simanggang. Not very much is remembered about Kajup, who may have been a Maloh Dayak. At any rate he died in Sarawak territory, and was the first person to be buried at Ruding Embawang, a Maloh cemetery situated below the mouth of the Undup in the Batang Lupar.

Some time after Kajup, another ancestor named Jelian⁹ migrated

from the Ketungau river, a tributary of the Kapuas, into the Undup, where he lived at Wong Empangu. Jelian married a woman named Tiong, a daughter of the famous Kantu chief named Beti.¹⁰ Another early pioneer in the Undup was Langkup, but he is remembered more for a problem he had with his wife than for his role as a pioneer. She had the same name as he did — Langkup — so she had to change her name to Lemok.

Migration into the Undup continued. After Jelian another chief named Galungan¹¹ came with his followers from Merakai, also a tributary of the Kapuas, to live near Bukit Balau Ulu, which is located on the modern Sarawak-Indonesia frontier at the head of the Undup drainage. After many years here, he moved again with his people to live at Balau Hill, not far below the present town of Simanggang. Because they have lived twice by hills of the same name, they call themselves 'Balau Dayaks' to this day. In the same manner, those who inhabited the Undup river call themselves 'Undup Dayaks'.

While he was living at the second Balau Hill, near Simanggang, Galungan married a woman named Sendi.¹² Soon after this marriage he left his original followers and moved to the Sebuyau, a branch of the Batang Lupar near its mouth. These people then became known as Sebuyau Dayaks. From Nanga Sebuyau, Galungan moved again to the Sadong, where he died of old age. After his death, his followers gradually moved westward to Merdang Gayam, Merdang Limau, Merdang Lumut, Samarahan, Tabuan and Lundu. Some of their descendants have lived for generations in the vicinity of modern Kuching. All of these people have continued to call themselves Sebuyau Dayaks. They often stress that they are quite unlike other Sea Dayaks, an assertion which is not true.

Early accounts by writers such as Hugh Low and Spenser St John say that the Sebuyau Dayaks were forced to move from Sebuyau to these other places because of attacks made by the Skrang and Saribas Dayaks. It is true that there was hostility between these two groups, which is why the Sebuyau people fought on the side of the White Rajah, after his arrival in 1839, against the 'pirates' of Saribas and Skrang. But Sea Dayak tradition

clearly indicates that this hostility originated long *after* the further migrations from Sebuyau took place, and could not have caused them.¹³

III. Migration to the Batang Ai

At about the same time that Jelian migrated into the Undup, after the death of Surong Gunting at Tiang Laju Mountain, a chief named Patih Ambau¹⁴ from Ketungau led Surong Gunting's people into Sarawak territory. At first they settled in the upper Marup, near the present town of Engkilili. From here, Ambau moved again and built his longhouse at Pangkalan Tabau in the Batang Ai, above the present town of Lubok Antu. All the *pengap* of the various *gawai* mention Ambau:

Ambau pen udah ga nuntong datai ditu.

Ari Pangkalan Tabau peling lanting

Tawang bedagang.

Ambau has already come here

From Pangkalan Tabau, passing

by the Tawang traders.

These traders were Tawang Malay traders from the area of Lake Kuan and the Tawang River, who used to call at Ambau's house at Pangkalan Tabau. While he was living there, one of his men named Belayan Lelang died, and was buried at a new cemetery called Pendam Keladi.

At about the same time as Ambau, other leaders were migrating into the Batang Ai area. There was Lanong, who came from the Kapuas to live in the upper Kumpang river, and later moved down the Kumpang to live at Rantau Langkong in the Batang Ai. He is not mentioned in any *tusut*, but he is well known as one of the early Batang Ai settlers. There was Ratih,¹⁵ who came from Kenyandang Hill in the Ketungau, and was the first Iban to enter the Kumpang river, down which he travelled to settle at Rantau Langkong in the Batang Ai. At this period Ratih's father, Jenua, continued to live at Kenyandang Hill.

During the same period Gunggu¹⁶ came with his people and settled at Meriyu near Singkarong, below the present town of Engkilili. And soon after Gunggu a famous chief named Kanyong,

whose nickname was 'Gendang Ketebong',¹⁷ led his people to settle at the bend of the river called Melarang, midway between Lubok Antu and Engkilili. Kanyong is famous for his part in originating the Sea Dayak custom of *pati nyawa* whereby a man who kills another man, whether by accident or design, must compensate the relatives of the victim. This is the way the custom originated:

While Kanyong was living at Melarang on the Batang Ai, another chief named Semalanjat¹⁸ came from the Kapuas to live at Bungkap, above the spot where the Bungkap meets the Batang Ai. All the newly arrived migration leaders in this area agreed to help one another if any of them were to be attacked by the common enemy — the Punans, the Bukitans, and the Kantus of Merakai.

At this time a certain hunter from Kanyong's house was accidentally killed by a man from Semalanjat's house, while they were both out hunting. Kanyong and his people were much annoyed. They summoned their friends and relatives to help them take vengeance on the people of Semalanjat's house. Likewise Semalanjat summoned all of his friends to help defend his house at Bungkap. Just as it seemed that the quarrel would turn into a war, an important chief named Sulang (about whom not very much is known) directed his son, Rantai,¹⁹ to visit the two parties and end the disagreement.

Rantai met Semalanjat and Kanyong separately. He urged them not to prolong their dispute, suggesting that it might be settled peaceably by all the Iban chiefs in the region. Kanyong and Semalanjat agreed not to fight, if a peaceful solution could be found.

When Rantai came home his father asked him to summon such other migration leaders as Meringai, Manggi, Jelian, Ambau and Gunggu,²⁰ to settle the quarrel.

The meeting which followed took place in the gravel bed of the river. Sulang told the other chiefs the origin of the quarrel. He explained that such a small matter should not lead them to an open fight. 'Should we fight against one another,' he said, 'we will become disunited, and we shall be defeated by the Kantus, Bugaus, Punans and Bukitans who are our enemies.' He urged that some rule should be worked out for the settlement of such quarrels. The other chiefs agreed, and asked him to suggest such a rule.

Sulang suggested the following:

- (a) If a hunter kills another man by mistake, the killer must be asked to compensate the deceased's relatives with a *pati nyawa* compensation of two valuable old jars. Failing to pay this, the killer is to be surrendered to the deceased's family to become their slave together with his descendants.
- (b) If a warrior kills his fighting mate by mistake while on the warpath, the killer must pay a *pati nyawa* of two valuable old jars to the deceased's family. Failing to pay this, he must surrender himself to become their slave, together with his descendants.
- (c) If a man kills another person, when the latter steals his property, the death of the thief is not to be compensated. But if the thief kills a person whose property he has stolen, he must compensate the deceased with his own life.
- (d) If a man kills another man who has committed adultery with his wife, the deceased need not be compensated. But if the adulterer kills his friend, whose wife he has seduced, the adulterer must compensate the deceased's family with two valuable old jars. If he fails to pay this, he must surrender himself to the relatives of the dead man, to become their slave, together with his descendants.

After the rest of the chiefs had heard Sulang's suggestion for the solution of the dispute, they agreed that the man from Semalanjat's house should be asked to compensate the relatives of the deceased from Kanyong's house. Here, then, began the very important custom of compensation, or *pati nyawa*, among the Sea Dayaks. It has saved thousands of lives which might otherwise have been taken in vengeance.

These men — Ambau, Lanong, Ratih, Gunggu and Kanyong — were some of the most important early pioneers into the Batang Ai. But they were not the last newcomers to this region. New Iban leaders continued to arrive there. Some stayed; others only stopped for a time before moving on to more distant areas of Sarawak.

IV. Migration to the Skrang, Bangat, and Entanak

The first leader to settle in the Skrang river was Lau Moa,²¹ whose name means 'withered face'. He is a mysterious figure, best known for his children. His daughter, Lantong, was the mother of Tindin, the famous leader of migration into the Paku (see below). But he also had six sons, who were famous bards.

They became skilled as bards because their father, Lau Moa, had once given a *gawai burong* (bird festival) to which, in accordance with Iban custom, he invited the ancestors and Gods from the spirit world, including Sengalang Burong. But Sengalang Burong was very critical of the *pengap* or song, which Lau Moa sang to summon the guests from the spirit world. To set matters right, he sent his own bard, Sampang Gading, to teach Lau Moa's sons how to sing the *pengap* properly. The first son to learn from Sampang Gading was Sumbang, and he later taught his five brothers. All six of them became very skilled at this important kind of singing.

Before the first Iban migrations, the Skrang was inhabited by a thin population of wandering Bukitans. But there was no conflict with them at first. That came later, beginning in the days of Tindin, and will be mentioned fully below.

Meringai²² was one of the first more definite pioneers to live in the Skrang. He lived in the middle reaches of that river, in the days before there were any Ibans further upstream. He is remembered in the *pengap* for his clever wife:

*Meringai pen udah ga datai ditu,
Laki Randai, indu pandai, Batang Skrang*
Meringai has also come here,
The husband of Randai, the smartest woman
of Batang Skrang.

The exact location of his house is not known, but it was probably not far from Tanjong Lipat, the home of Chaong, another pioneer in this area of the Skrang and the father of the famous Tindin, about whom more will be said below. Chaong was a great war-leader in his own right, and often led expeditions against the Kantus of Merakai, traditional enemies who inhabited Kapuas waters.

After the arrival of these chiefs, Manggi came from the Batang Ai and lived at the mouth of the Tisak, on the right bank of the Batang Skrang. Like many of the migration leaders, Manggi was a pioneer in more than one place. Later he lived for a time in the middle reaches of the Tisak river, and eventually he moved to the Rimbas, a tributary of the Saribas, where he died. He is remembered for a famous adventure he had with a medicine man, or *manang*, from Balau.

While Manggi was living at the mouth of the Tisak it happened that his daughter fell sick. He summoned Jelapi, a Balau *manang* from Stirau, near Lingga, to care for her. When Jelapi arrived, Manggi swore that if he cured his sick daughter, he would not hesitate to consent to her marriage to Jelapi's son.

Jelapi was pleased to hear this, since Manggi was a famous leader. He began to care for the girl, and by the next morning she was cured. Before he departed, Jelapi asked Manggi when he might return to discuss the proposed marriage, but Manggi now denied his former agreement. After a long argument Jelapi returned home ashamed and furious.

A week later, Manggi's daughter was taken ill again. Manggi immediately suspected that the angered Jelapi must have put her under a charm. Eventually the girl died. In his grief, Manggi sent two of his men to Stirau to persuade Jelapi to pay him another visit. 'If he refuses, due to his recent dispute with me,' Manggi told them, 'snatch away his *lupong* (medicine box) by force. Then if he follows you, kill him in revenge for my daughter's death.'

When Manggi's men reached Stirau, one of them went to Jelapi's house, while the other waited at the landing place. The first man told Jelapi that he had been sent to fetch him back, because Manggi's daughter was ill again. Jelapi refused to go. He had been deceived by Manggi once, and that was enough.

At this point Manggi's messenger seized Jelapi's medicine box and ran away with it. Jelapi pursued him, and as they ran near the landing place Manggi's other envoy, who was hiding there, instantly killed Jelapi. Immediately the horizon turned dark, and the wind blew fiercely over the land. There was a great storm. Jelapi's body was transformed into a huge boulder, which is still

called 'Batu Jelapi', situated at Stirau in the lower Batang Lupar river.

It was after the death of his daughter that Manggi moved again to the middle Tisak. There were (and still are) many *tapah* fish, or carp, in this stream. Manggi and his people often caught them in a kind of trap called *abau*. One morning Manggi found that one of his traps had caught two huge fish, which he brought home with him. While he was cleaning one of these fish, he found in its belly three beautiful plates, which remain the prized possessions of his descendants to this day. When a male child is born in this family, he is given his first bath from one of these sacred plates.

Other important early pioneers in the Skrang included Busok, who cleared all the forest in the lower and middle Pelasok tributary, and his friend, Meriba, who felled all the trees in the Ulu Pelasok.²³ Both of these men originally lived in the Batang Ai. They were followed by Saba and Jelema,²⁴ who lived in the lower and upper Enteban (a right-hand tributary of the Skrang) respectively. Not very much is known about any of these people. Gubar and Japar²⁵ were the first leaders to settle in the Tebat tributary of the Skrang.

There were many other famous war-leaders who lived in the Skrang after this time — men such as Beti (Berauh Ngumbang), the wandering widower who married seven times, and outlived each of his wives — but these men were not, strictly speaking, pioneers.

Mawar the Elder²⁶ was the first to live in the land between the Skrang and Saribas, which is drained by the Bangat and Entanak streams. He came from Skrang and settled not far from Bangat — between that place and the Ulu Entanak. Many of the fruit trees which he planted are still growing, and his descendants have been leaders right down to the present day.

Begarak²⁷ is always mentioned as the first man who cleared the jungle in the lower Entanak, but there is little else known about him.

*V. Migration to the Saribas and its Tributaries**(a) The Layar*

The Layar was the first tributary of the Saribas to be settled by Ibans. Before they arrived, a chief of the jungle Bukitans named Entigar lived in the upper Layar near Bukit Tabalu. He was a cousin of Entigu, the Bukitan chief who figures in the famous story of Tindin (see below).

One of the very earliest leaders of Iban migration into the Layar was Tanggok,²⁸ who settled at Rian Batang, in the middle Layar. Sampar²⁹ came after Tanggok and settled in the Penebak, a right tributary of the upper Layar, above Nanga Tiga. And at about this time Talap³⁰ migrated westward from the Batang Ai and lived in the Pasa stream, a right tributary of the Layar. It was Talap who met Datu Patinggi Ngadan,³¹ who was one of the most important pioneers in the Saribas area, and about whom there are many stories.

Some years after his arrival, Talap was building a canoe at Nanga Ban (*Ban* means to build anything made of wood) not far below his house on the left bank of the Layar. One day as he was working, a man named Datu Patinggi Ngadan came from down river with his friends. They told Talap that they had just come from Sumatra, but Patinggi Ngadan's father had originally lived at Kayong, in Indonesian Borneo, not far from Pontianak.

Patinggi Ngadan had left Kayong on a long quest for a bar of gold which had been stolen from his father, Patinggi Gurang, while the latter was fishing in the sea one day. First Patinggi Ngadan had travelled up and down the Kapuas, and from there he had gone to Sumatra. Still looking for the stolen gold, he had travelled by sea to Sarawak territory, and searched in the Sadong river and the lower part of the Batang Lupar. From there, he had come up the Saribas to the place where he met Talap.

Patinggi Ngadan asked Talap how far his land extended up the Layar. Talap had been working on his boat, scattering chips of wood which were being carried up the river by the tide. He told Patinggi Ngadan that all the land up the river passed by the floating chips belonged to him (Talap). Hearing this, Patinggi Ngadan and his friends stopped paddling and simply let their boat

drift upriver, following the tide. As they reached Bangai, the tide turned down, and Patinggi Ngadan stopped at that place. Soon after he had put down his anchor, Patinggi Ngadan made fire from the flint stones which he was carrying with him, in order to smoke. One of the stones fell into the water, and, according to legend, turned into the huge rock situated at Bangai, which is called 'Batu Api' (fire rock) today.

Since the chips from Talap's boat had floated only as far as Bangai, he and his descendants could claim only the lands on the right bank of the Layar from Nanga Ban to that point.

After Patinggi Ngadan had lived for some years at Bangai, he moved further up the Layar to Lubok Binsang, above Nanga Padeh. Then he migrated still further up the river to Batu Lintang. At this place he marked a belian tree to show the boundary between his lands and those of Sampar of Penebak, Ulu Layar (see above). This tree is still intact and is known as '*Tras Tangkal Patinggi*', which means 'the belian tree notched by Patinggi'. But after he had made this marker, Patinggi Ngadan heard that Sampar was planning to migrate down river from the Ulu Layar. He warned Sampar that if he moved into the area below the boundary, it would mean war. And he hung a basket (*ringka*) in a tree at the mouth of a stream above his landing place, meaning to keep Sampar's head in it if the latter dared to ignore this warning. This stream is known as Sungei Ringka to this day.

Some weeks later, after he learned that Sampar had given up his plans to migrate, Patinggi Ngadan went back down the river to live at Nanga Jaloh. But he and his descendants still claimed all the land up to the belian boundary marker.

Shortly after Patinggi Ngadan moved to Nanga Jaloh his son Labun left and built a new house at Nanga Lupa, not very far downstream. Later the people of Labun's house and his father's people held a great cock-fighting contest. The ghost of one of the birds killed in this contest was seen to fly skywards and disappear, and not long afterwards a large kite (bird) flew over the longhouse roof and kicked the end of its ridge-pole. On the following night, Patinggi Ngadan dreamed an ominous dream. In it he met the spirit of a cock, who told him that since many cocks had been

cruelly killed during the contest, he and his son and all of their people would also suffer a cruel death.

Some days afterwards a smallpox epidemic struck both of the longhouses. So many people died that no one could bury all the bodies in the cemetery. Thus both of the longhouses themselves became the burial grounds which are known today as 'Pendam Lupa' and 'Pendam Jaloh'.

(b) *The Padeh*

It was mentioned earlier that there were jungle Bukitans living in the Layar under a chief named Entigar before the arrival of the Ibans. There is no record of any conflict between Entigar and the Iban pioneers. But the story of the migrations after this point is much concerned with contact between the new arrivals and the older, more thinly settled inhabitants. Even before the settlement of the Padeh (another tributary of the Saribas) there seems to have been conflict between Ibans and the Bukitans.

Before the Padeh was settled, these Bukitans were living in and around the Ensanga range, at the head waters of the Padeh, and in the Ulu Enteban stream of the Skrang. It was in this area that one of the Bukitan chiefs named Ginyum, who lived at Bukit Assam, was killed by the famous Iban warrior Beti (Brauh Ngumbang).³²

In those days, when the Saribas had not been populated by the Dayaks, the Bukitans who lived there did not like to hear or see them. At the height of this Dayak-Bukitan enmity, a certain Iban named Apai Remampak³³ was killed by Ginyum.

Remampak, the daughter of the dead man, swore that she would marry any man who could avenge the death of her father by killing Ginyum. At this time, the mighty widower Brauh Ngumbang (who had already outlived several wives) was at Rantau Panjai in the Skrang. On hearing of Remampak's wish he went to call on Ginyum. The Bukitan chief was an excellent blacksmith, and Brauh Ngumbang said that he would like Ginyum to forge a new knife for him. While Ginyum was busy at this task, Brauh Ngumbang asked a young Bukitan who was there to get some cold water for him to drink. And while the young man was away at the river, Brauh Ngumbang drew his spear and threw it with all his

might into Ginyum's back, killing him.

He then chopped off Ginyum's head and started back to Skrang. When he came to Remampak's house, he called for her to come out and meet him. At first she refused, since she was wearing only a very poor mourning dress. Brauh Ngumbang insisted, telling her that he had something very valuable in the bag. Finally she came out to see what it was, and, recognising the head of Ginyum, agreed to marry Brauh Ngumbang in accordance with her vow.

It was after this happened that the Sea Dayaks began to settle in the Padeh. One of the first and most important of the pioneers in this region was a mighty woman named Dayang Ridu³⁴ who came from Skrang. She is remembered for the story of her marriage to Kulong (Alas), who was originally a man of low birth. In order to raise him to a higher social standing, more in accordance with her own, Dayang Ridu had to pay one very valuable *alas* jar to the chief of the community. Kulong was then accepted as a man of rank, but from that time on people always called him Kulong Alas. Two pioneers who followed Dayang Ridu were Kutok, who settled in the middle area of the river, and Gerijeh, who lived in the lower Padeh:³⁵

*Gerijeh pen udah ga nuntong datai ditu,
Ari lilih Padeh Langkang*

Gerijeh has also come here,
From Padeh where the water is low.




(c) *The Paku*

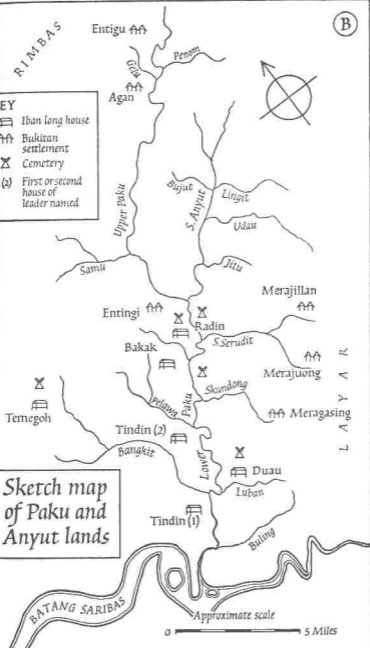
Perhaps the best-known account of the conflict between the Ibans and the Bukitans has a somewhat more peaceful ending than the story of Brauh Ngumbang and Ginyum. It is the story of Tindin,³⁶ who led his people to settle in the upper Paku, another tributary of the Saribas. Tindin, the son of Chaong, who lived at Tanjong Lipat in the Skrang (mentioned above), was brave, energetic and wise in handling the affairs of his people. It was due to these qualities that he was able to conclude a peaceful settlement with the Bukitans in the area where he migrated.

Soon after the death of his father Chaong, Tindin succeeded him as war-leader. While he was still living at Tanjong Lipat, the Goddess Indai Kumang visited Tindin and gave him charms to

RIMBAS

KEY

-  Iban long house
-  Bukitan settlement
-  Cemetery
- (1)(2) First or second house of leader named



Sketch map of Paku and Anyut lands

Approximate scale
0 ————— 5 Miles

make him successful in war. She also promised that seven of his descendants would be great war-leaders.

Shortly after this, Tindin moved from the Skrang up the Enteban stream, where he and his followers cleared the virgin jungle. From the Enteban, Tindin moved again, heading north into the Padeh and Layar regions of the Saribas district. These rivers had long been the home of the pre-Iban peoples, such as the nomadic Punans and the Bukitans under their chiefs Entigar and Ginyum — just as the Rimbas and Krian rivers were inhabited by Serus before the Dayaks migrated into those areas at a much later period.

One day when he was in the Ulu Enteban, Tindin met a Bukitan chief named Entingi of Paku (a cousin of Entigar). They immediately began to fight with spears. After they had done this for some time, Tindin asked to know the name of his opponent. The Bukitan replied that he was Entingi of Paku, whose nickname was Ketu Aur Tulang, which means a kind of strong bamboo tree root. Tindin then mentioned his own nickname, Pimpin Beragah Ngindang which refers to a kind of bird hovering in flight. Then Entingi said, 'No doubt we cannot kill one another, as we are both apparently cared for by the goddess Kumang,' referring to the goddess who is the patron of all powerful war-leaders. So they stopped fighting and went their separate ways.

Shortly after this, Tindin heard that Paku was a very fertile land, but that it was also the home of the mighty Bukitans under Entingi and Entigu, another Bukitan chief. In order to drive them out of the Paku, Tindin declared war on them. When Entingi heard this he summoned his leaders, including Entigu, Meragasing, Merajillan and Agan, and asked if they thought it would be wise to defend themselves in their own country. In the end these chiefs thought it would be best *not* to fight on their own ground, for they feared that in the event of defeat, the lives of their women and children would be in danger. So Entingi agreed to lead them to seek the Iban invaders in *their* territory.

Entingi felt sure that Tindin would lead his invading troops from the upper Enteban across the Padeh and down the Geraji stream toward the Layar river. So the Bukitan chief led his own warriors

from Paku toward Enteban, in order to attack Tindin while he was on the march. But at the Tinting Kayu Ukir, one of the ridges of Mount Ensanga, the opposing forces unexpectedly met, and here they fought hard. Neither side showed any will to surrender.

After some warriors had been killed and wounded, Entingi called Tindin by the Bukitan word *Isan*, which is an Iban term of address used between parents of children who are married. 'Why do you address me as *Isan*,' asked Tindin, 'have you any son?' 'Yes, I have a son named Demong,' said Entingi, adding, 'Now let us sit down to try and resolve our misunderstanding peacefully.' Tindin was glad to hear these gracious words from the headman of his enemy, and he agreed to end the fighting and try to reason out their quarrel.

Tindin then declared that it would be both wise and proper if Entingi agreed to a marriage between his son and Tindin's own daughter, in order to restore peace as soon as possible between the Bukitans and the Dayaks. 'But,' Tindin went on, 'this marriage can be approved by me only if your side agrees to pay me compensation known as *drian palit mata*, or "a dowry to wipe the eyes," for the purpose of abolishing racial enmity between us.'

Entingi promptly agreed. He said that he had no malice in his heart, neither had he any territorial ambition, other than to defend the life of his people against the invading Ibans. It was here that the Sea Dayaks were first called 'Ibans' by the Bukitans, due to the fact that they were pushing other races out, and taking all into their possession.

Entingi was pleased, and agreed to Tindin's suggestion. He assured him that before long he would pay the *drian palit mata* as claimed, so that his son, Demong, would legally be allowed to marry Rinda, Tindin's daughter.

Tindin also felt it would be proper to demand of Entingi a *padi bin* full of new heads plus a large brass gong, in recognition of his rank as a chief of extraordinary authority; one who had the right to claim for dowry *drian*, according to the tradition founded by Serapoh.

Entingi agreed to all this. At the conclusion of the negotiations he invited Tindin to accompany him to the Paku, to see for himself

the beauty and fertility of that district. The eager Tindin at once consented, and took some of his leading warriors with him. In Paku, Entingi took Tindin to meet various Bukitan chieftains, including Entigu. Tindin found that Entigu and his people were quite different from Entingi's followers. Entigu and his people were nomads who wandered in the forests, while Entingi and his people were settled down and planted some crops for food.

After Tindin had seen the length and width and fertility of the land, he told Entingi that he was attracted, and would like to migrate there, with his followers, if Entingi would permit them. The Bukitan chief had no objections, so long as the proposed marriage took place. 'Should we be made kin through such a marriage,' he said, 'then in future this country will become the everlasting inheritance of our descendants.'

When all these things including the dowry had been discussed, Tindin asked for further presents, as a token of the first marriage between a Dayak and a Bukitan. These included:

One Brass cannon

One Blowpipe

One *Tanggui serawong* hat, of the kind worn by high-ranking Iban brides, especially on the first day they live with their husbands.

Entingi agreed to all this, and a month later the marriage feast was celebrated in Skrang. Then Rinda was taken by Entingi to Paku, to live with Demong.

Not long after this, Tindin migrated to Paku himself. He first settled at the upper Penggan stream near Spaoh; then moved again to Tanjong Melanyut, where he died of old age, greatly mourned by both the Dayaks and the Bukitans. He was buried opposite Nanga Beduru.

A year after her marriage to Demong, Rinda gave birth to a male child. She later had four more children, three boys and one girl named Jawai. Unfortunately Jawai died when she was about fifteen years old. But because she was of noble birth, her body was not buried in the ground, in the ordinary Sea Dayak way. Instead the corpse was placed in a coffin which was then closed and put on a platform about six feet from the ground to await the decomposition

of the flesh. This method of burial was known as *lumbong*, and the site of Jawai's *lumbong* is still known, although today the practice has disappeared, along with the Bukitan people who originated it.

Rinda herself died shortly after the birth of her youngest child, Bakak. She was killed by a falling rafter during a hurricane, and was buried with her father at Nanga Beduru.

After the death of Rinda, Demong remarried. This time he married a Bukitan named Lemia, by whom he had many children. These children afterwards married other Bukitans before they moved into the Julau, a left tributary of the Kanowit river of the present Third Division.

When Demong was growing old and knew that the time of his death was approaching, he made a plan to safeguard the interests of all his children — those of his first, Sea Dayak, wife as well as those of his second, Bukitan, wife. He erected a stone at a place called Nanga Entaih, not far from the mouth of the Awas, in the upper Krian river. He ordered that this stone, known as 'Batu Tanam' should serve as a boundary marker between the lands which would be inherited by the children of the first wife, and those which would be inherited by the children of the second wife. According to this settlement, Rinda's children (who claimed themselves as Iban) would own the old land lying from the Paku river and upper Krian as far as the erected stone only; while the children of Lemia (who of course were pure Bukitan) would own the new land lying from that stone toward the Julau and Rejang Rivers. However while the first group (Iban) was allowed to pass beyond the stone, the second group (Bukitan) was not allowed to turn back toward the old lands.

This stone of Demong is still intact. And, strange as it is, Demong's ruling about the division of land among his children is still followed down to the present day. People from Paku and Krian have gone over to the Rejang, but not one from the Rejang has ever returned to the former land.

It was in the early days of the sons of Demong that another pioneer came to the Paku and first made contact with the people of the coast, who at this time were not yet Moslem, but who later became Malays of Saribas. The name of this pioneer was Rusak.³⁷

He came from the Undup, and was a grandson of the Undup leader Jelian, who is mentioned above.

Rusak first settled at Nanga Sakundong in the Paku. Soon after his arrival he heard that a tribe of people were living at the mouth of the Saribas. He was anxious to meet them, and some days later he started down river, in order to satisfy his curiosity. When he came to Nanga Luba, not far from the mouth of the Paku in the main Saribas river, he encountered a swift tidal current running upstream, which forced him to stop. He soon heard a man paddling along with the tide from down river. Rusak called to him. The man tied his boat to a nearby tree branch, and they talked.

'Where are you from?' Rusak asked. The man replied that he was from the *laut*, which meant down river, or sea. He told Rusak that he was on his way to see the Dayaks, who were living up river. Rusak then said that he was a Dayak, and that he was on his way to see a tribe of people who lived at the mouth of the Saribas. 'If you are a Dayak, how far does your land extend down river?' the man asked Rusak. Rusak told him that since they were meeting at Nanga Luba, that place should be the boundary between the *Laut* and the Dayaks of Saribas. Ever since that day and down to the present time the normal Dayak word for Malay has been *Laut*, since the first Malay to meet a Dayak said that he came from the *laut*.

In fact, the man who met Rusak belonged to a tribe called Lugu which was not yet converted to Islam. The Lugus did not become Moslems until after the arrival of Abang Gudam from Minangkabau and Temenggong Kadir from Brunei, both of whom came to Saribas at a later date. But today most of the Malays of Saribas are descended from the early Lugu people.

At about this time another early settler named Duau³⁸ came from the Rimbas and settled in the upper Samu. But after a short time there Duau and his followers were expelled from Samu by the sons of Demong. Duau had become involved in a dispute with Bakak, the youngest son of Rinda and Demong, after Duau's daughter had an affair with him. Duau and his followers came down the Paku until they reached the mouth of Sekundong stream, where they encountered Rusak building a canoe.

After listening to Duau's troubles, Rusak suggested that instead of migrating elsewhere he might remain and live on his lands at Luban, if he agreed to pay a land fee (*tasih tanah*) of one *rusa*-type jar. Duau consented, and wanted to pay this to Rusak at once. But after further thinking, Rusak would only agree to accept an *alas* jar, whose value was half that of a *rusa*. Because of this, his children could continue to claim this land as belonging partly to them.

At about this time another famous leader named Temegoh³⁹ migrated from Indonesian Borneo by way of the Batang Ai to the Bangkit, a right tributary of the Paku whose mouth is near the present town of Spaoh. The *pengap* says of him:

Temegoh pen udah ga datai ditu.

Betuboh maioh tiga puloh ngaum pengurang

Temegoh also has come here

With many followers, thirty, including the slaves.

Not long after his arrival Temegoh died of old age, and was buried at Ulu Ijok in the upper Bangkit.

(d) *The Rimbas*

During this same period, roughly fifteen generations ago, the Rimbas, another tributary of Saribas, was also settled by Ibans. In ancient times this river was thinly populated by two related tribes of people, the Bukitans and the Serus. The former lived in the Bayor and Tru streams, under their chiefs Gambang and Guling, relatives of Entingi of Paku. The latter lived in the lower Rimbas under a chief named Jenua.

Despite the presence of Serus in this area, the early Iban migrations into the Rimbas, which are described below, apparently did not meet with much resistance from them. Conflict between the Ibans and the Serus did not become serious until the later, large-scale Iban migrations to the Krian, just to the east of Rimbas. These did not take place until the early nineteenth century. There was also trouble in the Paku, when Blaki⁴⁰ was killed by the Serus, but this also took place much later.

In the days of Gambang and Guling, and at about the same period that Tindin arrived in the Paku, a certain chief named Padang⁴¹ came from Sebaru in Indonesian Borneo to the Rimbas.

While in Sebaru, Padang and his followers had killed a star, which, in the form of a man, had attended one of their feasts. Angered, the Pleiades had told Padang that he and his followers would not be able to grow any rice for seven generations. In an effort to escape this curse, Padang had fled.

He had left Sebaru, followed by his chief warriors Ningkan, Pajih, Jarop and Medan. From Sebaru they had journeyed toward the Ulu Strap. Then they had gone by boat down the Strap, till they came to Sungei Pinang Mirah, between the Lingga and Sebuyau rivers in the Batang Lupar. They had settled there, but the Pleiades' curse was still effective, and they had nothing to eat at all. At the height of this hardship, Padang had had a dream one night. In it he met a woman who informed him that she had given him cuttings of yams and tapioca to plant for food.

When he woke in the morning, he saw that these things were scattered on the verandah outside the room. On seeing them, Padang had recognised them as gifts from the Swine Goddess, who had given him these things once before, when he had still been at Sebaru.

After he and his people had lived on yams and tapioca for a long time, Padang had had another dream. He had met the same woman, who had ordered him to leave Sungei Pinang Mirah and travel to the Rimbas. There, according to the woman, Padang and his people would find something else, *Kayu belubang puak*, or 'a tree with a hollow trunk' (that is, sago palm), for food in addition to yams and tapioca.

In the morning, after Padang had explained his dream to his friends, they had all agreed to go with him. Before they left they had felled bamboo to make rafts on which they floated down the Batang Lupar and up into the Saribas. From the main Saribas river, they had come into the Rimbas and settled at Tanjong Tagan, opposite the mouth of Undai stream. After their arrival they started to look for food, as the goddess had instructed. When they came to Tanjong Banan, they found many sago palms growing there. They cut some down and grated them to get flour for food.

After they had lived some years at Tanjong Tagan, one of

Padang's followers, named Pajih, and his son, Gunggu, went to visit some friends in the Skrang and Undup rivers. They first went to Skrang, where their friends gave them padi seeds for planting. Then they paid a visit to Jelian,⁴² the pioneer of Undup, at Wong Empangu. Jelian taught them how to plant their newly obtained padi seed at the right time and season, strictly following the movements of the Pleiades (*Bintang Tujoh*) and the three stars (*Bintang Tiga*), in accordance with the teachings of these stars to Sera Gunting when the latter was on his way to visit his grandfather Sengalang Burong. Jelian also advised them to plant cotton (*taiya*) for clothes and blankets, and told them the rules they should follow when erecting a longhouse, according to the precepts given by Apai Puntang Raga to Jelian himself.

After they had been taught many things by Jelian, Pajih and Gunggu returned to the Rimbas and related this knowledge to their people. Later this community divided into three parts. Padang led his followers to build their longhouse at Letong Beluok, in the Undai stream. His son, Gunggu, built his house in the Sebaru stream, while Pajih's house was at Skaup.

While he was living at Skaup, Pajih held the whetstone feast (*gawai batu*). He invited many people from Padang's and Gunggu's houses to this feast. During the celebration, they foolishly laughed at a dog. As a result, the hosts, the guests and the longhouse itself were petrified. The large stone which remains is known to this day as 'Batu Kudi Skaup'.

Shortly after this disaster, Padang and those of his people who had not been turned to stone at Pajih's feast, were fishing at Letong Beluok in the Undai, using the poisonous derris root. On seeing a huge *tapah* fish or carp defecating in the river, Padang speared it with a spear which was tied to his wrist. Wounded, the *tapah* fish sprang away and dragged Padang into the river, drowning him. The fish drew his body down the Undai stream to the Rimbas, and then down to the main Saribas river, then up the Saribas to Lubok Sadebu, and finally down river again to the end of Lilin Cape near Beladin. It was because of this strange event that the Dayaks and Malays of Rimbas claim that all land on both banks of the Saribas from Lilin Cape to Lubok Sadebu is the inheritance

of the Rimbas people.

After the death of Padang, his son Gunggu became chief, and led his people to live at Nanga Jerai, where he died. Gunggu's son Garrai continued to lead the Rimbas people, as did Garrai's son Jana. Further movements and migrations were led by Jana and his descendants, all of whom are remembered.

VI. Migration to Cape Datu

The preceding section of this paper has related the history of those Iban ancestors who came from what is today Indonesian Borneo and who were the first of their people to clear the jungle and farm along the rivers of what is today the Second Division of Sarawak. But some mention should also be made of those 'ancestors' who did not come from or by way of the Kapuas valley. As indicated earlier in this part, there were at least two such groups — the offspring of Sabatin and his son Drom,⁴³ who landed at Cape Datu, and another group who came to the coast of Sarawak near Merudu Hill, not far from Brunei.

Long before the migration of the Dayaks to the Batang Ai and its tributaries, and beyond the fifteen-generation mark, Sabatin and his son Drom landed at Cape Datu, now the south-western boundary between Sarawak and Indonesian Borneo. According to Iban genealogies, members of seven different races in Sarawak trace their descent back to these ancestors.⁴⁴

VII. Migration to Merudu Hill

The third group of ancestors, also remote and pre-fifteenth generation, from whom some Ibans claim descent, arrived in Sarawak at Merudu Hill, near Brunei.⁴⁵ The leader was Pateh Simpong, who once cut down a breadfruit tree (*tekalong*) and turned it into a cobra. He was the offspring of a Javanese trader, Abang Musa, whose forbears had come long ago from the Middle East. Pateh Simpong eventually settled at Pulau Semakau, near Brunei Bay. His son, Pateh Rejap, was a tax collector (probably for the Sultan of Brunei, although this is not certain) who did his work in the Bintulu river.

Patch Rejap's son, Rajah Rendah, then moved southward and settled near the mouth of the Mukah river. But from this place he migrated back to the Kapuas river valley in Indonesian Borneo. And one of Rajah Rendah's great-great-grandsons was none other than Ambau — the same Ambau discussed above who was an early leader of the Iban migrations back into Sarawak territory, and who made his house at Pangkalan Tabau in the Batang Ai.

Today, as a result of generations of intermarriage, many Ibans are descended from all three of these migration 'streams' into Sarawak territory — the Kapuas stream, the Cape Datu stream, and the Merudu Hill stream — although of the three, the Kapuas stream was the most important.

PART TWO

Clearing Old Jungle: the Pioneers Spread Out

ACCORDING to the *tusut* genealogies, the migrations discussed in Part One took place between eleven and sixteen generations ago. On the basis of calculations made regarding later ancestors (for whom we have definite dates) it appears that one Iban generation equals roughly twenty-five years. Therefore it seems reasonable to estimate that the period of Iban pioneer settlement in the major rivers of what is now the Second Division of Sarawak ended somewhere around 275 years ago — roughly at the beginning of the eighteenth century. We can assume that, by this time, there were some Ibans living at various places in the Batang Lupar and the Saribas and all of their major tributaries, although undoubtedly large areas of the region remained empty of human beings, or were only very thinly inhabited, while the constant movements of the Iban people in search of fresh land makes it likely that once-settled areas were frequently deserted in the course of time.

If these suggestions are correct, about 150 years elapsed between the end of the pioneer settlement period, and the arrival of the semi-European regime of James Brooke in 1841, which did not legally extend to Sea Dayak country until 1853. In the rest of this paper, I will explore some of the things that were happening in this intervening century and a half.

The sources for this period are not uniform, because much of the traditional oral material has already been lost. I have collected a great deal of such material concerning the Saribas River and its tributaries of Layar, Paku, Padeh, Rimbas and Entanak. This is partly because I am myself from this area, but it is also because the Saribas people have tended to retain more of their own history

than other groups of Ibans. For some areas, such as Skrang, less is remembered, because so many leading families have migrated to other rivers, mostly in the Third Division. In any case the following narrative will inevitably seem to have something of a Saribas flavour. It is not meant to suggest that other areas were less important or interesting—it is just that we know less about them.

In this part several themes will recur which were touched upon previously in the story of the pioneer Iban migrations into Sarawak. These are the themes of continuing migration and movement; of the clearing of new farmlands; of contact and conflict with thinly settled pre-Iban inhabitants such as Bukitans and Serus, and of the importance of 'first families' in Iban political leadership.

I. The Paku and the Anyut

A wealth of material has survived concerning the history of the Paku, a tributary of the Saribas which joins that river below the modern town of Betong. In fact it may well be that the Paku is the best 'documented' river in Sarawak. From the days of Tindin, fifteen generations ago, right down to the present, the major events, leaders and migrations of the Paku people are all known to some degree. Even though many of the details are missing, this record is unique for its continuity and relative completeness.

It will be recalled that the initial pioneer settlers in the Paku were Tindin, who made a peaceful agreement with the Bukitans, and Rusak, who at a somewhat later date was the first Iban to make contact with the Lugus, the not-yet-Malay people of the Saribas coast. Both Tindin and Rusak settled in the lower Paku, at no great distance from each other. The descendants of Rusak, although wealthy and influential people, never had much political influence beyond their own longhouses. But the heirs of Tindin and his grandsons remained very important in the political affairs of Paku for generations to come. For about five generations after the death of Tindin they ruled the entire district. Later, as will be recounted, they shared control of Paku and its tributaries with

another great family, and themselves continued to rule only the upper Paku.

After the death of Rusak, his son Radin¹ moved from Nanga Sekundong to live at Batu Anchau. It happened that while he and his people were building their house, swarms of bees clustered on both ends of the ridge of the roof. Radin naturally regarded this as an omen, and he inquired of the older people what it might mean. They could not give him any definite answer, but they assured him that it did not mean trouble for the people of the house.

Some months after Radin and his people began to live in the new house, they held a house-warming festival (*gawai pangkong tiang*). A short time after the feast was over, a Maloh silversmith arrived at the house. This stranger, whose name was Nyerubong, was welcomed by all because of his skill in *bensama*, the Maloh silver-working craft.

Radin was still worried about the bee-swarm omen, and he asked Nyerubong about it. The silversmith said that according to Maloh belief, it meant that Radin would be a successful war-leader, but that he and his people would have to leave the house after some years, or suffer from serious sickness.

After three years Nyerubong left to return to his own people in what is now Indonesian Borneo. He planned to lead a force back to raid Radin's house, for although individual Malohs might be welcomed by the Dayaks of what is now Sarawak, due to their skill in working silver, feuding between the two groups also took place.² Before Nyerubong left, he asked an old lady of Radin's house to draw some blood from his head by means of suction cups, a kind of Iban medical treatment known as *betandok rintai*.

In the upper Padeh river, as he was returning, Nyerubong happened to meet a Maloh chief named Apai Kejuang who was just leading his warriors to fight Radin. Nyerubong told Apai Kejuang about Radin's omen, and willingly accepted the invitation of the Maloh chief to guide the war party back to Radin's house. But the surrounding Padeh Dayaks, who were relatives and neighbours of Radin, soon got wind of this plot, and they sent a messenger to warn him of the Maloh attack.

Radin instantly summoned all the warriors in the Paku, in-

cluding Bakak (Asu Rangka)³ and the other sons of Demong and Rinda, to help him defend his house. Instead of waiting for the Maloh attack, Radin and the other valiant warriors took the offensive, meeting and defeating the Maloh invaders at Wong Gerugu. Most of the Malohs were killed but some ran away into the jungle.

Among the heads of the slain, Radin and his people easily identified that of Nyerubong by the wound on his head, as yet unhealed, left by the medical treatment he had undergone at Radin's house.

Two days later some Sea Dayaks of Padeh were going down the Padeh river to purchase nipah salt from the Malays. Near Wong Garam they noticed reflections in the water, and looking up, they saw three men scaling the branches of a fig tree overhead. Recognising the men as Malohs, they climbed the tree and killed these half-starved survivors of the battle with Radin.

In honour of his successful counter-attack against the Malohs, Radin decided to hold a bird festival (*gawai burung*) of the variety known as *gawai grasi papa*, the highest and most sacred feast of its kind.⁴ To this feast Radin invited all the war-leaders and other influential and high-ranking people. As they were feasting, some of the older guests told him that the image of *grasi papa* must be removed from the longhouse three days after the feast was over, and that the house must be vacated on that day, according to the tradition founded by Sengalang Burong.

As soon as the three days after the feast had gone by, Radin removed the image and placed it on the playground opposite the longhouse, or *mandong rumah*. But he did not vacate the house. And not long after the feast the house suffered from a deadly smallpox epidemic. Radin did not know that the disease was infectious, so he did not order his people to flee. Instead he told them that no one should leave the house, for fear of evil spirits.

One night as he was lying sleepless, worried by the constant deaths in his longhouse, Radin heard the music of a lovely song, which seemed to be coming from a man paddling a boat in the Paku river below his house:

*Jera asai sida di Nanga Matop Raya diempa Bujang Sekilili
Ambun*

It serves them right, those living at the mouth of Matop Raya
[the people of Radin] To be eaten by Bujang Sekilili Ambun
[a ghost]

Radin heard this song on three successive nights. On the third evening, after the song had awakened him, he heard a voice calling and then a person walking to and fro on the dark verandah of the longhouse. The next day, as Radin considered these mysterious events, he made plans to hide himself and attack whoever was threatening his people.

That night Radin took his *nyabor* war knife and hid himself inside a roll of matting not far from the end of the longhouse. As he was hiding the ghost which had been the cause of the disturbances came walking along the verandah as before. Prowling and hunting about the house, he gradually approached Radin, uttering the words '*lengak lengu*' — special words used by hungry ghosts to describe the sweet smell of human flesh, which they crave.

When he drew near, Radin jumped from his hiding place and cut down the invisible spirit. He heard something fall to the floor, but of course he could see nothing.

The next morning, when Radin investigated the spot, he could find no trace of bloodshed or struggle. Puzzled, he went to the playground where the giant *grasi papa* image had been placed following the feast. He found that the image had been slashed as if by a *nyabor* knife, and thrown to the ground.

Radin could not understand why this image might have tortured his people in such a cruel way. Not long after this he summoned all the other chiefs of Paku to ask their advice. They told him that he had been cursed for having placed such a powerful and sacred image facing the house. And they advised him to vacate it and live elsewhere.

Radin and his people agreed to build a temporary house or *dampa*, so that they could move without delay. And since Radin had buried many of his people in and around the old longhouse, it became a burial ground which is used to this day.

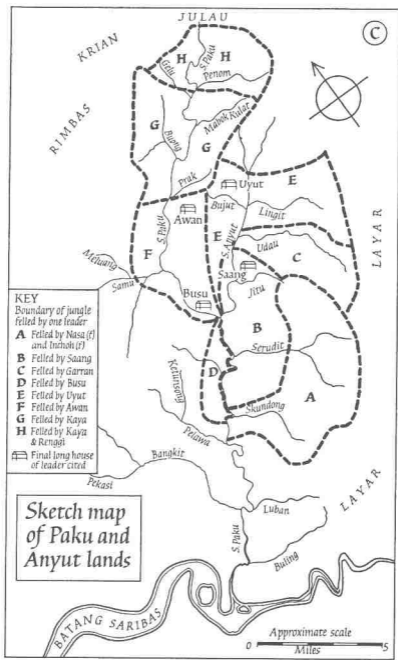
Radin's descendants have not been rulers. But they are honoured as members of his family and have often married into the families of chiefs.

During the time of Radin, the grandsons of Tindin were the leaders in the Paku river. But despite the fact that they were the children of the marriage between Rinda, the Iban daughter of Tindin, and Demong, the Bukitan son of Entingi, the peace which this marriage had achieved did not last. The Ibans in the Paku multiplied rapidly, while the Bukitans, who suffered from constant Iban attacks, gradually moved away to the Krian and Julau rivers.

Bakak, the youngest son of Rinda and Demong, married a woman of the Batang Ai and went to live at her house. It was after this that Kalanang (who was now leader of the Paku) and the other sons of Demong, and their followers, started to clear jungle for padi planting in some areas of the middle Paku, and in the upper Samu (a tributary of the upper Paku). It was at this time that the Ibans began to suffer from attacks made by two closely related tribes, the Bliions and the Serus. But these attacks were not yet very serious. Even under the leadership of Tuah⁵ who succeeded his father Kalanang, the Ibans could still continue to work their newly cleared farmlands in comparative peace.

Tuah was succeeded by his son, Scing,⁶ who was followed in turn by his son, Busu.⁷ It was while Busu was living at Nanga Beduru that a very powerful chief named Saang⁸ came from the Layar to live on the left bank of the Paku at Emperan Medang, not far from Busu's house. The arrival of Saang marked the beginning of an important division of authority in the Paku region. This division did not become apparent for another generation, for at the time of Saang's arrival there was plenty of land for all in the thinly settled country, and little need at first for any recognised division of land rights. But it will be shown how the heirs and descendants of Saang came to hold authority and land rights in a recognised area consisting of the Anyut and the lower Paku, while the heirs and descendants of Busu (the line of Tindin) were leaders in the upper Paku. This division persisted until the time of Linggir (Mali Lebu)⁹ who, after the arrival of the English Rajah, ruled over the entire Paku watershed.

Not long after his arrival Saang held a great festival at his house at Emperan Medang near Nanga Beduru, on the left bank of the Paku. To this feast Saang invited many brave men and famous



leaders, including Busu, Mawar Biak,¹⁰ Meling,¹¹ Gerijih (Ai Merang) and Gerijih's brother, Bangkam.¹² All the guests enjoyed themselves thoroughly. But when the time came for a grand *berayah*¹³ dance to be held on the verandah of the house, the up-river girls laughed at the dancing of young Gerijih and his brother Bangkam, saying that their dancing was like that of the Malays.

Shamed by the taunts of the girls, the two young brothers slipped away to bathe in the river. When they had finished bathing, Gerijih discovered a petrified bamboo shoot lying on his loin cloth. On the following night he dreamed that the goddess Kumang appeared and told him that this stone, which he had carefully saved, was a charm which would make him a great war-leader.

When Saang's feast was over, Busu's only son, Uyut (Badilang Besi)¹⁴ did not return to his father's house. Instead he stayed behind and married Nangku,¹⁵ a daughter of Saang.

When Busu heard about this, he became angry and immediately set off for Saang's house in order to claim his son. When he arrived, Busu told Saang that he had lost his dog, and had come to fetch it back. Saang pointed out that he had already agreed to let Uyut marry his daughter. Busu replied that Uyut was his only son, and a very brave man, and that he could not afford to lose him.

Saang argued that although Busu had only one son, he had many followers who were capable of defending themselves against marauding Blions and Serus, while his own case was just the opposite — he had many children, but not enough followers. After a long conversation, Busu finally saw the logic of this argument. He agreed to the marriage, on the condition that Saang would name Uyut to succeed him as chief, rather than his own sons, Changgai and Lanchang. Saang promptly accepted the bargain, as he greatly admired the bravery, intelligence and diplomatic skill of Uyut.

It was after the marriage of Uyut and Nangku that both Saang and Busu and their followers began to fell the jungle along the Paku and its tributaries. Busu and his people worked on the right bank, while Saang and his followers worked on the left bank.

Just before Saang started to work, he directed his two sisters

Nasa and Inchoh, and their husbands, to clear trees along the Sekundong and on to the upper Serudit streams, while he and his followers worked along the left bank of the Paku, and up both banks of the Anyut. When Saang's workers had gone up the Anyut as far as the Jitu, they entered this stream; and in the upper Jitu they met Nasa and Inchoh, who had crossed from the Serudit. While he was felling trees in the Ulu Jitu, Saang held a *gawai diri* feast near the Buot tributary. The stream, which was the site of his house at the time of the feast for which he made a hornbill statue, was and is called Sungei Bediri. After this time, Saang returned to the main Anyut river and lived at Lubok Belabak, where his wife Salaka died of old age. Following this he moved again, up river to Nanga Pagalong, where he held a *gawai antu* in honour of his deceased wife, Salaka.

Before such a great feast as this, it was the custom of the ancient Dayaks to obtain the necessary supply of fish for the festival by tuba fishing. Saang now did this in the lower Anyut river. After the poison derris milk had been thrown in the water, a man named Apai Galong went to sleep on a dead tree trunk to wait for the stunned fish to float to the surface of the stream. As he was lying there, a Seru suddenly shot at him with a poisoned dart which struck him in the testicle, and he died from this wound. Because of his death, the small stream where this occurred is still known as Sungei Pagalong.

After the death of this man, war with the Serus and Bliions became much more serious. The lives of Ibans in the Anyut and Paku were constantly threatened by wandering bands of the enemy. At the height of this trouble the Serus succeeded in killing a great chief, which caused them to become even more troublesome.

The victim was Blaki,¹⁶ the son-in-law and successor of Busu. Busu's only son, it will be recalled, had moved away to marry the daughter of Saang, which is why Blaki inherited Busu's position as leader in the upper Paku. The Serus came by way of Melupa, up the Asam, and down the Keribau tributary of the Rimbas toward Sungei Ulai, a tributary of the Bayor. From here they crossed to the Paku drainage and went down that river till they came to Blaki's padi farm at Tanjong Kundong, where he lived with his



All better-class Dayak women are expected to be good at weaving mats and blankets (pua)

The design of this blanket is called Buah Terabai, based on the design on a shield.

The design of this woven blanket is Tangga Beji, 'Beji's Ladder'

Beji lived at Ketapang to the east in Kalimantan Barat many generations ago (see Genealogy 5). In his anxiety to meet God in the latter's own house, he erected the tallest ladder ever known; fragments of it fell into all the rivers along which the Iban migrated across Borneo.





The padi-planting starts

The jungle (visible in background here) has been felled and the trees burned in preparation for this. Men make the holes for the seeds and the women drop them in, as here in the Ulu Ai. On the success of this 'slash and burn' activity the whole Iban economy has for centuries depended.

wife Bremas, the daughter of Busu. The Serus killed both of them and took their heads.

On hearing of this tragedy, Blaki's brothers Jimbai, Jelema and Kadir started off in pursuit of the Serus. Jimbai was a very strong man, so strong that when he reached the Samu stream he jumped right over it. At Pangkaru the brothers caught up with the Serus, who had stopped to collect the fruits of the wild *engkrangi padi* tree. Two Serus, who had been posted as lookouts and were guarding the heads of Blaki and Bremas, were killed, and the others fled into the jungle.

Jimbai and his companions buried the heads of Blaki and Bremas at the foot of a huge *tapang* tree at Ulu Sungei Randau, on the side of Tampak Panas hill, the watershed between the Rimbas and Paku rivers. They declared that this *tapang* tree should forever remain the property of the descendants of Blaki and of the men who had recovered his head and that of his wife.

After the death of Blaki, enmity between the Ibans and the Serus and Bliions naturally worsened. By this time, however, the Bukitans had been dominated by the Ibans and were now utilised by them in their struggle against the Serus. The Bukitans were not always very willing helpers, but they were extremely useful due to their great skill in jungle warfare and knowledge of the country. Although Saang and Uyut could order the Bukitans of Paku to help them, they felt that there were not enough of the latter. For this reason, Saang directed Uyut to request an Iban chief of Skrang named Apai Ranggau¹⁷ to lend the Paku people some of his Bukitans of Skrang. Apai Ranggau agreed to lend the Paku people a number of his Bukitans, but demanded that the death of any one of them who might be killed must be compensated by the gift of two Paku Bukitans to the Skrang.

Uyut agreed to this condition, and following his meeting with Apai Ranggau he made plans to return to Paku with his new reinforcement of Skrang Bukitans. Unfortunately, the Bukitans who were the subject of this transaction did not co-operate. They were afraid that Uyut might cheat and kill them. They told Uyut that they would come by themselves and meet him at Bukit Sapindah opposite the mouth of the Penom in the Ulu Paku,

during the coming full moon. Uyut returned alone to Paku.

On the appointed day Uyut took some of his followers to meet the Skrang Bukitans at Bukit Sapindah, as had been arranged. After they had arrived, Uyut ordered one of his men named Rasai to call out to the Bukitans in their own language. Rasai apparently did not speak the Bukitan language very well. In any case the Bukitans understood him to say in their language:

Wan jempelik, wan manomik
Makan putut, makan penyabut
 Come out, come quickly,
 So that you are killed by our spears,
 So that you are killed by our *nyabor* knives.

Naturally, on hearing these words the Bukitan leader, Peluin, directed his followers to hide themselves. So Uyut again called for them to come out, this time speaking in the Iban language. And this time the Bukitans emerged from the jungle. When they explained what Rasai had said, Uyut realised that his words had been entirely unsuitable.

The Bukitans were still fearful of Iban treachery. They would not agree to accompany Uyut in his boats. Instead Peluin again insisted on travelling alone to the Anyut, where he arranged to meet Uyut at Tebiang Sangkoh, above the mouth of the Udau stream. It was during these conversations that the Iban realised that the Bukitans knew the names of all the streams, hills, ridges and other features of this country.

Not long after the arrival of these Bukitans in the Anyut, Saang died of old age at Rantau Pulor, and was succeeded by Uyut, who led his followers to clear jungle along the Anyut river. When they reached the place where the Udau stream enters the Anyut, Uyut ordered Garran (who had been one of Saang's most trusted warriors) to lead a party to clear land along the Udau stream. Because Garran would agree to do this only on the condition that another brave man should accompany him, Uyut ordered his brother-in-law Changgai to join this party. Changgai remained at work with Garran in the Udau for three years, before returning to rejoin Uyut at the Anyut stream. Because of this, Changgai and his descendants have owned just three pieces of land in the Udau

below Wong Tabulan — one of which Changgai cleared during each of the three years of his stay there.

Uyut had two brave warriors who always dared to farm far from other people. They were Nyangun and his brother Ganing, sons of Ingging.

Uyut moved his house two more times before he died, each time going further up the Anyut, first to Nanga Birau and then to Nanga Lingit. It was at Nanga Lingit that Uyut's eldest son, Linggir,¹⁸ decided to hold a *gawai diri* feast.

According to Sea Dayak custom, this feast, the fifth of the nine stages of the *gawai burong*, should be held only by an experienced war-leader. Linggir was undoubtedly a very brave man, but he was young, and certainly far less experienced than Uyut, his father. Linggir had already made a statue of the hornbill in preparation for his festival when the older people of the house warned him that it would be presumptuous for him to hold the feast while Uyut still lived. They said that such a rash action might anger Sengalang Burong.

Linggir did not want to call down the curse of Sengalang Burong, so he agreed that the feast should be Uyut's celebration.

Before the *gawai diri* may be held, the patron of the feast must lead his warriors against some enemy. So Uyut and his men set off to raid the Kantu Dayaks of Merakai, in what is now Indonesian Borneo, in order to get some fresh heads. But before they came back, all the food which had been gathered for the feast, including *tuak* wine and many different delicacies, began to go bad. So a brother-in-law of Uyut named Malang (Pengarah) decided to go ahead and hold the feast anyway, without the war-leader and his men. No sooner was it over than Uyut and his party returned from a victorious expedition. They were naturally outraged. Uyut and the others expelled Pengarah from the Anyut, and he retreated down river to live in the Serudit stream.

After the expulsion of Pengarah, Uyut went on to clear more jungle in the Bujut stream. His final home was at Tembawai Tinting, where he died of old age. After his death, his brothers-in-law Changgai and Lanchang lived at Tembawai Tingkah. From here they moved up the Anyut and lived at Tembawai Pasir. It was

while they were at the last-named settlement that they declared that all the jungle in the Anyut watershed should be the heritage of their descendants.

After the death of Uyut, his son-in-law Renggi¹⁹ succeeded him, partly due to the fact that none of Uyut's own sons was very capable. Renggi was a grandson of the chief Jantin (Moahari) of Padeh. His marriage to Pala, Uyut's eldest daughter, is always remembered by their descendants due to the *drian* (bride price) which Uyut demanded from Renggi. It consisted of one valuable jar covered with a gong, and such a bride price is now referred to as *simbak kelambu* and *pemuka pintu* — meaning that it serves to open the mosquito curtain and the door of his wife's room.

While the descendants of Saang and Uyut continued to rule in the Anyut, the Paku was left without any leader after Blaki was murdered by the Serus. His sons, Bayang and Ugap, and his daughter, Lada, were still very young at the time of his death. But when Lada reached the age of thirteen, a famous warrior named Awan²⁰ came from the Padeh to Nanga Meluang in the Samu, to seek her hand in marriage. Awan, who at this time was about forty years old, said that he was concerned about the safety of the leaderless Paku people, surrounded by Serus and other enemies as they were. He modestly offered to take on the responsibility of leading them, if they would consent to his marriage to Lada.

Uyut and Lada's other relatives agreed to Awan's proposal. So he married the daughter of Blaki and became the chief of the Ulu Paku Ibans at Nanga Meluang, as they continued the work of felling the jungle in the midst of the enemy in that area.

By the time of Awan, the division of the Paku between the heirs of Saang and those of Busu had become quite clear. The authority of Saang, who was still alive when Awan arrived, extended over the Anyut and lower Paku rivers, and it was this political heritage which he passed to his descendants, Uyut, Renggi and so on. The upper Paku remained under the separate authority of Awan, who was the political heir of Busu and Blaki. As noted earlier, this division lasted until the days of Linggir (Mali Lebu) who ruled the entire Paku.

After several years of marriage, Awan and Lada still had no

children. One night Awan dreamed that a spirit had told him to look for a female child named Sawai, whom he should adopt. Awan was troubled, since he did not know any child by this name in the Paku region. Some weeks later he decided to visit the Rimbas to see if such a child could be found there. While he was walking along the verandah of a longhouse at Rapong, where he was spending the night, Awan heard a woman tell her child, 'Don't weep Sawai, or the stranger will catch you!' Then he knew that his visit to the Rimbas was going to be successful.

The next morning Awan told the child's parents that he would like to adopt Sawai. They readily agreed, for they knew of Awan's reputation as a brave and successful war-leader. Then Awan took his new daughter back to Paku. On his arrival at the landing-place of his longhouse, while he was bathing Sawai in the river, Awan heard a *bejampong* omen bird call on his right-hand side. And he knew that Sawai and her descendants would be great and wealthy people.

Some years after he had adopted Sawai, Awan's wife Lada gave birth to a daughter, Jering. After this Awan moved from Nanga Maluang to live at Sungei Lelabi. Then he moved again, successively, to Tembawai Engkabang and Nanga Jakun (these two were only temporary homes, not permanent longhouses), Tembawai Nunggi, Lubok Lauk, and, finally, to Nanga Praak.

At Nanga Praak, Awan divided up all the lands along the Buong as far as Buong Raming among his followers, as well as the lands in the Praak and Banyang streams. These three streams are all tributaries of the upper Paku. After he had completed this division, Awan died of old age. He was succeeded by his son-in-law, Kaya,²¹ who was the son of Kanang (Libau Dara),²² and the husband of Sawai.

Kaya directed his warrior relative Bayang, the brother of Lada, to live in a different longhouse from him, in order to lessen the chance of a devastating surprise attack by enemies. He named his brother Masing and his cousin Angga to settle all domestic disputes among the people, and to direct farming activities. Kaya led his followers to live in a series of temporary settlements, at Nanga Sungei Raya, Sungei Kasai and Sungei Burak, in that order, as they felled trees along the upper Paku. While they were living at

Sungei Burak, they heard that their relatives from Ulu Anyut under Renggi were about to cross over to the Penom river in Ulu Paku in order to clear that area ahead of them. On receiving this news, Kaya quickly led his people from Sungei Burak up to the Ulu Paku, through a portion of the river which had not yet been cleared, in order to participate with the Anyut people under Renggi in opening the new lands at the extreme headwaters of the Paku. The two groups worked together while Kaya and his followers lived at Nanga Jikang. After all the lands in the upper Paku, Penom and Paun had been fairly divided between the two parties, without any quarrel, Kaya and his people returned down river to live at Nanga Kedup. Then they began to clear the as yet untouched lands along the Paku, over which they had 'leapfrogged' in order to meet Renggi and his Anyut people.

Renggi and his followers also returned to their homes in the lower Paku at this time. After the death of Renggi, his sons, Kalanang and Saang, and his grandsons, Uyut and Adir, often led their people back to farm the lands in the Ulu Paku which they had cleared in co-operation with Kaya.

After one such occasion, when they returned to their homes in the lower Paku, they were dismayed to discover that Ibans from the Bangkit tributary of Paku, under the leadership of Kandau and Irak, had taken advantage of their absence to occupy the lands at Ulu Ketunsong, a branch of the Plawa stream.

When land disputes arose among the ancient Ibans, it was frequently the custom to settle them by having a fight in which the two sides used wooden clubs only. These were nonetheless often serious affairs. If a man were killed in one of these fights, the leader of the dead man's party had to pay compensation to the family of the deceased. This was one reason why a successful leader had to be a wealthy man. If it appeared that he might not be able to pay such compensation, people would be reluctant to follow him.

On this occasion, however, the argument was settled without resort to clubs. Uyut and Adir sent a minor leader named Kerbau²³ who persuaded the Bangkit intruders to leave in peace. For his success in making this settlement, the community gave Kerbau one dragon jar (*menaga*).

During this period Kaya's chief warrior Bayang continued to live below Nanga Kedup, while another man named Punoh lived at Tebiang Bindang. These two men, Bayang and Punoh, became involved in a quarrel which led to what may have been one of the earliest Iban migrations to the Rejang river watershed — specifically, to the Kanowit tributary of the Rejang. The story of their quarrel also illustrates the relationship between the remaining Bukitans and the Ibans at this time.

The dispute began when one of Punoh's men, named Gra, had an affair with a girl named Geruda of Bayang's house. Finally Gra married Geruda against the wishes of Punoh, and went to live in his bride's house. Punoh was incensed. He and his followers came to Bayang's house, seized Gra, and carried him off trussed to a pole.

Bayang went to Kaya and complained of Punoh's behaviour, pointing out that it was hardly courteous. 'If he respects my house,' said Bayang, 'Punoh should not carry Gra that way, tied up like a pig.' Kaya agreed and judged that Punoh should pay a fine of one *alas jar*.²⁴ Bayang then sent a messenger to Punoh to demand payment of the fine (which of course would have gone to Bayang, the injured party).

But when the messenger reached Punoh he received only a stout refusal. 'Not a cock's feather would I give him,' Punoh said. When Kaya and Bayang heard of this refusal they jointly determined to raid Punoh's house. On learning of this drastic decision, a follower of Bayang named Kandau,²⁵ who had married one of Punoh's relatives, tried to act as peace-maker. He said he would see Punoh and try to persuade him to pay the fine.

But when Kandau ascended the ladder of Punoh's house on his mission of mediation, a certain man struck him on the head with a piece of *manding* wood, killing him instantly. His friends came to reclaim the body. Kaya and Bayang now swore that they would attack Punoh's house as soon as Kandau was buried.

But before the burial could take place, Punoh led his people away from Paku with the help of some local Bukitans. These Bukitans of the Paku were by this time normally quite subservient to the more numerous Ibans. It was the habit of Kaya, for example, to give a piece of iron to the Bukitans and demand a certain

amount of padi in return for it. If the luckless Bukitans could not pay the price, their children became the slaves of Kaya. They remained invaluable as guides and as scouts in warfare, as Punoh knew.

But after the fugitive Punoh reached Nanga Panyoh on the Penom stream, he and his men treacherously killed all their Bukitan guides, probably to prevent them from carrying word of their whereabouts back to Kaya, Bayang, and their warriors. After that Punoh and his followers continued on toward the Layar, on their way to Entabai in the Kanowit. Punoh may in fact have been the first Iban 'pioneer' in this region, but nothing more is known of his career, or of his descendants, if he had any.

When Kaya and Bayang came to raid Punoh's house they found it deserted. They ruled that all the fruit trees which had belonged to Punoh and his people should be the common property of all the Paku people from that day on.

After Punoh had murdered his Bukitan guides, the remaining Bukitans became frightened of the Ibans, and they all moved away to the Krian and Julau rivers.

Kaya died of old age at Nanga Kedup. He was succeeded as chief by his son, Jantan,²⁶ whose brother-in-law Jiram (Rentap) acted as war-leader. Meanwhile, in the Anyut and lower Paku, Renggi's eldest son Kalanang²⁷ inherited the leadership of the people.

By this time nearly all the Paku and Anyut lands had been cleared for cultivation. The leaders and their various followers returned down river and began to separate into various settlements. Jantan and his people lived at Samu, and ruled all the lands from Nanga Samu and up the Paku river to the top of the watershed.

It was during the time of Jantan and Kalanang, probably not long after the beginning of the nineteenth century, that the first great Iban raids along the coast took place. These will be discussed below.

II. *The Entanak and the Lower Layar*

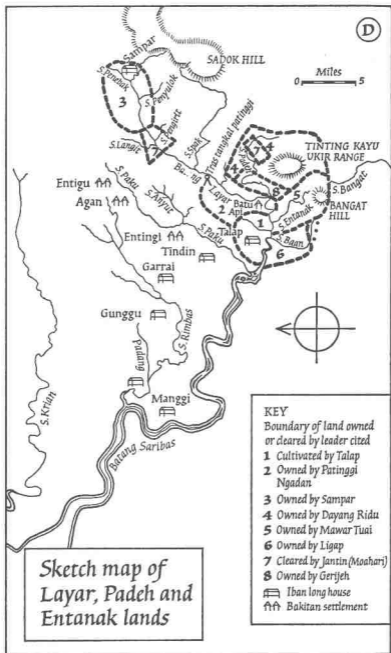
It will be remembered that Mawar Tuai (Mawar the Elder) was the first pioneer to live in the Entanak, and that he had settled not far from Bangat. After Mawar Tuai's death, he was succeeded by his son Bangga, who led his people to fell all the trees in the Ulu Entanak. Bangga's son Gendup in turn succeeded him. Gendup was a brave and famous war-leader who lived in several places not far from modern Betong on the lower Layar, as well as in the Entanak stream. He led his warriors to fight against the Bukitans and also against the Bugau and Kantu Dayaks in the Merakai and Ketungau streams of what is now Indonesian Borneo.

Gendup's successor as chief and war-leader was Mawar Biak (Mawar the Younger) who also obtained many heads from the Kantu and Bugau enemies. His son Gallau was one of his best and bravest warriors.

While Mawar Biak was living at Tembawai Dudok, opposite the modern village of Tansang, he fought one of the last battles between the Bukitans and the Ibans in the area of what is today the Second Division. These Bukitans were living at Bukit Bangat, located between the head waters of the Entanak and the Bangat tributary of the Tisak in the Skrang drainage. There were two main causes for this clash. The Bukitans still occupied a large area of valuable land, and the young Iban warriors were anxious to prove themselves in battle.

After he had defeated these Bukitans at Bukit Bangat, Mawar Biak moved to Tembawai Ijok Pumpong, where he held the feast called *ijok pumpong* (which means, literally, 'a beheaded palm tree') in order to thank Sengalang Burong for his victory. This feast is the fifth of the nine stages of *gawai burong*.²⁸ Not long after this, Mawar Biak sent one of his slaves²⁹ named Sembar to visit some friends and relatives in the Lemanak. Sembar was instructed to urge these people to join Mawar in a raid on the Kantu Dayaks of the Kapuas River drainage. But instead of conveying this message, Sembar merely remained in the house of Mawar's relatives. He even married a girl there.

Mawar became worried after several months had passed without



any sign of his slave's return. He directed his son Gallau to go and look for Sembar at once. After a long trip, Gallau arrived in the Lemanak, and located Sembar — who suggested that Gallau might also be more interested in marriage than warfare. 'If you want to marry a pretty girl who is also the daughter of a war-leader of this place, I am sure that I can recommend you to her and to her family,' he told his master's son.

Gallau thought that this was a good idea, provided that the girl was willing. So Sembar said that he would go to Seremat, about one day's journey distant, to meet a Batang Ai war-leader named Bau,³⁰ who had a fair-skinned daughter named Chandu. 'I must get that girl for you,' Sembar said, 'as she also belongs to a mighty family like ours.'

So Sembar went overland from Lemanak to Seremat, where he was politely received by Bau. When Sembar told Bau he had come to try to arrange a marriage between Gallau of Entanak and Chandu, Bau was very pleased. He had heard much about Mawar Biak's family and his authority. He said that he would agree to the marriage if Mawar Biak and Gallau would pay a magnificent *drian* (bride price), as follows: one large carrying basket (*lanji*) of fresh enemy heads, a brass cannon big enough to serve as a bridge across the Lemanak and Skrang rivers on Chandu's wedding trip to the Layar; a hundred head of chickens, a sow, and a gong called *sanda kaki* (foot fee) upon which Chandu might step. These articles were collectively known as *drian tanam* (fixed bride price). It was the first time that such a bride price had been demanded.

Mawar Biak was happy to accept this arrangement. He had been looking for a wife for Gallau, but had not been able to find any woman with enough skill in weaving mats and baskets, or with sufficiently high character to be the wife of a noble hereditary chief. He immediately set off on a successful expedition to the Bugau country to procure the necessary heads. After this, the other articles in the *drian* were made ready, and then the wedding itself took place at Chandu's house in Seremat. Then Mawar Biak and Gallau and his bride returned joyfully to the Layar.

Several days after this, in accordance with the Sea Dayak custom of *nyundang pinang* (visiting the girl's house for the first

time in honour of the wedding feast) Gallau and Chandu went back to Seremat. After seven days there, they returned to the Layar again. On their way, they heard a *bejampong* omen bird shriek near the Lemanak river. And when they crossed the Skrang they heard the call of the *ketupong* bird of the kind called *jalah kanan*.³¹

After they had settled down to married life in Gallau's house, Chandu worked very hard to prove herself worthy of being the wife of the great leader's son. But nothing she did went right. When she pounded rice in the wooden mortar, her great strength shattered the mortar; when she drew water from the river, the gourds she used fell to pieces; when she cooked, her rice pots shattered mysteriously. Ashamed of these misfortunes, Chandu told Gallau that she could no longer stay in his house, as she was plainly unworthy of him.

Mawar could not understand why his son's marriage should end in a divorce without the slightest quarrel. When he heard about Chandu's problem he suggested that the couple might have experienced an ill omen on their way back from Seremat. Chandu told him about the two omen birds they had heard. Mawar explained that these were in fact excellent omens, although they were not good for him. 'They mean that I will die first,' he said, 'but you and your descendants will be rich, brave and prosperous people.' After hearing this, Chandu and Gallau remained married.

Not long after, Mawar Biak separated from Gallau and moved with his brothers and sister north-westwards to the Paku, leaving Gallau as his heir to govern Entanak. Mawar settled at Nanga Serudit in the Paku. From this place, Mawar led his people to fight the Serus of the Rimbas and Krian. During one of these expeditions, Mawar's youngest brother, Ranti, who had remained at home, happened to kill a python snake while feeding his pigs, just as the absent war party was going into battle. It happened that Mawar's *tua*,³² or guardian spirit, was the python. Thus, according to the story, he was killed in the battle at the same instant that Ranti killed the snake. Nevertheless his warriors won a victory and returned home in triumph, led by Mawar's younger brothers, Meling and Eddie.

After the war party had returned with many heads, the feast of

welcome for new heads called *enchaboh arong*³³ was held. During this feast Mawar's youngest brother, Ranti, who had killed the python, demanded to be allowed to join the brave warriors who were going to dance around the shelf where the heads were kept, even though he had never in his life killed an enemy. Naturally the warriors refused to allow this. Ranti spitefully smashed a valuable old jar in protest. Then Meling and Eddie expelled him from Paku for his foolishness. He went away to the Rimbas and lived at Lakis, where he and his children and their descendants have been *manang* (shamans) down to the present day.

After Ranti's expulsion, Meling and Eddie separated, but continued to live not far from each other in the lower Paku. All their fruit-tree groves can still be located in that area today.

It was in the days of Mawar that a man named Chagik, who lived at Saka in upper Entanak, held a huge cock-fight, which resulted in disaster. His love of cock-fighting was far from unusual; indeed cock-fighting has always been a favourite Dayak sport. But on this occasion, Chagik was still not satisfied even after a full day of cock-fighting in the ordinary manner, between pairs of birds. He and his people still had plenty of cocks, so they built a huge ring surrounded by a strong fence. Into this ring they released all the remaining cocks, armed as usual with sharp metal spurs. The birds fought together in a kind of free-for-all until nearly all of them were killed or seriously injured.

That night many of the Saka people heard a voice calling:

What a pity for the Saka people,
Who will be killed tomorrow night,
By the tiger cat who bathes in the dew.

The following evening a *geruna* (eagle) swooped low over the roof of the longhouse. Shortly after this all the inhabitants of the Saka longhouse sickened and died. The house was vacated and the site became a graveyard which is still being used today.³⁴

Some decades after the Saka tragedy, a woman named Cherengga, who lived in the Entanak, and her friends planted some *taiya* cotton in order to make clothes and blankets. One afternoon as the women were working together in their garden, singing a kind of love song called *memandai*, they heard the sound of a tree trunk

breaking. Startled, the women called out to know who had made this loud noise. The voice of two men replied, 'We are Simpurai and Punga (Puntang Medang) of Panggau Libau (the world of more-than-human Iban heroes).' They said that they were overjoyed and filled with courage to hear the girls singing their love songs.

Finally, after some more conversation, the two heroes told the girls to go home, as night was drawing near. They agreed, but before they left Cherengga asked for a charm which would prevent any grass from growing in her garden. This request made Simpurai very angry. He said, 'Even your vulva is full of hair. Why shouldn't grass grow on the ground?' Then he kicked Cherengga on her vulva, which caused her to become sick and die. She was buried at that place, which became a cemetery known as Pendam Sungei to this day.

During the same period a man named Rambok was living with his wife Beda at Ibol, in the Bangat. Rambok³⁵ was a very famous warrior who had originally lived in the Skrang. Simpurai of Panggau Libau had once given him a strange spear, the handle of which was made from the *Ibol* palm. He kept this very valuable weapon on a shelf above his seat at the outer verandah (*panggau*) of the longhouse. One morning Rambok and his friends decided to go boar hunting, and although Rambok decided not to take this weapon with him, he warned all his people not to touch it.

After the hunters had left, Beda was drying padi on the drying platform of her own family room when a chicken began to eat her grain. Without thinking, she reached for the sacred spear in order to frighten the chicken. The weapon fell down from the shelf and pierced the back of a slave, killing him instantly. It fell again from his body and landed in the ground below the house. Here the handle of the spear took root and eventually a whole grove of *Ibol* palms grew at that place. Many years later the people of the house suffered from an epidemic; hundreds of them died, and the house was deserted. It became the burial place still known as Pendam Ibol. But in the past many warriors collected *Ibol* palms from this place to make handles for their spears and knives.³⁶

After wars between the Bukitans and Ibans in the eastern areas

of Saribas had stopped almost entirely (and the Bukitans had been reduced to the status of near-slaves) a man named Kutok migrated into the Padeh from Skrang. His son, Ligap,³⁷ led some of his father's followers to fell all the jungles in the upper Baan stream below the Entanak region on the left bank of the Layar. These people and their offspring have continued to live in the Baan right down to the present day.

After the death of Gallau, the son of Mawar Biak, leadership in the Entanak passed to Gallau's son-in-law Bunyau,³⁸ who was only an ordinary warrior. But his son Unggang³⁹ (Lebor Menoa) was a very famous war-leader, well remembered for his role in the beginnings of Iban 'piracy'. That story will be found in Part Three.

III. *The Padeh and the Upper Layar*

Just as the lower Layar was always governed by the leaders of Entanak (including Mawar Tuai and his political heirs) so the upper Layar has always been ruled by the chiefs of Padeh.

In the Padeh, after the death of Dayang Ridu⁴⁰ and her husband, Kulong (Alas), their son Jawi became the leader of this area. He was succeeded by his son-in-law, Empaga. When Empaga died in battle, his wife Empayong⁴¹ mourned and wept for him during seven successive nights on the roof of their longhouse. As she wept, she covered herself with a woven blanket (*pua*) and sat upon seven wooden mortars (*lesong*), one on top of the other. In her dirge, she called upon a cobra to bite the man who had killed her husband.

Suddenly, on the seventh night, all the wooden mortars flew skywards. Some days after this an eagle, swooping low over the longhouse, kicked the end of its ridge-pole. As a result, the inhabitants sickened and died and the house became a cemetery known as Pendam Terusu, located near Buloh Antu in the Padeh.

After the death of Empaga his sons Nyangkum and Bungin separated, both leading a group of followers to clear the jungles of Padeh for cultivation. After the death of Nyangkum, his son Benang⁴² became chief of Padeh. He was a great warrior who defended his territory against attacks from the Bukitans and Punans, who often tried to kill workers in the lonely padi fields.

Benang was succeeded by his famous son Jantin (Moahari)⁴³ who was one of the mightiest war-leaders of his day. In addition to defending Padeh from angered Bukitans and Punans, Jantin frequently led expeditions against the enemy in what is now Indonesian Borneo, as well as against the Bukitans and Serus of the Paku, Rimbas and Krian, who attacked the early settlers in these regions.

When Jantin was old he proposed that one of his grandsons named Renggi⁴⁴ should marry Pala,⁴⁵ the daughter of Uyut (Badilang Besi) of Paku. This is how Renggi became the leader in the Anyut and lower Paku, after the death of Uyut.

After the death of Jantin (Moahari) leadership in the Padeh passed to Tom,⁴⁶ father of the Orang Kaya Beti, and grandfather of the Orang Kaya Pemancha Dana (Bayang). Tom was closely related to his predecessor, Jantin, but apparently none of the latter's sons was sufficiently capable to assume the leadership.

It was during the days of the Orang Kaya Beti that the Padeh people joined with Luta and his brothers in Entanak to fight against the Bajau and Illanun pirates who constantly tried to enter the mouth of the Saribas after the death of Unggang (Lebor Menoa). More will be said about these people below.

IV. The Rimbas

After the strange death of Padang,⁴⁷ his descendants continued to rule in the Rimbas. For three generations they continued to move up that river, clearing new jungle as they went. Then they migrated into the Melupa, a tributary of the Krian.

Padang's son Gunggu led his people to live at Nanga Jerai, not far from the present town of Debak. Gunggu's son Garrai then moved up the Rimbas to Nanga Tawai, where he died. After the death of Garrai, his son Jana⁴⁸ led his followers further up river, living successively at Tambawai Sandong, inside the Babu tributary; then on the banks of the Metong tributary, and finally at a third site, Nanga Gayau, still further up the Metong. At the last of these three places, Jana died of old age.

Jana was succeeded jointly by his two grandsons, Munan⁴⁹ and Utong — although in fact Munan seems to have been the real

leader, while his brother acted as a leading warrior under him. Munan lived at five different places in the Rimbas, before finally leading his people eastward into the Melupa tributary of the Krian. Starting at Nanga Gayau (where his father, Jana, had died) Munan moved first to Seragau, further up the Rimbas on the bank of the main stream. Then he moved to Nanga Luop, then once again to Nanga Tuang, below Nanga Bayor. After farming in this area for some time, Munan returned to the Babu tributary, where his father had also lived for a time. Now Munan and his followers cleared the jungles toward the headwaters of this stream. But Munan's wanderings were not over yet.

After living in the Babu, he finally led his people into the Melupa tributary of the Krian. Long before the arrival of the Ibans this district had been populated by other peoples, including Serus, who inhabited the Melupa, Awik, Sabetan and Sabelak rivers, and the Bukitans, who lived in the middle and upper Krian. The Bukitans included some who had been driven away from the Paku by earlier Iban migrations.⁵⁰ They were probably not a very great hindrance to the Ibans. But the Serus were a different story. They were thickly clustered around Tabujang Hill, in the Ulu Awik, under their chief Tangai. There was another big Seru settlement under Seguat at Tengalat Hill, not far below the mouth of the Melupa on the left bank of the Krian. A glance at the map will show you that these last named Serus in particular were ideally located to keep the Ibans from migrating beyond the mouth of the Melupa to other areas of the Krian. That is exactly what they did. It was not until after the death of the Orang Kaya Temenggong Tandok,⁵¹ the grandson of Munan, that the Ibans were able to overcome Seru opposition. That was after the arrival of the Brooke Rajah, and the story of this final, climactic conflict between Serus and Ibans will be recounted later.

During the days when the sons of Padang were moving gradually up the Rimbas, the extreme upper portion of that river was settled by migrants from the Paku, while another group of Ibans from the Skrang moved into one of its most important tributaries, the Bayor.

At the time when Busu⁵² was living at Nanga Beduru in the

Paku, his brother Sangkan lived in the upper Samu stream, near the present Paku-Rimbas border. After the death of Sangkan, his son Teruyu⁵³ and his followers migrated to the upper areas of the Rimbas, felling all the trees in that region. During this period, the lower part of the Rimbas was still governed by Padang's descendants, but after Munan and his people migrated to the Krian, Teruyu's family became the leaders of the entire Rimbas river, and remained so down to almost the present day. The first of this line to succeed Teruyu was Gadoh,⁵⁴ his son-in-law, who was the grandson of Eddie, brother of Mawar Biak.

Meanwhile, during the days when Teruyu was governing the upper Rimbas, two powerful men named Radin and Akin⁵⁵ came from the Bangat tributary of the Skrang and settled in the Tru, a tributary of the Rimbas. They proceeded to clear all the land from Ulu Tru down to where the Metong enters that stream, including lands along the Sungai Janggut.⁵⁶ They also farmed on the land up to Maa hill and on to Bukit Kuta, situated between the Rimbas and Paku rivers.

From the middle and upper Tru they went northward into the Bayor watershed, descending the Ulai stream into the Bayor itself. Although Radin and Akin cleared all the land along the Bayor, they never dared to do any work in the main Rimbas river as they could not control Teruyu and his men, who were already occupying the entire Rimbas following the departure of Munan.

It was due to this division of land that the Bayor has never belonged to the people of Rimbas. The Bayor people, who are sometimes said to be more diligent than those of Rimbas itself, still have their own distinct customs and traditions.

After Radin and Akin had cultivated land in the Bayor, another powerful leader named Betuah⁵⁷ came to the Rimbas district from Bangat after quarrelling with a friend about a sago plantation. He lived in the lower part of the Ulai and owned that land.

Neither Betuah nor Radin and Akin ever claimed any land in the Sungei Randau, a tributary of the Ulai. This area was always claimed by the Paku Dayaks, for it was at the head waters of this stream that the heads of Blaki and Bremas, who were killed by the Serus, had been buried.⁵⁸ Much later, however, the Paku people

lost their rights in this region, under a famous principle laid down by Rajah Charles Brooke, according to which no person could maintain a claim to land in any river drainage other than the one in which he lived.

V. *The Skrang and the Batang Ai*

For the Paku and Rimbas areas — indeed for the whole Saribas country — there is a relatively complete record of the most important leaders, the lands they cleared, and the major enemies they fought, beginning with the initial pioneer Iban migrants, and going right down to the period when James Brooke arrived in Sarawak. Unfortunately there is a comparative scarcity of historical materials, including genealogies, for many other areas where there must have been many Sea Dayaks living. This is particularly true of the Batang Ai, and of the Skrang, where the record tends to become very unclear after the period of initial migration. Whereas in the Saribas it is possible to identify all of the leading chiefs who are mentioned in the early European accounts, and to locate them on genealogies, the same is not true of many famous Skrang leaders — including Gasing, Jelani (Bulan), Libau (Rentap) and Kedu (Lang Endang), all of whom were important figures in the Skrang at various times in the nineteenth century. In the Batang Ai there is even less to go on, for this area remained relatively unknown to Europeans until well after the beginning of Brooke rule.⁵⁹

Among the first Ibans who lived in the Skrang were Meriba and Busok, who between them cleared all the trees in the upper, middle and lower Pelasok.⁶⁰ They were succeeded by Chupong,⁶¹ under whom the Skrang Dayaks frequently fought with their traditional enemies, the Bengap Dayaks of the Batang Ai, who had allied themselves with the Bungkap Dayaks.⁶² The Bungkap people were traders in beads.

First the Skrang Dayaks defeated the Bengap enemies, but then the Bungkaps successfully attacked the Skrang, and in due course demanded from all the Skrang chiefs one *irun*⁶³ jar each, in token of their defeat.

A few years later the Bungkap traders planned another war

against Chupong, but they unwisely revealed their plan to Beriak,⁶⁴ whose house was in the lower Skrang. Beriak immediately warned Chupong, who refused to believe that anyone would dare to attack his very well fortified longhouse. When the Bungkap people did attack, he was caught completely unprepared. He and his people fled to Bangat. One of Chupong's men had managed to bring with him his dragon jar (*menaga*) but as he was crossing a small bridge, it collapsed under him and the jar was broken. The place where this accident occurred is still called 'Titi Menaga', meaning Dragon Jar Bridge.

At Bangat, Chupong assembled his warriors, planning to meet the Bungkap at the mouth of the Enteban river. But on reaching the Enteban, Chupong found that his house there, which he had planned to defend, had already been destroyed by the enemy. So he immediately led his people in an attack on the Bungkap, defeating them after a hard battle. Two Bungkaps, named Unju and Ku'ut, were captured, and in his anger Chupong commanded that they be beheaded, first Unju and then Ku'ut. The places where they were slain are still known as 'Lulong Unju' and 'Lempa Ku'ut' meaning Unju's grove of trees, and Ku'ut's pool.

Another chief named Nunong⁶⁵ came to Skrang and lived at Tanjong Lipat. Nunong was the father of Chaong, and the grandfather of Tindin, the famous pioneer of Paku.

After Tindin had migrated from the Skrang to the Paku, a famous chief named Maling (Bunga Menyala)⁶⁶ lived in the Skrang with his three daughters. The youngest of these was Riti, famous for her beauty. She became the seventh (and final) wife of the mighty widower, Beti (Berauh Ngumbang).⁶⁷

Berauh Ngumbang's sixth wife, Beredai of Lemanak, had recently died. In accordance with Dayak custom, no widow or widower should remarry for at least six months following the death of his or her spouse. But Berauh had heard of the famous beauty of Riti, and he proceeded to court her anyway.

On the night of his arrival at Maling's house, Berauh secretly met with Riti and proposed marriage, to which she readily agreed. Maling was happy to approve of the match between his daughter and this most renowned of Iban warriors.

A short time after his marriage to Riti, Berauh Ngumbang went to Lemanak to visit his children by his late wife, Beredai. On the way he met a young Sebuyau warrior, Chagik, who was about to lead a war party to attack Maling's house. Maling had once refused to permit Chagik to marry Riti, and the young Sebuyau was bent on revenge. On hearing of his mission, Berauh told Chagik he would join the party, and Chagik, overjoyed to obtain the assistance of such a famous fighter, agreed to wait while Berauh prepared himself for battle.

Berauh then hastened overland to tell his father-in-law of Chagik's pending attack, but Maling did not believe him. He said that so far as he had heard, 'no enemy had ever fallen from heaven.' He joked and accused Berauh of being the greatest liar that ever lived. Shamed by Maling's words, Berauh took Riti to stay in a hut in their padi field. Two days later as Berauh and his wife were taking their midday meal, a messenger came to tell him that a force had arrived to attack his father-in-law's house, but Berauh ignored the message and continued to eat, replying that as far as he had heard, 'no enemy had ever fallen from heaven.' Another messenger came, telling of hard fighting by his father-in-law and his men in defence of their house. Riti was now most anxious, and urged her husband to go as soon as possible to help her father, but still Berauh only joked and said, 'these messengers are liars and I am the greatest liar.' 'You must go now,' urged Riti, 'or my family will all perish.'

After further deliberate delay, and having finished his meal, Berauh finally took his war knife (*nyabor*) to sharpen it, and having dressed, went in haste to the house. On the way, he cut the supports underneath every bridge, and then beneath every one he set various *tukak* (bamboo spikes). As he approached the longhouse of Maling, and amid the war cries of both attackers and defenders, Berauh took a root of the *kelindang* fern and lifting it up he began to shout and pretend he had killed a man and that the head of the slain was in his hand. The enemy fled in fear, with Berauh chasing them, and whenever they attempted to cross a bridge it collapsed and they were either killed or seriously wounded by the spikes set beneath.

Berauh killed them all, but instead of beheading them, he slashed the forehead of each of his victims. When the battle was over he commanded his warriors to collect all the enemy heads. When they were brought to him he counted all those which he had marked and found that he had killed thirty of the enemy, whereas the remaining killed by his comrades were many fewer. Berauh then commanded that these latter heads should all be kept as trophies, while the heads of his own victims should be buried at a certain place in the Enteban, known to this day as 'Tanjong Lanting Berauh' (point which is the property of the descendants of Berauh) and situated not far from the present landing place of the Enteban longhouse.

Little is known about the history of Skrang after the time of Beti down to the time of the Saribas leader, Orang Kaya Pemancha Dana (Bayang), who was living in the days of James Brooke. Then the Skrang people were close allies of the Saribas in their battles with the Rajah.

Likewise little can be said concerning the Batang Ai until the days of Temenggong Simpi Pala and Unggang (Gerasi),⁶⁸ not long before the arrival of the first Rajah, when the Dayaks of this area became involved in intertribal warfare. The story of that quarrel can be found in the following section.

PART THREE

Turmoil along the Coast and Further Migrations

ABOUT seven to nine generations back from the present, or two to four generations before the arrival of James Brooke in Sarawak, Iban oral literature records an interesting change in the pattern of Iban political behaviour. Previous to this period, the heroes who are mentioned in the *tusut*, *pengap*, and other sources are almost wholly concerned with migrations and the opening of new lands for farming in the various rivers of what is now the Second Division of Sarawak. When the Ibans made contact with other people, the others were generally speaking weaker, less numerous, 'aboriginal' inhabitants, such as the Bukitans and the Serus, who were progressively displaced, or absorbed, or both. The story of settlement in the Paku, recounted in the preceding section, is typical of the kind of material found in the oral literature up to about seven to nine generations back from the present. The Paku story is one of progressive land settlement, beginning by and large in the lower reaches of the river (*ili*), and working gradually toward the head waters (*ulu*). The emphasis is upon essentially *local* affairs, or contacts between close neighbours.

At about seven to nine generations back from the present, the *tusut* begin to mention the kind of Iban leaders familiar to readers of the early European literature on Sarawak. The emphasis switches from pioneer agriculture inland to a pattern of raiding and retaliatory inter-Iban warfare carried on along the coastlines of what are now the Second and Third Divisions, and beyond. For the first time, tradition mentions the names of leaders, most of whom can be located on *tusut*, who defied the 'tax collectors' of the Sultan of Brunei. Most of these 'tax collectors' were local Malays, the *de*

facto independent rulers of river-mouth settlements along the coast. A complex pattern of involvement between Ibans, local Malays, and the distant, weak, but still prestigious Sultanate now becomes apparent. For the first time, the *tusut* frequently record the names of Iban leaders who were known by Malay titles, such as 'Temenggong' and 'Orang Kaya'.¹

The new pattern was probably the result of growing Iban population, and of increasing contact with coastal societies, most but not all of them Moslem. In the following pages, I have, for the sake of clarity, broken the story of this new activity into three topics: first, the traditions involving friction with the Brunei 'tax collectors', second, those which tell of the beginning of drastic inter-Iban warfare, and third, those which record the commencement of large-scale marauding expeditions along the coast — a phenomenon which the Brookes called 'piracy'.

Meanwhile, however, the older pattern of behaviour did not fade out. Ibans continued to migrate in search of new lands, and the process of conflict-and-absorption, already exemplified by the case of the Bukitans, continued. Relations between the Serus and the Ibans in the area of the modern Kalaka (Krian) District reveal some interesting variations in this process. More significant in the total picture of Iban history, the period now under discussion also saw the beginnings of migrations into the Rejang watershed. Both of these developments are discussed below.

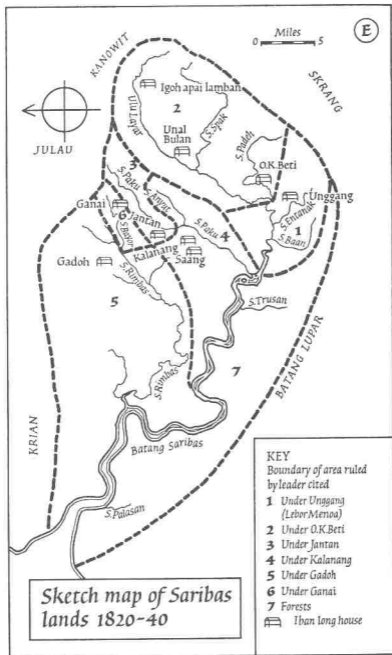
This part deals largely with events which preceded Brooke rule, although the story of the migrations into the Krian and into the Rejang tributaries is carried to a considerably later date. I have not here attempted to discuss the Rajah's conflicts with the Iban 'pirates' of the Second Division in the 1840s, nor have I included any material on the Brooke campaigns against Libau (Rentap), the most famous Iban rebel, in his lair on Mount Sadok. These matters have been discussed at length in works already published by English authors, and although there certainly is an 'Iban side' to the story which has not yet been fully told, it seems better not to include it here. The present work deals with material which has, up to now, not been written down at all.

I. The Saribas Rebellion against Brunei, and the Beginnings of Iban 'Piracy'

When the Orang Kaya Beti² was still chief of the Padeh, Kalanang and Jantan³ were leaders in the Paku, and the brothers Orang Kaya Antau and Orang Kaya Gun⁴ ruled in the Rimbas. Malay chiefs in the lower Saribas were appointed by the Sultan of Brunei to collect a yearly door-tax, to be paid in rice, from the Dayaks. These Malay chiefs traced their descent back to Abang Gudam, who had migrated to the area from Minangkabau some generations after the arrival of the first Ibans in the Saribas.⁵ The tax, known as *pupu tahun* (literally, yearly tax) was collected by the Malay leaders from both the Malays and the Dayaks, but while the former had little choice but to obey their own leaders, the same was not true of the Ibans. For their part, the Malay *abangs* frequently cheated the Brunei princes by whose authority they claimed to be collecting the tax. They sent to Brunei only so much of the tax as it pleased them to part with. The Sultanate possessed no armed force capable of enforcing obedience, and relied entirely on prestige.

The Datu Patinggi Kedit and the Datu Patinggi Udin were among the Saribas Malays who were appointed to collect this padi tax from the Sea Dayaks. They made use of a special rattan basket, called *mungut*,⁶ which in theory held one *pasu* of padi, the amount which the Malays yearly claimed from each Dayak family. But in fact these baskets were cleverly constructed in such a way as to hold double that amount. Angered by this attempt to cheat them, the Dayak leaders frequently slashed the *mungut* with their knives. Among those who are remembered for having done this were Luta of Entanak⁷ and Ugat of Paku. The Saribas Malays naturally reported this misconduct to the Brunei authorities, while the Dayaks felt justified in plundering many Malay settlements at various places along the coast.

At this time, Malays claiming to be Arab descendants of the prophet, and using the title *Sharif* or *TuanKu*, were active in several rivers in the modern Second Division area, especially in Sadong, Sebuyau and Lingga. The names of many of these men are mentioned in accounts of the life of James Brooke, who, in his



early years in Sarawak, waged constant warfare against them. They included men like Indra Lela (mentioned below), and Sharifs Sahap, Mullah, Japar, and others.

It should be noted that none of these 'Arabs' was ever important in the affairs of Saribas. In that river, the Saribas Malays, who had lived there for many generations, continued to rule the Malay settlements in the lower river. At least one 'Arab', Sharif Ahmit,⁸ was murdered in the Saribas by the Ibans, and is buried at the junction of the Padeh and Layar rivers. About thirty years ago his tomb was repaired by an Indian trader from the nearby town of Betong, who had prayed at the spot where Sharif Ahmit was buried and had promised to repair his tomb if the prayer brought him luck. He subsequently won a lottery, and kept his promise.

At about this time, or perhaps slightly earlier, the Ibans first began to meet the Bajau and Illanun sea raiders. Operating from bases in the southern Philippines, sailing swift and heavy galleys which often mounted cannon, the Illanuns were in the habit of plundering far and wide throughout the Archipelago. As in the case of the Brunei tax collectors, contact with the Ibans led to conflict and turmoil. One of the most famous Ibans who fought these pirates was Unggang (Lebor Menoa),⁹ the father of Luta, who defied the Brunei tax gatherers.

Unggang came from the Entanak, a small stream already frequently mentioned, which flows not far from the modern town of Betong. When he was a young warrior, Unggang dreamed that he travelled in a boat from the mouth of the Saribas westward to Santubong Mountain, which is located on the coast near modern Kuching.

In his dream, after he landed he climbed the mountain. Half-way up, he met two very pretty maidens who had just finished bathing. One of them handed him a stone called *batu perunsut*, which she had used to rub her skin while bathing. She told him it was a most valuable charm, which he could use whenever he led his people to war. She also told him that none of the people who lived in the countries between the Santubong Delta and the mouth of the Saribas river could possibly beat him in battle. But she warned him that if he led his war parties *beyond* Santubong, south-eastwards,

then the stone she had given him would not guarantee his success.

The two maidens then told Unggang that they were Kumang and Lulong, who are the divine patronesses of successful warriors.

Shortly after he had this dream, Unggang built a large war boat, whose interior (*ruang*) was big enough for him to spread a large *idas* mat.¹⁰ He used this boat to lead his warriors to guard the mouth of the Saribas river to prevent the Illanuns and other pirates from entering, and to attack other strangers who came to sail in that part of the South China sea.¹¹

After he had done this successfully, he led his warriors further overseas to look for trading ships. He did not like to be accompanied by other Iban boats, as his own could easily carry over 100 warriors. At this time no one dared to attack any boat commanded by Unggang.

On one of his visits to Sarawak (meaning the area drained by the Sarawak river, in the vicinity of modern Kuching) a band of Chinese traders negotiated with him. They asked permission to trade in the Saribas country. Unggang agreed, providing that these traders would always fly a white flag on the masts of their trading vessels. After this, many Chinese traders came in boats to the Saribas river to sell their cooking pots (*periok temaga*), brass cooking pans (*kali*), earthen bowls (*pinggai*), and earthen pots (*periok petani*). The traders also brought shell armlets (*rangki*), oval red *pelaga* beads, cowry shells (*buri*), bells of various sizes (*geri* and *gerunong*), and shells made into armlets or bracelets (*tuchong*).

The Dayaks paid for these items with padi. One *pelaga* bead cost them a *pasu* of padi. At this time the Chinese did not yet want to buy resins or other jungle produce. They remained in their boats. Chinese traders would not risk building houses in the Saribas river for another two generations, until after the arrival of James Brooke.

Unggang killed all the people who did not fly a white flag on their boats, and took their heads. The only people to whom he showed mercy were Saribas Malays who could prove that they were truly descended from Abang Gudam and Temenggong Kadir of the same river. He did not kill them because, in spite of the friction over the collection of taxes mentioned in connection with

his own son Luta, relations between the Saribas Malays and Dayaks have in general been good. There has been a spirit of 'give and take' between them through the generations.

II. The Beginnings of Iban Intertribal Warfare

By the time of the first White Rajah, James Brooke, a clear pattern of intertribal warfare existed amongst the Ibans. It was because of this condition that certain of the Ibans were willing to fight with Brooke against the persistently hostile Sea Dayaks of Saribas and Skrang. Those who normally fought with the Rajah (and who are frequently mentioned in the early European books) included the Ibans of Lingga (Balau Dayaks), the Undup Ibans, and the various Sebuyau Sea Dayaks.

The story of the Sebuyau migrations has already been told in an earlier section of this paper. As reconstructed from Iban oral materials, it contradicts the notion set forth by such authors as Hugh Low and Spenser St John that the scattered location of the various Sebuyau peoples in the Samarahan, Lundu, and other rivers, was the result of warfare with Saribas and Skrang. As we have seen, the migrations to these areas long predated serious intertribal hostility.¹²

The outbreak of intertribal warfare coincided roughly with the beginnings of friction with Brunei, and contact with the Illanuns and other sea rovers. But even prior to this there had been fighting on several occasions, one of which has already been mentioned. That is the story of Beti (Berauh Ngumbang) of Skrang and his quarrel with the Sebuyau warrior Chagik, who had unsuccessfully courted Riti, Beti's seventh wife.¹³

On at least two occasions after this, but still long before the events which are the major subject of this part, men from the Saribas who had become involved in quarrels in their own home rivers fled to Sebuyau settlements, and subsequently involved the Sebuyau people in disputes with the Saribas.

The first such occasion occurred when two friends living in the Ulu Samu (a tributary of the Paku, Saribas) quarrelled over a girl named Bremas, in the days when Seing,¹⁴ son of Tuah, was leader

in this area.

The trouble began one night when Brayun decided to pay a visit to Bremas and discovered that his friend Janang was already there. Brayun slashed one of Janang's ears with a knife. As a result, the enraged Janang took his followers and migrated to Sebuyau, near the mouth of the Batang Lupar. From there he led his own warriors, plus some of the Sebuyau people, back to raid Brayun's house in the Ulu Samu. The raid took place at night. But Brayun was forewarned, and escaped with Bremas into the jungle, leaving Janang only the satisfaction of burning his house. The site later became a cemetery known as Senuan Abis. Brayun and Bremas later had four children, three girls named Endia, Entira and Cheremi,¹⁵ and a boy named Ugap.

Another similar incident of Saribas-Sebuyau hostility took place as the result of a quarrel over a bee tree. It occurred in the days when the small stream called Bangkit, lying between the Paku and Rimbas rivers in Saribas, contained two longhouses, one under the joint leadership of Anal and Sana, and one under Senabong. In those days when sugar was unheard of among the Dayaks, honey was extremely valuable, and bee trees (*tapang*) were then, as now, often the subject of dispute.

In this case Sana and Anal had ordered their people to collect honey from a tree located between the two longhouses, without consulting Senabong, whose people claimed to own the same tree. Senabong took his revenge the next season by clearing away jungle at the edge of farmland belonging to Anal and Sana, a practice specifically forbidden by Iban custom. The tree itself remained the subject of an increasingly involved quarrel. Finally both sides agreed to settle the matter through a diving contest — a kind of ordeal in which the contestant who stays under water longest wins the case for his party.

Senabong was the champion for his side, but unfortunately he submerged himself somewhat closer to the bank of the river than his opponent (whose name has been forgotten). At this point, the water level in the stream began for some reason to recede; Senabong's nose showed above the water, and the onlookers from Anal and Sana's house immediately and loudly claimed that their man

(who was still completely under water in the middle of the stream) had won.

Needless to say Senabong's people did not agree, and the dispute only worsened. Insult was heaped upon misunderstanding.¹⁶ Senabong decided to leave the Bangkit, convinced that he had been badly treated by his relatives and neighbours. Eventually Senabong's people settled in the Sebuyau, but not before living for some time at Telok Semeruang, from which place they first sent a war party back to their old home to fight against Sana and Anal.

When they had migrated to Sebuyau, Senabong's men again raided Bangkit, this time with the assistance of the Sebuyau people. By now Sana and Anal were so worried by these attacks that they humbly invited Gerijih (Ai Merang)¹⁷ of Paku to come and live with them at Bangkit. As the price of his assistance, Gerijih demanded that they should share all their lands and fruit trees with his family, and when this request was satisfied, he came with his followers from Paku. After many more adventures, Gerijih finally defeated Senabong and took his head. After he had won this victory, he advised the followers of Senabong, who remained among the Sebuyau people that if they wished to avenge their dead leader they should live peacefully with the Sebuyaus, and marry women of good and powerful families, so that they would have the means to seek vengeance.

Another clash between the Sebuyaus and the people of Saribas took place in the time of Luta, the son of Unggang (Lebor Menoa) of Entanak. According to Saribas tradition, Luta's brother Ngadan was murdered by the Sea Dayaks of Sebuyau itself. (It will be remembered that more so-called Sebuyau Sea Dayaks lived at other areas in Sarawak, including Lundu and Samarahan.) In retaliation for this, Luta led the Saribas people to raid Sebuyau, where he killed many of the enemy.

It was not long after this that Luta and his brothers, Mulok and Ketit, set off on a trading expedition to Billiton Island, between Borneo and Java, in search of a shell called *tuchong*, valued for armlets. The party disappeared in the vicinity of Sungai Ubah, just beyond Tanjong Datu. Their fate remained a mystery; only fragments of their boat were found. It was after the death of Luta that

the leadership in the Saribas area passed from his family at Entanak to that of the Orang Kaya Pemancha Dana (Bayang) of the Padeh tributary.

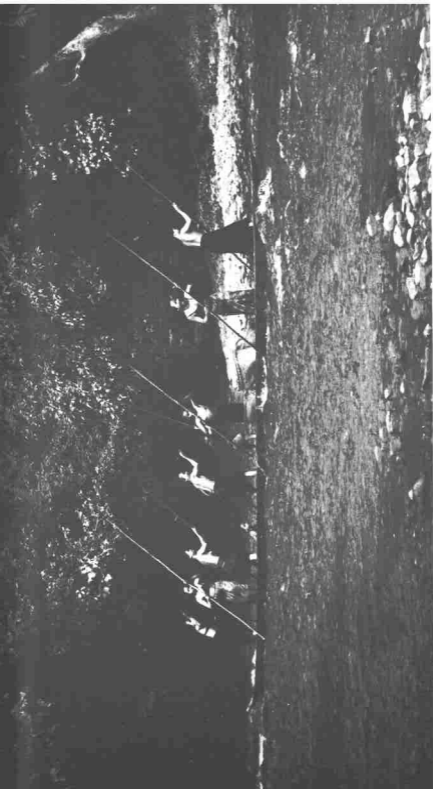
Despite these previous cases of hostility between the Saribas and Sebuyau Sea Dayaks, Iban tradition maintains that it was the Malay chief Indra Lela,¹⁸ who, not long before the arrival of James Brooke, stirred up serious warfare between the Ibans of the Saribas and Skrang on one hand, and those of the Undup and Lingga rivers and the various Sebuyau settlements on the other.

Indra Lela, the brother of Lela Pelawan and Lela Wangsa of Lingga, played a double game among the Ibans. Whenever he was in Saribas, he told the Saribas Dayaks that the Balau and Sebuyau Dayaks hated them, and vice versa. By keeping the Iban people in a constant state of warfare, he hoped to be able to control them for his own ends.

The leader of the Saribas people during this time was the Orang Kaya Pemancha Dana (Bayang) of the Padeh.¹⁹ He was assisted by Bunyau of Entanak, Unal (Bulan) of Ulu Layar, and Linggir (Mali Lebu) of Paku.²⁰ All these men were still leaders when James Brooke arrived. The leaders in the Skrang were Libau (Rentap), famous for his later exploits on Mount Sadok, Orang Kaya Rabong and Orang Kaya Gasing.²¹

In about 1834,²² Orang Kaya Rabong of Skrang attacked Banting, in the Lingga tributary of the Batang Lupar, with the help of the Saribas Ibans under the Orang Kaya Pemancha Dana (Bayang). In those days Banting Hill was populated by both Ibans (Balau Dayaks) and by Malays. In the midst of the fighting, the voice of a Balau shaman (*manang*) named Langgong was clearly heard by the attackers. 'Why are we fighting?' Langgong called out, 'We have no quarrel with each other. It is all the fault of Indra Lela, who has been playing a double game!' When he heard this, Indra Lela himself jumped into the Lingga river to escape being beheaded. According to the story, he turned into a crocodile, which for years afterwards caught unwary people swimming and bathing in this region.²³

But the battle continued, and the Banting Malays and Ibans were badly defeated. It was during this attack that Chulo (Tarang),



Iban women poling a boat

They are on their way to catch fish and prawns with baskets at Nanga Delok in Sarawak's Second Division. Nearly all the rivers of the border area are shallow and gravelly.

*The longhouse
landing-place*

This is easily identified from the number of canoes floating there at any time.





Penghulu Ngali's longhouse at Nanga Delok, Ulu Ai

The richer families have ironwood tile roofs, the poorer leaf thatch. On the right, outside the building, are the rice-drying platforms. The longhouse normally has two notched ladders, one at each end, with bamboo hand-rails. The open space at the foot is used for playing with tops and cock-fighting, during festivals. The longhouse may have over twenty doors with two hundred inhabitants. This has been the basic social unit of the Iban throughout their migrations.



A typical Iban longhouse

It is situated at Tanjong in the Paku river of the Saribas district, one of the first great centres of the westerly migration. A bunch of head trophies hangs from the ceiling, signifying continuing belief in the old tradition. The largest part of the building is a long stretch of common hall, *ruai*, which serves for every social purpose.

a leading warrior of Linggir (Mali Lebu) received his nickname (*ensumbar*). In the heat of the battle he jumped from the high open platform (*tanju*) of one of the Banting longhouses, carrying two valuable jars which he had looted, one over each arm, and holding a head which he had just taken in his mouth. 'I am Chulo,' he called out, 'my name now is:

Tarang mandang Banting, Tarang mandang Lingga
Tarang mandang langit, Tarang mandang dunya

Light flashing over Banting, light flashing over Lingga.
 Light shining in the heavens, light over the whole world.'

About three years later, the Orang Kaya Pemancha Dana (Bayang) led a large force against the Undup Ibans, who had killed his brother, Angkum. Long remembered as the 'great *bala*', this expedition completely defeated the Undups, many of whom were killed or taken captive.²⁴ The survivors fled to Lingga and the Kapuas valley and settled in the Salimbau area. They did not return to their old homes until the time of Mr Brereton, the first officer of James Brooke to serve in the Batang Lupar region, only to discover that many of their lands and fruit trees had been occupied by Skrang Ibans. Likewise, the Ulu Undup had been settled by Ibans from the Kumpang branch of the Batang Ai.

During the Undup expedition, the Orang Kaya Pemancha Dana (Bayang) looted a famous *guchi* jar, believed to have miraculous powers. Years later, in about 1900, his great-grandson Geraman took this *guchi* jar with him to the Baram, where he had migrated, in spite of the protests of other members of his family, who believed that it should remain in the Padeh.

The enmity among the Ibans continued to worsen. At about this time the Orang Kaya Temenggong Jugah of Lundu,²⁵ leader of one group of Sebuyau Sea Dayaks, came up the Saribas to attack Paku. He raided Adir's house at Matop, but as most of the inhabitants had fled, only a few defenders were killed in the fighting, together with some of the invaders.

In about 1838 the Balau Sea Dayaks of Banting decided to raid the Saribas and the Kalaka (Krian), which is the next river to the east of Saribas. The Melupa tributary of the Kalaka was already populated by migrants from the Saribas, who were still engaged in

sporadic conflict there with the Serus. This raid, which may have been in retaliation for the Saribas attack on Banting in which Indra Lela had been killed, was led by Ijau (Lang) and his son-in-law, Orang Kaya Janting.²⁶ They decided that they would split their force in two, with Ijau leading his men against the Saribas, while Janting continued on to attack Kalaka.

Unfortunately for Ijau's contingent, his arrival coincided with the departure of a powerful Saribas war party which was on its way to attack none other than Ijau's own settlement of Banting. As Ijau was advancing up the Saribas under cover of darkness, his men heard the voices of bards (*lemambang*) chanting in a small boat in the Plassan stream. Aware that these were the Saribas, Ijau's men started to attack them with spears, completely failing to notice a far larger war boat located not far away. The startled singers hurled themselves into the river to escape Ijau's spears, while the people in the war boat, who were Unal (Bulan's) men on their way to attack Banting, suddenly discovered their enemy close at hand. In the battle which followed the Balau were badly defeated. Engkudu and Uyu apai Ikum are remembered as two of Bulan's warriors who distinguished themselves in the fighting. Ijau himself was killed, and altogether the Balau lost 132 men.

Meanwhile, however, the other section of the Balau party under Janting fared better in the Kalaka. Janting and his warriors entered the Melupa stream, where they attacked a large longhouse which belonged to Orang Kaya Temenggong Tandok²⁷ (who will be mentioned below in connection with his activities against the Serus in this area). The Orang Kaya and his people fought bravely. One of them, named Jilap, killed a whole boatload of the Balau enemy. But in the end Janting won a stunning victory, and his force killed 130 of the Melupa Ibans, including Orang Kaya Temenggong Tandok himself. Janting was elated by his triumph at Melupa, but most disheartened by the news of the defeat of his father-in-law in the Saribas. He swore that he would avenge this loss.

Early in 1839, Janting and all the bravest warriors of Banting set out to fight the Saribas. They had not decided when they left their homes which of two tributaries — Paku or Rimbas — to attack.

When the Rimbas people learned that Janting was coming on his mission of revenge, they were much disturbed. The Rimbas leaders, under Orang Kaya Gun (Mangku Bumi) sent messengers to Linggir (Mali Lebu) of Paku, urging that they should join forces and prepare to meet the enemy in the same place. Linggir agreed, and further suggested that the combined Paku-Rimbas defenders should make their stand in the Rimbas tributary at Nanga Undai, rather than in the main river. He feared that the Saribas boats would, in open waters, be no match for the Balau boats, which were the largest and heaviest of any used by the Ibans of this time.²⁸ Linggir counselled the Paku and Rimbas warriors to assemble at Nanga Undai on the night of the next full moon, and he told all the Rimbas people who lived in temporary farm huts along the lower Rimbas, from which they tended plots of wet rice (*padi paya*), that they should withdraw well inland in order to be safe.

On the appointed day the Rimbas Dayaks went down to the mouth of the Undai, as two bards sang their songs calling on the war gods for help. When they reached Nanga Undai they saw lights on the water, and assumed that these must be made by Linggir and his party from Paku. It was a wrong assumption, which cost them dearly. The lights were actually made by the Balau enemy, who suddenly attacked them and capsized many of the Rimbas boats. Many of the Rimbas Ibans were killed, including all the sons of the Orang Kayas Antau and Gun who had come with the war party.

III. Coastal Raiding

The battles mentioned above were all between various groups of Ibans who lived at the mouths of different rivers in modern Sarawak. This intermittent struggle continued after 1839, and it was because of it that the newly arrived James Brooke found that he could easily enlist the support of the Sebuyau, Undup and Balau Ibans in his warfare against the Saribas and Skrang.

In the meantime, however, an older quarrel with various peoples living in what is now Indonesian Borneo also continued, as it was

to continue for generations after the arrival of the Brooke Rajah. These enemies included the Kantu, Bugau and Muallang Dayaks of the Kantu and Ketungau tributaries of the Kapuas river.

A short while after the 'great *bala*' had driven the original inhabitants of the Undup across into the Kapuas drainage, the people of the Kumpang tributary of the Batang Ai (who had replaced some of the vanquished Undup Ibans in the upper portion of that river) appealed to Linggir (Mali Lebu) of Paku for help. The Bugaus of the Kapuas side were frequently attacking them.

Linggir came with many warriors, headed by Enchana (Letan)²⁹ and his brothers, to attack the Bugaus. When they reached the Ulu Undup, the people there told them that the enemy Bugaus had fortified themselves on the Tiang Laju range of hills which forms the divide between the Batang Lupar and Kapuas river systems (and the modern international frontier).

Linggir agreed to lead them on the condition that he must first consult his guardian spirit (*tua*) and obtain favourable omens indicating that he would be victorious. These omens were not obtained for a fortnight.

On the eve of the expedition, Linggir went with a warrior named Janang to the top of the Tiang Laju range. As they came to the foot of the last steep stretch before the summit, the exhausted Janang fainted from his exertions.

Linggir continued. As he reached the mountain top, he saw an old woman, her back toward him, stooping by a pool of water washing her hair. When she saw Linggir, she told him that she was Indai Abang, a goddess who would help him against his enemies. 'In your fight tomorrow', she said, 'no Bugau will be able to prevail against you. You will have an easy victory.' Then she handed him a piece of turmeric she had used for cleaning her skin. She told him that it was a charm which would deflect the weapons of the enemy.

After he had received this, Linggir returned and found that Janang had revived. When they reached the main war party, Linggir whispered to his men from Paku not to be afraid of the enemy, as the goddess had assured him of their safety.

At dawn the next morning he commanded Enchana and his brothers to lead the way, with Birai (Jawa Jambai) and Beriak (Bintang Beguang) heading other groups of warriors. During the battle which followed, Enchana and his brothers took little part, owing to the fact that they were immobilised by the bamboo spikes (*tukak*) which had been planted in the ground by the enemy to prevent their advance. But the warriors under Jambai, Nyelang and Beriak were able to avoid these obstacles; they fought very hard and killed ninety-one enemies. They also took a number of captives, whose descendants still live in the Saribas area today.

Not long after this, combined forces from Saribas and Skrang, led by Libau (Rentap) of Skrang, fought once more against the Muallang, Chengkang and Bugau inhabitants of the Ulu Ketungau, in the Kapuas drainage. The Orang Kaya Gasing of Skrang also led raids against the Bugaus during this period.

The majority of the peoples of the Kapuas against whom such raids were launched were either Ibans, or people like the Kantus and Bugaus who speak a language quite similar to Iban and are recognised by the Sarawak Ibans as rather close relatives. During this same period, however, the people of Saribas and Skrang also began to raid against the Land Dayaks, who inhabited areas along the coast south-west of Iban territory, and against the Melanau settlements to the north-east, along the coast of what is today the Third Division of Sarawak.³⁰ The language and customs of both Land Dayaks and Melanau are different from the Iban Sea Dayaks.

It is interesting to note that the first such expedition recorded in Iban tradition ended in disaster for the attacking force. In the days when Kalanang and Jantan were leaders in the lower and upper Paku respectively, Jiram (Rentap),³¹ a brother-in-law of Jantan, led the Paku warriors to attack the Kanowit Melanau in the Rejang. As the boats of the expedition entered the Kanowit river, many of them were upset due to a clever stratagem employed by the Kanowit people. Aware that the enemy force was coming, they stretched ropes made of rattans across the river, just under the surface of the water. These were attached to trees on either shore, which had been almost entirely cut through. When one of

Jiram's boats passed over one of the ropes, the Kanowit people quickly felled the trees on either side, which were cut so that they would fall away from the river, jerking the rope out of the water, upsetting the war boat, and spilling its warriors into the stream.

Some of the surprised Ibans were killed by the Kanowit waiting on the banks of the river; others fled into the jungle. Most of the fugitives, including Jiram himself, died of starvation as they tried to get back through the jungles to the Saribas country. Jiram is supposed to have spoken his last words to his brother-in-law, Jantan,³² at a place called Empran Labah in the Kanowit River. At last, Jantan with a few survivors reached Tengalat hill, in the Krian, from which point they could see their home country. Those who did not return were memorialised, according to the Iban custom known as *rapoh*. To this day, the family of a man who has died away from home places a small jar containing some of his less valuable heirlooms in the local cemetery. Some of the jars which were so placed for the Ibans who died on this expedition can still be seen at Danau, in the Ulu Paku, Saribas.

Some time after the defeat of the Rimbas Sea Dayaks by the Balaus, described above, Linggir (Mali Lebu) of Paku led a large number of his warriors to attack the Melanaus of Ilas and Matu, on the coast of the present-day Third Division. In those days the Melanaus lived in extremely large longhouses built on very high posts. On this occasion, Linggir's force attacked one of the highest Melanau houses. It was strongly defended, and the attackers finally made a big fire under the house in order to smoke out the Melanaus, who were killed when they emerged. While they were making the fire, the Ibans protected themselves from spears hurled down at them by carrying canoes over their heads, in such a way that one canoe served as a shield for several men. More than a decade later, Linggir led similar attacks on Matu and Palo, both Melanau settlements, immediately before the battle of Betang Maru in 1849.³³

The Ibans also launched small expeditions (*kayau anak*) against the coastal Melanau settlements throughout this period. The leaders of these attacks by stealth included Igoh apai Lamban, who raided the Melanaus after his migration to Sarikei, discussed

below. Others were the brothers Orang Kaya Antau and Orang Kaya Gun in the Rimbas, and (Bulan) Patan of the Ulu Layar.³⁴

The Saribas and Skrang Ibans also began to make attacks on the Land Dayaks and Chinese who lived south and west along the coast in the vicinities of Pontianak and Sambas.³⁵ At about the same time as Jiram's unsuccessful attack on the Kanowit Melanaus, the Orang Kaya Pemancha Dana (Bayang) started to raid Chinese settlers and others in Sambas territory. It was on one of these expeditions that he captured the famous one-trunnioned iron cannon, 'Bujang Timpang Berang' which can still be seen in the old fort at Betong, Saribas.³⁶

It was the habit of the Ibans when going on these raids, in which as many as 100 war boats might take part, to attack Land Dayak and Malay settlements along the intervening coasts between Saribas and Sambas, particularly if for some reason they decided not to go as far as the latter place.³⁷

About one year before the arrival of the White Rajah, Libau (Rentap) of Skrang led his warriors against settlements in the vicinity of Pontianak. But before he reached this area, he attacked the schooner of a Malay trader, capturing a cannon and some ammunition, as well as a kris with a gold handle.

Not long after this Linggi apai Belabut of Bangkit, Saribas, led a large force of warriors to fight against the Land Dayaks of Tinting Braang and the people of Duri in the Sambas area. At the latter place they found much gold, which owing to their ignorance they threw into the sea.³⁸

IV. Further Conflict with the Serus, and Migrations to the Krian

It was mentioned in Part Two that after the days of Munan, who led the first Ibans from Rimbas to settle in the Krian, further Sea Dayak migrations were blocked by the persistent hostility of the Serus living at Tabujang and Tengalat Hills as well as in the Awik and Sabelak tributaries.³⁹ Before the arrival of the Rajah, the Ibans had only succeeded in populating the Melupa tributary. In addition to the house of the Orang Kaya Temenggong Tandok, there were several other Iban longhouses in that river. I have already

told how Tandok was killed by Balau Iban raiders in about 1838.

The story of how Tandok got his title, 'Orang Kaya Temenggong', illustrates the kind of relationship which existed between the Malays, Ibans and Serus in the Krian at this time. The Ibans had continued to raid the Serus since the days of Munan; indeed it was the ambition of nearly every young Iban warrior in the Saribas, as well as those who were already living in the Krian, to get one or more Seru heads. Chulo (Tarang), the leading warrior of Linggir (Mali Lebu), with Ugat of Paku were among those who are remembered for their success in conducting minor raids (*kayau anak*) against these pre-Iban people, now extinct.⁴⁰

At this time there was a well-known Malay named Imam Molana who lived at the mouth of the Kalaka (or lower Krian) claiming to rule this area. It was his policy to encourage the Ibans of Saribas in their wars with the Serus, in order that the Serus might gather around him for protection. He bought Seru captives, as well as those of other groups, which the Iban leaders sold to him.⁴¹ And he gave titles to the Iban leaders who defeated the Serus. The Orang Kaya Temenggong Tandok was one Iban who received his title from Imam Molana in this fashion. Others were the Orang Kaya Beti of Padeh,⁴² and the Orang Kayas Antau (Linggang Negri) and Gun (Mangku Bumi) of Rimbis.⁴³ Imam Molana succeeded in converting to Islam many of the Serus who were subdued by the Ibans, and many of the Krian Malays of today are descended from these converts. It is therefore not strictly true to say that the Serus are 'extinct', although the Seru culture undoubtedly is.

Other Iban leaders, such as the Orang Kaya Pemancha Dana (Bayang) of Padeh, were ennobled by the Saribas Malays acting as the agents of the Brunei Sultanate. Later, of course, the Brooke Government conferred similar titles on many Ibans.

The Serus were not displaced from most of the Krian until well after the arrival of the English Rajah. The Ibans, who by this date were already migrating into the lower tributaries of the Rejang, were also still fighting the Bukitans in that area. Many of these Bukitans had moved from present-day Second Division territory to the south and west, following earlier Iban migrations.

In about 1854, Linggir (Mali Lebu) of Paku led a highly successful raid against the Bukitans of Sungei Sugai, a branch of the Julau tributary of the Rejang. Linggir led his war party from the Paku to the house of Apai Siba, leader of the Sugai Bukitans, who had been friendly to the Paku Ibans in the past. It was Linggir's intention to attack another Bukitan house located further up the Sugai stream. However, when the Iban warriors arrived at this place after visiting Apai Siba, they found that their intended victims had fled, leaving only an empty house. The Ibans concluded that they must have been warned by Apai Siba, and they returned down river and attacked his house. Apai Siba himself was killed, together with so many other Bukitans that their heads covered one of the largest variety of Iban mats (*sedaun idas*). Many captives were also taken. Those retained by Linggir alone numbered thirty. As war-leader, he was entitled to half the captives and plunder taken by any of his warriors, according to Iban custom.

Soon after these captives had been taken back to the Paku, some of them tried to escape, but all of them were recaptured. The place where one woman named Indai Jungki was found trying to escape, a steep slope forming one bank of the Paku, is still known as 'Tebiang Indai Jungki'. It was after this that the Ibans sold many of these Bukitans to Laksamana Amir, chief of the Paku Malays. All of these Bukitans then were converted to Islam (*masok Melayu*).

Not long after this, a Paku and a Rimbas man, named Sa and Entri respectively, went to explore the Awik, a right-hand tributary of the Krian. They reported it to be very fertile, but soon after their return both men died, and the intended migration had to be postponed until the period of mourning was over. Finally, three years later, a son of Sa named Enchana (Letan)⁴⁴ led the migration overland, in about 1854.⁴⁵ Upon arriving at the Krian river, the migrants built a number of boats in order to proceed up the Awik tributary. Just as they were about to enter the Awik, they heard an omen bird (*jalah kanan*) shrieking from their right-hand side. It indicated, they believed, that they would be successful in farming as well as in war. The future men of their people would always be lucky in their various undertakings, but their lives would

be shorter than those of the women. The place where these people first settled was at Lubok Gamba.

Minggat,⁴⁶ brother of Enchana and later a well-known ally of the Rajah in the Krian, followed his brother to the Awik at about this time.

Two years after Enchana and his followers from Paku and Rimbas had migrated to Awik, Manggang,⁴⁷ with his brothers Tengkuang, Unggang, Luna (Panggau) and Mudit, of Nanga Anyut, Paku, decided to migrate to the Sabelak, another right tributary of the Krian which enters that stream not far from the sea. They first went to Grenjang in the Ulu Krian to make preparations for this migration.

While they were at Grenjang, the remaining Serus of Sabetan and Sabelak became very violent with the Saribas Sea Dayaks under Linggir and Aji,⁴⁸ who had been in the habit of raiding them in company with Chulo (Tarang), then living in the Rimbas. Because of this trouble, the Paku migrants were forbidden by the Saribas chiefs to risk the move to Sabelak. They returned to their old village in the Paku, but only for a time. After the Serus had been quiet for some time, they once again began to move to the Sabelak, and this time they succeeded. They were followed by many people from the Bangkit and lower Paku.

On their arrival in the Sabelak, they first built a temporary longhouse (*dampa*) at Nanga Beratong. Here they made a sacrifice known as *babi kena ngenselan menoa* (literally, 'a pig to anoint the earth with blood'), killing a pig in order to worship the god of land, Simpulang Gana. There were some quarrels amongst these pioneers. One man named Dulah (Gila) did not agree with the rest, and went to live for some years on the main Krian river at Sanjangay. (He returned some years later.) Another man named Ngadi apai Iding, formerly of Samu, never reached the Sabelak with the main party, but stopped off on the way there to live with his cousin Enchana in the Awik. Three years later he moved up to the Sabelak, but his descendants retained their claim on the three pieces of land, one for each year of his stay, which he had cleared in the Awik.

V. Movement to the Rejang Drainage: Migrations to Sarikei and Julau

According to tradition in the Saribas, the first migrations of Ibans into the Rejang drainage (what is today the Third Division of Sarawak) took place before the migrations to the Krian described above, around the time of the arrival of James Brooke, in 1839.

Igoh apai Lamban⁴⁹ came from the Ulu Layar to the Sarikei River in search of new land. He had been a leading warrior together with Unal (Bulan), the slayer of the Balau chief Ijau (Lang). There was no quarrel in the Layar which forced him to migrate; he wanted to be a pioneer, and to seek new lands.

At about the same time Mujah (Buah Raya)⁵⁰ led the first migrations into the Ulu Julau, a branch of the Kanowit tributary of the Rejang. Mujah was a brave war-leader who had originally migrated from the Skrang, and had lived temporarily in the upper Penom and Anyut rivers of the Ulu Paku. Since these areas were already well settled, Mujah kept on looking for new land, and thus came to Julau. Upon his arrival, he and his followers fought against the Rejangs, Tanjongs, Kanowits, Ukits and Lugats in many parts of the Rejang. Due to his success in driving these aborigines from the lower rivers, Sharif Masahor⁵¹ of Sarikei gave him the title of 'Penglina'. In later years, when the people of upper Saribas were at war with the Brooke Government, Buah Raya helped them. As a result, the Government sent expeditions against him into the Julau in 1856 and 1858.⁵²

After Mujah had migrated into the Julau, many Ibans from the Lemanak migrated into the Sarikei, Binatang, Poi and Ngemah tributaries of the Rejang.

These movements were led by Megong apai Bansa, Pelima and Saka.⁵³ The Lemanaks came by way of Kelampu and Bunu in the Skrang. From these places they crossed Bukit Ringka between the Skrang and Kanowit, and reached Penebak in the Ulu Layar. But, as in the case of Mujah, they discovered that these lands were already completely occupied, and the Layar Ibans would not accept them.

From Penebak, Pelima went down the Kanowit and finally

settled in the Machan river, a left tributary of the Rejang above Kanowit. Apai Bansa went from Penebak down the Sarikei and lived at Pakan. Gradually, almost all parts of the lower Sarikei and Binatang rivers were populated by the Lemanak Ibans, as were the Poi and Ngemah tributaries further upstream.

Much later, another quite different group of Lemanaks settled in the Roban branch of the Sabelak tributary of the Krian. When the second Rajah erected Fort Charles at Kabong, lower Krian, he engaged these men under their leaders Angki, Degum and Ambak, to guard this fort. They served as official fort-men (known as Sarawak Rangers after 1862). After they had retired they requested and received permission to settle in the Roban. Later, although they had already retired, these men died while fighting at Bukit Seligi, on one of the Rajah's expeditions against the famous Ulu Ai rebel, Ngumbang.

Ibans from the Skrang river also migrated to the Rejang tributaries in considerable numbers during this period. Unfortunately these movements cannot be traced in much detail. We do know that after the Third Sadok Expedition in 1861, Libau (Rentap) and those who were still loyal to him moved to the headwaters of the Kanowit, settling first in the Entabai stream. The pattern was repeated when another famous Skrang rebel, Kedu (Lang Endang) was finally defeated by the Government in 1881, and also moved into the Kanowit river area. Throughout the middle years of the nineteenth century, the headwaters of this stream remained attractive not only to those who wished to live far from the White Rajah's officers, but also to migrants in search of new land.⁵⁴

VI. Enmity in the Batang Ai: Migration to the Batang Rejang, via Kapuas and Katibas

At about the time that James Brooke arrived in Sarawak, a series of disputes broke out among the Ibans of the Batang Ai. Partly as a result of these quarrels some of the inhabitants of this area migrated into Indonesian Borneo, and then returned to Sarawak territory, becoming the first Ibans to populate the Katibas

tributary of the Rejang, and eventually moving into the main river.

The disputes in the Batang Ai began in the days of Unggang (Gerasi)⁵⁵ and Temenggong Simpi Pala.⁵⁶ A woman named Enche, of the Kumpang tributary of the Batang Ai, which enters that river between the modern towns of Engkilili and Lubok Antu, was married to a man named Dunggat from the Ulu Ai. At one time Dunggat had promised to marry a woman named Chula, who quite naturally had come to hate Enche for marrying her former sweetheart.

One day Chula sent two quids of areca nut to Dunggat, who had moved down river to live with his wife's family, by means of a woman named Indai Lemenye. Without questioning the source of this gift, Enche immediately chewed her quid, but Dunggat opened his, and found that it contained a mixture of dogs' and cats' hairs. Then he became suspicious, questioned Indai Lemenye, and discovered that Chula had sent this peculiar gift. Enche became worried and urged her husband to summon Chula and question her.

When Chula came she admitted sending the quids, but claimed that they were not poisonous. But she admitted that they contained a divorce charm known as *pemenchi*, which is made from the hairs of dogs and cats and the feathers of chickens and hawks, placed one upon another according to ritual. The theory of course is that just as these creatures could never live with each other peacefully, so any husband and wife who partake of the charm must also come to hate each other, and so separate. This charm is still known among the Sea Dayaks.

Enche did not believe this story, and said that if she died as a result of chewing the charm, Chula must pay a compensation to her husband of one valuable old jar and a large gong. 'As far as my husband is concerned,' she said angrily, 'it is not necessary for you to divorce us in such a cruel way. If you want him, you can have him right away.' A few weeks later Enche fell ill and died.

Her brothers, Lajang and Tugong, hearing of her death, led a party of men to seize a jar and a gong from Chula, as their sister had demanded. In retaliation Chula's father Mandau, took to Kumpang some of the bravest warriors of the Ulu Ai, including

Sumping, Beraro, Naga, and Temenggong Apai Rusoh. These warriors killed two of Lajang's men. Not long after this, Lajang's men retaliated against Mandau, killing some of his followers while they were on their way to Nanga Skrang. In those days the Government fort had not yet been built at Nanga Skrang, but there was a small Malay community there, where the Ibans came to exchange bamboos for salt and salt fish.⁵⁷

Although the feud thus started grew continually more heated, two chiefs for some time remained neutral between the warring parties. They were Unggang (Gerasi) of Nanga Delok, and Temenggong Simpi Pala of Rantau Panjai, both in the middle Batang Ai. Unfortunately, they also became involved, in the following manner:

Two of the chiefs of Kumpang (the party of the aggrieved Enche, who had died from eating the charm) jointly led a strong war party against the Ulu Ai Ibans of Lubang Baya (the home of Chula, who had sent the charm). The Kumpang chiefs were Apai Ramba and Apai Jega.⁵⁸ As they passed by the home of Temenggong Simpi Pala on their way to the attack, they met his wife, who was also their cousin, a woman named Jeburi, standing by the landing place at her house, Rantau Panjai. She asked them their destination, but they only replied 'We must follow the marks of the boar's hooves,' meaning that they must follow the tracks left by the enemy.

Jeburi was naturally well aware that they were in fact on their way to attack their enemies in the Ulu Ai, as the whole country knew about the feud. She now suggested that it would not be necessary for them to go up so many rapids to reach the foe. She told them that the people of a man named Jengkilan, whose house lay not far away at a place called Musing, had recently joined forces with their enemy. Apai Jega and Apai Remba then decided to attack Musing instead of going on to distant Lubang Baya. Before they proceeded, Jeburi called on them to spare her cousin, who was married to Jengkilan, and who could be identified by a *lebor api*⁵⁹ blanket in which she would be carrying her child.

Before departing overland to Musing, Apai Ramba ordered that no one should precede him at Jengkilan's landing place, for he wanted badly to kill Jengkilan and Tegarani, the two leading men

of the house, himself. He and his picked warriors then continued on their way by boat. When they reached Jengkilan's landing place they asked a woman who was bathing there to send for Jengkilan and Tegarana to come down to the landing place. The two men did so, unarmed and unsuspecting, and Apai Ramba drew his sword and killed them on the spot. Then his warriors attacked the long-house, and killed almost all the inmates. They were mostly women, as the men were away fishing at Madjang Lake, in present-day Indonesian Borneo. In the excitement, no one bothered to remember to spare Jeburi's cousin, but when collecting the heads of the slain, her head could not be identified among them. Fortunately, she had been able to escape with her child, but she left behind another daughter, Simpo, who was captured by Apai Ramba.

On their way home, as they were passing the house of Unggang (Gerasi), Apai Ramba and his men sent a message to inform him of their victory over Jengkilan. But Unggang was hardly pleased; he demanded to know why Apai Ramba had attacked a peaceful and friendly neighbour. When Apai Ramba explained that he had heard a different story from Jeburi, Unggang (Gerasi) responded by drawing his sword and pointing it to the sky, challenging Apai Ramba to single combat. The latter refused the challenge and continued on his way.

On reaching the house of Temenggong Simpi Pala at Rantau Panjai, Apai Ramba told him of his victory over Jengkilan, and, as a joke, invited him to plant tobacco in the ashes of the house. But Simpi Pala, still apparently ignorant of the fact that it was his own wife who had instigated the whole affair, was just as outraged as Unggang (Gerasi) had been. He bitterly reproached Apai Ramba for his crime. In his anger, he slashed at the fence of his open platform (*tanju*) with his war knife (*nyabor*), and challenged any of Apai Ramba's men to fight him alone. Apai Ramba, now thoroughly distressed, declined to talk any longer with Temenggong Simpi Pala, and together with his men continued to travel down the Batang Ai.

They reached Untu's house at Bui late that evening. When Untu heard of their victory and saw their captives, he recognised Simpo,



The Bird Festival (Gawai Burong) is a great feast of the Iban

It is held in honour of the god Sengalang Burong, for which a sacred statue of the Rhinoceros Hornbill is carved. Rhinoceros Hornbill, King of the Birds in this world, welcomes the spiritual arrival of bird-god Sengalang Burong at the festival. This is the god especially identified with head-hunting, war and bravery (see Genealogy 26).



The Gawai Antu Festival is another of the great rites celebrated by the Ibans honouring the dead

Here a group of women join a procession to welcome the spirits of the dead ancestors celebrated in folklore and song.



On the way to attend any Iban feast the guests dress in traditional and expensive costumes as here (photographed in 1967)



The Iban still observe values which made them dynamic 'conquerors' over much of south-west Borneo

Here the senior surviving Saribas 'warrior', Penghulu Dana anak Penghulu Gait of Ulu Layar, hands the holy *garong* wine to Impin Pintu Batu Nanga Pila, the slayer of 'Tabor of Ulu Ai at

the daughter of Jengkilan (who was his cousin) among them. He asked Apai Ramba to release her. He obtained her release for the price of one old jar and a gong, and she remained to live at Bui with Untu.

A month later Unggang (Gerasi), who was still furious over the whole affair, ordered his warriors Sumping, Naga, Ujan and Mandau to attack Apai Ramba in revenge for the latter's unwarranted attack on Musing. He told his warriors that they should persuade Temenggong Simpil Pala at Rantau Panjai to join them. 'If he refuses to go you must kill him,' Unggang (Gerasi) ordered, 'for it was due to his wife's false story that Apai Ramba raided Musing.'

Temenggong Simpil Pala was at first reluctant, for he was closely related through his wife to most of the people at Kumpang. But, threatened with death, and fearful that he would be accused of secretly aiding Apai Ramba's attack on Musing, he finally agreed to help. He demanded that in return for his help, Unggang (Gerasi) should help him to fortify his own house first. A stockade was duly erected, traces of which are still visible. Most of the work was actually done by Bukitans, who were still subservient to the Ibans in the Batang Ai region. Then the combined forces of Unggang (Gerasi) and Temenggong Simpil Pala prepared to attack the Kumpang Ibans.

Meanwhile Apai Ramba and Apai Jega were on the lookout for the expected attack. From Kumpang, they sent scouts across to Nanga Seremat on the Batang Ai to report back if they saw the forces of Temenggong Simpil Pala, Unggang (Gerasi) and their allies coming. The scouts returned and reported that they had seen a small light far up the river, which they believed to be the approaching enemy. But the two leaders refused to credit this report, and accused the scouts of cowardice. A second group of scouts went out and returned, saying that they had seen nothing but fireflies. But the first scouts had been correct. While they had been reporting, the attacking force had been able to move down river past Nanga Seremat, without attracting any more attention. At dawn this force successfully attacked the houses of Galau and Kamarau, allies of the Kumpang people, at Stuga. Apai Ramba,

who by now was lying in wait at Nanga Seremat, was completely surprised when he saw from afar the black smoke from Galau's burning house.

Apai Ramba attempted to retaliate on the forces from up river as they were withdrawing after this victory. One of Simpi Pala's warriors led a small party back overland which passed not far from where Apai Ramba and his men were waiting at Nanga Seremat. Apai Ramba saw and recognised some of these men as from Simpi Pala's house. As the main troop retreated, Simpi Pala, still uneasy about his participation in the affair, walked in the rear of the party, fearful that Apai Ramba's men would kill him in their anger.

Apai Ramba's warriors followed the main Ulu Ai force as far as Nanga Piat, where they made an attack from the rear. It was not a success; early in the conflict Ulu Ai warriors named Taboh and Enturan (Besi) each killed an enemy, thus greatly encouraging the entire Ulu Ai force. While pursuing a fugitive, they discovered that all the wounded fighters of Apai Ramba had been sent to the upper Piat. They tracked down and killed these men also. Apai Ramba, realising that he was worsted, fled. But a few months later he returned with his warriors against the Ulu Ai Ibans, and this time he almost completely wiped out the people of Likup's house at Entago, above Nanga Mujan.

But some people were growing weary of all the fighting. At about this time a leader named Sumping,⁶⁰ from the Ulu Ai, urged Temenggong Simpi Pala to migrate elsewhere to avoid the continuous conflict. Temenggong Simpi Pala was reluctant, for he did not wish to leave his guardian spirit (*tua*), which lived on a hill, Bukit Tunggal, near Nanga Kaong.

Despite Temenggong Simpi's refusal, Sumping himself migrated with his followers to Batang Jekelan, a tributary of the Kapuas. He was followed by Naga⁶¹ who lived in one of the branches of the Kanyau, another Kapuas tributary. From these places Naga moved again to Nyawang, also in the Kapuas, while Sumping migrated to Bukit Chundong, between the headwaters of the Tekelan and Katibas rivers in Sarawak territory, where he died at a great age.

Sumping, who was childless, was succeeded jointly by Gerinang

and his brother Unggat.⁶² They remigrated to the Kapuas drainage, joining Naga at Nyawang. After Naga's death they moved to Rantau Likau in Katibas, and when Apai Ramba heard of their arrival there, he again attacked them, reviving the old feud. Then they moved down the Katibas, to live temporarily at Nanga Musah, before finally reaching the Rejang River and settling at Menaun. Here they were constantly attacked by the Kayan, Rejang and Tanjong tribes⁶³ who lived on the banks of the Rejang.

In due course Gerinang and Unggat died and were succeeded by their heirs, Mata Hari and Keling, respectively. Both of the latter were sons of Unggat, but Mata Hari had been adopted by his uncle Gerinang, who had no sons. Later, both Mata Hari and Keling established themselves in the Balleh, where they were joined by Jubang, father of the late Temenggong Koh.

The story of Temenggong Koh,⁶⁴ one of the most famous Ibans of modern Sarawak, illustrates once again the path of migration from the Batang Ai region to the present-day Third Division, via the Kapuas side. To tell this story we must return to Koh's great-great-grandfather, who was none other than the Temenggong Simpi Pala, already mentioned above.

Temenggong Simpi Pala's disputes with Apai Ramba and Apai Jega of Kumpang continued after the events described earlier. Finally he overcame his reluctance to leave his guardian spirit, and migrated to live at Nanga Badau, now in Indonesian Borneo, but not far from the Sarawak frontier station at Lubok Antu. In this area he was engaged in ceaseless conflict with the Malays of Tawang, and the Dayaks of Selimbau and Kantu. He won many victories and ended by ruling much of the territory between the Sarawak frontier and the Seriang lake district.

It was during this period that one of Temenggong Simpi Pala's sons, named Temenggong Runggah, had five children, including Temenggong Buah, Temenggong Guntor and Ba.⁶⁵ Ba married a woman named Bejau and begot Garong, the mother of the late Temenggong Koh.

From Kanyau, Ba led another Iban migration into the Katibas, where he first lived at Pengkalan Ridan. Here he was joined by migrants from the Delok tributary of the Batang Ai, including a

man named Melintang.⁶⁶ From the Katibas, Ba led his people to dwell in the main Rejang river in the vicinity of Song, establishing his longhouse at Nanga Ngelai.

Shortly after he arrived in this area Ba swore friendship with Sawing,⁶⁷ a Tanjong chief who at this time was still a man of great influence in the middle Rejang. Ba and Sawing exchanged gifts to seal their amity, the Iban leader giving the Tanjong chief a slave named Atok and receiving in return a valuable *menaga* type jar. Today this jar is in the possession of ex-Penghulu Gerinang of Gaat, whose wife was Koh's niece.

Three years after he had arrived at Song, Ba led his people to live further down river at Nanga Dap, in Kanowit. At this time Balang⁶⁸ and his people had settled at Nanga Ngemah, while many other Ibans were living along the banks of the Rejang from Nanga Poi to Nanga Song. In about 1868, Balang was arrested by the Government for plotting to kill J. B. Cruickshank, then Resident of Rejang, and executed at Pulau Selalau near Sibul. Because of Balang's death, the Katibas Ibans, led by his brother Unjup, rebelled against the Government. A series of expeditions was launched against these rebels.⁶⁹

As a result of this revolt, Ba returned to the Kanyau river, in what was then Dutch Borneo. It was while he was there that Koh himself was born at Pulau Ensulit. Although Ba and his warriors were not themselves living in the Katibas during this troubled period, they frequently reinforced Unjup in his struggle against the Rajah.

Eventually peace was restored in the Katibas. At about this time Ba died at Labuyan, and his son Jubang, the father of Koh, led Ba's followers to migrate back to the Sarawak side of the border.

When Jubang returned to the Katibas, he found that practically no Ibans in the Rejang from Nanga Kanowit upwards had paid door tax to the Government. Some years after the Katibas troubles, the Dayaks began to pay their door tax with pigs, chickens, rice or bananas, to the Government.

Jubang later joined forces with Mata Hari and Keling in their struggles against the Kayan, Bukitan, Tanjong, Rejang and Lugat peoples, which had broken out not long before the Great Kayan

Expedition of 1863, and which continued until late in the time of Munan, the great Penghulu Dalam of Sibu, who died in 1914. Eventually, after more conflict with Government, it was these Ibans of Rejang who migrated into the Balleh tributary.⁷⁰ Today it is one of the most important Iban-inhabited rivers in Sarawak.

APPENDIX A

Tusut Iban

To illustrate how these genealogies are kept

Sapatu Pejuru Buban, Ulop Salampor Banan bebini ngambi Dayang Bangi, ke betangi ayong langit, Kumang bisi pemandang tau tilit, beranak ka Abu datai ari deru tinggang guntor, ari deru guntor betinggang, keba deh Abu masai ngambu dulu neresa jemu ambun midang. Abu beranak ka Nising datai ari perenching pandang lambor, ari perenching nyaang bepandang. Nising beranak ka Bedali ke bediri dikaki tiang sandong, disegi tiang dibalang bebini ngambi Antok Ngenok Langgong Tebalong, Dayang Kumang Gasing Merengong, beranak ka Bedaang ngembuan balang purang ranggong Bedaang bebini ngambi Jawai Mupong ke bepadong tujuh ringkat, mau ke ditinjau beka belap, branak ka Bedaam ngembuan danan gelong ka bengkong, bebini ngambi Endu Dara Saur pengukor mata isau, pengundor bala nyerang, beranak ka Aki Jugu Menaul Tuntong, Aki Lang Singalang Burong, bebini ngambi Indai Kachendai Bepantak Jerak, Dara Sentaba Balun Kupak. Tang deh laban iya tabin bebirin lembau makai, pederu renga enda nyamai, sakit lengit enda gerai, nya alai dipelian ka Manang Jaban, dipesaut ka Manang Likup, dipetawai ka Manang Gendai, lalu mindah nama disebut orang Endu Sudan Brinjan Bungkong, Endu Diu Tiong Menyelong, beranak ka Endu Dara Tinchin Temaga, Endu Cherebok Mangkok China, belaki diambi Menggin lalu beranak ka Sera Gunting ke bebini ngambi Seri Ngiang, beranak ka Sera Kempat bebini ngambi Ranjau, beranak ka Ridoh datai ari buloh bauh rejang belambang belaki diambi Bada, beranak ka Gupi tunang Gerasi Belang Pinggang, beranak ka Geraman ke benama Ensoh, bebini ngambi Tebari, beranak ka Beragai belaki diambi Chundau, beranak ka Beti digelar Bujang Berauh Ngumbang, bebini ngambi Duri, beranak ka Pandak belaki diambi Talak, beranak ka Badas belaki diambi Girik, beranak ka Belaki bebini ngambi Buang, beranak ka Penyut bebini ngambi Endia, beranak ka Sudan belaki diambi Salang, beranak ka Belaki bebini ngambi Brema, beranak ka Lada

belaki diambi Awan beranak ka Sawai, belaki diambi Kaya, beranak ka Jantan bebini ngambi Jemat, beranak ka Libau (Buban) bebini ngambi Nawi, beranak ka Janta, belaki diambi Kadir, beranak ka Endayan, blaki diambi Gerijih, beranak ka Landan blaki diambi Engkuang, beranak ka Bana bebini ngambi Insin, beranak ka Timah.

IBAN GENEALOGY

(Translation)

Sapatu (Pejuru Buban, Ulop Salampor Banan) married Dayang Bangi, whose hat shadowed the sky, who was Kumang, owner of a charm which gave her second sight. She begot Abu who came from the sound of thunder who therefore was accustomed to lead processions of the spirits of the dead through the morning dew. Abu begot Nising who came from the rays of the sunset. Nising begot Bedali who stood at the foot of the *Sandong* ceremonial pole also known as the square carved pole: Bedali married Antok (Ngenok Langgong Tebalong, Dayang Kumang Gasing Merengong). Antok begot Bedaang the keeper of a charm *purang ranggong*. He married Jawai Mupong whose seven-storied room was set with glittering gold and begot Bedaam the Keeper of *danan* cane used for making the hoop from which human skulls are hung. He married maiden Saur, skilled in foretelling the success of war parties by measuring the blade of an *isau* knife. Saur begot Aki Jugu Menaul Tuntong, Aki Lang Singalang Burong, who married Indai Kachendai Bepantak Jerak, Dara Sentaba Balun Kupak. But because she had not the appetite to eat food, and was always ill with flu, she was doctored by the shamans Likup, Gendai and Jaban, who changed her name to Endu Sudan Brinjan Bungkong, Endu Diu Tiong Menyelong. She begot Endu Dara Tinchin Temaga, Endu Cherebok Mangkok China who married Menggin and begot Sera Gunting. Sera Gunting married Seri Ngiang and begot Sera Kempat. Sera Kempat married Ranjau and begot Ridoh who came from the luxuriant bamboo known as *rejang belambang*. Ridoh married Bada and begot Gupi who had spiritually married Gerasi (Belang Pinggang) to beget Germanan, whose other name was Ensoh. Ensoh married Tebari and begot Beragai who married Chundau and begot Beti (Bujang Berauh Ngumbang) who married Duri and begot Pandak who married Talak and begot Badas who married Girik who begot Belaki who married Buang who begot Penyut who married Endia who begot Sudan who married Salang and begot Belaki who married Bremas and begot Lada who married Awan and begot Sawai who married Kaya and begot Jantan who married Jemat and begot Libau (Buban) who married Nawi and begot Janta who married Kadir and begot Endayan who married Gerijih and begot

Landan who married Engkuang and begot Bana who married Insin and begot Timah.

[Bana is a resident of Tanjong longhouse, Paku, Saribas, at the present time]

APPENDIX B

The Genealogies

Explanatory Note on Presentation

The following genealogies are essential material in supporting the information already given in the main text. They are, as earlier explained, derived from the Iban *tusut*, the memorised trees of descent, which are especially preserved in the minds of the upper-class people, and to a lesser extent with the *lemambang* shamans.

For this study, only single line 'trees of descent' have been used. But it will be realised that in many cases there is more than one child; and that in many cases several, even many children are remembered — each one of whom may have his or her own *tusut*. The total material is therefore enormous. The present is only a small selection from the records held in the Sarawak Museum.

Moreover, these collateral branch genealogies are by no means confined to the later generations. Although it is rare for the first two or three generations in any genealogy to show more than one or two siblings, by generations 4 to 7 it is quite common to have up to eight siblings for whom the *tusut* recalls information, repeated consistently by different informants — and so repeated, of course, for many generations past. This aspect has been discussed and illustrated in detail, for the earlier generations of the Iban genealogies (before they are definitely located on earth, in Borneo), in the *Sarawak Museum Journal* Special Monograph of 1966 entitled 'Borneo Writing', where Tom Harrisson and I demonstrate the descent of the gods and spirits and their direct relationship to modern man with a basic series of elaborate genealogies (Appendix B to the Monograph, pp. 259-78; and elsewhere in the same volume).

In that Special Monograph, the background for the earlier generations is also carefully established with a series of notes on early Iban individuals and other information, covering more than 250 pages of text. Those who would like to compare this with the present study of the 'middle generations', the Ibans in Borneo up to fully historical times, should consult this Monograph, available from the Sarawak Museum, Kuching, Sarawak (price \$10.00 Malaysian).

The earliest generations do raise questions of time-scale and con-

sistency considerably more difficult than those for the generations which can be identified with demonstrable physical movements in West Borneo. But it was felt that it would be useful to present the remembered generations *prior* to the main present study period in all cases. Those interested can then cross-refer to the Monograph and other publications, both already published and in press or planned. Similarly, as regards the later generations, *after* the advent of white rule, also shown in the genealogies which follow, these will equally be useful when related to further work to be published by Dr Robert Pringle (and no doubt others) regarding the strictly historical period, after the advent of literate white men making written records of their own.

But from the reader's present point of view, the main emphasis is on the middle generations. And my annotations to the genealogies and text generally are primarily concerned with this group.

A few specific points should be explained to assist the reader:

1. The numbering on each genealogy from generation 1 onwards is in accordance with the *tusut*. It is here assumed that no generation prior to 1 on any table is known. But it is always possible that some informant may be able to go further back, and that I have overlooked this source. However, this is unlikely at the present time. On the other hand, it is likely that 50 or more years ago, several of the *tusut* could have been taken further back by traditional informants. That is, some of the earliest material may have been lost, just as the whole of it would probably have been lost now if it had not been for the Museum's active programme, in which I have myself been participating for many years (see Preface).

2. The 'x' between the first and second columns of each line indicates, of course, marriage. The person in the first column at the beginning of the line marries the person in the second (middle) column (if known).

3. The name in the third column is the offspring of this marriage. For simplicity this name is then repeated first in the next line, as the start of the new generation.

4. The Iban do not necessarily trace descent through the male line; and as already indicated all children of either sex may have *tusut*. Where the relevant offspring here is a daughter, this is indicated by printing the name in italics.

5. The fact that a female offspring is mentioned does not by any means imply that there are no other offspring with *tusut*; only that this was the particular offspring relevant to the personalities discussed in the main text, as illustrated by this particular genealogy.

6. Where names are put in brackets, these are nicknames or 'praise names'. These are important with the Iban, especially for warriors and other famous men. The use of these names can be very confusing. I have

limited myself, here, to the most famous nicknames, often more used than the person's actual given name, and in a number of cases referred to in the text itself. Such praise names are mostly used in stories and chants telling of past glorious events, rather than in the actual recounting of the *tusut* in its strict form. But in each case here the 'given name' and the 'praise name' are correctly correlated, I feel sure.

7. The observant reader may notice a few 'inconsistencies' in the spellings, and sometimes in the references, inside one genealogy as compared with another. It would be easy in most cases to adjust these here so that they all made one 'logical' sequence and were the same throughout. But this would be subjective on my part and not based on the information exactly collected. Here I must remind the reader that each genealogy is based on a *tusut* derived from:

- (a) verbal memory only — not a formal record or standard;
- (b) an individual, selected informant, repeating what he has learned — and according to the tradition of that particular 'branch' of the family tree;
- (c) one of several localities over the many thousands of square miles in which there are appreciable dialect and pronunciation differences within the Iban language.

I have therefore thought it more honest to follow the information as recorded in my original field-notes, at the risk of irritating the super-pedantic.

For those who wish to pursue the intricacies of name inconsistency and diversity further, it is fully discussed in connection with the early generations on these and other genealogies in the *Sarawak Museum Journal* Special Monograph of 1966 by Tom Harrisson and myself, already cited. Meanwhile it must be impressed that we are dealing with verbal information written down and as explained in Robert Pringle's introduction this cannot be judged simply as 'historical fact'. If there were no inconsistencies under these circumstances it would be incredible — and I would be rightly suspected of tampering with the true, verbal 'facts'. The difficulty is added to because (as already explained, and as elaborated in the Monograph), one man may have several names in his own life-time, and more after death. The same person may appear under different names in different genealogies; and sometimes it is now difficult to reconstruct who is who, since in addition the *same* names occur, with minor sound variation (= 'spelling') again and again in Iban. It is common for people to take again the names of their ancestors, either recent or very ancient, in suitable cases, so that the occurrence of one name in different generations is no more curious, to us Iban, than

the British line of kings with all those Georges or your two famous Elizabeths.

GENEALOGY I

This genealogy descends from Bujang Ganggam of the Middle East, whose descendants gradually migrated eastwards and finally settled in Borneo (Kalimantan).

1. Bujang Ganggam	× ?	= Sera Ketau
2. Sera Ketau	× <i>Lulong</i>	= <i>Indai Billai</i>
3. <i>Indai Billai</i>	× <i>Naiyang</i>	= <i>Ini Inan</i>
4. <i>Ini Inan</i>	× Raja Niram	= Manja
5. Manja	× ?	= <i>Dara Rambai Geruda</i>
6. <i>Rambai Geruda</i>	× Bujang Langgah Lenggan	= <i>Endu Anggu Sintong Benih</i>
7. <i>Sintong Benih</i>	× Anda Mara	= Laja Menila Rangkang
8. Laja Menila Rangkang	× <i>Endu Tali Bunga</i>	= <i>Seri Ngiang</i>
9. <i>Seri Ngiang</i>	× Sera Gunting	= Sera Empat
10. Sera Empat	× <i>Ranjau</i>	= <i>Ridoh</i>
11. <i>Ridoh</i>	× Bada	= <i>Gupi</i>
12. <i>Gupi</i>	× Gerasi (Belang Pinggang)	= Geraman (Ensoh)
13. Geraman	× <i>Tebari</i>	= <i>Beragai</i>
14. <i>Beragai</i>	× Chundau	= Beti (Brau Ngumbang)
15. Beti	× <i>Duri</i>	= Talak
16. Talak	× <i>Pandak</i>	= <i>Badas</i>
17. <i>Badas</i>	× Girik	= Belaki
18. Belaki	× <i>Buang</i>	= Penyut
19. Penyut	× <i>Endia</i>	= <i>Jering</i>
20. <i>Jering</i>	× Entemang	= <i>Sian</i>
21. <i>Sian</i>	× Busu	= Changgai
22. Changgai	× <i>Anggil</i>	= <i>Jering</i>
23. <i>Jering</i>	× T. R. Tindin	= <i>Empiang</i>
24. <i>Empiang</i>	× Luta	= Chuat
25. Chuat	× <i>Tida</i>	= <i>Sangan</i>
26. <i>Sangan</i>	× Beggam	= Swithun Dunggat
27. Swithun Dunggat	× <i>Caroline Injan</i> (about 40 years old in 1967)	= Semana

Note: Swithun Dunggat is a senior staff member of Lands and Surveys Department, Sarawak, Malaysia.

GENEALOGY 2

This family tree descends from an ancestor named Merom Panggai, who came from the Holy Land in the Middle East and settled at Menangkabau, in the Island of Sumatra.

1. Merom Panggai	× ?	= Merom Panggah
2. Merom Panggah	× ?	= Abang Musa
3. Abang Musa	× ?	= Pateh Simpson
4. Pateh Simpson	× ?	= Pateh Rejap
5. Pateh Rejap	× ?	= Raja Rendah
6. Raja Rendah	× ?	= Pateh Gurang
7. Pateh Gurang	× ?	= Pateh Iri
8. Pateh Iri	× ?	= Pateh Teliang
9. Pateh Teliang	× <i>Dayang Simba</i>	= Pateh Ambau
10. Pateh Ambau	× <i>Remias</i>	= Nunong
11. Nunong	× <i>Lampai</i>	= Chaung
12. Chaung	× <i>Lantong</i>	= Tindin
13. Tindin	× <i>Tida</i>	= <i>Rinda</i>
14. <i>Rinda</i>	× Demong	= Kalanang
15. Kalanang	× <i>Laus</i>	= Tuah
16. Tuah	× <i>Sarong</i>	= Seing
17. Seing	× <i>Lai</i>	= Busu
18. Busu	× <i>Jering</i>	= Uyut (Badilang Besi)
19. Uyut	× <i>Nangku</i>	= <i>Pala</i>
20. <i>Pala</i>	× Renggi	= Kalanang
21. Kalanang	× <i>Empayong</i>	= Uyut
22. Uyut	× <i>Sawat</i>	= Linggir (Mali Lebu)
23. Linggir	× <i>Anong</i>	= <i>Umang</i>
24. <i>Umang</i>	× Penghulu Garran (Lembang Baty)	= Attat
25. Attat	× <i>Indu</i>	= Benedict Sandin
26. Benedict Sandin (49 years old in 1967)	× <i>Evelyn Lemok</i>	= <i>Rosalind Umang</i>
27. <i>Rosalind Umang</i> (25 years old in 1967)	× Edmund Sumbang	= <i>Audrey Cherembang</i> , Winston Libau

Note: For details on Merom Panggai see *Sarawak Museum Journal* Special Monograph, No. 1 of 1966, by Tom Harrisson and Benedict Sandin.

GENEALOGY 3

This genealogy descends from an ancestor named Sabatin, who with his son, Drom, landed and settled at Tanjung Datu, on the south-western coast between Sarawak and Kalimantan Barat.

1. Sabatin	× ?	= Drom
2. Drom	× ?	= Sera Bungkok
3. Sera Bungkok	× <i>Lemina</i>	= <i>Dayang Ilam</i>
4. <i>Dayang Ilam</i>	× Semalanjat	= Kerebu
5. Kerebu	× <i>Dayang Umah</i>	= Umar
6. Umar	× <i>Dayang Kuyan</i>	= Umbar
7. Umbar	× <i>Dayang Laing</i>	= Medan
8. Medan	× <i>Nantai</i>	= Tamoh
9. Tamoh	× <i>Jamal</i>	= Usiek
10. Usiek	× <i>Simpu</i>	= Pantau
11. Pantau	× <i>Ulas</i>	= Meringai
12. Meringai	× <i>Randai</i>	= Breta
13. Breta	× <i>Kelang</i>	= <i>Gelang Surong</i>
14. <i>Gelang Surong</i>	× Saang	= <i>Mas</i>
15. <i>Mas</i>	× Sera Bintang	= Lingoh
16. Lingoh	× <i>Linda</i>	= <i>Challa</i>
17. <i>Challa</i>	× Kedu	= Bayang
18. Bayang	× <i>Lika</i>	= <i>Linda</i>
19. <i>Linda</i>	× Sadoh	= <i>Rabai</i>
20. <i>Rabai</i>	× Penghulu Ngumbang	= <i>Lada</i>
21. <i>Lada</i>	× Penghulu Jamit	= <i>Madu</i>
22. <i>Madu</i>	× Penghulu Ningkan	= Penghulu Sanjan
23. Penghulu Sanjan		

(would have been about 40 years old in 1967)

Note: Penghulu Ningkan, the son of Penghulu Embuas, was the successor of his father-in-law. At present he is a retired Penghulu. Penghulu Sanjan succeeded his father, but died young.

GENEALOGY 4

This family tree descends from an ancestor named Ribut Nyepu, whose surname was Begulang Galu Bepulas Uchong, of the spirit world.

1. Ribut Nyepu	× ?	= Kemunting Patu
2. Kemunting Patu	× ?	= Sumbal Umbal
3. Sumbal Umbal	× ?	= Sarumbit
4. Sarumbit	× ?	= Semarugi
5. Semarugi	× ?	= Berenggang

6. Berenggang	× ?	= Buban
7. Buban	× <i>Tangga Tali</i>	= Bedaang
8. Bedaang	× <i>Jawai Mupong</i>	= Bedaam
9. Bedaam	× <i>Endu Dara Saur</i>	= Singalang Burong
10. Singalang Burong	× <i>Sudan Brinjan</i> <i>Bungkong</i>	= <i>Tinchin Temaga</i>
11. <i>Tinchin Temaga</i>	× Ketupong	= <i>Bunsu</i>
12. <i>Bunsu</i>	× Simpang Impang <i>Biak</i>	= Punggang Batang
13. Punggang Batang	× <i>Putong Empat</i>	= Kumpang Seladang
14. Kumpang Seladang	× <i>Kumbang Marau</i>	= <i>Dayang Nor</i>
15. <i>Dayang Nor</i>	× Telu Aur	= <i>Dayang Idah</i>
16. <i>Dayang Idah</i>	× Radin Tanjong	= <i>Remias</i>
17. <i>Remias</i>	× Patch Ambau	= Ganggong
18. Ganggong	× <i>Medana</i>	= Chiri
19. Chiri	× <i>Sunggah</i>	= Ganja
20. Ganja	× <i>Laka</i>	= <i>Tumbu</i>
21. <i>Tumbu</i>	× Baling	= <i>Entayan</i>
22. <i>Entayan</i>	× Lawang	= Sedau
23. Sedau	× <i>Lada</i>	= Radin
24. Radin	× <i>Dayang</i>	= <i>Burai</i>
25. <i>Burai</i>	× Malang	= Mamut
26. Mamut	× <i>Changkeh</i>	= <i>Cherengga</i>
27. <i>Cherengga</i>	× Uru	= Dampa
28. Dampa	× <i>Demi</i>	= Penghulu Bantin
29. Penghulu Bantin	× <i>Limbun</i>	= Rengga
30. Rengga	× <i>Bedok</i>	= Ijo
31. Ijo	× <i>Laiyan</i>	= Sergeant Bantin (about 40 years old in 1967)

GENEALOGY 5

This genealogy descends from an ancestor named Beji, who migrated from Sumatra to Kalimantan and settled at Ketapang near Kayong in West Borneo.

1. Beji	× ?	= Nisi
2. Nisi	× ?	= Antu Berambaiyan Bulu
3. Antu Berambaiyan	× ?	= Telichai
4. Telichai	× <i>Endu Dara Sia</i>	= Lalak Pala
5. Lalak Pala	× <i>Bunsu Runtu</i>	= Burong Malam

6. Burong Malam	× <i>Endu Dara</i> <i>Chempaka Tempurong Alang</i>	= <i>Belangkat</i>
7. <i>Belangkat</i>	× ?	= Jenua
8. Jenua	× ?	= Ratih
9. Ratih	× ?	= Sagan Agan
10. Sagan Agan	× <i>Beredai</i>	= <i>Ulas</i>
11. <i>Ulas</i>	× Nyawai	= Temegoh
12. Temegoh	× <i>Reminda</i>	= Sulang
13. Sulang	× <i>Enduyan</i>	= Rantai
14. Rantai	× <i>Jintan</i>	= Talap
15. Talap	× <i>Singgau</i>	= Gadoh
16. Gadoh	× <i>Nanyi</i>	= Ukah
17. Ukah	× <i>Nyudan</i>	= <i>Buang</i>
18. <i>Buang</i>	× Belaki	= Penyut
19. Penyut	× <i>Endia</i>	= <i>Sudan</i>
20. <i>Sudan</i>	× Salang	= Belaki
21. Belaki	× <i>Beremas</i>	= Ugap
22. Ugap	× <i>Nisi</i>	= Libu
23. Libu	× <i>Nyutin</i>	= Nyelang (Guntur)
24. Nyelang	× <i>Nyeradit</i>	= <i>Sundai</i>
25. <i>Sundai</i>	× Kedit (Rindang)	= Penghulu Saang (Rumpang)
26. Penghulu Saang	× <i>Gelingi</i>	= <i>Rimbu</i>
27. <i>Rimbu</i>	× Ipa	= Ivory Kedit
28. Ivory Kedit	× <i>Inja</i>	= <i>Nancy</i>
29. <i>Nancy</i>	× Mathew Dana	= Bayang
30. Bayang (12 years old in 1967)		

Note: Ivory Kedit worked in the Meteorological Department in the State of Singapore for many years till his retirement on pension in 1960. His two sons are working for the Sarawak Government and Borneo Company Limited respectively.

GENEALOGY 6

This family tree descends from an ancestor named Jelenggai of Sumatra, who married Bunsu Bintang Banyak (youngest sister of the Pleiades).

1. Jelenggai	× <i>Bintang Banyak</i>	= Selamuda
2. Selamuda	× <i>Dayang Manis Muka</i>	= Begeri
3. Begeri	× <i>Senia</i>	= Busok (Tandok Raja)
4. Busok (Tandok Raja)	× <i>Singgau</i>	= Mai (Apai Rekaya)

5. Mai (Apai Rekaya)	× <i>Jelawai</i>	= Datu Patinggi Gurang
6. Datu Patinggi Gurang	× <i>Pudai</i>	= Datu Patinggi Ngadan
7. Datu Patinggi Ngadan	× <i>Lamentan</i>	= <i>Bata</i>
8. <i>Bata</i>	× <i>Sambang</i>	= <i>Pala</i>
9. <i>Pala</i>	× <i>Entingang</i>	= <i>Saang</i>
10. <i>Saang</i>	× <i>Salaka</i>	= <i>Umui</i>
11. <i>Umui</i>	× <i>Kunchit</i>	= <i>Sangan</i>
12. <i>Sangan</i>	× <i>Unggang (Lebor Menoa)</i>	= <i>Luta</i>
13. <i>Luta</i>	× <i>Teraju</i>	= <i>Ramping</i>
14. <i>Ramping</i>	× <i>Enjayan</i>	= <i>Bedok</i>
15. <i>Bedok</i>	× F. R. O. Maxwell	= <i>Uti</i>
16. <i>Uti</i>	× <i>Ragai Insoll</i>	= <i>Bujang Ramping</i>
17. <i>Bujang Ramping</i> (died in 1962 at age of about 72)	× <i>Iyam</i>	= <i>Hamdiah, Will, Hassan, Rose, Lily, Leila, Nona, Doris, Neratwi</i>

Notes: F. R. O. Maxwell, Resident, Second Division (1872-81), was the youngest son of Sir Peter Benson Maxwell of Malaya.

Bujang Ramping was an Imam of the Kabong mosque who died about nine years ago. Some of his children (Malays) have grandchildren already.

Also:

10. <i>Nasa</i>	× <i>Empeni</i>	= <i>Sumbang</i>
11. <i>Sumbang</i>	× <i>Injong</i>	= <i>Kerbau</i>
12. <i>Kerbau</i>	× <i>Jata</i>	= <i>Angkis</i>
13. <i>Angkis</i>	× <i>Dulah</i>	= <i>Latai</i>
14. <i>Latai</i>	× <i>Tegap</i>	= <i>Ningkau</i>
15. <i>Ningkau</i>	× <i>Cherembang</i>	= <i>T. R. Renggie</i>
16. <i>T. R. Renggie</i>	× <i>Dibah</i>	= <i>T. R. Garran</i>
17. <i>T. R. Garran</i>	× <i>Dubah</i>	= <i>Mary Embok</i> (age about 17 in 1967)

GENEALOGY 7

This genealogy descends from an ancestor named *Jelian*, who settled at *Wong Empangu* in the *Undup* river, a left tributary of the *Batang Lupar*.

1. <i>Jelian</i>	× <i>Tiong</i>	= <i>Lapah</i>
2. <i>Lapah</i>	× <i>Munah</i>	= <i>Rusak</i>

- | | | |
|--|---|---|
| 3. Rusak | × <i>Tarra</i> (first wife)
× <i>Bijah</i> (second wife) | = <i>Burui</i> (daughter of
Tarra)
Radin (son of Bijah) |
| 4. <i>Burui</i> | × Najah | = <i>Lemui</i> |
| 5. <i>Lemui</i> | × Marima | = Bangga |
| 6. Bangga | × <i>Giam</i> | = Gendop |
| 7. Gendop | × <i>Ujor</i> | = Eddie |
| 8. Eddie | × <i>Bunjai</i> | = <i>Pia</i> |
| 9. <i>Pia</i> | × Nyelang | = Gadoh |
| 10. Gadoh | × <i>Saiyan</i> | = O. K. Antau
(Linggang Negri) |
| 11. O. K. Antau | × <i>Tarra</i> | = Agas (Rantai Besi) |
| 12. Agas | × <i>Merara</i> | = Renggi |
| 13. Renggi | × <i>Uran</i> | = <i>Buyau</i> |
| 14. <i>Buyau</i> | × Subat | = Jimbau, Manjan,
<i>Endun</i> |
| 15. Jimbau | × <i>Nangku</i> | = Penghulu Ganja,
Luat, <i>Santa</i> ,
<i>Sawai</i> , <i>Nyudan</i> ,
<i>Badong</i> , <i>Siring</i> ,
<i>Guning</i> , <i>Rosemary</i> |
| 16. Penghulu Ganja
(42 years old in 1967) | × <i>Gerinching</i> | |

Note: Penghulu Ganja of Ulu Bayor is at present Penghulu in the Rimbas. Rosemary studied methods of teaching deaf children at Boston University in 1965-6; she was one of the first Ibans to study in the United States.

GENEALOGY 8

This family tree descends from an ancestor named Dendan of Kalimantan Barat in Indonesian Borneo.

- | | | |
|--------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| 1. Dendan | × <i>Paran</i> | = <i>Sendi</i> |
| 2. <i>Sendi</i> | × <i>Guang</i> | = <i>Tair</i> |
| 3. <i>Tair</i> | × <i>Giam</i> | = Anchap |
| 4. Anchap | × <i>Judi</i> | = <i>Rendan</i> |
| 5. <i>Rendan</i> | × <i>Manggi</i> | = <i>Tama</i> |
| 6. <i>Tama</i> | × <i>Manyi</i> | = Kerebau |
| 7. Kerebau | × <i>Nisi</i> | = <i>Ujor</i> |
| 8. <i>Ujor</i> | × <i>Gendup</i> | = Meling |
| 9. Meling | × <i>Icha</i> | = <i>Gelingi</i> |
| 10. <i>Gelingi</i> | × Agas | = Kachendai |

11. Kachendai	× <i>Demit</i>	= <i>Lika</i>
12. <i>Lika</i>	× <i>Giang</i>	= O. K. Penglima Randi
13. O. K. P. Randi	× <i>Teraju</i>	= <i>Rabai</i>
14. <i>Rabai</i>	× O. K. Pemancha Nanang	= Penghulu Insoll
15. Penghulu Insoll	× <i>Dayun</i>	= <i>Dibah</i>
16. <i>Dibah</i>	× T. R. Sanggat	= <i>Belening</i>
17. <i>Belening</i> (about 42 years old in 1967)	× <i>Masing</i>	= <i>Singka</i>

GENEALOGY 9

This genealogy descends from an ancestor named Datu Aiyu, who migrated from Gunong Mensuat near Mecca in Saudi Arabia to Sumatra and then migrated straight on to Munggu Merudu near Munggu Majista in Brunei.

1. Datu Aiyu	× ?	= Datu Hau
2. Datu Hau	× ?	= Menteri Meregi
3. Menteri Meregi	× ?	= Datu Patinggi Bingkal
4. Datu Patinggi Bingkal	× ?	= Datu Sambau
5. Datu Sambau	× ?	= <i>Dayang Ridu</i>
6. <i>Dayang Ridu</i>	× Kulong Alas	= Jawi
7. Jawi	× <i>Rida</i>	= <i>Empayong</i>
8. <i>Empayong</i>	× Empaga	= Nyangkum
9. Nyangkum	× <i>Sinyum</i>	= Benang
10. Benang	× <i>Nisi</i>	= Jantin (Moahari)
11. Jantin	× <i>Rinta</i>	= Lipa
12. Lipa	× <i>Bacha</i>	= Renggi
13. Renggi	× <i>Pala</i>	= Saang
14. Saang	× <i>Sulah</i>	= Adir (Bungkok)
15. Adir (Bungkok)	× <i>Cherembang</i>	= <i>Dudut</i>
16. <i>Dudut</i>	× Broke	= <i>Anyi</i>
17. <i>Anyi</i>	× Makop	= T. R. Dungi, Nyangay, Dingat
18. T. R. Dungi	× <i>Sunta</i>	= Derom (about 32 in 1967)

Note: Nyangay went to Brunei in 1919 where he was converted to Islam. He died at Tutong in 1962. His brother Dungi was the headman of Matop longhouse who died in 1956. Dingat is the present headman of Matop longhouse.

GENEALOGY 10

After his wife Genilau had died, Guang dreamt that he was told by the goddess in his dream that a woman named Sendi would soon come from a distant country to marry him. Sendi had a similar dream shortly after her husband Gelungan died. She was told by the goddess in her dream to look for a man named Guang to be her husband.

1. Guang	× <i>Sendi</i>	= <i>Tida</i> , Tungkat, Tair
2. Tungkat	× <i>Belula</i>	= Buda
3. Buda	× <i>Mena</i>	= Nimong
4. Nimong	× <i>Nani</i>	= Nanggar
5. Nanggar	× <i>Lantak</i>	= Bangkam (Skelam Maia Petang), Gerijeh
6. Bangkam	× <i>Cherengga</i>	= <i>Kelang</i>
7. <i>Kelang</i>	× <i>Singa</i>	= <i>Rintik</i>
8. <i>Rintik</i>	× <i>Imong</i>	= <i>Ipah</i>
9. <i>Ipah</i>	× Unggang (Kwang Kapong)	= Jungan
10. Jungan	× <i>Tulis</i>	= <i>Saie</i>
11. <i>Saie</i>	× Gurang	= Manggang
12. Manggang	× <i>Dindong</i>	= Penghulu Jungan
13. Penghulu Jungan	× <i>Anchong</i>	= Penghulu Chaong
14. Penghulu Chaong	× <i>Bari</i>	= Penghulu Enteri
15. Penghulu Enteri	× <i>Naiyu</i>	= Munji
16. Munji (42 years old in 1967)	× <i>Seni</i>	= <i>Betty</i>

Note: Munji and his brothers are all educated, and most of them are attached to the Education Department.

GENEALOGY 11

This genealogy descends from Medan, a Batang Ai chief (cf. generation 8 in Genealogy 3).

1. Medan	× <i>Nantai</i>	= Tamoh
2. Tamoh	× <i>Jamal</i>	= Usiek
3. Usiek	× <i>Simpo</i>	= Ulas
4. Ulas	× Pantau	= Meringai
5. Meringai	× <i>Randai</i>	= Tamoh
6. Tamoh	× Ningkan	= Serian
7. Serian	× Jantan	= Demong
8. Demong	× <i>Dabah</i>	= Naga

- | | | |
|--|-----------------|--|
| 9. Naga | × <i>Jentia</i> | = Penghulu Gerinang
(adopted by
Sumping) |
| 10. Penghulu Gerinang | × <i>Lintan</i> | = Penghulu Keling |
| 11. Penghulu Keling | × <i>Lenjai</i> | = <i>Rando</i> |
| 12. <i>Rando</i> | × <i>Lang</i> | = Penghulu Gerinang |
| 13. Penghulu Gerinang | × <i>Teresa</i> | = Penghulu Kumbong |
| 14. Penghulu
Kumbong (about
39 years old in
1967) | × <i>Garong</i> | = Children |

Notes: (1) Penghulu Gerinang is a retired chief who lived sometimes at Nanga Balleh and sometimes in the Gaat. He was succeeded as Penghulu by his son Kumbong of Gaat.

(2) Penghulu Jinggut, at present a member of Sarawak's Council Negri as well as a representative to the Federal Parliament, is Penghulu Kumbong's cousin; his father, Penghulu Atan, was Penghulu Gerinang's brother.

GENEALOGY 12

This family tree descends from Beti, who was also known as Bujang Brauh Ngumbang (cf. generation 15 in Genealogy 1 above).

- | | | |
|--|------------------------|---|
| 1. Beti | × <i>Remampak</i> | = <i>Ganin</i> |
| 2. <i>Ganin</i> | × <i>Telajan</i> | = Isup (Lasam) |
| 3. Isup | × <i>Nuai</i> | = Tom |
| 4. Tom | × <i>Telo (Bragai)</i> | = Orang Kaya Beti
(Tajai Ngindang) |
| 5. O. K. Beti | × <i>Endau</i> | = Orang Kaya
Pemancha Dana
(Bayang) |
| 6. O. K. P. Dana | × <i>Mengan</i> | = Orang Kaya
Pemancha Nanang |
| 7. O. K. Pemancha
Nanang | × <i>Rabai</i> | = Penghulu Insoll |
| 8. Penghulu Insoll | × <i>Ijut</i> | = Ragai |
| 9. Ragai | × <i>Riti</i> | = Edward Naong |
| 10. Edward Naong | × <i>Dimah</i> | = Nicholas Eddie |
| 11. Nicholas Eddie | × <i>Entadu</i> | = <i>Lenti</i> |
| 12. <i>Lenti</i> (about 22
years old in 1967) | × ? | = A child |

GENEALOGY 13

This genealogy descends from Ligam of Sebaru in north-west Kalimantan.

- | | | |
|--|------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. Ligam | × <i>Riah</i> | = Padang |
| 2. Padang | × <i>Suyah</i> | = Gunggu |
| 3. Gunggu | × <i>Racha</i> | = Garrai |
| 4. Garrai | × <i>Rechak</i> | = Jana |
| 5. Jana | × <i>Lada</i> | = Baat |
| 6. Baat | × <i>Lanjut</i> | = Munan |
| 7. Munan | × <i>Nyangan</i> | = <i>Jenun</i> |
| 8. <i>Jenun</i> | × <i>Daap</i> | = Orang Kaya
Temenggong
Tandok |
| 9. O. K. Temenggong
Tandok | × <i>Nuee</i> | = Mawat |
| 10. Mawat | × <i>Saur</i> | = <i>Lemok</i> |
| 11. <i>Lemok</i> | × <i>Tingum</i> | = <i>Gupi</i> |
| 12. <i>Gupi</i> | × <i>Begarak</i> | = <i>Lindun</i> |
| 13. <i>Lindun</i> | × <i>Kemarau</i> | = Peter Tingum,
<i>Satik</i> |
| 14. <i>Satik</i> (about 32
years old in 1967) | × <i>Anggat</i> | = Jambu |

Note: Peter Tingum is at present Resident of Third Division, Sarawak.

GENEALOGY 14

This genealogy descends from Jelian of Wong Empangu in the Undup (cf. Genealogy 7, generation 1).

- | | | |
|----------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Jelian | × <i>Tiong</i> | = <i>Beredai</i> |
| 2. <i>Beredai</i> | × <i>Beti</i> (Brauh
Ngumbang) | = Meradana |
| 3. Meradana | × <i>Selaka</i> | = <i>Mulu</i> |
| 4. <i>Mulu</i> | × <i>Baling</i> | = <i>Ugah</i> |
| 5. <i>Ugah</i> | × <i>Tegang</i> | = <i>Rendong</i> |
| 6. <i>Rendong</i> | × <i>Encharang</i> | = <i>Punai</i> |
| 7. <i>Punai</i> | × <i>Ingging</i> | = <i>Ganing</i> |
| 8. <i>Ganing</i> | × <i>Lamah</i> | = <i>Geliga</i> |
| 9. <i>Geliga</i> | × <i>Kelang</i> | = <i>Sa</i> (Lua) |
| 10. <i>Lua</i> | × <i>Melaia</i> | = Penghulu Minggat |
| 11. Penghulu Minggat | × <i>Jara</i> | = <i>Chenggut</i> |

- | | | |
|---|------------------|---|
| 12. <i>Chenggiti</i> | × <i>Gun</i> | = <i>Sa</i> |
| 13. <i>Sa</i> | × <i>Landan</i> | = <i>Rinya</i> |
| 14. <i>Rinya</i> | × <i>Enchana</i> | = Frederick August,
Dato Dunstan
Endawi |
| 15. Frederick August
(about 43 years old
in 1967) | × <i>Badong</i> | = <i>Anee</i> |

Note: Dato Dunstan Endawi became the Minister of Local Government of Sarawak after the State was granted independence within Malaysia in 1963. Frederick August is currently editor of *Pembrita*, a monthly publication of the Malaysian Information Service in Kuching.

GENEALOGY 15

This genealogy descends from a chief named Mawar Tuai, who first came from the Skrang to live in the upper Entanak stream, near the present-day town of Betong.

- | | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|--|
| 1. Mawar Tuai | × <i>Rabai</i> | = <i>Bangga</i> |
| 2. <i>Bangga</i> | × <i>Giam</i> | = <i>Gendup</i> |
| 3. <i>Gendup</i> | × <i>Ujor</i> | = <i>Mawar Biak</i> |
| 4. <i>Mawar Biak</i> | × <i>Lena</i> | = <i>Gallau</i> |
| 5. <i>Gallau</i> | × <i>Chandu</i> | = <i>Ladang</i> |
| 6. <i>Ladang</i> | × <i>Bunyau</i> | = Unggang (Lebor
Menoa) |
| 7. Unggang | × <i>Sangan</i> | = <i>Sulan</i> |
| 8. <i>Sulan</i> | × <i>Awan</i> | = <i>Undu</i> |
| 9. <i>Undu</i> | × <i>Empari</i> | = <i>Penghulu Biju</i> |
| 10. <i>Penghulu Biju</i> | × <i>Sudan</i> | = <i>Pendi</i> |
| 11. <i>Pendi</i> | × <i>Penghulu Empat</i> | = <i>Tanai</i> |
| 12. <i>Tanai</i> | × <i>Saliman</i> | = Pancras Eddie
(about 51 years old in
1967) |
| 13. Pancras Eddie | × | |

Note: Pancras Eddie is Deputy Controller of Radio Malaysia, Sarawak.

GENEALOGY 16

This genealogy descends from a Bukitan chief of Paku named Entin (Keti Aur Tulang).

- | | | |
|------------------|----------------|-----------------|
| 1. Entingi | × <i>Dayun</i> | = <i>Demong</i> |
| 2. <i>Demong</i> | × <i>Rinda</i> | = <i>Bundak</i> |
| 3. <i>Bundak</i> | × <i>Lada</i> | = <i>Buran</i> |

4. <i>Buran</i>	× <i>Jungan</i>	= <i>Brayun</i>
5. <i>Brayun</i>	× <i>Bremas</i>	= <i>Entira</i>
6. <i>Entira</i>	× <i>Buda</i>	= <i>Chemera</i>
7. <i>Chemera</i>	× <i>Din</i>	= <i>Gedot</i>
8. <i>Gedot</i>	× <i>Kanang</i> (Libau Dara)	= <i>Kaya</i>
9. <i>Kaya</i>	× <i>Sawai</i>	= <i>Jantan</i>
10. <i>Jantan</i>	× <i>Jemat</i>	= <i>Laus</i>
11. <i>Laus</i>	× <i>Tuai Rumah</i> Lanchang	= <i>Rinda</i>
12. <i>Rinda</i>	× <i>Kadam</i>	= <i>Luta</i>
13. <i>Luta</i>	× <i>Empiang</i>	= <i>Penghulu Ijau</i>
14. <i>Penghulu Ijau</i>	× <i>Tida</i>	= <i>Mambang</i>
15. <i>Mambang</i> (about 37 years old in 1967)	× <i>Likan</i>	= <i>Gelayan</i>

Note: Mambang is a farmer in the Paku today.

GENEALOGY 17

After the wars had stopped between the Bukitans and the Ibans on the eastern side of the Saribas, a man named Kutok migrated into the Padeh from Skrang. He had a son named Ligap, with whom this genealogy begins.

1. <i>Ligap</i>	× <i>Cheremai</i>	= <i>Keliong</i>
2. <i>Keliong</i>	× <i>Kantan</i>	= <i>Mamut</i>
3. <i>Mamut</i>	× ?	= <i>Meregi</i>
4. <i>Meregi</i>	× <i>Radai</i>	= <i>Gerijih</i>
5. <i>Gerijih</i>	× <i>Amas</i>	= <i>Busok</i>
6. <i>Busok</i>	× <i>Gindu</i>	= <i>Ngelayang</i>
7. <i>Ngelayang</i>	× <i>Mary</i>	= <i>Children</i>

Note: Ngelayang is today a chief clerk in the Secretariat, Kuching. He was about 32 years old in 1967.

GENEALOGY 18

This genealogy descends from Bundak, one of the sons of Demong and *Rinda* of Paku, Saribas.

1. <i>Bundak</i>	× <i>Lada</i>	= <i>Buran</i>
2. <i>Buran</i>	× <i>Jungan</i>	= <i>Brayun</i>
3. <i>Brayun</i>	× <i>Bremas</i>	= <i>Entira</i>
4. <i>Entira</i>	× <i>Buda</i>	= <i>Kandau</i>
5. <i>Kandau</i>	× <i>Renyam</i>	= <i>Umping</i>

6. <i>Umping</i>	× <i>Jimbai</i>	= <i>Tunga</i>
7. <i>Tunga</i>	× <i>Ita</i>	= <i>Sudan</i>
8. <i>Sudan</i>	× <i>Atih</i>	= <i>Siti</i>
9. <i>Siti</i>	× <i>Jimbai</i>	= <i>Engkunyul</i>
10. <i>Engkunyul</i>	× <i>Entingang</i>	= <i>Sudan</i>
11. <i>Sudan</i>	× <i>Mambang</i>	= <i>Mujah</i>
12. <i>Mujah</i>	× <i>Burai</i>	= <i>Janta</i>
13. <i>Janta</i>	× <i>Nanang</i>	= <i>Remi</i>
14. <i>Remi</i>	× <i>Beliang</i>	= <i>Empati</i>

(23 years old in 1967)

Note: Mujah was a great friend of Professor Tom Harrisson, then Curator of Sarawak Museum. He was the leading informant for many genealogies, including this one. He died in 1965 at the age of 91 years.

GENEALOGY 19

This genealogy descends from Ligam of Sibaru (Indonesian Borneo), whose son Padang led a migration to the Rimbas in Saribas.

1. Ligam	× <i>Riah</i>	= Padang
2. Padang	× <i>Duyah</i>	= Gunggu
3. Gunggu	× <i>Racha</i>	= Garrai
4. Garrai	× <i>Rechak</i>	= <i>Gunah</i>
5. <i>Gunah</i>	× <i>Unyang</i>	= Usang
6. Usang	× <i>Rabai</i>	= <i>Dilam</i>
7. <i>Dilam</i>	× <i>Teruyu</i>	= <i>Saiyan</i>
8. <i>Saiyan</i>	× <i>Gadoh</i>	= O. K. Antau (Linggang Negri)
9. O. K. Linggang	× <i>Tarra</i>	= Kadir
10. Kadir	× <i>Janta</i>	= <i>Sian</i>
11. <i>Sian</i>	× Penghulu Gerijeh	= Ganggang (Pipit Manchal)
12. Ganggang	× ?	= <i>Janta</i>
13. <i>Janta</i>	× <i>Maang</i>	= Manang Asun
14. Asun	× <i>Libang</i>	= A child

Note also:

10. Agas (Rantai Besi)	× <i>Merara</i>	= Linggih (Gila) Renggi
11. Linggih	× <i>Anong</i>	= T. R. Lembang
12. T. R. Lembang	× <i>Mindu</i>	= T. R. Entaban
13. T. R. Entaban	× <i>Undu</i>	= T. R. Linggih, Juung, Tom, Layang, <i>Minut, Dembo</i>

T. R. Entaban is the present headman of Nanga Luop longhouse in the middle of Rimbas.

Also:

- | | | |
|-------------------------------|------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 9. O. K. Gun
(Mangku Bumi) | × <i>Lemok</i> | = Sa |
| 10. Sa | × <i>Kuchop</i> | = <i>Timah</i> , Penghulu
Tindin |
| 11. <i>Timah</i> | × Munang | = Penghulu Sujang |
| 12. Penghulu Sujang | × <i>Lantong</i> | = <i>Anggil</i> |
| 13. <i>Anggil</i> | × Penghulu Dampa | = Junau |
| 14. Junau | × ? | = A child |

GENEALOGY 20

This genealogy descends from Meling, the brother of Mawar Biak, Eddie, *Rinya* and Ranti of Entanak and Paku.

- | | | |
|---|------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Meling | × <i>Icha</i> | = Ulok |
| 2. Ulok | × <i>Merara</i> | = <i>Banun</i> |
| 3. <i>Banun</i> | × Imang | = Betuah |
| 4. Betuah | × <i>Muna</i> | = <i>Lanjing</i> |
| 5. <i>Lanjing</i> | × Rambuyan | = Ramping (Gumbang) |
| 6. Gumbang | × <i>Embak</i> | = <i>Dinggu</i> |
| 7. <i>Dinggu</i> | × Chulo (Tarang) | = <i>Insin</i> |
| 8. <i>Insin</i> | × Rambuyan | = Chuat |
| 9. Chuat | × <i>Sendi</i> | = Chulo alias Chabu |
| 10. Chulo | × <i>Andun</i> | = Tom |
| 11. Tom (about 32
years old in 1967) | × ? | = A child |

Note: Tom runs a snack shop in the Ulu Krian. His family is reported to be one of the wealthiest in the Ulu Krian.

GENEALOGY 21

This genealogy descends from Nyitar Tanah, Kumpang Bedarah, an ancestor who lived in the Kapuas basin long before the Ibans migrated into Sarawak.

- | | | |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Nyitar Tanah,
Kumpang Bedarah | × ? | = Ambun Mua' |
| 2. Ambun Mua' | × <i>Dayang Sirong</i> | = <i>Belaka</i> |
| 3. <i>Belaka</i> | × Bedali | = Radin |
| 4. Radin | × <i>Leminda'</i> | = <i>Dayang Illam</i> |
| 5. <i>Dayang Illam</i> | × Raja Ningkan | = Kerebu |
| 6. Kerebu | × <i>Dayang Umah</i> | = <i>Sendi</i> |

7. <i>Sendi</i>	× Semalanjat	= Gumbal
8. Gumbal	× <i>Nanti</i>	= Umar
9. Umar	× <i>Dayang Laing</i>	= Medan
10. Medan	× <i>Dayang Kuyan</i>	= <i>Tamoh</i>
11. <i>Tamoh</i>	× Pantau	= <i>Randai</i>
12. <i>Randai</i>	× Meringai	= Radin
13. Radin	× <i>Satu'</i>	= <i>Demit</i>
14. <i>Demit</i>	× Usik	= Bau
15. Bau	× <i>Selangka</i>	= <i>Chandu</i> , Sentu, Mawan, Pagan, <i>Niok</i> , Buja
16. Buja	× <i>Kalinah</i>	= <i>Satu'</i> , Tungku
17. <i>Satu'</i>	× Jali	= <i>Chandu</i>
18. <i>Chandu</i>	× Melak	= <i>Tali</i>
19. <i>Tali</i>	× Meragan	= <i>Ayut</i>
20. <i>Ayut</i>	× Tungkat	= Kijam
21. Kijam	× <i>Ujur</i>	= Penghulu Ngali
22. Penghulu Ngali (about 61 years old in 1967)	× <i>Ilam</i>	= Intu

Note: Penghulu Ngali is the present Penghulu of the Ulu Ai who lives at Nanga Delok. He is a brave man, who in 1961 led his Ulu Ai followers with Pengarah Jimbun to attack the Dayaks in Kalimantan Barat.

Also:

16. Sentu	× <i>Cheria</i>	= Kalang
17. Kalang	× <i>Siga</i>	= Mamut
18. Mamut	× <i>Empian</i>	= Imong
19. Imong	× <i>Dayang</i>	= Kadang
20. Kadang	× ?	= Gamang
21. Gamang	× ?	= <i>Incha</i>
22. <i>Incha</i>	× Agan	= <i>Badut</i>
23. <i>Badut</i>	× Penghulu Renggi	× Penghulu Awan
24. Penghulu Awan	× <i>Bayoh</i>	= Penghulu Imong
25. Penghulu Imong (about 82 in 1967)	× <i>Antai</i>	= Badot, Lett, Singgah, Bidang

Note: Penghulu Imong is now retired.

GENEALOGY 22

1. Maling	× <i>Nunjan</i>	= Enggu
2. Enggu	× <i>Likan</i>	= Buda

3. Buda	× <i>Sulah</i>	= Tampang
4. Tampang	× <i>Rendau</i>	= Bangga
5. Bangga	× <i>Sudau</i>	= Buda
6. Buda	× <i>Entira</i>	= Berayun
7. Berayun	× <i>Bremas</i>	= <i>Chemera</i>
8. <i>Chemera</i>	× <i>Din</i>	= <i>Gedot</i>
9. <i>Gedot</i>	× Kanang (Libau Dara)	= Kaya
10. Kaya	× <i>Sawai</i>	= Jantan
11. Jantan	× <i>Jemat</i>	= Libau 'Buban'
12. Libau	× <i>Nawi</i>	= Kaya
13. Kaya	× <i>Lika</i>	= Tangai
14. Tangai	× <i>Ensingan</i>	= Penghulu Luta (Tedong Ngelantar)
15. Luta	× <i>Puyu</i>	= Rev. Angking
16. Rev. Angking (age about 60)	× <i>Indun</i>	= Ignatius Loyola Mowe, <i>Dayun</i> , Ngadan

Note: The Reverend Angking was consecrated Anglican Priest in St Augustine's Church, Betong, by the Right Reverend Logie Danson in 1929. In 1965 he was consecrated a canon of the Church. Mr Ignatius Angking is the Assistant Secretary in the Ministry of Natural Resources, Sarawak.

GENEALOGY 23

1. Libau 'Rentap'	× <i>Sawai</i>	= <i>Tambong</i>
2. <i>Tambong</i>	× <i>Layang</i>	= <i>Subang</i> (adopted)
3. <i>Subang</i>	× Munan (Penghulu Dalam)	= <i>Umi</i> (adopted)
4. <i>Umi</i>	× <i>Saga</i>	= <i>Saripah</i>
5. <i>Saripah</i>	× <i>Manggah</i>	= Munan, Luking, <i>Lenok</i> , Melina, John

Note: Luking was killed by the Japanese in Singapore during the war. Munan, a police officer, died in the course of duty. *Lenok*, who is about 46 in 1967, works with the Christian mission at Binatang. Melina is a customs officer; John, a teacher.

GENEALOGY 24

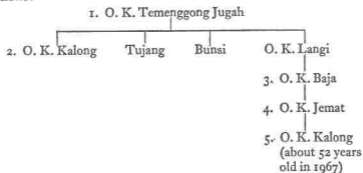
This genealogy descends from a Batang Ai man named Sayak to the late Temenggong Koh of Ulu Balleh, Third Division.

- | | | |
|---|-----------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Sayak | × <i>Chupen</i> | = Temenggong Simpi Pala |
| 2. Temenggong Simpi Pala | × <i>Jeburi</i> | = Temenggong Rungguh |
| 3. Temenggong Rungguh | × ? | = Ba |
| 4. Ba | × <i>Bejau</i> | = <i>Garong</i> |
| 5. <i>Garong</i> | × <i>Jubang</i> | = Temenggong Koh |
| 6. Temenggong Koh | × <i>Menti</i> | = <i>Segura</i> |
| 7. <i>Segura</i> (about 37 years old in 1967) | × <i>Sigi</i> | = Children |

Note: Temenggong Koh was made Temenggong after the successful peace-making at Kapit in 1924 by the Rajah, Sir Charles Vyner Brooke. He died in 1955 at the age of about 85 years in Balleh. He was a great friend of Mr Malcolm Macdonald, the British High Commissioner in South-East Asia. Kanyan, the brother of Segura, was appointed Private Secretary to the Chief Minister, Penghulu Tawi Sli in 1967.

GENEALOGY 25

This genealogy shows the family of Orang Kaya Temenggong Jugah of Lundu to the present chief of the Lundu Dayaks in the Lundu river as follows:



GENEALOGY 26

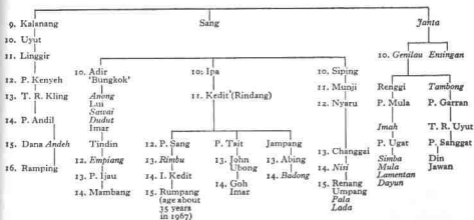
This family tree descends from Sengalang Burong. It shows how long it is since the first Sea Dayaks migrated into Sarawak from Indonesian Borneo.

Note: Benedict Sandin is the principal collector of this data. Renggi is the present headman of the Tanjong longhouse, in succession to his uncle Uyut, who died in 1927. Of Renggi's two sons, George Jimbai is working in Iban section of Radio Sarawak, while David Guyu is a teacher in the Local Authority School at Song, Third Division.

GENEALOGY 27

This genealogical tree descends from Tindin to show how long ago the Sea Dayaks had migrated from Merakai to Tiang Laju, then to Skrang and finally to Paku in Saribas.

- | | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| 1. Tindin | × <i>Tida</i> | = <i>Rinda</i> |
| 2. <i>Rinda</i> | × Demong | = Kalanang |
| 3. Kalanang | × <i>Laus</i> | = Tuah |
| 4. Tuah | × <i>Sarong</i> | = Sing |
| 5. Sing | × <i>Lai</i> | = Busu |
| 6. Busu | × <i>Jering</i> | = Uyut (Badilang) |
| 7. Uyut | × <i>Nangku</i> | = <i>Pala</i> |
| 8. <i>Pala</i> | × Renggi | See below: |



Note: Penghulu Ugat was the predecessor of Sanggat, the present Penghulu of Paku. (Cf. Genealogy 26.)

GENEALOGY 28

This genealogy descends from Temegoh, the first Sea Dayak leader to migrate to Bangkit, a right tributary of Paku, Saribas.

- | | | |
|-------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Temegoh | × <i>Reminda</i> | = Sulang |
| 2. Sulang | × <i>Enduyan</i> | = Rantai |
| 3. Rantai | × <i>Jintan</i> | = <i>Nani</i> |
| 4. <i>Nani</i> | × Nimong | = Nanggar |
| 5. Nanggar | × <i>Lantak</i> | = Gerijeh, Bangkam |
| 6. Gerijeh | × <i>Darun</i> | = <i>Nyeluai</i> |
| 7. <i>Nyeluai</i> | × Kelukut (Batu Galang) | = <i>Inai</i> |
| 8. <i>Inai</i> | × Ampi | = Dass |
| 9. Dass | × <i>Embun</i> | = Runya |
| 10. <i>Runya</i> | × Musit | = <i>Gulang</i> |
| 11. <i>Gulang</i> | × Sumbang (Mata Hari) | = Ibi |
| 12. Ibi | × <i>Sarong</i> | See below : |

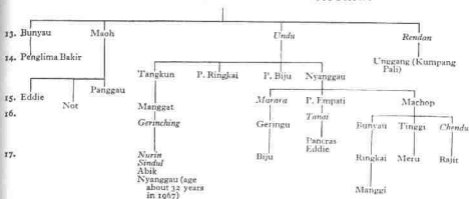


GENEALOGY 29

This genealogy descends from *Sendi* of Sebuyau, who married Guang of Skrang as related already in this history. Before he married *Sendi*, Guang was a widower, owing to the death of his wife *Genilau*, daughter of *Basok* and granddaughter of *Singka Nayan* of *Tapang Peraja* on *Batang Ai*.

- | | | |
|------------------|----------------|-----------------|
| 1. <i>Sendi</i> | × Guang | = Tair |
| 2. Tair | × <i>Giam</i> | = Anchap |
| 3. Anchap | × <i>Judi</i> | = <i>Rendan</i> |
| 4. <i>Rendan</i> | × Manggi | = Tama |
| 5. Tama | × <i>Manyi</i> | = Kerbau |
| 6. Kerbau | × <i>Nisi</i> | = <i>Ujor</i> |
| 7. <i>Ujor</i> | × Gendup | = Mawar |

- | | | |
|-------------------|-----------------|-------------------------|
| 8. Mawar | × <i>Lena</i> | = Galau |
| 9. Galau | × <i>Chandu</i> | = <i>Ladang</i> |
| 10. <i>Ladang</i> | × Bunyau | = Unggang (Lebor Menoa) |
| 11. Unggang | × <i>Sangan</i> | = <i>Sulan</i> |
| 12. <i>Sulan</i> | × Awan | See below: |



Note: Penghulu Biju was the chief specially invited by the third Rajah to open the Brooke Memorial Statue at Pangkalan Batu, Kuching. On his retirement (on pension) he was succeeded by his nephew and son-in-law Penghulu Empat.

GENEALOGY 30

This genealogy descends from Jelenggai to show how Datu Patinggi Ngadan had already migrated into Sarawak from Sumatra, as mentioned briefly in this history already.

- | | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Jelenggai | × <i>Bintang Banyak</i> | = Selamuda |
| 2. Selamuda | × <i>Manis Muka</i> | = Begri |
| 3. Begri | × <i>Seniya</i> | = Busok (Tandok Raja) |
| 4. Busok | × <i>Singgau</i> | = Mai |
| 5. Mai | × <i>Jelawi</i> | = Patinggi Gurang |
| 6. Patinggi Gurang | × <i>Pudai</i> | = Patinggi Ngadan |
| 7. Datu Patinggi Ngadan | × <i>Lamentan</i> | = <i>Bata</i> |
| 8. <i>Bata</i> | × Sambang | = <i>Pala</i> |
| 9. <i>Pala</i> | × Entingang | = Saang |
| 10. Saang | × <i>Selaka</i> | = <i>Lika</i> |
| 11. <i>Lika</i> | × Pengarah | = <i>Gelang</i> |
| 12. <i>Gelang</i> | × Luna | = <i>Ginyam</i> |
| 13. <i>Ginyam</i> | × Unggam | = Malang |

14. Malang	× <i>Jumbu</i>	= Chulo (Tarang)
15. Chulo (Tarang)	× <i>Dinggu</i>	= <i>Lanjing</i>
16. <i>Lanjing</i>	× Ratih	= Pengarah Undom
17. Pengarah Undom	× <i>Ginyam</i>	= <i>Nasa</i>
18. <i>Nasa</i> (about 42 years old in 1967)	× Penghulu Entigu	= Ratih

Note: Penghulu Entigu of Nanga Grenjang was elected chief to succeed his father-in-law, and is the present Penghulu of the upper Krian.

GENEALOGY 31

1. Beji	× ?	= Nisi
2. Nisi	× ?	= Antu Berambayan
3. Antu Berambayan	× ?	= Telichi
4. Telichi	× <i>Dara Sia</i>	= Gila Gundi Sepit
5. Gila Gundi Sepit	× ?	= Retak Dai
6. Retak Dai	× <i>Kelitik Darah</i> <i>Menjadi</i>	= Serapoh
7. Serapoh	× <i>Reminda</i>	= <i>Remi</i>
8. <i>Remi</i>	× Rukok	= Menggin
9. Menggin	× <i>Dara Tinchin</i> <i>Temaga (or Endu</i> <i>Cherebok Mangkok</i> <i>China)</i>	= Surong Gunting
10. Surong (or Sera) Gunting	× <i>Seri Ngiang</i>	= Surong Empat
11. Surong Empat	× <i>Ranjau</i>	= <i>Ridoh</i>
12. <i>Ridoh</i>	× Bada	= <i>Gupi</i>
13. <i>Gupi</i>	× Gerasi Belang <i>Pinggang</i>	= Geraman (Ensoh)
14. Geraman	× <i>Tebari</i>	= <i>Beragai</i>
15. <i>Beragai</i>	× Chundau	= Beti
16. Beti	× <i>Duri</i>	= Talak
17. Talak	× <i>Pandak</i>	= <i>Badas</i>
18. <i>Badas</i>	× Girik	= Belaki
19. Belaki	× <i>Buang</i>	= Penyut
20. Penyut	× <i>Endia</i>	= <i>Juring</i>
21. <i>Juring</i>	× Busu	= Uyut
22. Uyut (Badilang)	× <i>Nangku</i>	= <i>Pala</i>
23. <i>Pala</i>	× Renggi	= Kalanang
24. Kalanang	× <i>Empayong</i>	= Uyut
25. Uyut	× <i>Sawat</i>	= Penghulu Linggir

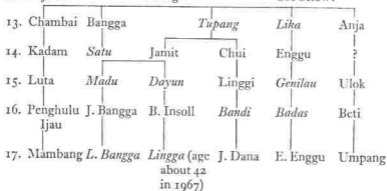
26. Linggir	× <i>Anong</i>	= <i>Umang</i>
27. <i>Umang</i>	× Penghulu Garran (Lembang Batu)	= T. R. Uyut
28. T. R. Uyut	× <i>Subang</i>	= Penghulu Lawrence Sangat
29. Penghulu L. Sangat	× <i>Lada</i>	= Din, Jawan, Unal

Note: Lawrence Sangat is the present Penghulu of the upper Paku river.

GENEALOGY 32

The genealogy shows descent from Salamuda direct to the present generation.

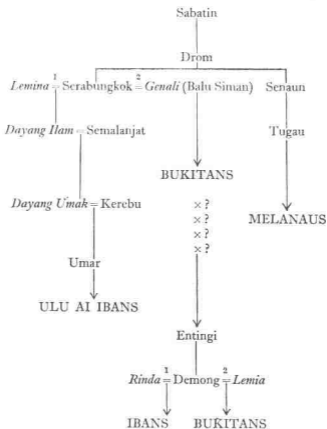
1. Salamuda	× <i>Manis Muka</i>	= Begri
2. Begri	× <i>Seniya</i>	= Busuk
3. Busuk	× <i>Singgau</i>	= Mai
4. Mai	× <i>Jelawai</i>	= Gurang
5. Gurang	× <i>Pudai</i>	= Ngadan
6. Datu Patinggi Ngadan	× <i>Lamentan</i>	= <i>Bata</i>
7. <i>Bata</i>	× Sambang	= <i>Pala</i>
8. <i>Pala</i>	× Entingang	= Saang
9. Saang	× <i>Salaka</i>	= <i>Nangku</i>
10. <i>Nangku</i>	× Uyut (Badilang)	= <i>Sendai</i>
11. <i>Sendai</i>	× Sadai	= <i>Enjawa</i>
12. <i>Enjawa</i>	× Tangai	See below:



Note: Ben Insoll is a retired Museum collector in the Selangor Museum, Kuala Lumpur, Malaya. E. Enggu is the Director of Borneo Literature Bureau, Kuching.

APPENDIX C

Sabatin and His Descendants



Notes

ABBREVIATIONS

G = Genealogy; gens = generations; f = female.

PART ONE

1. For an anthropologist's discussion of the general use and misuse of oral materials, see Raymond Firth, *History and Traditions of Tikopia* (Wellington, 1961), pp. 3-9; on Sarawak sources of all types, Tom Harrisson in K. Tregonning, *Malaysian Historical Sources* (University of Singapore, 1962), pp. 105-12.

2. J. D. Freeman, *Iban Agriculture* (London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1955), pp. 20-1. Among the Balleh Iban of the Third Division, whom Freeman investigated, the longhouse 'right of access' was determined by Government during the 1920s. But in the longer-settled Second Division areas, with which this work is primarily concerned, this was *not* the case.

3. Charles A. J. Brooke, *Ten Years in Sarawak* (London, 1866), vol. ii, p. 80.

4. Analysis of Iban literary forms and their relation to Iban religion is an immense task well beyond the scope of this paper. For an excellent beginning see Erik Jensen, 'The Iban World. An introduction to Iban religious practice and the place of writing therein', *Sarawak Museum Journal (S.M.J.)* (1966). However, Dr Jensen goes too far in observing that:

Iban lore has not preserved much in the manner of historical or semi-historical sagas. The emphasis is consistently on mythical events and relations with the supernatural world.

The present work should make it quite clear that not all Iban lore is other-worldly!

5. Many Borneo peoples practise systems of teknonymy which are far more elaborate than that of the Ibans. See I. A. N. Urquhart, 'Teknonyms of the Baram River', *S.M.J.*, VIII (1958), 11, 383-93.

6. Some publications of Iban texts and related materials include: Tom Harrisson, 'Borneo Writing', *Bijdragan*, vii (1965), 121, pp. 1-56 (first *papan turai* text with 'writing board'); see also 1966 Monograph as described in Preface.

Edward Enggu, *Pengap Gawai Tajau* (Kuching, Borneo Literature Bureau, 1964) in Iban (many errors).

J. Perham, 'Sea Dayak Religion', *Journal of the Straits Branch, Royal*

Asiatic Society, No. 10 (1882), pp. 213-43; No. 14 (1884), pp. 287-304; also 'Petara, or Sea Dayak Gods', *J.S.B.R.A.S.*, No. 8 (1881), pp. 133-52.

Benedict Sandin, *Raja Durong* (Kuching, Borneo Literature Bureau, 1964) in Iban; also *Sengalang Burong* (Kuching, Borneo Literature Bureau, 1962), in Iban.

7. Sera Gunting himself never migrated into Sarawak territory, but died somewhere on the Tiang Laju range, near the modern border. See Genealogies 26 and 31 in Appendix B, and page 95, note 8.

8. Kajup is not himself cited in any *tusut* so far as we know; but if he was a contemporary of Sera Gunting, this would place him either 21 or 22 generations back from present. See the genealogies cited in Note 7.

9. Jelian (G 7, 15 gens, 4f, 40; G 14, 14 gens, 5f, 40).

Jelian must also have been a contemporary of Padang (see Note 41) who is located on one *tusut* at 12 generations from present.

10. This Beti is not to be confused with the famous Iban Beti (Brau Ngumbang) mentioned below.

11. Galungan is not mentioned on any of the *tusut* available, but his wife is; see Note 12.

12. *Sendi* (G 10, 16 gens, 6f, 40; G 29, 16 gens, 7f, 25).

13. See Part Three, pp. 68 ff, for an account of the origin of Sebuyau feuds with Saribas and Skrang.

14. Ambau (G 4, 14 gens, 6f, 60).

15. Ratih was a son of Jenua (G 5, 21 gens, 5f, 10).

16. Gunggu is not located on any *tusut* available.

17. Kanyong is not on any *tusut* available. His nickname means 'the beating of the Ketebong drum', a kind of drum unique to the Sea Dayaks.

18. Semalanjat is not located on any *tusut* available.

19. Sulang and Rantai (G 5, 17 and 16 gens, respectively, 5f, 10).

20. Meringai (G 3, 11 gens, 6f, 40); Manggi (G 8, 12 gens, 5f, 40); Jelian (G 7, 15 gens, 4f, 40; and G 14, 14 gens, 5f, 40); Ambau (G 4, 14 gens, 6f, 60) and Gunggu (not on any *tusut* available).

21. As the grandfather of Tindin of Paku, Lau Moa would be at 16 and 17 generations from present on G 2 and G 10 respectively. He would be at 17 generations from present on G 27.

22. Meringai. See Note 20.

23. Neither Busok nor Meriba is located on any *tusut* available.

24. Neither Saba nor Jelema is located on any *tusut* available.

25. Neither Gubar nor Japar is located on any *tusut* available.

26. Mawar Tuai (G 15, 12 gens, 4f, 47).

27. Begarak is not on any *tusut* available.

28. Tanggok is not on any *tusut* available.

29. Sampar is not on any *tusut* available.

30. Talap (G 5, 15 gens, 4f, 10).
31. Datu Patinggi Ngadan (G 6, 10 gens, 6f, 75; G 30, 10 gens, 5f, 40 and G 32, 10 gens, 7f, 40). In spite of his rather Malay-sounding title, Datu Patinggi Ngadan was an Iban.
32. Beti (Brauh Ngumbang) (G 1, 12 gens, 6f, 40; G 12, 11 gens, 1f, 20, G 14, 13 gens, 5f, 40).
33. Apai Remampak (literally, 'the father of Remampak') is not located on any *tusut* available.
34. Dayang Ridu (G 9, 12 gens, 4f, 70).
35. Neither Kutok nor this Gerijeh is on any *tusut* available.
36. Tindin (G 2, 14 gens, 3f, 25; G 10, 15 gens, 6f, 40; G 27, 14 gens, 3f, 25).
37. Rusak (G 7, 13 gens, 4f, 40).
38. Duau is not located on any *tusut* available.
39. Temegoh (G 5, 18 gens, 4f, 10; G 28, 14 gens, 4f, 30).
40. Blaki (G 26, 10 gens, 8f, 10).
41. Padang (G 13, 12 gens, 4f, 30).
42. Jelian. See Note 9.
43. Sabatin and Drom (G 3, 22 and 21 gens, respectively, 6f, 40).
44. See Appendix B.
45. Pateh Simpong (G 2, 23 gens, 3f, 25). The other offspring of the migrants at Merudu Hill who are mentioned in the text can also be located on G 2. See for two different Land Dayak and Malay versions, Tom Harrisson, 'The Malays of Sarawak', *S.M.J.* xi (1964), 23, pp. 403-11.

PART TWO

1. Radin (G 7, 12 gens, 4f, 40).
2. See Tom Harrisson, 'The Malohs of Kalimantan', *S.M.J.* xii (1965), pp. 24: 236-350.
3. Bakak (G 2, 12 gens, 2f, 25).
4. There are nine stages of the *gawai burong*. In ancient times, no one could hold a *gawai burong* of any kind without first procuring fresh heads on a successful war expedition. If a warrior was successful in war a second time, he might then give another *gawai burong*, of the next higher stage and so on. In theory, a mighty warrior who had given all nine stages could then begin all over again with the first stage, but no one is ever known to have done this. In fact, Radin is one of the very few who ever got as far as the ninth, highest stage. Another was Balang of Katibas, who was executed by the Sarawak Government in 1870, for allegedly plotting to kill Mr J. G. Cruickshank, then Resident of Rejang.

5. Tuah (G 2, 11 gens, 2f, 25).
6. Seing (G 2, 10 gens, 2f, 25).
7. Busu (G 2, 9 gens, 2f, 25).
8. Saang (G 6, 7 gens, 3f, 10; G 30, 8 gens, 5f, 40).
9. Linggir (Mali Lebu) (G 2, 5 gens, 1f, 25).
10. Mawar Biak (G 7, 8 gens, 2f, 40).
11. Meling (brother of Mawar Biak; see Note 10).
12. Gerijih and Bangkam (G 10, 10 gens, 4f, 40; G 28, 9 gens, 4f, 30).
13. The *berayah* is a special dance performed at all the major *gawai* (festivals); it is quite different from the modern *kuntau* and *pencha* dances. Sometimes the dancers perform to clear a path for the spirits who have been invited to attend the *gawai*; on other occasions these spirits actually join in the dancing.
14. Uyut (Badilang Besi) (G 2, 8 gens, 2f, 25). The literal meaning of the *ensumbar* or praise-name 'Badilang Besi' is 'Iron Hearth'.
15. Nangku (G 6, 6 gens, 3f, 10).
16. Blaki (G 26, 10 gens, 8f, 10) married *Bremas* (G 2, 8 gens, 2f, 25) the daughter of Busu.
17. Apai Ranggau is not on any *tusut* available.
18. Linggir (G 2, 7 gens, 2f, 25). Not to be confused with Linggir (Mali Lebu) the famous Saribas leader who fought against the Rajah at the Battle of Beting Maru, four generations later.
19. Renggi (G 9, 5 gens, 2f, 70).
20. Awan (G 26, 9 gens, 6f, 10).
21. Kaya (G 16, 6 gens, 1f, 35; G 26, 8 gens, 6f, 10).
22. Kanang (Libau Dara) (G 16, 7 gens, 1f, 35).
23. Kerbau (G 6, 5 gens, 1f, 15).
24. Ibans value large jars, frequently of ancient Chinese manufacture, as heirlooms. Traditionally such jars served as a medium of exchange, as did brassware of all sorts. All jars were classified into types with varying values. The exact scale of values differed slightly from river to river. In the Paku, two *panding* jars were worth one *alas*; two *alas* equalled one *rusa*, and two *rusa* equalled one *menaga*, the most valuable type. A *menaga* was equivalent in value to one human life.
25. Kandau (G 18, 9 gens, 7f, 20).
26. Jantan (G 16, 5 gens, 1f, 35).
27. Kalanang (G 9, 4 gens, 2f, 70).
28. *Ijok pumpong* is the fifth of the nine stages of the *gawai burong*, and in this respect is equivalent to the *gawai diri* (see Note 13, Part Two), but unlike the latter it does *not* require the construction of a hornbill statue.
29. There were three types of slaves known among the ancient Ibans. These were (1) captives captured in warfare (2) debtors who could not

pay their debts and became the slaves of the party to whom they owed money (3) criminals who could not pay the *pati nyawa* or compensation due to the person they had injured; see Part One. The descendants of slaves were also slaves.

30. Bau of Batang Ai (G 21, 7 gens, 4f, 59).

31. For a preliminary discussion of Iban omen birds and augury see J. D. Freeman, 'Iban Augury' in B. E. Smythies, *The Birds of Borneo* (London, 1960), pp. 63-98. See also Tom Harrison's comments on the above in 'Borneo Writing', *Bijärägen* 121 (1965), pp. 6-7.

32. Many Iban war-leaders have a *tua* or guardian spirit, as do Iban bards or ritual singers. The most common warrior *tuas* are the cobra and the python. If the *tua* of a war leader is the python, it signifies that he is guided in battle by his ancestors; if it is the cobra, he is guided by Kling (the God of War) and his spirit-warrior heroes from Panggau Libau. The warrior must make sacrifices to his *tua* at periodic intervals, and he may not kill members of his *tua* species. One normally learns of one's *tua* by means of a dream. Not all warrior *tua* are snakes, although these are most common; others include the leopard-cat and the barking deer. Iban bards are often protected by monkey, cricket, tarsier, or bird *tuas*.

The *tua* of the present Sarawak Chief Minister, Dato Stephen Kalong Ningkan, is the cobra.

33. *Enchaboh arong*: a special feast held to receive new heads taken in battle, not to be confused with the *gawai burong*, for which new heads were also required.

34. See also the story of Patinggi Ngadan's great cockfight and its unhappy consequences in Part One, p. 14. In both cases the cockfights which resulted in disaster were much bigger than ordinary cockfights, with many more birds cruelly killed.

35. Rambok is not on any *tusut* available.

36. This story is included because, although the Bangat is a tributary of the Skrang and is today administered from Simanggang, the people of this area are traditionally one with the people of Entanak.

37. Ligap (G 17, 6 gens, no f, 30).

38. Bunyau (G 15, 7 gens, 5f, 15).

39. Unggang (Lebor Menoa) (G 15, 6 gens, 5f, 15).

40. Dayang Ridu (G 9, 12 gens, 4f, 70).

41. Empayong (G 9, 10 gens, 3f, 70).

42. Benang (G 9, 8 gens, 2f, 70).

43. Jantin (Moahari) (G 9, 7 gens, 2f, 70).

44. Renggi (G 9, 5 gens, 2f, 70).

45. Pala (G 2, 7 gens, 2f, 25).

46. Tom (G 12, 8 gens, 1f, 20).

47. For the story of Padang (G 13, 12 gens, 4f, 30) see Part One, pp. 23ff.

48. Jana (G 13, 9 gens, 4f, 30).

No stories have survived concerning Jana's son Baat who was Munan's father. He may well have died before Jana did.

49. Munan (G 13, 7 gens, 4f, 30) should not be confused with the famous Munan, Penghulu Dalam, of Sibiu.

50. For an account of Bukitans who were gradually driven out of the Paku into the Krian and Julau, see p. 44; also the story of Punoh, pp. 43-4.

51. Orang Kaya Temenggong Tandok (G 13, 5 gens, 4f, 30).

52. Busu (G 2, 9 gens, 2f, 25).

53. Teruyu (G 19, 7 gens, 4f, 35).

54. Gadoh (G 19, 6 gens, 3f, 40).

55. Akin was the husband of Lemai (G 8, 7 gens, 5f, 40).

56. Jana had already settled in this area, before moving elsewhere. Akin probably arrived after Jana had already departed.

57. Betuah (G 20, 7 gens, 3f, 30).

58. See the story of Blaki, pp. 36-7.

59. The author has interviewed informants from both of these areas (Batang Ai and Skrang) but additional information (which may or may not exist) is clearly still needed.

60. For the story of Meriba and Busok, see Part One, p. 12.

61. Chupong is not on any *tusut* available.

62. The Bungkap Dayaks lived below the modern site of Lubok Antu, between that place and Kumpang. The Bengap Dayaks lived above the modern site of Lubok Antu, between Nanga Mepi and Nanga Engkari.

63. *Irun* is a less valuable jar than those mentioned in Note 24, Part Two. In the Skrang, it is worth about three full-sized plates.

64. Beriak is not on any *tusut* available.

65. It is not clear whether Nunong (G 2, 16 gens, 3f, 25) arrived before or after Chupong's war with the Dayaks of Bengap and Bungkap.

66. Maling (G 22, 15 gens, 2f, 60).

67. For the story of one of the earlier marriages of this famous hero, see Part One, p. 15.

68. Unggang (Gerasi) (G 21, 4 gens, 3f, 60).

PART THREE

1. The title 'Raja' is frequently affixed to the names of Iban deities who are mentioned in folklore dating back (according to *tusut*) to a period well before the initial migrations into Sarawak, but such divine figures are normally involved in wholly mythical events. *Raja Durong* is a good example; see Benedict Sandin, *Raja Durong* (Kuching,

Borneo Literature Bureau, 1964) (in Iban).

Of the pioneers who settled the rivers of the Second Division, discussed in the first part, only Patch Ambau, Datu Patinggi Ngadan and Dayang Ridu are remembered by what appear to be Malay or Malay-inspired titles.

2. Orang Kaya Beti (G 12, 7 gens, 1f, 20).

3. Kalanang (G 9, 5 gens, 2f, 70); Jantan (G 16, 5 gens, 1f, 35).

4. Orang Kaya Gun (Mangku Bumi) (G 19, 6 gens, 2f, 35).

5. For the story of Rusak, the pioneer who encountered the Lugus in the lower Saribas before the arrival of the Malays, see Part One, pp. 22 ff. For a discussion of the ancestry of the Saribas Malays, see A. J. N. Richards, 'The Descent of Some Saribas Malays' in *S.M.J.* xi (1963), pp. 99-107; B. Sandin, 'Descent of some Saribas Malays (and Iban) — ii', *S.M.J.* xi (1964), pp. 512-15.

6. According to Iban tradition, the *mungut* was made from flexible material which would stretch to hold double the amount actually due. According to another version, it has a series of seven pockets, cleverly constructed at its bottom, which served the same purpose. Sometimes, however, this term was applied to the tax-collectors themselves (*mungut pupu ka merom Brunei*).

7. Luta (G 15, 5 gens, 4f, 50).

8. Sharif Ahmit was the son of Sharif Japar of Lingga. See S. Baring-Gould and C. A. Bampfylde, *A History of Sarawak under its Two White Rajahs* (London, 1909), p. 117.

9. Unggang (Lebor Menoa) (G 15, 6 gens, 4f, 50).

10. An *idas* mat is a coarse mat made from rotan and bark. The Dayaks make their largest mats of the *idas* type.

11. The story of Unggang's dream can be found in Sandin, 'The Beginning of the Saribas Piracy on Santubong Mountain', *Sarawak Gazette*, No. 1277 (31 July 1964). For a description of a large Iban war boat (*bangkong*) up to 70 feet long, see Hugh Low, *Sarawak, its Inhabitants and Productions* (London, 1848), pp. 216 ff.; also Spenser St John, *Life in the Forests of the Far East* (London, 1862), vol. i, p. 70.

No such boat is still in existence today, but a model of one can be seen at the Sarawak Museum, Kuching (currently in the Research Building).

12. For the early Sebuyau migrations, see Part One, p. 6. European accounts of the origins of Sebuyau feuding with Saribas and Skrang can be found in Hugh Low, *Sarawak* (London, 1848), pp. 166-8, and Spenser St John, *Life in the Forests of the Far East* (London, 1862), vol. i, pp. 6, 208.

13. See Part Two, pp. 56 ff.

14. Seing (G 2, 10 gens, 2f, 25).

15. Cheremi is remembered for the occasion on which she fell into a deep pool at Wong Lubok Kulat. In accordance with a promise

made by her father, she married the man who rescued her, a powerful Bukitan named Banggai.

16. For the full story of this dispute, which has been considerably shortened here, see 'The Bee Tree Dispute which Led to a Diving Contest', *S.M.J.* vii (1957), pp. 136-45.

17. Gerijeh (Ai Marang) (G 10, 10 gens, 4f, 40).

18. Baring-Gould and Bampfylde state that Indra Lela had been the chief of a settlement of Malays and Sea Dayaks at Ngemah in the Rejang, and had fled that area, under pressure from the 'Kayans', to live at Lingga, where one of his two brothers, Lela Pelawan, later served the Brooke Government. *A History of Sarawak*, p. 16, fn. The third brother of Indra Lela was known as Lela Wangsa; all three names are honorific Malay titles of Sanskrit origin.

19. Orang Kaya Pemancha Dana (Bayang) (G 12, 6 gens, no f, 20). Dana, who was well known to the early European writers on Sarawak, died in about 1854.

20. Bunyau was the nephew of Luta (see Note 7, Part Three, above); Unal (Bulan) is not on any *tusut*, but his great-granddaughter, a woman of middle age, is now living at Mupoh, Spak, Layar, Saribas.

Linggir (Mali Lebu) (G 2, 4 gens, 1f, 25). Linggir was the author's great-grandfather. Many of his exploits in the early days of Brooke rule are mentioned in English books. The future second Rajah commented on a meeting with Linggir in 1852:

Another chief of a tribe came on board, named Lingir [*sic*] — a short man, of almost perfect symmetry, serpent-eyed, with the strong savage pictured in his physiognomy. While he sat on deck, I could not keep my eye off his countenance, for there was peculiar character lurking underneath the twinkle of that sharp eye — avarice, cunning, foresight and prudence, all within so small a compass. Charles A. J. Brooke, *Ten Years in Sarawak*, vol. i, p. 25.

21. Libau (Rentap) (G 23, 5 gens, 3f, 45; includes two adopted daughters). The adopted daughter of Libau's daughter Tambong, named Subang, married Munan, the famous Penghulu Dalam of Sibul. Orang Kaya Gasing can not be located on any *tusut* available; however it is known that his son, Ringkai, was Penghulu of those Skrang people who had migrated to the Sebelak tributary of the Krian. This migration from Skrang to Sebelak is described below. Ringkai was succeeded by Penghulu Sumping, who was no relation; Sumping's grand-daughter is now about 40 years old. No descendants of Gasing are known. The Orang Kaya Rabong, although a very famous Skrang leader in his day, is a total mystery genealogically speaking. In general, far less traditional historical material appears to have survived in the Skrang than in the Saribas.

22. Dates such as this can sometimes be inferred, very roughly, from

Iban stories, which mention this particular event as having taken place 'lima taun apin datai belanda', which literally translated would mean 'five seasons before the arrival of the Dutch'. However in Iban the term 'belanda' was, and to some extent still is, a blanket term for Europeans, and in this case refers to James Brooke, who first visited Sarawak in 1839.

The second Rajah, then Tuan Muda, recorded this Iban usage a century ago:

On my way back, I sat one long night with an old gentleman who gave me my first lesson in the Dayak language, and designated me an 'Orang Belanda' or Hollander, as we are generally known by the more ignorant. They have a notion that there is but one race of white men, and that race Dutchmen, while Europe and Singapore are always classed together as being one place. Brooke, *Ten Years in Sarawak*, vol. i, p. 96.

23. European sources not surprisingly do not relate this version of Indra Lela's death. According to Baring-Gould and Bampfylde, the Lingga chief died only a short time before the Tuan Muda, Charles Brooke, took charge of that settlement in October 1853. See Baring-Gould and Bampfylde, *A History of Sarawak*, p. 16, fn. Hugh Low records that in April of 1845 'The Indra Lelah, Lelah Wangsa and Lelah Palawan' were still the 'Malayan chiefs' at Lingga; Low, *Sarawak*, p. 371.

24. European accounts mention the 'great bala' (great war expedition) but are vague as to its date: the best account is in Frederick Boyle, *Adventures among the Dayaks of Borneo* (London, 1865), pp. 203-4, and was almost certainly obtained from either Charles Brooke or Walter Watson, the first Brooke Resident of Saribas. See also James Brooke's journal for 2 December 1850, which mentions that the displaced Undup Dayaks, who were then living in 'Salimbow' wished to return to their old homes. According to Brooke, they had been driven out of the Undup 'about five years ago' by Saribas Malays and Dayaks. This section of Brooke's journal is printed in Henry Keppel, *A Visit to the Indian Archipelago in H.M. Ship Maeander* (London, 1853), vol. ii, p. 108.

Howell and Bailey record that Dayaks from the Engkerbang (a tributary of the Undup) had been driven to the Ketungau in Netherlands territory but were subsequently 'recalled' on the orders of James Brooke. W. Howell and D. J. S. Bailey, *A Sea Dayak Dictionary* (Singapore, 1900), p. 34. See also Brooke, *Ten Years in Sarawak*, vol. ii, pp. 207-8.

25. Orang Kaya Temenggong Jugah of Lundu (G 25, 4 gens, no f, 50). Jugah was the first Iban leader to meet James Brooke, in September 1839, and was a fast friend of the Rajah thereafter in the latter's battles

against Skrang and Saribas Dayaks. For Brooke's account of their meeting, see Henry Keppel, *The Expedition to Borneo of H.M.S. Dido* (London, 1846), vol. i, p. 5. 'Sibnowan' was Keppel's orthography for Sebuyau. See also St John, *Forests*, vol. i, pp. 6-10; Brooke, *Ten Years in Sarawak*, vol. i, p. 17.

26. Ijau (Lang) and the Orang Kaya Janting are not on any *tusut* available.

27. Orang Kaya Temenggong Tandok (G 13, 5 gens, 3f, 30).

28. Charles Brooke, commenting on a government expedition of 1854, noted that 'the contrast between these finely-painted and natty-looking praus [of Skrang] and our heavy Banting [i.e. Balau] boats was striking', *Ten Years in Sarawak*, vol. i, p. 107. The Balau settlement at Banting Hill on the Lingga tributary of the Batang Lupar was comparatively near the sea, and the Ibans there had long lived in close association with Malays. In comparison to Balau home waters, the middle and upper portions of the Skrang and Saribas are frequently narrow, shallow, and closed in by arching trees, and small boats suffice in their waters. It is no wonder that the Balau boats were famous for their size.

29. Enchana (Letan) (G 14, 5 gens, 2f, 40). He was the great-great-grandfather of the present Sarawak Minister for Local Government, Dato Dunstan Endawie.

30. A great deal of information regarding these coastal raids was recorded by the Royal Commission of Enquiry which investigated James Brooke in 1854. One of the key questions before the Commission was whether the Ibans of Skrang and Saribas were pirates, as Brooke claimed, or innocent aborigines pursuing legitimate intertribal warfare, as his Radical enemies in England maintained. The Commissioners decided that the Ibans were indeed pirates.

In the process they gathered a great deal of testimony from various natives, including Bruneis, Sarawak Malays, and Melanaus, Singapore merchants, and one Dutch official. In general, this testimony confirms the situation as pictured in Iban oral sources.

See 'Reports of Commissioners appointed to enquire into certain matters connected with the position of Sir James Brooke', *Parliamentary Papers 1854-5*, vol. xxix.

The evidence given before the Commissioners was also published in pamphlet form in Singapore under the title *The Borneo Question* (Singapore, 1854).

31. Jiram (Rentap) (G 26, 7 gens, 5f, 10) should not be confused with Libau (Rentap), who was the famous Rentap of Sadok. The *ensumbar* or nickname 'Rentap' means 'earth tremor'.

32. Jantan (G 16, 5 gens, 1f, 35).

33. See Baring-Gould and Bampfylde, *A History of Sarawak*, pp. 137-8.

34. (Bulan) Patan, who is not available on any *tusut*, is referred to in all the Iban songs, such as the *timang jalong*, performed at the *Gawai Antu*, in this unusual fashion with his *ensumbar* preceding his name. This is due to the fact that in their normal order, Patan (Bulan), these words mean a kind of subdued moonlight which portends such disastrous happenings as the death of a great man.

35. C. F. Boudriect, who had been Assistant Resident at Pontianak from 1841 to 1845, testified before the Commission of Enquiry in 1854 that the Saribas Dayaks had committed 'atrocities' in the vicinities of Sambas and Pontianak 'not once but perhaps 100 times', *The Borneo Question*, p. 13.

36. Charles Brooke, describing his final triumph over Libau (Rentap) on the summit of Sadok in 1861 wrote:

We spiked an iron gun with steel, which had belonged to Nanang [son of the Orang Kaya Pemancha Dana (Bayang)] and was marked with an anchor, dated 1515, with some letters on it not legible; they said his father had captured this gun from the Dutch at Sambas many years ago while on a marauding expedition.

The cannon was brought down to Betong by a Brooke official years later. Brooke, *Ten Years in Sarawak*, vol. ii, p. 151.

37. James Brooke was horrified to discover, soon after his arrival in Sarawak, that the local Brunei authorities were prepared to allow the Ibans to raid Land Dayak settlements, presumably in return for a portion of the plunder. See Keppel, *Dido*, vol. i, pp. 215-16.

38. George Windsor Earl wrote one of the only clear accounts of Iban marauding published prior to James Brooke's arrival in Sarawak. He records a remarkably similar incident. Writing of a visit to the Sambas-Pontianak region in 1834, the author tells of an attack by a party of 'Dayaks' from 'Serassan' on a settlement called Slaku, a few miles from the mouth of the Sambas river, which had occurred about two years previously. 'Although the town, chiefly Chinese, contained large quantities of rich merchandize, they were contented with the iron and trifles, with which together with the heads of their victims, they departed unmolested to their homes'. 'Slaku' is probably Selakau, just south of the mouth of the Sambas River. George Windsor Earl, *The Eastern Seas* (London, 1837), p. 269.

When twenty years later, James Brooke came under attack for his campaigns against the Ibans, Earl told the Rajah's great friend, Admiral Keppel, that the term 'Serassan' in his book was an *erratum* for 'Sekarran', one of several nineteenth-century spellings of Skrang. See Keppel, *Maeander*, vol. i, p. 202.

39. See Part Two, p. 53.

40. The most complete discussion of the Serus published to date is Tom Harrisson, 'The Serus and Four Stone Figures from Sarawak',

Bulletin of the Raffles Museum, Singapore Series B, No. 4 (1949), pp. 117-22. Charles Brooke described them in 1866 as:

all but extinct . . . an offshoot from the Melanau race, now not mustering more than thirty or forty doors, and much scattered in very small communities. Their men are noted for bravery, but are very poor, and more dirty than the other people whose numbers and power have much oppressed them. They are named Suru, and reside in the smaller streams of the Kalaka and Rejang waters.

By 'other people' Brooke clearly meant the Ibans. Brooke, *Ten Years in Sarawak*, vol. ii, p. 335. A further, full Seru paper is in press by Harrison.

41. Low cites this 'Tuan Mulana' (the name is an Arab-derived title signifying 'teacher') as a typical example of the self-styled Arab descendants of the Prophet who were wont to set themselves up as river-mouth potentates on the coasts of Borneo.

On a visit in 1845, he noted that the Mulana's settlement of Kabong at the mouth of the Kalaka was 'small, containing perhaps about six hundred people, principally slaves and followers of Mulana . . .' and that it was a water village, built in Brunei style on posts over a tidal mud-flat.

According to Low's account Molana died, an old man, in May 1847. See his *Sarawak*, pp. 123-4, 351-3.

42. Orang Kaya Beti (G 12, 7 gens, no f, 20).

43. See p. 71.

44. See Note 29, Part Three.

45. This migration is remembered as having taken place '*lima taun udah alah di maro*', that is, five years after the Battle of Beting Maru, which took place on 31 July 1849.

46. Minggat (G 14, 4 gens, 2f, 40) of Krian was for many years a famous Iban penghulu and war-leader in the Second Division, and the father of Munan, Penghulu Dalam of the Rejang Ibans. Minggat died on a trading voyage to Sumatra in 1891.

47. Manggang was a great-great-grandfather of the author.

48. Aji (G 12, 6 gens, no f, 20) was a famous son of the Orang Kaya Pemancha Dana (Bayang) of Saribas. He was killed by the Rajah's forces at Sungai Langit in 1858. His name is frequently spelled Saji or Sadji, apparently due to the addition of the common Malay prefix 'Si' but the correct Iban version is used here.

49. Igho apai Lamban. He was the great-grandfather of Penghulu Igho of Ulu Layar, now retired, aged about 80.

50. Mujah (Buah Raya) (from G 9, 6 gens, 2f, 25). The sister of Benang was the mother of Mujah's father.

51. Sharif Masahor was the famous rebel who was banished from

Sarawak territory in 1861 for his part in the 'Great Malay Plot'. He served both the Brunei and Brooke Governments as Chief of Sarikei from about 1849. See Baring-Gould and Bampfylde, *A History of Sarawak*, pp. 74, 138, 208 fn.

52. C. Brooke, *Ten Years in Sarawak*, vol. i, pp. 159-97, 304-10.

On the Julau expedition in June 1856, the Tuan Muda noted that this area 'has not been inhabited long — the soil is extremely good for farming', Brooke, *Ten Years in Sarawak*, vol. i, p. 187.

53. No *tusut* are available for any of these migrants from Lemanak.

54. Spenser St John estimated that as of 1848, the various 'piratical' Dayak tribes living on the Rejang and its Kanowit, Poi, and Katibas tributaries could field 8000 fighting men, which, according to his reckoning, signified a total population of about 48,000 in this area. But this included Kanowits and other Melanau peoples, as well as Ibans. St John, *The Life of Sir James Brooke* (London, 1897), p. 161.

The Tuan Muda noted in 1859 that the Kanowit:

is inhabited by Sea Dayaks, who had for the last fifteen or twenty years been migrating from the Saribas and Sakarang districts for the purpose of obtaining new farming grounds. These exodus took place overland between one river and another. Such parties would do their four or five days' march, then build their houses, and proceed to farm for one or two years, after which they would recommence their march, and so on, until they arrived at their final destination. *Ten Years in Sarawak*, vol. i, p. 327.

55. Unggang (Gerasi) (G 21, 4 gens, 3f, 60).

56. Temenggong Simpi Pala (G 24, 5 gens, 2f, 35). The origin of his title is not known.

57. Skrang Fort (moved down to Simanggang in 1864) was first constructed in 1849.

58. Apai Ramba and Apai Jega are not available on any *tusut*; nor are their own given names known.

59. *Lebor api* is the name of a type of very fine Iban *pua* or blanket; the literal meaning is 'flame'.

60. Sumping was childless.

61. Naga (G 11, 6 gens, 1f, 35); cf. page 83, line 1.

62. Gerinang, Unggat (G 11, 4 gens, 1f, 35).

63. The Tanjongs and Rejangs, like the Kanowits mentioned earlier, were people of Melanau culture; these were only three of a number of such groups who were among the thinly settled pre-Iban peoples in the lower and middle Rejang area.

64. Koh died in 1955, after a long and eventful life as the leading Iban chief (and the first to be given the title of Temenggong by the Brooke Government) in the Rejang.

65. Ba (G 24, 3 gens, 2f, 35).

66. Melintang was the grandfather of Tan Sri Temenggong Jugah, now Federal Minister for Sarawak Affairs.

67. This *may* refer to the same Sawing who was executed in 1863 for the murder of Fox and Steele (see Brooke, *Ten Years in Sarawak*, vol. ii, p. 310). If so, the period of 'peaceful coexistence' between the Iban newcomers and their Tanjong, Kanowit and other predecessors, which is here implied, must have well predated the murders of Fox and Steele in 1859, and the Great Kayan Expedition of 1863. By those dates the overall pattern of hostility between the Ibans and their thinly settled Melanau-type predecessors is clear from the written record.

It is entirely possible, of course, that Ba's particular group of Ibans may have lived in peace with the Tanjongs in his neighbourhood.

68. Balang was an ally of the Sarawak Government in the earlier stages of his career. The great Kayan Expedition of 1863, on which he served, was launched partly due to the request of him and his brother Unjup. They complained that they had been attacked at their homes in the Katibas by the 'Kayans'—perhaps, in fact, by Kanowits or Tanjongs. See Brooke, *Ten Years in Sarawak*, vol. ii, pp. 196, 271-2.

There is a strong tradition that Balang was in fact innocent of the alleged murder plot against J. B. Cruickshank, for which he was executed in 1870, and that he was falsely betrayed by Unggat, who was his great rival during this period.

69. There were major government expeditions against Katibas rebels in 1868, 1870, 1871 and 1876. See Baring-Gould and Bampfylde, *A History of Sarawak*, pp. 320, 378-81.

70. For a brief discussion of the Ibans' entry into the Balleh, see J. D. Freeman, *Iban Agriculture* (London, H.M.S.O., 1955), pp. 15-20.

