

10.

A history of the Kenyah Leppo' Tau in Kayan Hulu Subdistrict, Apau Kayan

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INTRODUCTION

The history of the Kenyah Leppo' Tau can be reconstructed on the basis of local oral traditions in combination with written records produced by officials of the Dutch colonial government, Kenyah leaders (such as Gun Kila), and several foreign researchers (such as H. Whittier). These historical records also make it possible to analyse changes in the social structure through time.

It is known that the Kenyah initially lived in the mountainous area between what is now part of the Bahagian Belaga and Bahagian Baram in Sarawak and the Iwan River area in East Kalimantan. It is possible that they were still hunters and gatherers at that time and did not grow crops. Later, in the late 18th century, they moved to the Iwan River area. From there, some of them entered the Pujungan River drainage, others moved to the region of the Buram River, and yet others moved to the Apau Kayan highlands after the area had been abandoned by the Kayan people. The migration of the Kenyah to Apau Kayan seems to have occurred at the beginning of the 19th century. The first group to enter the Apau Kayan area were the Kenya Leppo' Timai, followed by the Leppo' Tau and other Kenyah groups. Although many Kenyah groups once lived in the Apau Kayan, which is very difficult to reach, at present many of them have moved out to other areas, primarily in the vicinity of urban areas where access to basic necessities such as salt and clothing is easier.

The writer carried out field research from 1993 until January 1994. The aim of the research was to learn about the reasons for migrating, obtain information on the stopovers and settlements of the Kenyah Leppo' Tau as they moved from the Iwan River to Apau Kayan, and study the evolution in the forms of leadership from the past until today. Historical events and genealogies of leaders were compiled, and crosschecked, on the basis of interviews with informants according to historical accounts. In particular, the author collected the names of leaders at the time certain events occurred.

As a time frame, a standard scale of 20 to 25 years for a generation was adopted. The calculation then was as follows: Baya' Li' (the last generation in 1993) was 50 years old, so he was born in 1943, rounded off to 1940. Assuming a standard of 20 years per generation, 24 generations equal 480 years. Assuming a standard of 25 years, 24 generations equal 600 years. The birth of Pejulan Awang (24 generations before Baya' Li') thus is estimated to have taken place between 1350 and 1450 (rounded off). In compiling historical sequences in Borneo, this method may be used to calculate genealogies.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE RESEARCH AREA

The research location included all the villages inhabited by the Leppo' Tau in the Apau Kayan area: Long Nawang, Nawang Baru, Long Temuyat, Long Uro', and Lidung Payu. To obtain additional data, research was also carried out in several of the villages of the other Kenyah groups in Apau Kayan, such as Long Ampung (Kenyah Leppo' Jalan group), Long Sungai Barang (Kenyah Leppo' Tukung), Long Payau and Metulang Baru (Kenyah Bakung). Historical reconstruction regarding these groups can be found in an earlier research report (Liman 1995).

The settlements of the Kenyah Leppo' Tau in the Apau Kayan area in the subdistrict of Kayan Hulu are (1993): Long Nawang (809 people), Nawang Baru (585), Long Temuyat (327), Long Uro' (303), Lidung Payau (351), and Long Lebusan (648). The total population of the Leppo' Tau amounts to 3023 (1993). The settlements of other Kenyah groups and of Punan in Apau Kayan (comprised in the subdistrict of Kayan Hulu) are: Long Betao' (Kenyah Badeng group, 111 people), Long Ampung (Kenyah Leppo' Jalan, 454), Long Sungai Barang (Kenyah Leppo' Tukung, 369), Long Payau (Kenyah Bakung, 104), Long Top (Punan, 73), Long Metulang (Bakung, 82) Mahak Baru (Bakung, 378), and Dumu Mahak (Bakung, 242), with a total population of 1822 people.

Education and Religion

The formal educational level of most Kenyah in Apau Kayan is elementary school (SD), and many people have never attended any school. The first school was opened in Long Nawang during Dutch times. At that time, the people did not yet realise the importance of education and many parents prohibited their children from going to school. The first private SMP (junior high school) was established in Long Nawang in 1976 and its students came from two subdistricts, Kayan Hulu and Kayan Hilir. This SMP became state managed in 1990. At present many children attend school in Apau Kayan, even though many of them only graduate from SD. Unfortunately, the SMP is rather inadequate with regard to equipment and facilities for studying and teaching, and the students are often given days off. A low salary has forced teachers to find additional work outside the school.

Almost all the Kenyah in Apau Kayan (96%) became either Protestant or Catholic since the 1960s. In the village of Long Betao', two families (six persons) still follow the old religion (*Adat Bungan*) and thirteen newcomers are Moslems. In the subdistrict of Kayan Hulu, people are divided among the following congregations: Protestants of the GKII Church (2673), Protestants of the GPIB Church (1001), and Catholics (1143). Every village already has its own church. A mosque has been built in Long Nawang. The *Adat Bungan* community holds its ceremonies in their own houses, but ceremonies frequently held in the past, such as the *mamat* festival and the *lemiwa* ceremony, no longer receive much attention today. The relations between the religious congregations are good. For example, the building of a place of worship is done jointly regardless of church affiliation and Christmas and Easter are celebrated together. Some programs are arranged by the various church organisations separately, such as weekly services, wedding services, and baptisms, as well as funeral services.

Economic Life

Agricultural enterprises of the Kenyah are mainly intended to meet household needs and the main activity is cyclical (shifting) dry-field rice cultivation. Since olden times, the Kenyah have been planting beans and tubers in the old swidden (secondary forest) fields and today they cultivate plants such as onions, beans, eggplant, squash, mustard greens, red peppers, amaranth, pineapple, bananas, cassava and sweet potatoes. The people generally are not yet interested in perennial crops, because they have not yet mastered the cultivation methods, or lack marketing opportunities. Livestock (especially chicken and pigs) are also raised to meet household needs and they are only traded very rarely (there is no standard price). Hunting and fishing are very common. At present the people are beginning to trade the catch of their hunt or fishing, especially in the subdistrict capital.

Forest products currently exploited in Apau Kayan are eaglewood (Ind. *gaharu*, Kenyah *sekau*) and bezoar stones from monkeys and porcupines. Even though rattan and resin are still found abundantly in Apau Kayan, they are rarely collected today because the prices are very low and the people still do not have ways to process these raw materials into commercial products. Forest products are generally harvested to meet additional expenses like buying goods that the people cannot produce.

In 1993, the price of eaglewood in Apau Kayan has reached Rp 1 000 000 per kg for the best quality. Eaglewood traders (10 people) use local labour or import labour from outside the area (150 people, some of whom are stationed in Long Nawang). Traders with large capital use services and purchase their daily necessities, and they tend to monopolise the small airplanes, which are the only means for transporting staples (rice, sugar, salt, cooking oil and the like) from the coast to Apau Kayan. The supply of these goods is thus limited, the prices are very high and the local people, whose purchasing power is low, are often unable to obtain them.

Women often do handicraft work, such as beadwork, rattan weaving (baskets, mats, and baby carriers), and *saong* (a kind of broad sun hat with applications of multicoloured cloth). Old men make machete handles decorated with goat hair and carved from deer antlers.

Modern commerce only began when the airfield was opened in Long Ampung (located one-and-a-half hours away by *ketinting* (small motorised boat) from Long Nawang). Smallscale trade, which was formerly limited to the subdistrict employees, is expanding. Traders and villagers often import goods for local consumption from Sarawak along

footpaths. These commodities, gasoline, kerosene, salt, and granulated sugar, sell quickly because their prices are competitive compared to those of goods brought in by plane. River transportation from Tanjung Selor is very risky because of the rapids and water levels. Other types of goods—cigarettes, cooking oil, soap, tea, coffee, monosodium glutamate, and medicines—are imported from Samarinda, because the prices for these items in Sarawak are much higher, but the supplies are very much dependent on the availability of air transportation.

THE SOCIOCULTURAL SYSTEM OF THE LEPPU' TAU

Various aspects of the social and cultural traditions and customs of the Leppo' Tau have influenced the history of their movements. Among these are their traditional class system, their leadership system and social institutions, the process of decision making and customary laws, as well as the peacemaking or *petutung* tradition.

Social Classes

In the language of the Leppo' Tau, the nobility is referred to as *paren*. The formation of the *paren* resembles the establishment of a kingdom when an individual who is much honoured and respected for having liberated his people from the enemy, especially on the battlefield, is elevated to kingship. The term *paren* first appeared when the Leppo' Tau lived in the area of Bawang Da'a (Apau Kayu Tau), and it is possible that it was derived from a similar Kayan word. At that time, an outstanding Kenyah leader was Suhu Batu, who was brave and strong and did not want to submit to any other group. On the contrary, he was the one who forced the other Kenyah groups to surrender and follow his leadership. In the period after Suhu Batu, Leppo' Tau people began to distinguish between the descendants of Suhu Batu and other families, which led to the formation of three social strata, i.e., the *paren* (nobility, descendants of Suhu Batu), the *panyen* (ordinary people), and the *ula'* (slaves).

Subsequently, society provided the *paren* class with the kind of recognition and honour that distinguished their position in society. In addition to playing an important role in the leadership of the society, both during a migration and in each successive settlement, the *paren* class also had special rights. Their apartments (*amin*) at the centre of the longhouse were taller and larger than the other apartments. To the right and left of their *amin* there were several *amin* of the *panyen*. The corvee labour system (*mahap*) required that the people work without compensation for one or two days for the nobility, especially in doing farm work. Before any decision was made in the community, the *paren* were always asked for guidance. The nobility was allowed to own valuable goods and objects of great symbolic significance and, to this day these items indicate the social status of the *paren* families. Among these items are objects such as tiger claws and skins, several types of expensive and ancient beads, large ceramic jars with raised dragon figures, and gongs. Some motifs (tigers and hornbills) and tattoos could only be used by the *paren*. In addition, the *paren* played an important ritual and ceremonial role in the ancient religion (*Adat Puon*) that pre-existed *Adat Bungan* (see below).

Evolution

From generation to generation, the *paren* families continued to grow in number, until they could no longer be accommodated in one *amin*. Some of the members of the

original *amin* set up a new longhouse (*uma*) in the same village (referred to as *leppo*), and some of the *panyen* were moved to the new *uma*, where the *paren* maintained their position as *paren*. Their *amin* was taller and larger and was located at the centre of the new longhouse, but they could not build it taller than the *amin* of the *paren* in the original longhouse, because the position of the leader of the new longhouse (*paren uma*) was inferior to that of the *paren leppo*, the leader of the original longhouse and—at the same time—of the whole village.

Informants claim that these aristocratic leaders were expected to have various praiseworthy characteristics, as well as the *maren* (noble) traits of Suhu Batu. They were expected to be courageous and strong (*makang*), sagacious and prudent (*dena' kimef*), and helpful ('*un sahe*'); to have a sense of compassion and social responsibility ('*un lesau*'); to be polite when talking and to think rationally (*tiga tira' ngan kenep*); to be effective in uniting and advising the people (*mencam pebeka' ngan mencam pekatok dulu ngeleppo*); to speak the truth and dislike lying (*abe' uba' lemalo, ngan bang pisiu iya lan*); to have a broad perspective and an open mind ('*un kenep iya dado*'); to have a sense of shame ('*un sae*'); to not be hasty in action (*abe' uba' basuk kenep*), to keep from vilifying others (*abe' uba' pejaat dulu*); and, finally, to have great determination and a sense of responsibility in leadership (*bawa*). This was the ideal leader who was respected by the *panyen*, and anyone chosen to be a leader had to understand and adhere to these principles of leadership.

The Adat Puon

In the ceremonies of the *Adat Puon* tradition, society was divided into the *detau bio*, or high nobility; the *detau dumit*, or low nobility; the *panyen*, consisting of *panyen tiga*, or the descendants of intermarriages of *paren* and *panyen*, and the *panyen kelayan*, or ordinary people; and the *ula*, or slaves. As soon as a ceremony was over, the *paren* category became one again, and was no longer divided into high and low nobility.

The *Adat Puon* tradition, the old beliefs of the Kenyah, occupied an important place in all social activities including choosing the location of settlements. Bird omens (*amen-amen*) were always used, and people did not hesitate to abandon a settlement if the signs were unfavourable, even if village construction was already almost completed. In the *Adat Puon*, the sound and the direction of the passage of several types of animals and birds—the *isit* bird and the *pengulung* (a type of owl), the deer, the Brahminy kite, the cobra, and others—were believed to influence human life and were interpreted as auspicious or inauspicious signs.

The *Adat Puon* had ceremonial aspects with definite and heavy requirements, which had a significant impact on social life, among others with regard to protection. For example, the *mamat* festival always involved human skulls (the result of headhunting, *ngayau*). If an epidemic spread to a village and left many people dead, it was necessary to hold the *tepo* ceremony, which required the use of blood of a murdered human being in order to protect the village.

Adat Bungan and its Influence

In 1947-50, a new religious current, *Adat Bungan*, appeared. The new belief, which was spread by Juk Apui, a man from Long Ampung (of the Kenyah Leppo' Jalan group), was reportedly revealed to him in a dream. This belief was actually only a revised

version of the *Adat Puon*. Certain requirements, such as animal sacrifice, were eliminated because they were a heavy burden on the people and several strict taboos were removed. In the *Adat Bungan* ceremonies, it was sufficient to pray directly to Bungan Malan Paselong Luan (the goddess of creation) and use a chicken egg as a intermediary that replaced all animal sacrifices. After the introduction of the *Adat Bungan* to Leppo' Tau society, the social stratification changed, resulting in the elimination of the distinction between high and low nobles or aristocrats. With regard to the *panyen* and the *ula'*, no changes occurred.

The Leppo' Tau nobility initially was opposed to the *Bungan* cult, especially because it eliminated several hitherto essential ceremonial requirements. They feared for the safety of the people, because they were responsible to the gods. They opposed the principles of the *Bungan* cult and tried to prevent its growth and spread; finally, however, they had to accept it.

The Influence of Christianity

Christianity was introduced to the Leppo' Tau between 1952 and 1965, as its adherents spread. Christianity actually had already been introduced at the time of the Dutch presence in Apau Kayan, but it had not spread among the people. In the early 1950s, positions for and against the acceptance of Christianity were taken among the Leppo' Tau, and especially among the nobility in Long Nawang. Many of the residents of Long Nawang were strongly in favour of retaining the *Adat Bungan*; they separated from the village and established a new village at Nawang Baru, on the Nawang River (1952), while those who converted to Christianity have remained in Long Nawang until today. In approximately 1965, Christianity received a great opportunity, because the Indonesian government threatened that anyone still following the *Adat Bungan* or even the *Adat Puon* would be considered 'godless', and could thus be declared a Communist and be subject to punishment. The government apparatus forcibly disrupted and destroyed all places of worship of the adherents of the *Adat Bungan*.

The effects of Christianity are visible in the social stratification. The nobility became one single category. So did the class of ordinary people, as the distinction between *panyen tiga* and *panyen kelayan* also disappeared. The slave category was eliminated by the government, in line with the now dominant Christian ideas. Today the differences between the two remaining classes or strata are no longer striking for various reasons: Christian beliefs, educational progress, and economic factors. This means that the social classes are no longer functional, except in the selection of leaders: As of today, no *panyen* has ever been chosen to become village head, much less *adat* chief.

The System of Leadership and Social Institutions

The system of leadership of the Leppo' Tau is as follows: 1) at the level of the *wilayah adat* (a large customary domain, for example, a whole river basin, consisting of more than one ethnic group): the *kepala adat besar* (great *adat* chief) and his staff of notables or elders (*pengelata' leppo'*), his assistants (*pegawa leppo'*), and 'public relations' officers (*pelawa'*); 2) at the level of a settlement or single ethnic group: the village chief (*kepala leppo'* or *paren leppo'*, today the village head), with his appointees, the *pengelata' leppo'* (community leaders), assistants (*pegawa leppo'*), and public relations officers (*pelawa'*); and 3) at the longhouse level: the longhouse

chief (*kepala uma'* or *paren uma'*), his staff of *pegawa uma'* belonging to the *panyen tiga* category, and the publication relations officer, *pelawa'*.

The Adat Chief

The *adat* chief (or great *adat* chief) was chosen and appointed by all Kenyah groups occupying one given region (or one river basin) to lead and regulate social life. Some of the terms for the *adat* chief used through the ages are *pengelata'* (a respected person, notable), *paren bio'* (the great aristocrat), *paren negen* or *paren mano'* (direct descendants of high nobility), *raja* (king, after a relationship with the sultan of Kutai had developed), *kepala suku besar* (great tribal chief) or, for short, *kepala suku* (tribal chief, a phrase used during Dutch times), and finally, *kepala adat* or *kepala adat besar* (the phrase used under the Indonesian government).

A candidate for the position of *kepala adat* must meet a number of requirements (see the characteristics of an ideal leader above); he also must have broad influence; he must be appointed by the ordinary people; he must be able to talk well and influence the people; he must be honest and polite when talking; he must be able to receive the suggestions and opinions of others; in his service to the people, he may not distinguish between the nobility and the ordinary people.

In carrying out his duties, the *kepala adat* is assisted by the *pengelata' leppo'*, notables from both the nobility and the ordinary people; the assistants of the village chief, *pegawa leppo'*, chosen for their oratory skills from among the *panyen tiga*; and by public relations officers, *pelawa'*, chosen from among the ordinary people. It is the task and function of the *adat* chief to make the decisions to be implemented by the people, to serve as an intermediary and as advisor if interethnic group conflicts develop, and to act as a leader in *adat* ceremonies. The village notables (*pengelata' leppo'*) are respected individuals among the people who have been given 'elder' status. In every village (*leppo'*), these notables assist the village chief (*kepala leppo'*) in the leadership of the village, but the notables of several villages also have an advisory role to the *adat* chief and to their respective village chiefs. In this respect, they also act as liaison between the great *adat* chief and the chiefs of each village.

The assistants to the village chief (*pegawa leppo'*) are selected from among influential figures of the *panyen tiga*. The *panyen tiga* act as partners or assistants to the *paren*, and their apartments (*amin*) are always located to the right and left of the *amin* of the *paren*. The *pegawa leppo'* serve many functions: to assist in reaching decision together with the *kepala adat*; they assist him in all kinds of activities and can represent him; they give advice and present their opinions to him; they mediate if disagreement develops among the *paren*; they serve as leaders of village meetings or *adat* ceremonies; and they mobilise the people to carry out the decisions of the *adat* chief. The *pegawa leppo'* are not officially appointed, but are selected by the *adat* chief with the support of the public. These people must be able to speak well, communicate easily, and be loyal to the *adat* chief. The number of these assistants (*pegawa leppo'*) varies; usually there are more than one, but rarely more than five.

The *pelawa'*, or human relations officers, are usually chosen from among the common people. They are not officially appointed, but they are merely directly designated by the *adat* chief. Appointment to this position is a matter of pride for the person selected and for his family, who are viewed as trusted by the *adat* chief. The functions of the *pelawa'* are to convey news directly of any decision by the *adat* chief to the people; together with the *kepala leppo'*, to mobilise the people to

implement the decisions of the *adat* chief; and to serve as messengers of the *adat* chief whenever necessary.

The Village Chief

The village chief (*kepala leppo'*, or also *paren leppo'*) is selected and appointed from among the *paren*. In former times, it was often the case that one ethnic group was equated with only one village, so that the village head was simultaneously the chief of the group (*kepala suku*)—but this was not the case for the great chief (*kepala suku besar*). The village chief, then, was only the leader of his own group. The *kepala leppo'* from the various villages (or ethnic groups) in the area surrounding a given village also took part in the selection of that village's *kepala leppo'*. The *kepala leppo'* had to submit to and follow the decisions of the great *adat* chief; he implemented the decisions of the great *adat* chief in his village, and he was responsible to the great *adat* chief for the safety and security of the people of his own village. He reported to the great *adat* chief on any disputes in or among villages; and he was expected to settle disputes among the residents of his own village; he assisted the great *adat* chief in settling intergroup conflicts. Qualifications for becoming *kepala leppo'* did not differ from those that had to be met by an *adat* chief. The *kepala leppo'* is today referred to as 'village head', either *kepala desa*, *kepala kampung*, or *petinggi* (village mayor).

The Longhouse Chief

The chief of the longhouse, *kepala uma'* (also referred to as *paren uma'*), is always a member of the nobility and a descendent of the *paren leppo'*. Population growth led to the breakup of the original *uma'* (longhouse; see above) and led to the establishment of new longhouses. The *paren* who established them became their chiefs, *paren uma'*. In this way, a *leppo'* (village) could consist of several longhouses. If a *paren* moved to another area, he also became the new longhouse chief (*kepala uma'*) in the new village. If the longhouse has been replaced with family homes, the *kepala uma'* is now the head of the 'block', or neighbourhood unit (RT, *Rukun Tetangga*), and is called *Ketua RT*.

The longhouse chief leads the people in the longhouse, and he may be selected to become village chief (*paren leppo'*) or even great *adat* chief. If he is selected to become *adat* chief, then his apartment (*amin*) may be raised and enlarged to the size of that of the preceding *adat* chief.

The longhouse chief is charged with protecting and regulating life in the longhouse and with leading the people. In this, he is responsible to the *adat* chief. He also accompanies the *adat* chief on his visits to other groups. Within the longhouse environment, he settles conflicts and leads *adat* ceremonies. The longhouse chief is always accompanied by the *pegawa uma'*, who act as his advisors in all decisions made. The *pegawa uma'* belong to the *panyen tiga* category, who live to the right and left of his *amin* and must be ready whenever called for without having to be assigned.

The Process of Decision Making and the Customary Law

Within the stratified Kenyah society, leadership has always been in the hands of the *paren*, who exercise power and make decisions. Nevertheless, the leaders rarely act dictatorially, because at times they only formalise decisions that have already been taken in a consultative meeting (*musyawarah*) and with advice from the notables

(*pengelata'*, *pegawai leppo'*, and members of the *panyen tiga*). The system of leadership of the Leppo' Tau has always resembled a 'guided democracy', in which the *paren* make the final decision after holding meetings and consultations.

Tradition and customary law (*adat*) is highly honoured and respected. If offences against *adat* occur—such as elopements, sexual relations outside marriage and adultery, slander or insults of others, or pregnancy outside of marriage—the *adat* chief or the village chief will immediately call an *adat* meeting to take action by applying *adat* sanctions, punishments, or fines. Fines require the payment of a machete or the surrender of an heirloom item such as a gong, jar, or other, according to existing *adat* regulations. In addition to fines, sanctions such as banishment may also be imposed. For example, if a woman becomes pregnant without a known husband (*temale' awah*), she is banned from the village until she has given birth. She sets up a hut and food, and care can only be provided by her parents. After she has given birth, she may bring her child back to the village, but she still has to turn in what she was required to pay, which becomes the property of the village.

For crimes such as theft, fraud, robbery, murder of a fellow resident, there are no strict and definite sanctions, which may derive from the fact that such crimes hardly ever occur among the Kenyah. If a fellow resident is killed, it is usually unintentionally, as in a hunting accident. To cleanse the village from the evil effects of such accidents, it is necessary to hold a great *adat* ceremony, which is attended by all residents. The cost for the ceremony is charged to whoever was responsible for the accident. That person is also required to surrender heirloom items (such as a jar), which has mainly symbolic significance—it does not require a particular size or type of heirloom, nor does it pay excessive attention to its value. On the occasion of this ceremony, the notables, the *adat* chief, and the village chief offer words of advice and guidance aimed at preventing the recurrence of such accidents.

Adat Petutung

Petutung means 'to make peace' between two Dayak groups or villages by means of an alliance by marriage between children of the village chiefs (*kepala leppo'*) of the two parties that have been in conflict, in the hope that the descendants of these marriages will eventually also become village chiefs and will play an important role as mediators if disputes or tension develop again between the two parties. This peacemaking can also occur through an exchange of symbolic objects, such as gongs (*tawe'*), tiger claws, spears, or shields, that is accompanied by an oath taken on these objects.

Petutung can also be used preventively, when signs of impending conflict between two groups appear and there is concern that these might lead to war. It is also used to improve unity among different groups living near each other in one region, even if there are no signs of hostility. Historically, the Leppo' Tau frequently used the latter approach to extend their power over other, smaller groups to force them to submit and recognise the leadership of the Leppo' Tau. *Petutung* involving such imposed intermarriage has resulted in the presence among the leaders of the other, less powerful groups of a Leppo' Tau *paren*, representing the power of the Leppo' Tau. Thus, once the child of this *paren* had become a leader, he could ensure the group's continuing loyalty to the Leppo' Tau. Thus, *petutung* was a frequent occurrence in the history of Kenyah society, and became an important political tool for the Leppo' Tau in its competition for power in the Apau Kayan area.

HISTORY OF THE KENYAH LEPPU' TAU

Origins of the Leppo' Tau

Baya' Li' (a direct descendant of Leppo' Tau nobility) says that, according to legends, his ancestors came from across the sea and settled on the Baram River (Telang Usang), in Sarawak, where they remained for twelve generations (see Figures 10.1 and 10.2). Subsequently, they moved to the upper Iwan River area under the leadership of Suhu Batu. According to Baya' Li', the leadership of the Kenyah Leppo' Tau can be traced for 24 generations since they crossed the sea: 1) Julan Awang (who came from across the sea), 2) Ubang Julan (who settled on the Baram River), 3) Kelawa Ubang, 4) Gela Kelawa, 5) Aka Gela, 6) Lurek Aka, 7) Apui Lurek, 8) Lencau Apui, 9) Masing Lencau, 10) La'ing Masing, 11) Batang La'ing, 12) Batu Batang, 13) Suhu Batu (who settled on the Iwan River), 14) Lencau Suhu, 15) Kajan Lencau, 16) Bungan Kajan, 17) Asa (or Tasa) Bungan (who moved to Ikeng Iwan), 18) Ngau Tau, 19) Anye' Ngau, *Ungau Kayang (who moved to Apau Kayan), *Usat Ngau, 20) Surang Anye' (who settled in Long Nawang), 21) Ingan Surang, 22) Lencau Ingan, 23) Li' Lencau, *Bit Ncuk, *Pare' La'ing (the *Adat* Chief of Apau Kayan in 1993), 24) Baya' Li'. The sequence indicates a straight line of descent from the first *paren* of the Leppo' Tau, except where the asterisk indicates the emergence of a leader from other *paren* families.

Calculations based on these 24 generations tentatively allow us to conclude that the ancestors of the Kenyah moved to Kalimantan around 1350 to 1450 AD. Five generations lie between Anye' Ngau and Baya' Li' (who is now 50-60 years old), this means that the Leppo' Tau entered the Apau Kayan area only 150-175 years ago (see historical maps).

Only after a number of Kenyah people had left the Baram River (Telang Usan) to settle in the upper Iwan River area (at Apau Kayu Tau, Bawang Da'a, and Apau Data) did the various names of the Kenyah subgroups appear in relation to certain specific characteristics of their settlements. For example, the name Leppo' Tau is derived from the *kayu tau* (*tau* tree), which was found in the yards of their longhouses.

History of Leppo' Tau Settlement on the Upper Iwan River

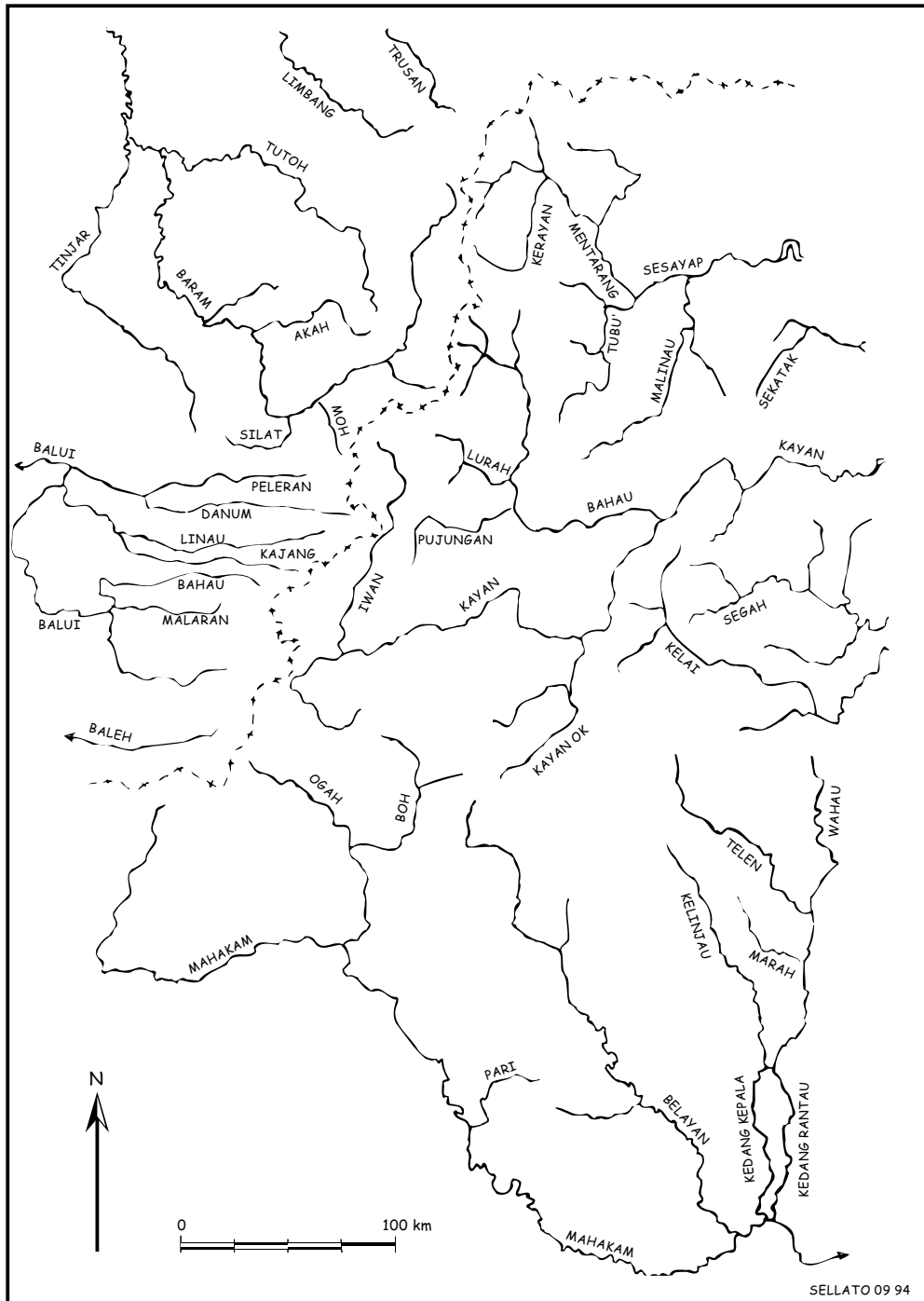
The Kenyah who eventually became known as the Leppo' Tau moved from the Baram River to the upper Iwan River under the leadership of Suhu Batu approximately twelve generations ago. At the same time, a number of other Kenyah groups also moved to the upper Iwan River. These groups settled close to one another in the highlands known as Apau Kayu Tau, Bawang Da'a, and Apau Data and their surroundings.

Apau Kayu Tau and Bawang Da'a (c. 1700-1750?)

Apau Kayu Tau is located in the mountainous area between the Baram River and the Iwan and Bahau rivers. The Leppo' Tau there were led by Suhu Batu. The name Leppo' Tau was derived from a wooden post or stick known as *beraka' tau* (or *kayu tau*), which was used to measure the sun's position in order to set the favourable date of the planting season.

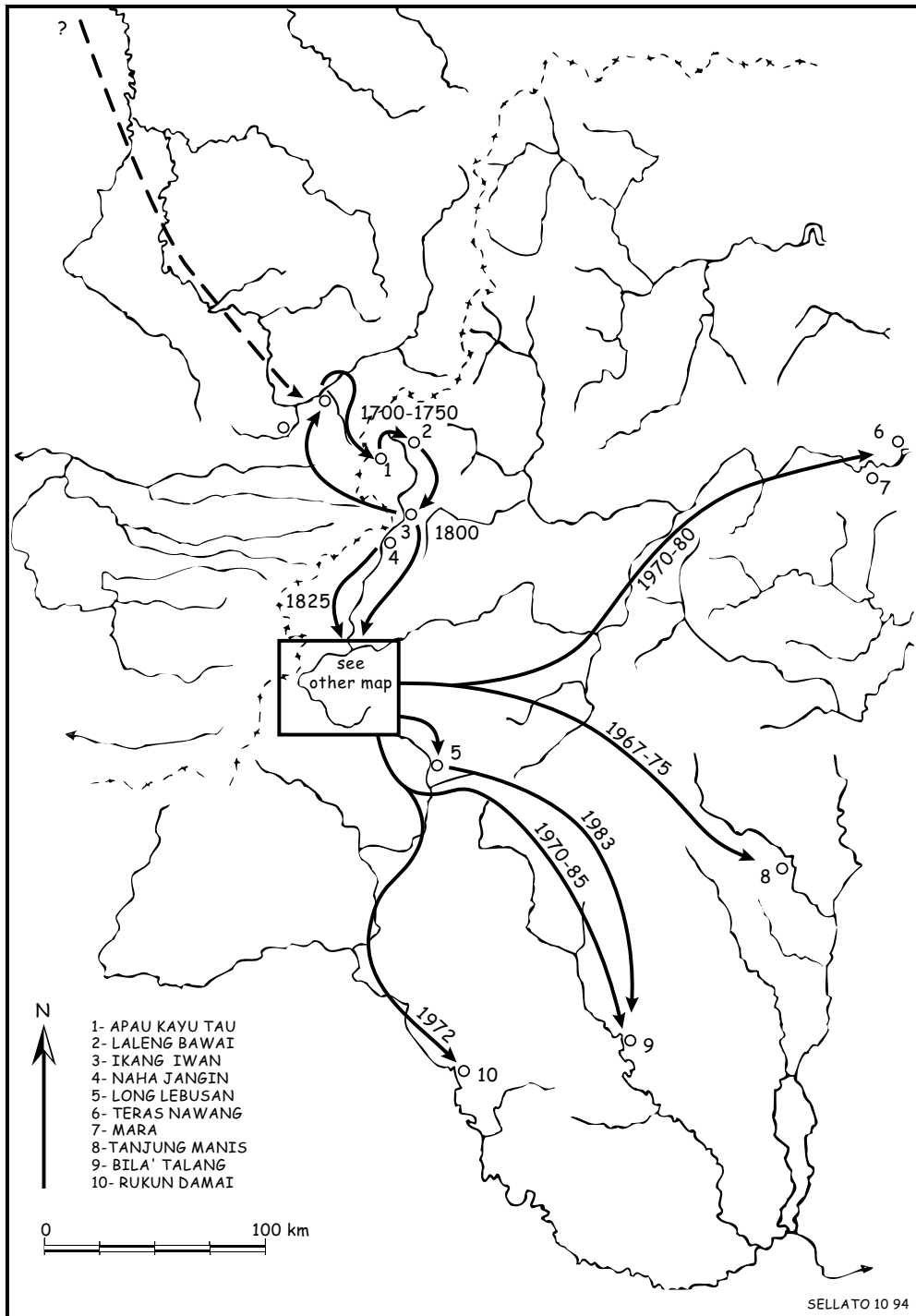
Eventually the farming and hunting areas around Apau Kayu Tau became too small. Because of this and of the frequent intergroup wars, the various groups decided to split and move away, settling quite far from each other. The Leppo' Tau moved to Laleng Bawai, together with their allies, the Leppo' Tukung, Leppo' Bem, and Leppo' Jalan.

Figure 10.1 Hydrographic map of interior northern East Kalimantan



SELLATO 09 94

Figure 10.2 Migrations of the Kenyah Leppo' Tau (1)



Since that time, the Leppo' Tau have attempted to keep their various allies united in order to guarantee their common safety. In every migration, the Leppo' Tau were always followed by these groups, who established settlements nearby.

Laleng Bawai (c. 1730-1800?)

Laleng Bawai was located on the upper Iyung River, a tributary of the Iwan. The Leppo' Tau were led by Lencau Suhu. They remained in this area for three generations. In the third generation, as a result of war, no suitable leaders were left and a vacancy developed in the leadership. A young orphan, Uyau I'ut (the term means 'small orphan'), who had been raised among the Kenyah Uma' Alim, was appointed leader of the Leppo' Tau, who subsequently moved to Ikeng Iwan, joining other Kenyah groups which had settled there earlier.

Ikeng Iwan (c. 1780-1820)

Ikeng Iwan is located on the banks of the Iwan River. The Leppo' Tau were led by Palung Lawai, the son of Uyau I'ut. After his death, Palung was succeeded by Taman Bawe' Tului (whose original name was Tului Lawai). Under Tului's leadership, open war broke out between the Leppo' Tau and their Kenyah allies (Leppo' Tukung, Leppo' Jalan, Leppo' Bem, and Bakung), on the one hand, and the Kenyah Uma' Alim, on the other. The Leppo' Tau lost and suffered many casualties. Several years later, Tului decided to move his group back to the Baram River, but the other leaders (*paren*) disagreed. Tului departed, taking with him a large number of people, that is, seven longhouses. This group initially settled at Lusung Laku (or Apau Paya), but they were attacked by the Iban. Then, they moved to Long Uheng, under the leadership of Ngulo Arang. Later, they moved again to Long Belian, and finally to Long Mu'u (Long Moh, Baram) and Lepu'un Sampi (Baram), under the leadership of Bilung Kuleh. In the meantime, only three longhouses had remained at Ikeng Iwan, led by Usat Ngau, Ungau Kayang, and Palung Tanyit, respectively. From these three longhouses derived all the Leppo' Tau who are settled in Apau Kayan today.

Not long after this, the Leppo' Timai allies of the Leppo' Tau, who had formerly settled on the upper Pujungan River, decided to move to Naha Jangin, not far from Ikeng Iwan. The Leppo' Tau invited the Leppo' Timai to join them to form a single settlement, but the Leppo' Timai preferred to survey the Kayan River area, with the intention of moving to Long Metun. At that time, many Kayan groups were still living in the Apau Kayan. Civil war broke out between two Kayan leaders, Ngau Wan Luhang and Kuleh Laleng Awang. After Kuleh was killed, Ngau swore to leave the Kayan River area altogether and, as a result, the Kayan people dispersed to various areas, including the Mahakam River region and the Balui River in Sarawak. This left the Apau Kayan region empty, and the Leppo' Timai moved from Naha Jangin to Long Metun, on the Kayan River. The Leppo' Timai, the largest and strongest among the Kenyah groups and the first to enter the upper Kayan River basin, were led by Ajang Ipui and Jalung Ipui. Among all Kenyah groups in Ikeng Iwan, the Leppo' Timai were the most respected.

In the meantime, at Ikeng Iwan, the child of a member of the nobility of the Leppo' Tau, was killed, and this led to a split. Part of the Leppo' Tau moved with their *paren*, Ungau Kayang, to Naha Jangin. New leaders were appointed by the *bali dayung* (spirits that possess religious leaders). Those appointed were Surang Anye' and Ngau Merang Anye', both orphans since early childhood (*uyau i'ut*), and the *bali dayung*

blessed Surang and instructed the people: 'Take good care of this child, because he will become the leader of the Leppo' Tau in the future.'

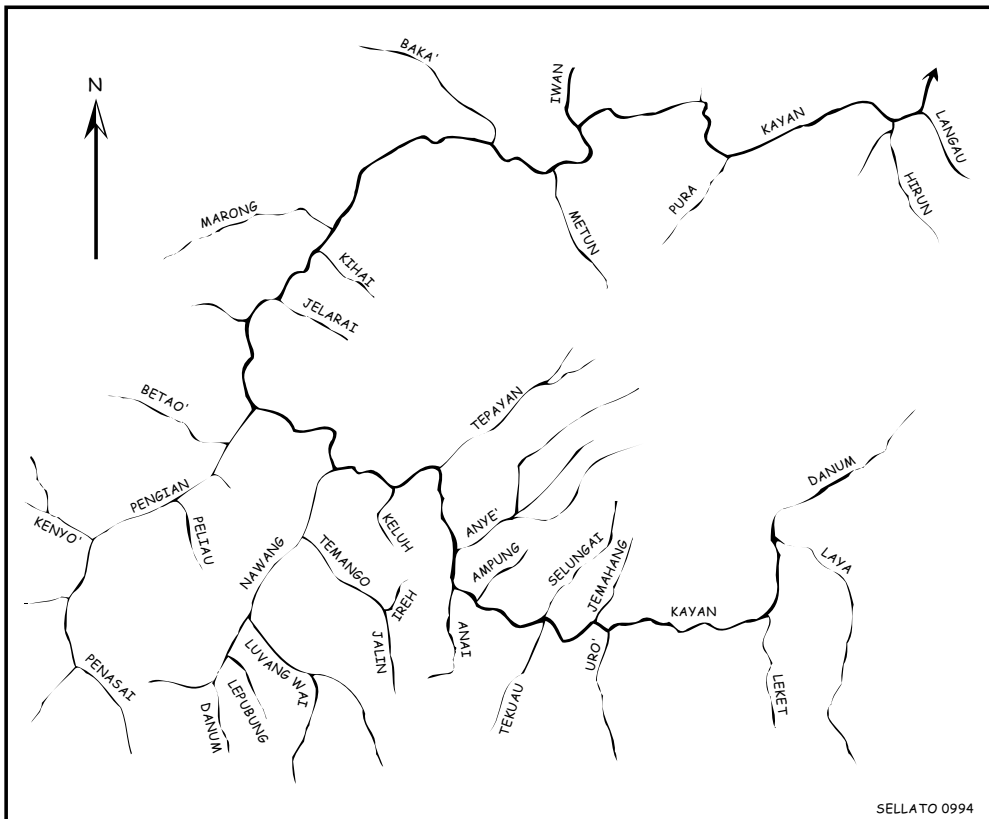
History of Leppo' Tau Settlement in the Apau Kayan

After remaining for approximately one century in the upper Iwan River area, the Leppo' Tau moved downstream to the part of the Apau Kayan known today known as Kayan Hilir Subdistrict, following the Leppo' Timai, and settled on the lower Iwan River (see Figures 10.3 and 10.4).

Naha Jangin (c. 1820-1825)

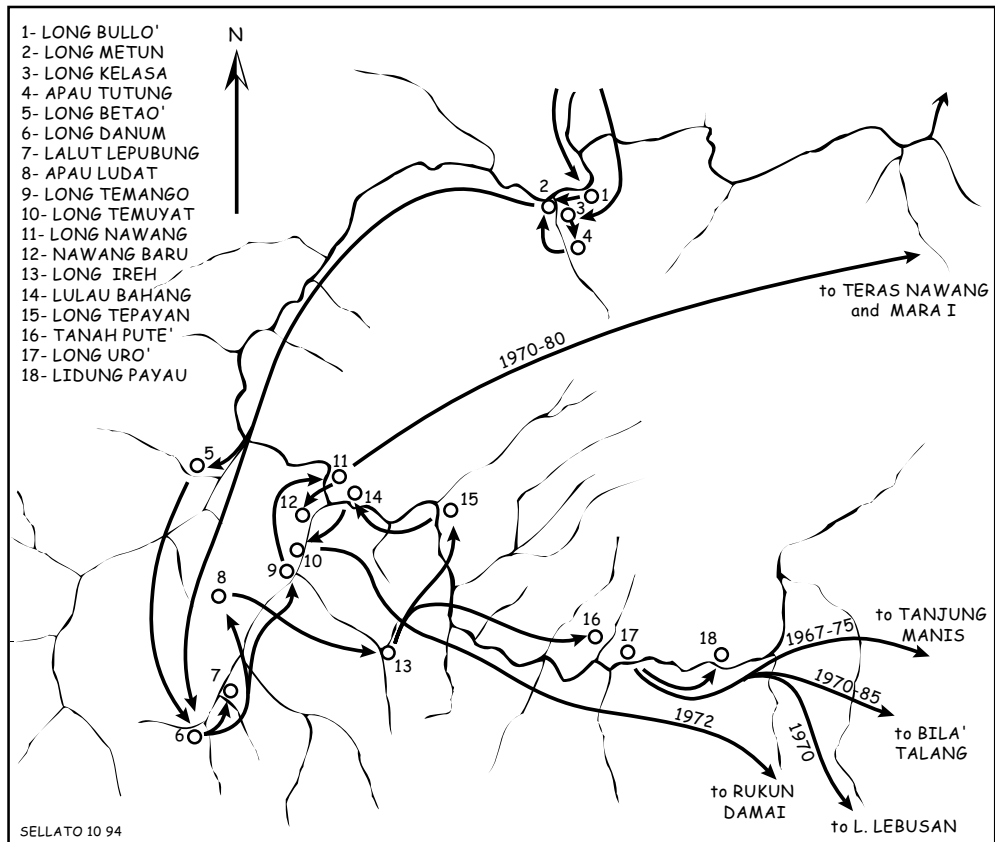
Some of the Leppo' Tau under Ungau Kayang had already settled in Naha Jangin (on the banks of the Iwan River, downstream from Ikeng Iwan) when Surang Anye' and Ngau Merang Anye' joined Ungau Kayang, their adoptive father. At the same time, another *paren*, Palung Tanyit, and his followers also moved to Naha Jangin, and from there the Leppo' Tau moved to Long Bullo'. In the meantime, Tubang Lusat and his followers remained at Ikeng Iwan.

Figure 10.3 Hydrographic map of Apau Kayan



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Figure 10.4 Migrations of the Kenyah Leppo' Tau (2)



Long Bullo' (c. 1825-1830)

At Long Bullo', on the Kayan River, downstream from Long Metun, they remained only for a short time, because they felt too distant from the village of the Leppo' Timai at Long Metun. In the meantime, Surang Anye' and Ngau Merang were approaching adulthood and began to lead the Leppo' Tau. They invited Tubang Lusat and his followers in Ikeng Iwan to join them at Long Bullo', because the latter's small numbers at Ikeng Iwan did not guarantee their safety. After they arrived at the Kayan river, however, Tubang Lusat's group decided to move on upriver along the Kayan River. They entered the Metun River and settled in Long Kelasa.

Long Kelasa (c. 1825-1830)

Long Kelasa is located on the Metun River, not far from the mouth of the river. The group of Leppo' Tau led by Tubang Lusat settled there for only a short time, moving again to an *apau* or highland area, not far from Long Kelasa and close to the village of the Leppo' Timai. Less than a year later, their longhouse burned down, and hence this location was named Apau Tutung ('burnt plateau'). The Leppo' Timai, notified of this disaster, picked up the people of Apau Tutung to join them in Long Metun. The Leppo' Tau who had lived at Long Bullo' also joined them in Long Metun.

Long Metun (c. 1825-1830)

The Leppo' Tau remained only a short time at Long Metun with the Leppo' Timai, because the relationship between the two groups suddenly became tense when a Leppo' Tau woman was killed by a member of the Leppo' Timai. However, the leaders of the Leppo' Tau, Surang Anye' and Ngau Merang Anye', had to submit to the *paren* of the Leppo' Timai, Ajang Ipui and Kalung Ipui. As a consequence of this killing, the Leppo' Timai moved to the upper reaches of the Kayan River, and there they split into two groups, each group taking with them part of the Leppo' Tau. One group of Leppo' Timai, under Jalung Ipui, moved to the Tahap River (a tributary of the Pengian), and was soon followed by a group of Leppo' Tau under the leadership of Surang Anye' and Ngau Merang Anye', who established a village at Long Betao' (near the Tahap River). The second group of Leppo' Timai, led by Ajang Ipui, moved to the Lubang Wai River (a tributary of the Nawang river), and was followed by another group of the Leppo' Tau under the leadership of Tubang Lusat, who settled in Long Danum (on the Upper Nawang River). This left Long Metun empty.

History of Leppo' Tau Settlement on the Upper Kayan River

From Long Metun (today part of the subdistrict of Kayan Hilir), the Leppo' Tau moved across the Apau Kayan far upriver along the Kayan River (now part of the subdistrict of Kayan Hulu).

Long Betao' (c. 1830-1835)

Long Betao' is located on the banks of the Pengian River, not far from the mouth of the river and close to the Tahap River and the village of the Leppo' Timai. There, the Leppo' Timai and the Leppo' Tau remained only one year, because Tubang Lusat wanted to force the Leppo' Tau at Long Betao' to move to Long Danum. Tubang ordered the Leppo' Yibun (i.e., Nyibun; see Njau Anau in this volume), then living on the Iwan River, to attack Long Betao'. Surang Anye' and Ngau Merang fled the village of Long Betao' in order to avoid the burning of the village by the Nyibun, and they moved their group to Long Danum. The Leppo' Timai from the Tahap River moved to Apau Kuleh, upstream from Long Danum, while the Leppo' Timai from the Luban Wai River, under the leadership of Ajang Ipui, moved nearby, to Apau Kuleh.

Long Danum (c. 1830-1835)

The Danum River is located on the extreme upper reaches of the Nawang River. The Leppo' Tau remained there for four years, then they split again, because of leadership problems: Surang Anye' and Ngau Merang Anye' brought their followers to Lalut Lepubung (slightly upstream from Long Danum), while Mpui Julang and Ingan Lusat led theirs to Apau Ludat (in the mountains between the Nawang and the Pengian rivers). At Apau Ludat, they remained for only about two years, because they were attacked by the Iban of Sarawak. Subsequently, they moved again to Long Ireh.

Lalut Lepubung (c. 1835-1850)

At Lalut Lepubung, the Leppo' Tau were still led by Surang Anye' and Ngau Merang Anye'. At this site two important events occurred between the Leppo' Tau and the

Leppo' Timai, as well as one incident involving the Kenyah Leppo' Kulit. There, too, all the Kenyah groups of the Apau Kayan formed a union.

According to the old custom, during the rice-planting season, Kenyah people arranged the work schedule according to social stratification. The first day was used for people who took omens and observed a number of prohibitions on behalf of the entire community; the second day was reserved for the *kepala leppo'*; the third for the entire *paren* group; the fourth day for the *panyen tiga*, and so on. At that time, the village heads (*kepala leppo'*) were Surang Anye' and Ngau Merang for the Leppo' Tau, and Jalung Ipui and Ajang Ipui for the Leppo' Timai. Jalung Ipui and Ajang Ipui harshly prohibited Surang Anye' and Ngau Merang from planting on the second day, because the Leppo' Tau were considered of lower standing than the Leppo' Timai. The messengers from the Leppo' Timai were thrashed by the Leppo' Tau.

Another incident occurred as a result of an attack by the Kenyah Uma' Baka' on the Kenyah Uma' Kelep, who were allied with the Leppo' Timai. The Uma' Kelep believed their aggressors to be the Leppo' Tau, and reported this to the Leppo' Timai at Apau Kuleh. The Leppo' Timai responded by attacking the Leppo' Jalan, who were allies of the Leppo' Tau. In response, the Leppo' Tau threatened to attack the Leppo' Timai village of Apau Kuleh but, in the end, an agreement was reached with the Leppo' Timai and the Leppo' Tau were satisfied with attacking only the Leppo' Kelep, a lower-ranking group allied to the Leppo' Timai. After this event, the Leppo' Timai moved to Bawang Beliu (upriver from Long Ampung), and not long thereafter they moved again to Long Jemahang, and from there to the Tabang River area (a tributary of the Mahakam river). Since that time, there have been no Leppo' Timai in Apau Kayan, and the Leppo' Tau have remained as the most prominent and best known of the Kenyah groups in Apau Kayan.

After the Leppo' Timai had left the Apau Kayan, the Sultan of Kutai in Tenggaraong inquired as to whom could be trusted to represent all Kenyah groups in Apau Kayan. The three *kepala leppo'*, who were visiting Tenggaraong, suggested that Surang Anye' of the Leppo' Tau be appointed as the leader of all the Kenyah groups in Apau Kayan. The Sultan sent to Surang Anye' symbols of his investiture, in the form of a spear named *nyatap bujak* and several pieces of cloth and royal clothing, with the message that he should maintain safety in the Apau Kayan area. Surang Anye' firmly refused these presents in consideration of the feelings of all the other Kenyah groups, and suggested that these symbols be sent around to all Kenyah groups in Apau Kayan. He invited the Kenyah leaders to Lalut Lepubung to discuss the problem of the sultan's gift or investiture. This meeting was attended by Lake' Langet (from the Kayan Uma' Lekan), Bilung Lusat (Kenyah Leppo' Bem), La'ing Imang (Kenyah Bakung, Taman Bo' Bilung (Kenyah Leppo' Tukung), Uda Ajang (aka Bo' Bulan, Kenyah Leppo' Kulit), Peng La'eng (Kenyah Leppo' Teppu), and Ngau Bilung (Kenyah Leppo' Jalan).

The meeting's outcome was that Surang Anye' was the most appropriate leader to retain the gifts of the Sultan. Surang was elevated to the position of leader of all the Kenyah groups of Apau Kayan, and he was given the title of Kepala Suku Besar se-Apau Kayan (equal to the term *paren bio'* in the Kenyah language). All ethnic groups of Apau Kayan were strictly forbidden from creating unrest or make war. A union symbolised by the hornbill was established. It was controlled by the leader of the all Kenyah groups in Apau Kayan. If this bird was sent out, its voice served as a call to all groups and had to be obeyed. If any one of these groups purposely committed crimes and destroyed the unity, action was to be taken by all the other groups together. After this, the leaders of the Leppo' Tau were responsible for travelling through the Apau

Kayan area and visiting all the Kenyah groups to implement the *petutung* (peacemaking ceremonies).

These events were followed by the Long Peliau incident. Because a married Leppo' Tau woman had slept with a Leppo' Kulit man in Lalut Lepubung, a group of Leppo' Tau attacked the Leppo' Kulit near the village of Long Peliau. Because the weeding season was already over, they did not encounter anyone and to appease their anger, they cut down the paddy of the Leppo' Kulit. The Leppo' Kulit rushed to their fields and an uneven fight took place, in which the Leppo' Tau were outnumbered and exterminated, leaving only one survivor to carry the news back to Lalut Lepubung. The Leppo' Tau took revenge and many Leppo' Kulit fell victim. Thereupon the Leppo' Tau made peace (*petutung*) with the Leppo' Kulit, and soon after, moved to Long Temango.

Long Temango (c. 1850-1865)

In Long Temango, the Leppo' Tau were still led by Surang Anye' and Ngau Merang Anye'. After one year in that location, Ngau Merang died. While the Leppo' Tau lived in Long Temango, two important military events occurred.

The first, was a war with the Bakung, who did not want to adhere to the agreement reached at the meeting in Lalut Lepubung and who tended to kill anyone who came to their village at Tegeh. Surang Anye' met at Long Temango with all the *kepala leppo'* (village heads) of the Kenyah, and it was decided that the Bakung had to surrender a number of their people as slaves to all groups involved in order to replace the people whom they had killed. If this was not complied with, the allied Kenyah forces, coordinated by the Leppo' Tau, would attack the Bakung at Tegeh. The Bakung opted for war, and thus open war broke out with unevenly balanced forces and the Bakung suffered many casualties.

Then war broke out with the Uma' Baka', who often attacked the Leppo' Jalan—this resulted in the death of Ajang Apui, brother of Lawai Ingan (*kepala leppo'* of the Leppo' Tau at Long Ireh)—and with the Leppo' Tukung and the Leppo' Bem. Because of such extended feuds, the Leppo' Tau in Long Ireh asked Surang Anye' in Long Temango to plan a revenge. As head of all the Kenyah of Apau Kayan, Surang Anye' could not approve of this plan, but he appointed several of his men from Long Temango to accompany the forces of Long Ireh in their attack on Batu Aping (the village of the Uma' Baka'), with instructions not to chase people into their houses, because the Uma' Baka' were very few in number. The Uma' Baka' were unable to resist and suffered many casualties.

From Long Temango, Surang Anye' moved his group to Long Nawang. In the meantime, the group at Long Ireh, under the leadership of Mpui Jalan, split: Mpui Jalan himself and his followers moved to Tana' Pute (on the Jemahang River), and the group led by Ingan Lusat moved to Long Tepayan (on the banks of the Kayan River). After several years at Tana' Pute, Mpui Jalan moved again to Long Uro', and this group still resides there today). In the meantime, Ingan Lusat moved to Lulau Bahang (across from the village of Long Nawang), but did not remain there long, moving again to Long Temuyat on the Nawang River).

History of the Leppo' Tau at Long Nawang

After their arrival in Long Nawang (c. 1865), the Leppo' Tau remained there, and are still there to this day.

The Times of Ingan Surang (c. 1865-1890)

Surang Anye', the leader of the Leppo' Tau at Long Nawang, died after two years there, and by common agreement Ingan Surang was appointed to succeed his father as the leader of the Kenyah groups of all Apau Kayan. Under the leadership of Ingan Suran, several important events took place. The Kenyah from Malaysia threatened the Leppo' Kulit in Apau Kayan, and asked that the Leppo' Kulit send one of their own people to replace someone they had killed. So Ingan Surang, to keep the peace among the Kenyah groups in Apau Kayan and Sarawak, surrendered one slave. Sometime later, a Leppo' Tau killed several Kenyah in Sarawak, forcing Ingan Surang to surrender another slave. At the request of the leader of the Leppo' Timai in Tabang, Ingan Surang once more had to surrender a slave to the Leppo' Timai, as a sign that he controlled Apau Kayan. Throughout the period of his leadership, Ingan Surang tried to maintain peace in the Apau Kayan area. He strictly prohibited all attacks on anyone and in whatever form, so that gradually peace was brought about. This is the time when the Kenyah people of Apau Kayan began to travel freely and began to go on *pelesai* (go away to work) in Sarawak.

In the meantime, the government of Raja Brooke succeeded in extending its influence to the interior of Sarawak, that is, the upper reaches of the Balui and Baram rivers. A large-scale peace ceremony was held to stop war among Dayak groups. The ceremony was attended by all the village chiefs (*kepala leppo'*) of the area. Ingan Surang, too, was invited to represent the Apau Kayan area. In his meeting with Raja Brooke, Ingan Surang made an agreement that he would maintain peace in his area, and Raja Brooke presented Ingan Surang with a royal vest as a symbol of his power in Apau Kayan. Not long after Ingan Surang had returned home from Sarawak, the Dutch carried out their first survey of Apau Kayan. They entered the Apau Kayan area from the Berau region, and, as a result, became known as Tuan Berau. Ingan Surang died and was succeeded by his son, Lencau Ingan (also called Uyung Lencau), who by common agreement became the *kepala suku besar* (great *adat* chief) of all of Apau Kayan.

The Times of Lencau Ingan, aka Uyung Lencau (c. 1893-1947)

Some time after Uyung Lencau assumed the leadership, the Dutch came again to Apau Kayan, in approximately 1900 (Coomans 1980). They came to set up government, headed by *Controleur* Habbema (known as Tuan Habuma). Several war incidents occurred under the leadership of Uyung Lencau. The Kayan killed two members of the Leppo' Kulit on the Kihan River. The Leppo' Kulit took revenge and killed ten Kayan people on the Irun River. Later the Bakung, the Leppo' Jalan, and the Leppo' Tau joined forces to attack the Leppo' Kulit on the Kihan River, and the attack was carried out at Long Kelasa (on the Metun River). The Bakung subsequently killed eight members of the Punan tribe on the Kelai River (Berau). The Punan on the Kelai River fought against the Punan Uho' (from the area of the Boh River).

Initially, the Dutch did not interfere in these conflicts, because they respected the authority of Uyung Lencau. Uyung Lencau settled all conflicts in accordance with *adat* law. This meant that the side that had done wrong had to replace the life taken by surrendering one of their own to become a slave to the group that had suffered the loss. After some time in Apau Kayan, the Dutch did begin to take power directly, without paying attention to the *adat* law that had always been followed by all Kenyah groups. At a certain time, Ingan Lencau (the son of Uyung Lencau) killed two persons who were in Dutch custody in Long Nawang. The Dutch captured Uyung Lencau, sentenced

him to eight years in prison, and transported him to Samarinda to serve his sentence. In Apau Kayan, a leadership vacuum developed, which resulted in widespread uncertainty among the people with regard to the future. All the elders or *kepala leppo'* in Apau Kayan, gathered at a great meeting, suggested that the Dutch Resident of Samarinda visit the Apau Kayan to see for himself the conditions of the people who were now without a leader. When the resident arrived in Apau Kayan, he was earnestly asked to set Uyung Lencau free, and this request was met. As soon as Uyung Lencau returned, the *kepala leppo'* held a meeting to reappoint him as *kepala suku besar* of all Apau Kayan.

During Uyung Lencau's second period of leadership, other challenges developed. In 1913, Catholic and Protestant missionaries began to spread their religion in Apau Kayan. The Catholic mission opened a post at Laham, in the Mahakam region, but because of communication difficulties, the religious services in Apau Kayan were discontinued. The Protestant mission (KINGMI), in the meantime, was able to grow quickly, because its centre at Tanjung Selor had uninterrupted connections with Apau Kayan. The Kenyah groups that first converted to the KINGMI Christianity were the Uma' Baka' at Long Marong and Long Iron. This took place after the visit of the minister Dixon in 1934 (see Lewis 1987).

World War II and, later, the Indonesian war for independence put a complete stop to Christian missionary activities in Apau Kayan. Yet, Christian ideas had already taken root among the Kenyah and began automatically to shift the position of the old *adat* (*Adat Puon*). The Christian principles were firmly rejected by the *paren* in Long Nawang, who wanted to maintain their old *adat* and beliefs, and Christians were forbidden to enter the village of Long Nawang. At that time (1947), the *adat* of *Bungan Malan Paselong Luan* started being disseminated by a member of the Leppo' Jalan named Juk Apui to compete with Christianity. The *Adat Bungan* also was continuously challenged by the Leppo' Tau. Juk Apui was scolded publicly and was forced to stop his activities. In the public's view, Juk Apui would suffer an unfortunate fate because he had offended the old *Adat Puon*. In fact, however, he grew more prosperous, and in 1950 the Kenyah as a whole, as well as Kayan and Punan groups, turned to *Adat Bungan*, not only in the Apau Kayan area but even as far away as Sarawak.

Nevertheless, KINGMI was able to re-enter the Apau Kayan area and gained adherents among the Leppo' Tau in Long Nawang. In 1952 a split occurred in Long Nawang: some of the Leppo' Tau, who kept to the *Adat Bungan*, moved into the Nawang River, approximately 2 km from its mouth, while those who had already converted to Christianity remained at Long Nawang. In the midst of these upheavals occasioned by the acceptance or rejection of Christianity, Uyung Lencau died on 11 June 1949. A meeting of all the groups chose Li' Lencau to succeed his father as great chief of the Kenyah of Apau Kayan.

The Times of Li' Lencau (1949-1969)

The appointment of Li' Lencau as great chief of the Kenyah coincided with a time of transition from the old religion (*Adat Puon*) to the *Bungan* cult and then to Christianity. The process of conversion ran smoothly after 1965, because of the concern among the people that they would be considered communists if they did not have one of the religions officially recognised by the Indonesian government. Since the *Bungan* cult was not recognised, the Leppo' Tau people opted for the appropriate religion that would guarantee their life as one family; that is, Christianity.

The title of Great Chief of the Kenyah groups of all Apau Kayan was changed to that of *kepala adat besar* (great customary chief, or simply *kepala adat*, customary chief) of all Apau Kayan, following the suggestion of the government. With the appearance of the government of the Republic of Indonesia in Apau Kayan, an opportunity opened for the introduction of cultural elements from outside, which brought about great changes into Kenyah society. Several Kenyah groups began to plan for a better way of life for their children and grandchildren in the future, to enable them to obtain more easily the staple goods that were so difficult to obtain in Apau Kayan. They made plans to move to the vicinity of towns in the lowlands.

During the period 1963–1970, many Kenyah from Apau Kayan moved out to several places, especially close to urban areas (see Liman 1995). In 1970, a group from the villages of Long Nawang and Nawang Baru moved to the village of Mara I, near Tanjung Selor (subdistrict of Tanjung Palas), under the leadership of Gun Bit. Even the great customary chief, Li' Lencau, also moved to Mara I in 1970. One group from Long Uro' moved to Bila' Talang and Tanjung Manis, in the Mahakam area, in 1967, followed by another group, which moved from Lidung Payau to Tanjung Manis. The movement from Apau Kayan is still continuing today, even though the government has made provisions to prohibit migrations, out of fear that the border area with Sarawak will become empty. After Li' Lencau had moved, a meeting of the Kenyah groups appointed Bit Ncuk to take his place as *kepala adat* of all the Kenyah in Apau Kayan.

The Times of Bit Ncuk (1970–1981)

Under the leadership of Bit Ncuk, the life of the people did not yet change much, although they were trying to overcome the alienation of isolated life far from the towns. The people voluntarily built an airstrip to enable the Cessna planes of the Protestant missionaries to land in the various villages, depending on field conditions. Airstrips of this type are today found in Long Nawang (350 m in length), Long Lebusan (700 m), Long Suleh (350 m), Long Sungai Barang (300 m, no longer in use because it is too short), Mahak Baru (350 m), Data Dian (350 m), and Long Ampung (750 m). The last airstrip is a government 'pioneer airfield', built directly by the government to better connect the city and the rural areas, and it can be used by Twin Otters of Merpati, Asahi, and Pelita Air Service.

During this period, the Leppo' Tau moved many times, both within the Apau Kayan area—among others, from Long Uro' to Lidung Payau and Long Lebusan (c. 1970)—and even outside Apau Kayan—from Long Uro' and Lidung Payau to the Mahakam area (in the 1960s); from Long Temuyat to Rukun Damai (Mahakam, 1972); from Long Nawang and Nawang Baru (the second group under the leadership of Baya' La'ing) to Mara I in 1972; and from Long Temuyat to Rukun Damai (Mahakam) under the leadership of Kihin Bit in 1972. In 1981, Bit Ncuk died and was succeeded by Pare' La'ing.

The Times of Pare' La'ing (1981–1993)

Till his death in 1993, Pare' La'ing held the position of *kepala adat* of all the Kenyah of Apau Kayan. A number of advances have already been made thanks to cooperation and participation between the Apau Kayan *adat* institutions and the local subdistrict governmental agencies, especially with regard to development. Upon the *kepala adat's* suggestion to the government, a path was opened across the border with Sarawak to facilitate the import of staple goods difficult to obtain in Apau Kayan. The provincial

governor contributed televisions and parabolic antennas so that the Apau Kayan area would no longer be isolated from sources of information. Another suggestion made by the *kepala adat*, that the cultural values be preserved, was well received by the subdistrict government, and a building was constructed in which these values will be promoted. There are many other signs of the smooth cooperation between *adat* institutions and government agencies in efforts to encourage the development of Apau Kayan rural areas.

In the meantime, the Leppo' Tau in the Long Nawang area have increased in number: in 1993, Long Nawang had 809 inhabitants (399 men and 410 women), Nawang Baru 585 (294 men, 291 women), and Long Temuyat 327 (164 men and 163 women). This increase, the smooth process of development in the rural areas, and the presence of the pioneer airfields would appear as sufficient reasons for the local residents to forego a move to join their relatives in the lowlands. However, one group from Nawang Baru and Long Nawang, under the leadership of Ncuk Apui and Saging La'ing, moved to the village of Teras Nawang (subdistrict of Tanjung Palas) in 1980-81; and some of the residents of Long Lebusan moved in 1983-85 to the village of Bila' Talang (subdistrict of Tabang).

The trail to Sarawak can be used to carry staples needed by the people, so that Long Nawang has now become a strategic point for the economy of this cross-border region. It is hoped that the standard of living will improve and that dependence on government subsidies will decline. The latter often arrive late because they are transported by air and are thus very dependent on weather conditions. Despite the official policy aiming at preventing population depletion in the border areas, staples are still always in short supply in Apau Kayan. If relations between the rural areas and the cities are only maintained by air and if there are transportation problems at any time, even more Kenyah groups will move in pursuit of more advantageous locations.

CONCLUDING NOTES

Beginning with their departure from their region of origin in Sarawak until their arrival in Apau Kayan in the 18th century, the Kenyah groups often carried out mass movements and group movements. These movements had several causes:

Security Reasons

In former times, *ayau* (headhunting attacks) were carried out to fulfil the requirements of the *Adat Puon*, among others, fresh human heads for ritual purposes. So every *leppo'* was obliged to set up *ayau* expeditions against their neighbours in order to fulfil this need. The targets of the *ayau* were generally smaller groups with weak defences. For security reasons, people often moved their villages, travelling at night for fear that stronger groups would find them out. Certain groups, such as the Leppo' Kelep, left the Apau Kayan forever. For protection from hostile attacks, the weak groups often moved near to, and under the protection of, stronger groups with whom they were allied.

Beliefs

Beliefs could also be reasons for moving. In the traditional beliefs of the *Adat Puon*, the interpretation of unfavourable signs or omens (*amen-amen*) required the immediate

abandonment of a settlement or fields. For example, when a grave or a *belawing* (ceremonial pole) was hit by lightning, when blood was shed in the village, or when a special omen bird as a messenger of the gods acted in a way that was thought to be a sign from the gods.

Population Pressure

If the total population or the number of members of a *leppo'* (or group living in the same village) increased, the farming and hunting area became increasingly limited and the people tended to move to try to find new, more suitable locations. This may have occurred when the Apau Kayan region was abandoned by the Kayan groups. In connection with this abandonment, the Kenyah groups that occupied the upper Iwan River quickly moved in and settled on the banks of the Kayan River.

Competition Among Paren

Among the Kenyah, leadership has always been in the hands of the *paren* category, whose history has been discussed above. Incidents, conflicts, or competition among the *paren* in one *leppo'* were common and could lead to the split of the village or the departure of one of the factions. If a difference of opinion developed between two related *paren* regarding a joint decision, e.g., whether to move villages or go to war, a village (*leppo'*) would simply split into two groups. This same thing could happen in the case of a power struggle between two descent lines of *paren* of the same rank.

Competition Among Groups

Kenyah groups also competed for prestige. For example, after the Leppo' Timai first entered the Apau Kayan area, they were the most respected and powerful group in the area, and other groups had to recognise and accept their leadership. As the Leppo' Tau grew stronger and more daring, they confronted the Leppo' Timai and finally succeeded in forcing them to leave the Apau Kayan area. Then the Leppo' Tau emerged as the most powerful group, and their leaders were able to unite a number of smaller groups under their control. This struggle also had an effect on population movements, especially in the neighbouring settlement area.

Interaction of the Kenyah with Other Groups

Since early times, related Kenyah groups have tended to live near one another, because they were dependent on one another, particularly for defence against other Kenyah or non-Kenyah groups. Relations with unrelated Kenyah groups, however, such as the Leppo' Kulit, were relatively limited. This was also the case especially with regard to non-Kenyah groups, such as the Punan or the Kayan, and this situation was reinforced by religious beliefs that comprised many taboos *vis-a-vis* relations with the outside.

The groups that were of common stock—i.e., the Leppo' Tau, Leppo' Tukung, Leppo' Jalan, Leppo' Bem, Leppo' Timai, Bakung, and Badeng—maintained relations from the time they came to the Apau Kayan area together, as was demonstrated and confirmed by the meeting of the Kenyah from the entire Apau Kayan area for purposes of arranging a general peace (*petutung*). As a result of this peace, intermarriage among different Kenyah groups, formerly limited to a few members of the *paren*

class, spread to the ordinary people. Loose relations also existed with Kenyah groups that did not come from the same stock and with non-Kenyah groups that had settled together with the Kenyah in the Apau Kayan area.

Effect of Migrations

Their frequent long-distance migrations have affected the Kenyah in various ways. For example, only rarely do they own historical objects (such as ancestral heirlooms), and there are few ancient historical sites. Furthermore, at times, people starved in their new settlements, because the rice supplies carried from their place of origin were only sufficient to meet food needs during the move, or the harvest in the new site failed. In this way, poverty developed, forcing people to work in the fields of other villages in exchange for rice and to make clothing from tree bark. Their attachment to their land of birth was weak because of their moves. Their way of life, with its frequent moves, left them always in a state of transition and obstructed efforts to improve their standard of living. This is still visible today among the new generation, which tends to move in search of better places closer to urban areas.

11.

Archaeological survey and research in four subdistricts of interior East Kalimantan (Pujungan, Kerayan, Malinau and Kayan Hulu)

Karina Arifin and Bernard Sellato¹

with reports by Aryandini Novita, Krisprihartini S., Dody Johanjaya, Anggara Yonathan and Yoga Prima Subandono

INTRODUCTION

A number of megalithic structures are found on the upper reaches of the Bahau River and along its tributaries, in Pujungan Subdistrict. They consist primarily of urn-dolmen burial monuments. According to the Kenyah who now inhabit this area, these megalithic structures were erected by the Ngorek (see Sellato 1992b, 1995c). From historical reconstructions by Sellato, it is surmised that the Ngorek originally came from the upper Baram River in Sarawak. War with the Kelabit peoples finally forced some of the Ngorek to move to East Kalimantan in approximately 1700 AD. By about 1750, the Ngorek are believed to have occupied the area of the upper Lurah and upper Bahau rivers. By the middle of the 18th century, a coalition of Modang, Kayan, and Kenyah groups attacked the Ngorek. Some of the Ngorek were defeated and taken away by their conquerors far from their area of origin, and the rest fled and scattered. Today

¹ Karina Arifin compiled the sections titled 'Survey of Megalithic Sites in Four Districts' and 'Test Pits in Long Pujungan Subdistrict' (on the basis of her own research), and 'Megalithic Graves: A Summary'; while Bernard Sellato contributed data from his survey in Kayan Hulu Subdistrict and rewrote the sections titled 'Inventory of Stone Grave Sites on the Upper Bahau' (based on a report by Dody Johanjaya, Anggara Yonathan, and Yoga Prima Subandono) and 'Analysis of Artefacts Found in Apau Ping' (based on a report by Aryandini Novita and Krisprihartini). For more comprehensive data, see Karina Arifin 1995, Dody Johanjaya *et al.* 1995, Aryandini Novita and Krisprihartini 1995.

the entire area is occupied by various Kenyah groups. On the basis of this reconstruction, the history of these megalithic remains is believed to be traceable to the 17th century. The most recent structures, however, may date back to the beginning of the 19th century, and the current local inhabitants state that the carved urn-dolmen burial site at Long Pulung contains the bones of one Paran La'ing, a king of the Ngorek (Sellato 1995c).

The megalithic remains in the Long Pujungan area were reported by Schneeberger, who visited Long Pulung and Long Berini in the course of a geological survey in the 1930s (Schneeberger 1979: 67-68). He referred to them as urn-dolmens, on the basis of the standard in their construction, i.e., a large stone urn placed on top of four river stones or two stone slabs, and protected by a large stone slab supported by two other stone slabs. Sometimes, this large stone slab is placed directly on top of the stone urn as a cover, without supporting slabs. Schneeberger also visited a number of megalithic sites in the Kerayan area and one site on the upper Malinau River. Explanations for these megalithic remains have also been offered by Martin Baier, in his discussion of various stone burial structures in the Long Pujungan area (Baier 1987, 1992). He also described a number of sarcophagi in the Apo Kayan area (Baier 1992), which had been mentioned earlier by Sierevelt (1929). These monuments have been grouped into two types, the urn-dolmen and the sarcophagus.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL ACTIVITIES

Research into the history of the Ngorek and their connection with the megalithic structures was started by Sellato in his first short survey in Pujungan Subdistrict in 1990.

Previous Surveys and Research

In 1991, Sellato carried out a more systematic survey in order to obtain some basic information. From ethnohistorical studies, in particular, it was possible to learn a little about the Ngorek who built the megalithic structures in the Long Pujungan area. In February and March of the following year (1992), a very short archaeological survey was undertaken in Apau Ping. Several sites were visited, among them a site thought to be a former settlement, as well as seven burial sites (Manguin 1995). It was also possible to record approximately 70 urn-dolmen burial sites and 15 settlement sites.

In addition, more than 100 stone tools were collected from local inhabitants. Of these, 90% originated in Apau Ping, while the remainder came from the surrounding area and from neighbouring villages. A test pit measuring 2 x 1 m was opened and two scrapings were also dug in Apau Ping by Drs. Kiwok Rampai from the Regional Office of the Department of Education and Culture in Central Kalimantan. Their locations were chosen on the basis of the density of surface finds of stone tools and of the situation of the site's surface, slightly elevated above the surrounding area. Earthenware shards were found in abundance at every level and some of them shared similarities with the earthenware made in Apau Ping today. In 1992, all available information was combined in a report on the Ngorek (Sellato 1995c).

By early 1993, more than 100 Ngorek sites had been recorded in Pujungan Subdistrict, and about 250 stone implements had been collected from the people in Apau Ping. On the basis of this survey, further research was considered necessary in order to obtain more detailed information about the Ngorek groups.

Archaeological Research in 1993

The archaeological research in 1993 consisted of several activities. The activities carried out in Jakarta concerned the analysis of a number of stone tools and earthenware shards from the Apau Ping location (Aryandini Novita and Krisprihartini). In the field, the activities included a survey of several urn-dolmen burial sites that could not be visited in the earlier surveys in Pujungan Subdistrict (by Karina Arifin), as well as a first survey of sites in Kerayan Subdistrict and Malinau District (by Karina Arifin and Bernard Sellato) and Kayan Hulu Subdistrict (by Sellato); inventory and mapping of several sites already visited in the Apau Ping and Long Berini areas (by Dody Johanjaya, Anggara Yonathan, and Yoga Prima Subandono); and the opening of test pits in several former settlement sites (by Karina Arifin).

The survey of archaeological sites in Pujungan Subdistrict aimed at obtaining a clearer picture of the range of variation of burial structures and their distribution, visiting Ngorek settlement sites, and searching for a stone extraction site or a stone tool workshop site. The districts of Kerayan and Malinau also were chosen for surveying because of the recorded existence of megalithic structures possibly related to the megalithic structures of Long Pujungan and for comparative purposes. It was thus hoped that this would produce additional information to assist the interpretation of the megalithic structures in the Long Pujungan area. The digging of several test pits in two former settlement sites in Apau Ping and Long Beraa was especially intended to clarify the existence of cultural strata which distinguished the remains of the Ngorek people from those of groups which occupied the same sites in later times, that is, the Kenyah Leppo' Ma'ut and the Leppo' K , and to improve understanding of the features of the life of the Ngorek people.

In addition, an ethnographic survey was carried out and data was collected on the burial customs of several ethnic groups now living in the three districts of Pujungan, Kerayan, and Malinau (see Karina Arifin, in Eghenter and Sellato 1999). Surface surveys were undertaken in Apau Ping, Long Beraa, and Long Berini (Pujungan Subdistrict), mainly, the collection of earthenware shards, for comparison with the finds in the test pits and with modern earthenware; and ethnographic information was collected on the manufacture of traditional earthenware (see Karina Arifin 1995; Karina and Sellato, in Eghenter and Sellato 1999).

SURVEY OF MEGALITHIC SITES IN FOUR SUBDISTRICTS

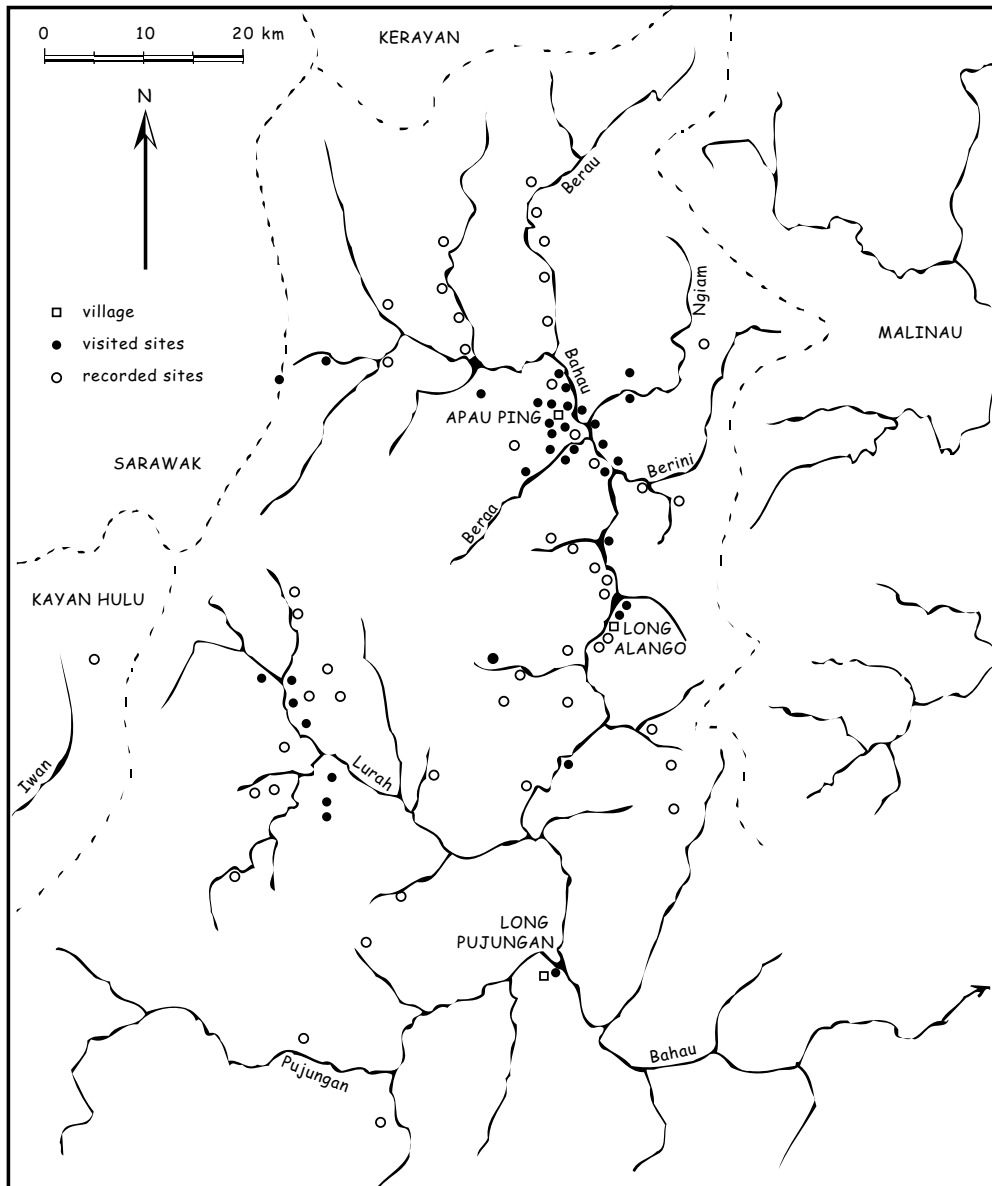
This survey was carried out in the subdistricts of Pujungan, Kerayan, Malinau, and Kayan Hulu. The age of the megalithic sites in Pujungan Subdistrict has been determined approximately on the basis of ethnohistorical research and it is thought that none postdate the early 19th century. Similarly, the remains found in Kayan Hulu Subdistrict are thought to date back to the 17th and 18th centuries. The age of the known sites in Kerayan Subdistrict is not yet known, and, in fact, for a large number of them, it is not yet clear which ethnic group established them.

Schneeberger (1979: Map III) reported on an urn-dolmen burial site on the upper Malinau River which resembles those on the upper Bahau River, leading to the expectation that similar structures would be found further downriver on the Malinau. So far, in the areas visited, no remains of stone structures have been found, and thus Malinau District will not be further mentioned in this part. A number of wooden burial structures have been discovered, which has been discussed by Karina Arifin (in Eghenter and Sellato 1999).

Pujungan Subdistrict

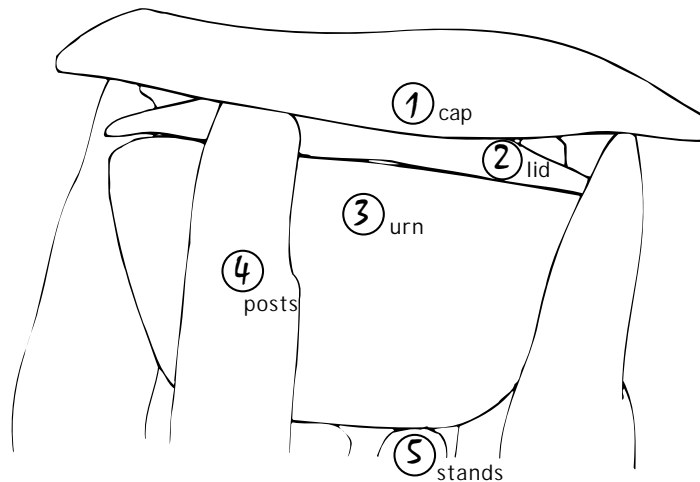
Archaeological surveys were carried out in two areas (see Figure 11.1): on the upper Bahau River, including the vicinity of Apau Ping, where work was conducted by Karina Arifin and three young archaeologists (Dody Johanjaya *et al.* 1995); and on the Lurah River, where Karina Arifin carried out work with the assistance of four local staff. A number of the upper Bahau sites reviewed in earlier surveys were visited again in order to obtain a clearer picture of the problem. Five of them were later mapped and documented in detail (Dody Johanjaya *et al.* 1995; see below). Other sites that were

Figure 11.1 Archaeological sites in Pujungan Subdistrict



visited are described briefly here (for terminology relating to the parts of the burial structure, see Figure 11.2). The survey in the Lurah River area was intended to locate sites showing outcropping basalt, the material from which the stone implements found on the upper Bahau River were manufactured. In addition, other, new archaeological sites were visited. In a previous survey, Sellato had obtained information that at a place called Leppo' Teranan, on the watershed between the Lurah and Iwan river basins, piles of worked stones could be found. This raised the possibility that the site may have been a workshop for the manufacture of stone implements. Leppo' Teranan was not visited, however, because the information was somewhat unclear, especially with regard to the time required in order to reach the site.

Figure 11.2 Terminology of the stone urn-dolmen



The Apau Ping Area

Seven sites were surveyed in this area. Some had been surveyed earlier, others were new sites, surveyed for the first time.

- *Kiam Bio'*: 18 urn-dolmens, most of which have already collapsed, with their stone urns already opened. Urns are 60-70 cm high, round (diameter of the hole 45 cm) or oval (50 x 30 cm; depth of the hole 30 cm). The pillars of the dolmen are oval river stones, or stone pieces resembling a curved board ('onion skin').
- *Tanjung Ikeng*: a large, intact stone urn-dolmen, partially covered with soil. The table (or roof) of the dolmen measures 225 x 150 cm, and the urn 95 x 70 cm. Its height is not clear. Its five pillars are 'onion skin' stone pieces.
- *Long Ngiam*: a line of 13 stone urn-dolmens, oriented north-south, all of them already toppled over. There likely are others, covered by brush. The urns are either round or ovoid; one of them is very round (hole diameter 48 cm, and 52 cm deep). The pillars are 'onion skin' stone pieces; the table's shape varies with the shape of the stone used.

- *Lubang Buka'*: a line of five or more urn-dolmens with a NW-SE orientation. All of them have toppled over and are scattered about. One is located on a steep cliff, its urn broken, and some of its pillars have tumbled to the foot of the cliff.
- *Long Beraa*: see the site description below. Surface finds of earthenware shards show similarities with finds in the test pit on this site. The shards are parts of a pot's body, except for one neck part. The temper is sand and crushed earthenware. On the basis of colour, this earthenware consists of at least three types.
- *Long Berini*: see the site description below. Surface finds of earthenware shards include 13 pieces (including two rims, and one neck), of a grey colour with a temper of crushed earthenware. Some show a residual layer of resin. Two shards show string decoration or incised decoration (Figure 11.3). Two tools for beating tree bark (to make clothing), made of sandstone, show a flat bottom part incised with cross lines (Figure 11.4).
- *Apau Ping*: Apau Ping was successively inhabited by the Ngorek, the Leppo' Ma'ut, and today the Leppo' Ké. Surface finds (see Figure 11.5) include an ovoid poulder with a flat base forming a 1.5 cm wide ring (see Sellato 1996); a sharpening tool made of sandstone of the same shape as that described below; and earthenware shards of several colours, generally of the same type as those found in the test pit, including shards of a round cooking pot and of a container thought to have been a plate (Figure 11.6). The earthenware shows string decoration and chequered decorations produced by a paddle carved with cross lines. The temper is sand and crushed earthenware. Shards of foreign stoneware with a grey paste and a brownish black glaze were also found.

Figure 11.3 Surface finds of decorated pottery shards from Long Berini

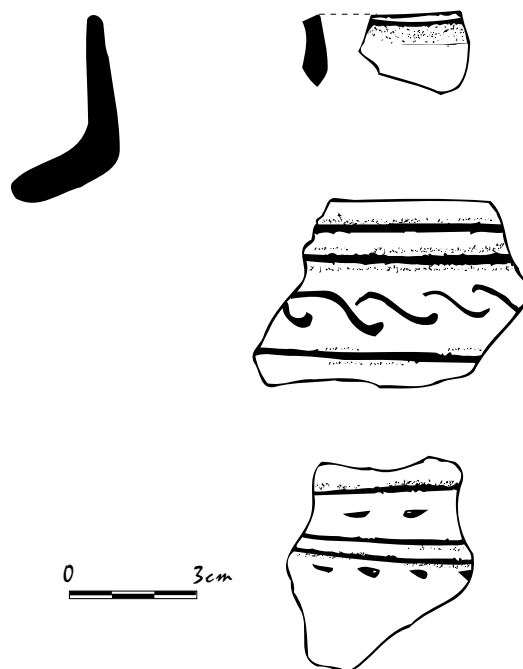


Figure 11.4 Two stone bark beaters as surface finds from Long Berini

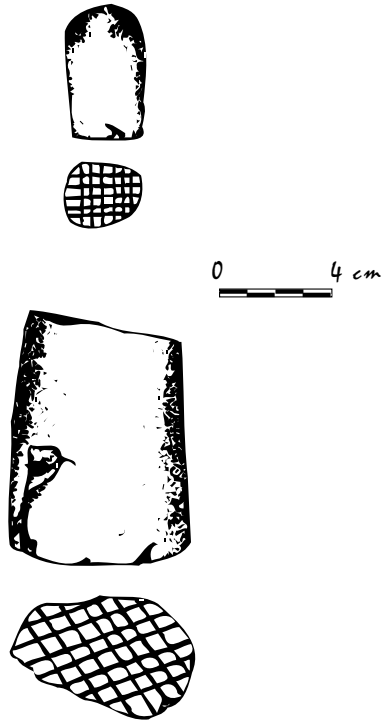


Figure 11.5 Surface finds from Apau Ping: sandstone poulder (top left), sharpening stone (top right), and earthenware neck with spout

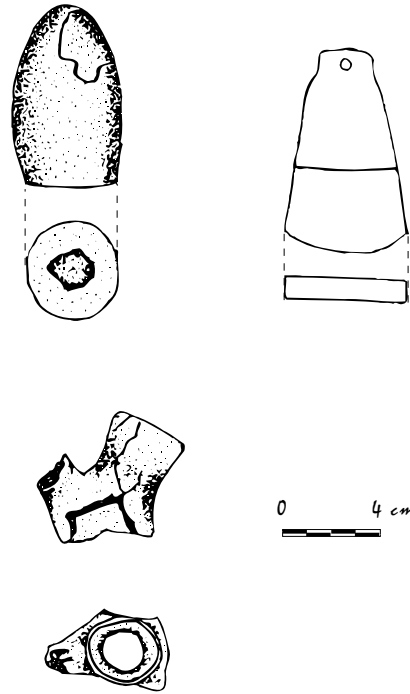
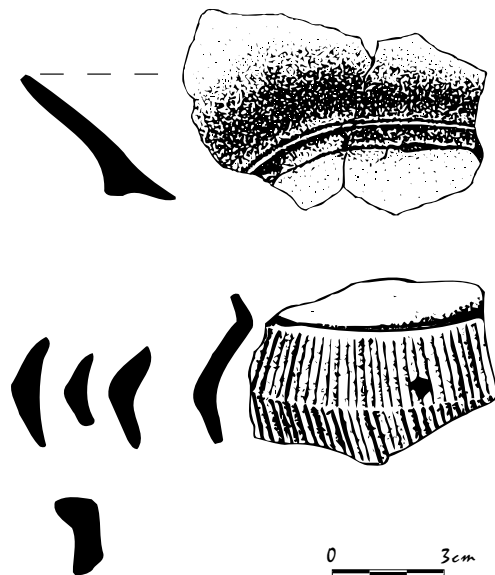


Figure 11.6 Surface finds of decorated pottery shards from Apau Ping



The Lurah River Area

Of the five sites visited, the first three on the upper Lurah River had been visited earlier by Sellato, and the remainder were surveyed by Karina Arifin on her travels to the left tributaries of the upper Lurah River with the help of information from Puri (1993).

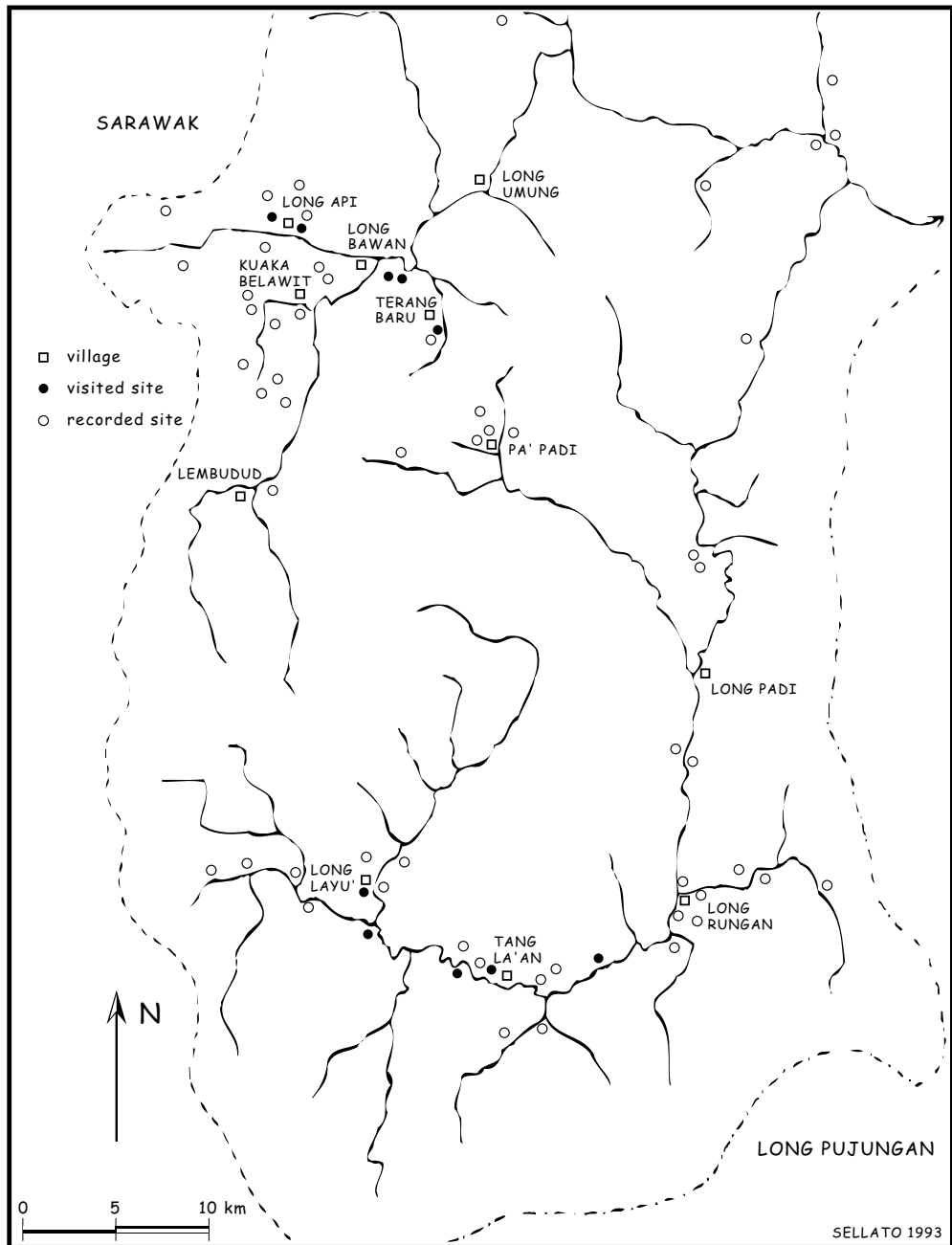
- *Long Lenjau Ca*: two stone graves. One is rectangular (159 x 88 cm; with 11 cm thick walls), with a narrower base. Its lid (140 cm long) was found nearby, along with a beam-shaped menhir (80 x 32 x 20 cm). The second grave is ovoid (49 x 33 cm, wall thickness 6 cm). Its lid (105 x 102 cm) is lying nearby.
- *Long Ping*: a dolmen with a table (165 x 130 cm) resting on stone pillars 50 cm high. The stone urn is not visible. Nearby are four rectangular columns or slabs measuring 105 x 47 x 10 cm and 75 x 23 x 20 cm, and three standing menhirs, two of which resemble beams measuring 90 x 34 x 26 cm and 70 x 34 x 27 cm.
- *Long Tela'u*: two nearby sites. At one site are a dolmen with a table measuring 164 x 164 cm and several menhirs, one of which resembles a long beam. In the second site, several menhirs are found standing around a pile of river stones.
- *Lepu'un Nyibun*: the site is located on a flat hilltop, where a line of *Ficus* trees stand. Four cylindrical stone urns range between 52 and 165 cm in height. One is ovoid (104 x 55 cm) and rather squat, with urn walls 15-20 cm thick; the urn cover is lying nearby. Nearby, too, lies a *takung* or swampy pond.
- *Lubang Lenjau*: the site is on a flat hilltop. An artificial ditch 4 m wide is visible (formerly sharpened bamboos were stuck into the ground as a defence). One of several small clefts in the hill side, which can be entered for about 2 m, contained four human skulls and various bones (limbs), already cemented into the cave sediments, as well as an old baby carrier, the remains of a wooden shield, and the sheath of a machete.

Kerayan Subdistrict

This survey was carried out to obtain some preliminary information on the district's inhabitants, their traditional burial practices, and related archaeological remains (Karina Arifin), and their languages, history, economy, and customs (Sellato). Archaeological information had been available only from written sources (Schneeberger 1979), which mention ten sites of menhirs and carved human figures. Only a few of these sites could be visited, but thanks to information obtained from the local people a large number of new sites was recorded (Figure 11.7) and some of these could be visited:

- *Long Api*, Kerayan Darat: Here is found a *batu (battuh) terupun* ('stone heap'), consisting of an accumulation of river stones on which a large dolmen of board-shaped pillars and table stand. At present, only two of these stone slab pillars (220 cm high) and the collapsed table slab (290 x 195 cm) remain. These stones are linked to the popular mythical figure of Yupai Semaring. A stone mortar, with a single deep cavity like a stone urn, is found in front of the elementary school. Only part of its square base remains, showing incisions around it and indentations scratched in. This stone is beaten during the dry season to bring on the rains.
- *Bang Iluk*, Long Bawan: One of a number of caves in the hills around Long Bawan, believed to contain archaeological remains. The cave walls are of coarse yellow sandstone permeated with water. At the end of the low, 50 m

Figure 11.7 Archaeological sites in Kerayan Subdistrict



long passageway, there is a large and higher-roofed chamber where a stream flows. This place is often visited by people on outings. Yet, except for Coca Cola cans, there are no signs of use or habitation.

- *Kuala Belawit*, Kerayan Hilir: A stone slab, noted by Schneeberger (1979), is now erected near the church.
- *Terang Baru*, Kerayan Hilir: Three *batu terupun* are found in the grass fields, all already dismantled. Two were visited. The first is a heap of stones, on top of which stone slabs are still visible, some already broken. The other is a stone heap with a collapsed stone slab. In the village, several stone slabs, apparently transported from the *batu terupun*, have been erected to mark particular spots and the church.
- *Sungai Bulu*, Kerayan Hulu: Six rectangular stone graves are found, consisting of stone slabs forming a wall (the highest 115 cm; and 80-120 cm wide). This burial complex has been dismantled, part has collapsed, the stone slab covers are broken, and skulls and bones are scattered around. Among the many ceramic shards found: pieces of brown stoneware jars, high-temperature porcelain jars, bowls, and plates. Also, the base of a stone urn and pieces of its walls. On the wall of one of the graves a carved human figure is visible.
- *Sungai Kuyur*, Kerayan Hulu: 12 or more stone graves, all dismantled, with their stone walls removed, broken up, and scattered, and the ceramic jars lost. One stone urn (90 cm high; outer diameter of the mouth 31 cm) shaped like a ceramic jar, complete with ears, is found below the grave, the walls of which are still standing. At Pa' Sing, this type of grave is called *bupun*.
- *Upstream from Tang La'an*, Kerayan Hulu: A *batu (battuh) narit* ('carved stone') was carved in low relief in the flat stones of the river bank, showing two human figures, one of them holding something (a shield?) in its right hand and standing on the other figure (Figure 11.8; see also Figure 11.9). Both are represented with their hands raised up, their legs open, with the heels of the feet protruding and forming a spiral. Their wide rectangular ears display some sort of ornament.
- *Tang La'an*, Kerayan Hulu: Several rectangular menhirs of hard sandstone are found in the village. Two of them were moved from the village of Pa' Upan. One is known as Battuh Sangui (Dragon Stone), the other has been set up in front of the elementary school (Figure 11.10). Another menhir has been transported from the village of Pa' Ibang. Schneeberger (1979) saw these menhirs in their villages of origin. A pair of natural stones, also moved from Pa' Upan when the villagers settled in Tang La'an, are known as Battuh Berek (Pig Stone) and Battuh La'al (Chicken Stone).

Kayan Hulu Subdistrict

The current Kenyah population of Apo Kayan do not know the name Ngorek, but refer to all pre-Kenyah sites of former settlers in the area as 'Kayan'. In a very quick survey (six days) in Kayan Hulu Subdistrict, 45 such 'Kayan' sites were recorded from the local oral tradition (see Figure 11.11). Some of these can clearly be attributed to the Modang and not the Kayan. Of these 45 sites, 27 are located in Kayan Hulu Subdistrict and the remainder in Kayan Hilir Subdistrict. In at least 30 of the 45 sites, traces of a pre-Kenyah settlement are visible, 12 sites contain stone graves, and five show carved stones (some of these belonging to stone graves). A small number of the sites were visited by Sierevelt (1929), Tillema (1938), Harrisson (1959b), Whittier (1974), or

Figure 11.8 Two anthropomorphic figures at Paru' Ating, Kerayan Hulu area of Kerayan Subdistrict



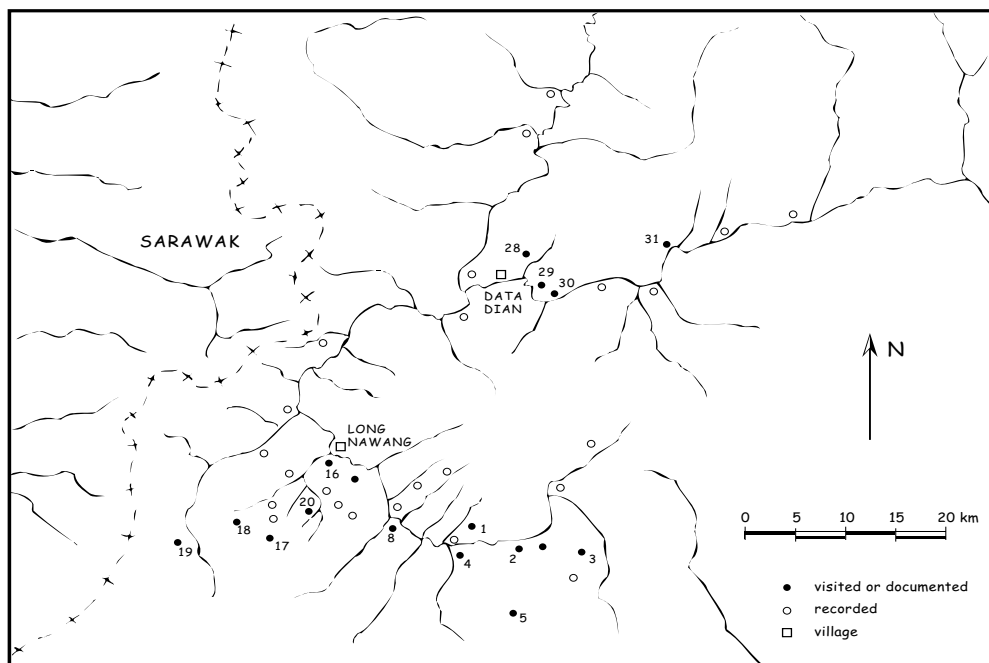
Figure 11.9 Anthropomorphic figure carved on a rock face by the river near Pa' Upan, Kerayan Subdistrict



Figure 11.10 Two menhirs standing in front of the village school, Tang La'an, Kerayan Subdistrict



Figure 11.11 Archaeological sites in Kayan Hulu and Kayan Hilir Subdistricts, Apo Kayan



Baier (1992). Furthermore, at Long Ampung a tool (adze) made of basalt (13 cm long) was found, closely resembling the Apau Ping finds (see Figure 11.12; see also Figure 11.13).

Only two stone burial sites were visited, the easily accessible sites of Mudung Kerica at Long Uro' (see Figure 11.14) and Juman Nawang at Long Nawang (Figures 11.15 and 11.16). Information was obtained on the sites at Batu Tukung near Lidung Payau (J. Halapiry, pers. comm.; Figures 11.17 and 11.18) and Data Kanuyang near Data Dian (C. Eghenter, pers. comm.; Figure 11.19). The stone grave at Data Kanuyang is a large

Figure 11.12 A basalt tool found at Long Ampung, Kayan Hulu Subdistrict



Figure 11.13 A basalt tool found in Mentarang Subdistrict



rectangular vat (1.8 m long and 1.2 m high) with four partially carved pillars and a stone slab cover. The graves at the three other sites are also vats, measuring 90-120 cm in length, 50-100 cm in width, and 25-55 cm in height (see Figures 11.20 to 11.22; also Figure 11.23). Information was also obtained on sites with carved stones, such as Long Sungan, Sawa' Angen, and Batu Kalung, in the vicinity of the village of Lidung Payau (J. Halapiry, pers. com.). The carved stones at the first two sites clearly were pillars for a stone vat. At Batu Kalung, however, a large boulder has been incised with motifs representing an *aso'* (dog-dragon; see Figure 11.24).

Figure 11.14 Stone trough at Mudung Kerica, near Long Uro', Kayan Hulu Subdistrict

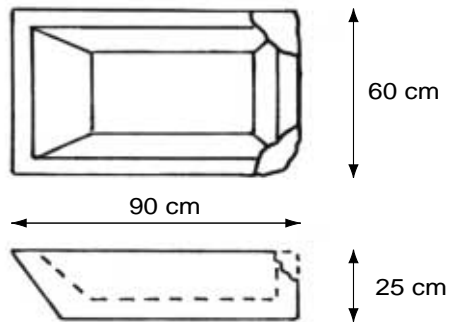


Figure 11.15 Stone trough at Juman Nawang, near Long Nawang, Kayan Hulu Subdistrict

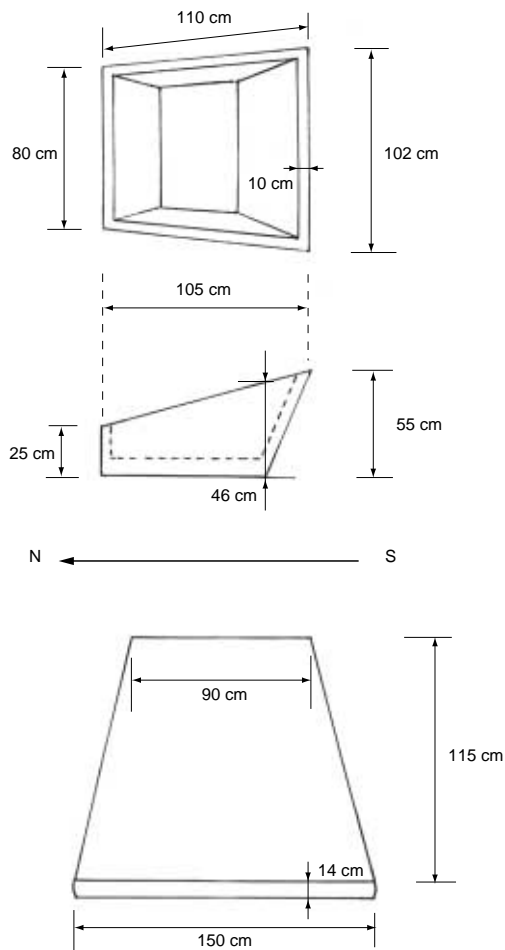


Figure 11.16 Stone trough at Juman Nawang, near Long Nawang, Kayan Hulu Subdistrict



Figure 11.17 Rectangular stone trough at Batu Tukung, near Lidung Payau, Kayan Hulu Subdistrict

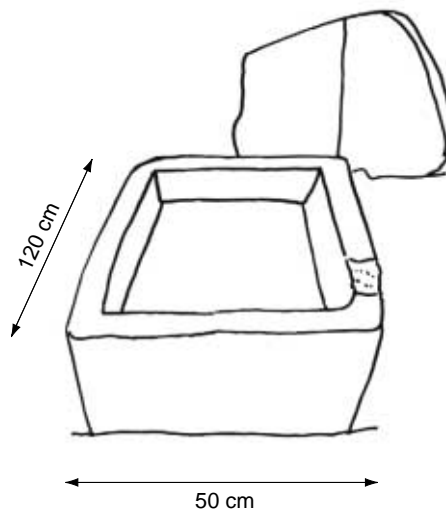


Figure 11.18 Rectangular stone vat at Batu Tukung, near Lidung Payau, Kayan Hulu Subdistrict



Figure 11.19 Large stone container with carved pillar at Data Kanuyang, Kayan Hilir Subdistrict

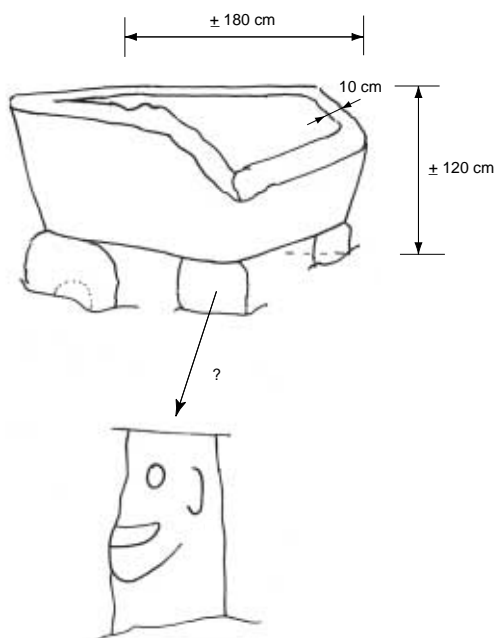


Figure 11.20 Anthropomorphic figure carved on a standing stone; Long Sungan, near Lidung Payau, Kayan Hulu Subdistrict



Figure 11.21 Carved stone pillars at Long Sungan, near Lidung Payau, Kayan Hulu Subdistrict

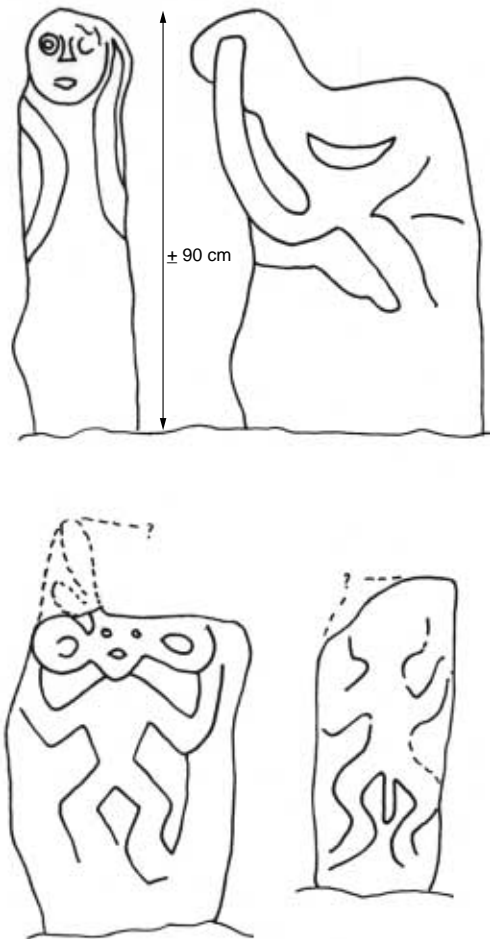


Figure 11.22 Carved stone pillar at Sawa' Angen, near Lidung Payau, Kayan Hulu Subdistrict

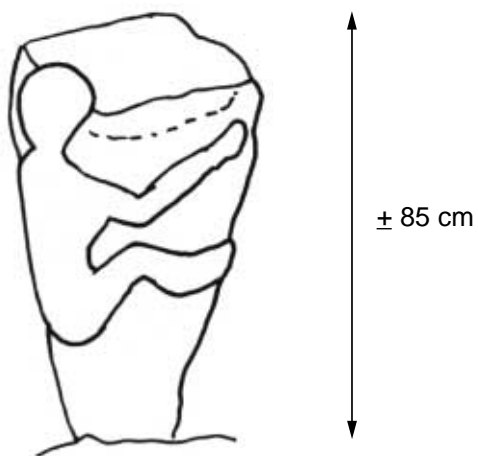


Figure 11.23 Anthropomorphic figure carved on a standing pillar at Long Poh, Kayan Hilir Subdistrict

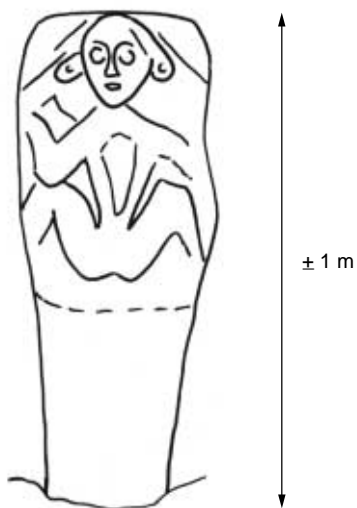


Figure 11.24 Batu Kalung, a large carved boulder, some way off Long Uro', Kayan Hulu Subdistrict



INVENTORY OF STONE GRAVE SITES ON THE UPPER BAHAU

A second visit was paid to several sites that had been surveyed earlier in order to determine which sites should be inventoried and mapped in detail. This decision was based on several criteria, including the location and size of the site and the number and variety of its stone structures, as well as their condition.

Description of Findings

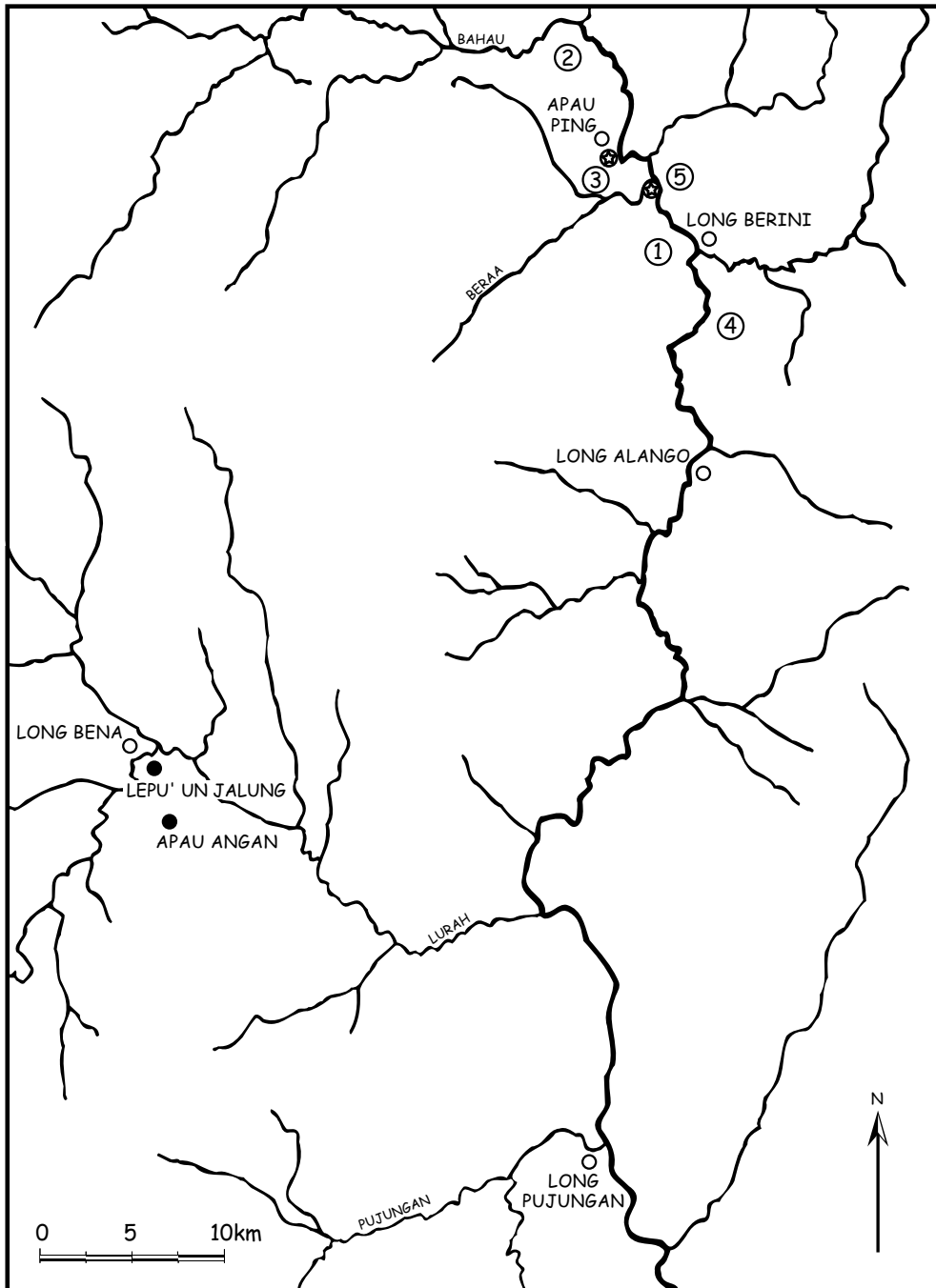
A total of five sites were mapped (Figure 11.25). Urn-dolmen burial structures were drawn and photographed one by one, especially those still in good condition and representative of particular types (for types of urn-dolmen burials, see Figure 11.26).

Long Berini

The site looks clean of undergrowth and a number of urn-dolmen burials are still visible (see Figures 11.27 to 11.30). This site was once honoured with a visit from officials of the Regional Development Planning Office (Bappeda) of Bulungan District, who were kind enough to leave a souvenir in the form of writing in large letters 'BAPPEDA' with yellow paint on the burial structures. Of about 40 urn-dolmen structures, only eight are still intact and standing, complete with pillars, table, and stone urn, six have collapsed, and the remainder are heavily damaged. Many of the tables and pillars are of sandstone that tends to weather into 'onion skin' layers. A small number of pillars are rectangular slabs. The burial container is an urn dug of soft sandstone, or a ceramic jar (broken). The stone urns are bowl-shaped or rectangular, or ovoid with either a round or rectangular opening. They are from 40 to 100 cm in height and their walls are 5-16 cm thick.

Three graves of different sizes are found clustered, forming a complex grave. The largest contains a bowl-shaped stone urn that is still intact; the same was true of the next one; the third urn, however, is rectangular. Some graves have two containers under one roof, the main one a large stone urn, and the other a ceramic jar, inserted between a pillar of the dolmen and one of the stones supporting the urn. The only ceramic jar that was almost intact is decorated with protruding spirals, meanders, and pillars, and covered with a dark brown glaze. A cup of local earthenware (8 cm high) was also found buried between the pillars of the dolmen, as were shards of earthenware pots (12 cm high). Several urns without lids were found full of dirt,

Figure 11.25 Graveyard sites inventoried and test pits in Pujungan Subdistrict



- | | |
|----------------|----------------|
| 1. LONG BERINI | 4. LONG PULUNG |
| 2. KA TEMPU | 5. LONG BERAA |
| 3. LONG KALE' | ⊗ TEST-PITS |

Figure 11.26 Typology of stone containers: 1. rectangular with narrower base; 2. bowl-shaped; 3. rectangular 'bowl'; 4. cylinder; 5. ovoid with oval opening; 6. ovoid with rectangular opening; 7. rectangular with rounded base

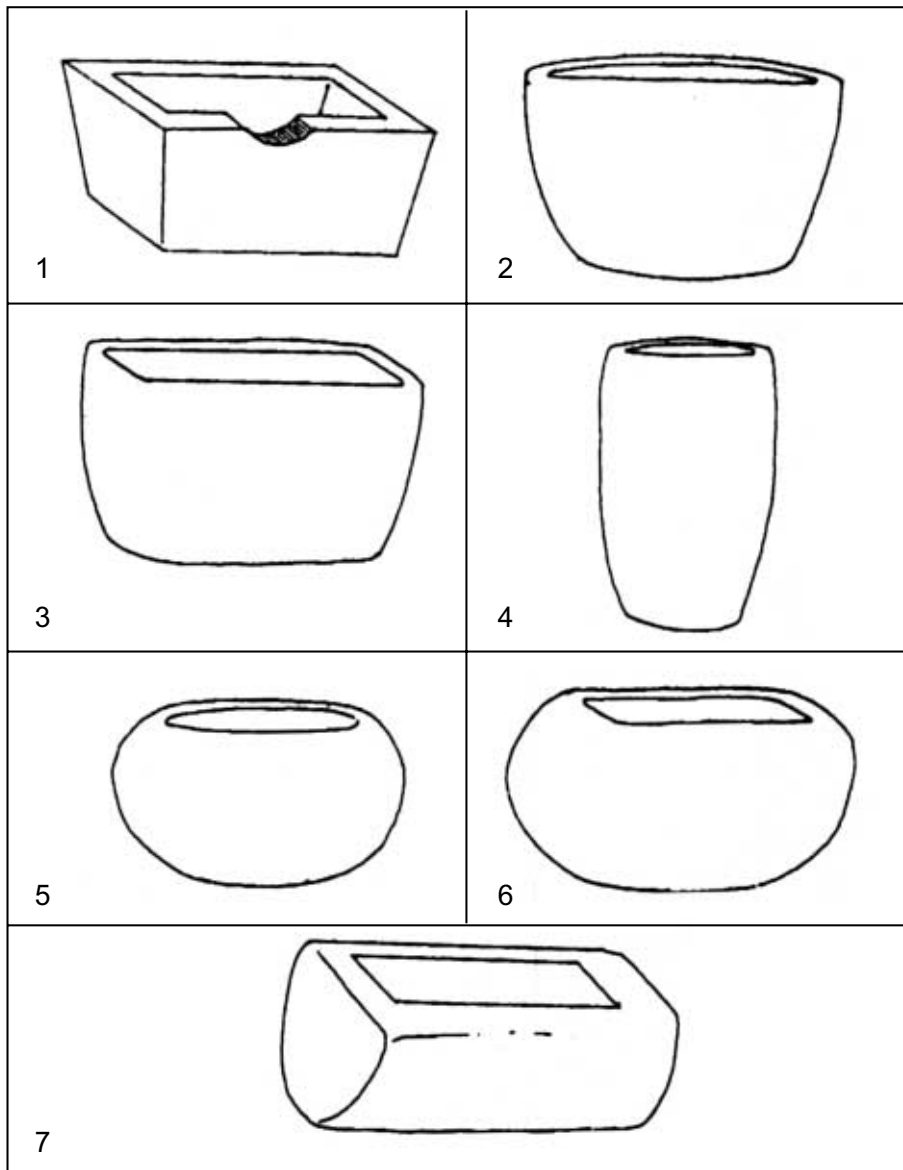


Figure 11.27 Urn-dolmen grave in Long Berini (No. 26)



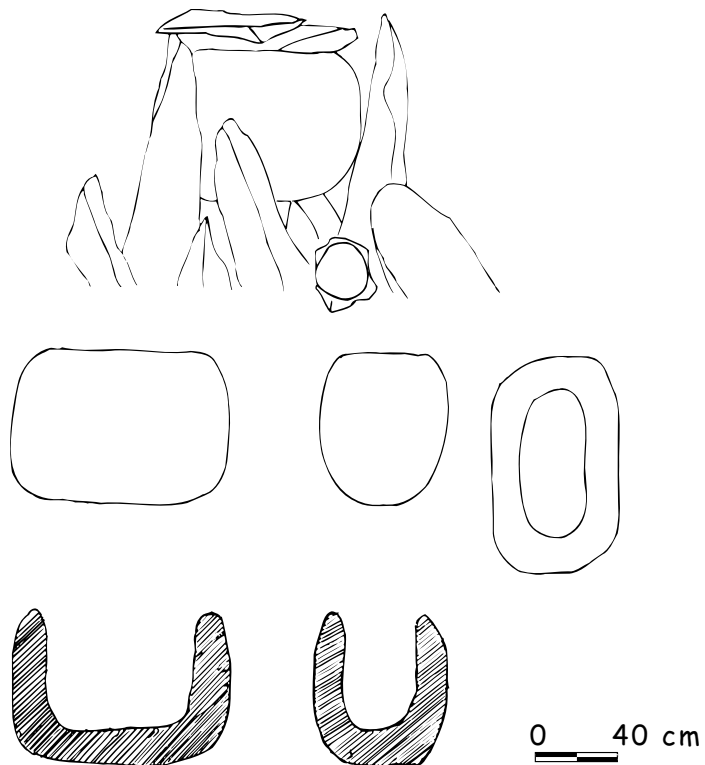
Figure 11.28 Urn-dolmen grave in Long Berini (No. 5)



Figure 11.29 Urn-dolmen graves in Long Berini (Nos. 28, 29 and 32)



Figure 11.30 Urn-dolmen graves in Long Berini (Nos. 5 and 38)



seeds, and pieces of bones. It was not possible to determine whether the few intact urns contained bones, because the space between the mouth of the urn and the roof of the dolmen was too small.

Ka Tempu

The site is covered with brush and trees and after it was cleared it became clear that trees and roots have already done considerable damage to the structures (see Figures 11.31 and 11.32). The graves are concentrated in the southeastern part of the site; in the northwest they are much fewer; and in between is an empty area. Several graves are also located on a steep slope, where some of the soil has already slid down. There is a total of about 80 graves of various sizes, types, and conditions, of which 6 are intact, 12 have collapsed, and the rest are heavily damaged. In several graves, a ceramic jar is found in place of the stone urn under the roof of the dolmen. One stone container is cylindrical and has toppled. One stone urn lid is carved in relief with a creature (a frog?) with hands and feet with five fingers/toes.

As at Long Berini, the burial containers are of soft sandstone, while the roof and pillars are of 'onion skin' stone, except for a few that have slab pillars. The urns are variously shaped: cylindrical, bowl-shaped, rectangular, or ovoid with either a round or rectangular opening. They range in height from 33.5 cm to 117 cm, with walls 10-12 cm thick. Two ceramic jars are of the same type as those found in Long Berini, broad and short and with a dark brown glaze.

Figure 11.31 Cylindrical stone container in Ka' Tempu (No. 17)



Figure 11.32 Ovoid stone container in Ka' Tempu (No. 50)



Long Kale'

This rather narrow site with an uneven ground surface was covered with brush and trees and needed clearing. None of the 18 graves stands intact, and only three are in fairly good condition, even though some parts have collapsed or disappeared. The other graves are broken, although in several of them the form of the urn is still recognisable. The pillars and roof of the dolmen are of 'onion skin' slabs of hard stone, while the containers are of soft stone. There is not much variation in urn shapes: cylindrical, bowl-shaped, and ovoid with rectangular opening. Not a single ceramic jar was found.

Long Pulung

The site is located on a gently sloping plain, in an old orchard, and looks clean and well maintained. This site, too, has been visited by staff from the Development Planning Office of Bulungan District, as indicated by the word 'BAPPEDA' in yellow paint on one of the monuments. It is enclosed by a 2 m high fence, already damaged, and by a lock on the gate. Of the dozen graves visible, only two remain intact, one still stands but has lost its urn, four have collapsed, and the remainder are nothing but broken pieces.

The dolmens have 'onion skin' pillars and roofs. Several of those stones look as if they have been worked to smoothen out both surfaces, and one has been processed

into a slab. One rectangular stone container with a narrower base (*palung* or trough) has a dent cut at the mouth and a hole in the side. Another, partly broken, is cylindrical, with geometric decorations carved all over its surface (see Figure 11.33). Altogether, there are four urn shapes: cylindrical, rectangular with a narrower base, bowl-shaped, and ovoid with a round opening.

Figure 11.33 Carved stone urn in Long Pulung, upper Bahau



Long Beraa

This site is covered with dense brush and trees. Nyibun burial structures are located slightly below the megalithic graveyard. One big, Y-shaped wooden post still stands firmly and the ceramic jar at its top is intact. Another Nyibun post has rotted and collapsed, and scattered around and half buried are pieces of the ceramic jar with dragon motifs in relief, two gongs of different sizes, and a bent machete blade.

The stone grave complex is located on level land that was once cleared, and consists of five structures. Two intact monuments display stone containers with a rectangular opening and a rounded and narrower base. The pillars and roof are stone blocks, or slabs combined with coarse blocks. The containers are of softer stone. One container has a domed lid of 'onion skin' stone, underneath the dolmen roof. In one container (Figures 11.34 and 11.35), 12 human skulls and other bones (limbs and ribs) and a small rusty gong are found. Another grave contains a ceramic jar already broken. The remaining graves are heavily damaged.

Figure 11.34 Stone monuments in Long Beraa (No.3)



Figure 11.35 Skulls and bones from grave No. 3 in Long Beraa



Discussion

The sites mapped cover an area ranging from 30 to 6000 m² and are located from 5 to 20 m from the river. Generally, they extend parallel to the river (except at Long Beraa). At the five sites, a total of 155 graves were found, more than 50% of which are at Ka Tempu. On average, only 11.6% of the total number of graves are still intact. This fact is a matter for considerable concern, and even the sites in isolated areas have not escaped destruction. According to the local people, several sites have in fact been used for farming, one of the major causes of destruction, because the future field is burned. Destruction, however, can also be caused by the river (erosion of the banks), the growth of roots and trees, and the activities of animals, such as pigs, which like to root around in the ground. Of the five sites, only one (Long Pulung) shows any indication of an effort at preservation (fencing the site), since this location is very easy to visit.

For 80 graves (51.6%), it was still possible to determine the original type and shape of the burial container (see Table 11.1). For example, at Long Berini (22 containers): 10 urns are ovoid with a round opening, 4 are bowl-shaped, 3 are rectangular, 2 are ovoid with a rectangular opening, and 3 more are ceramic jars. The overall most common container shape is the ovoid urn with a round opening (36 examples). One monument at Long Berini should be noted, because not only is it the highest monument recorded, but its stone urn is also the largest, with a diameter of 120 cm, a height of 80 cm, and 10 cm thick walls.

Table 11.1 Distribution of container shapes in the upper Bahau

SITE	Shape of Stone Container								Total
	Cylinder	Rectangular with Narrower Base	Rectangular with Rounded Base	Bowl Shaped	Rectangular 'bowl'	Ovoid with Round Opening	Ovoid with Rectangular Opening	Ceramic Jar	
Long Berini	-	-	-	4	3	10	2	3	22
Ka Tempu	5	-	-	6	2	21	5	1	40
Long Kale	1	-	-	2	-	4	-	-	7
Long Pulung	1	1	-	4	-	1	-	-	7
Long Beraa	-	-	1	-	1	-	1	1	4
Total	7	1	1	16	6	36	8	5	80

Little can be said about the structure of the graves because it varies considerably, following the types and shapes of their containers. At Long Beraa, for example, dolmen pillars are found only on the two sides of the grave, a consequence of the use of a rectangular container (sarcophagus). Likewise, supporting stones are used for the bowl-

shaped stone urn, whereas cylindrical stone containers and ceramic jars are partly buried in the ground. The roof and pillars of the dolmen and the supporting stones of the container generally are not finely worked and of whatever form, and simply adjusted to the size of the container.

Furthermore, it is difficult to discover the relationship between sites, because there are many differences. From the similarities in the general shape of the monuments, however, it can be established that the people who built them had the same capabilities and technology, although with a different creativity. The burial containers may be filled with the bones of more than one individual, as at Long Beraa, making the container a collective grave. Small gongs or earthenware pots and cups, found in several graves, are believed to be grave goods.

The layout of the sites differs from one site to the next, except for the lining-up of the graves parallel to the river bank. At Ka Tempu, there are two separate concentrations of graves, believed to point to the existence of two distinct groups. According to the local inhabitants, the graves can be differentiated into those with carved containers (Ka Tempu and Long Pulung)—the graves of *paren bio'* (chiefs of ethnic group)—and those with plain containers. At Long Berini, the large monuments tend to be surrounded by smaller graves that seem to cling to them. The larger graves are believed to indicate a higher social position of the occupant. The differences in the features of a grave—shape, material of the container, size, presence of stone supports for the urn—seem to reflect differences in social status. These distinctions, however, may also result from the difference in the type of death suffered by the deceased (see Karina Arifin, in Eghenter and Sellato 1999).

TEST PITS IN PUJUNGAN SUBDISTRICT

Three test pits were dug at the settlement site of Apau Ping and three more at the site of an abandoned settlement area (*lepu'un*) at Long Beraa (see Figure 11.25).

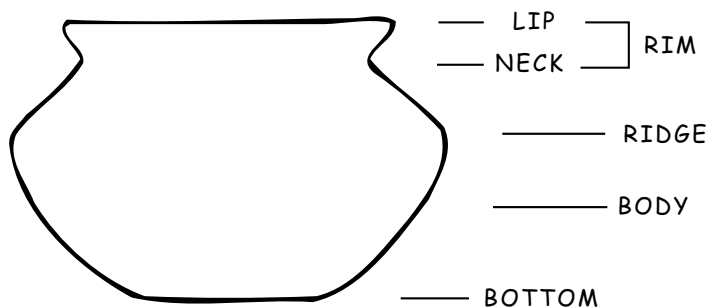
Apau Ping

The current village of Apau Ping is a settlement of the Kenyah Leppo' Ké. This site, however, was once occupied by the Ngorek, and later by the Kenyah Leppo' Ma'ut. Many polished stone adzes were found, which, according to the local people, were made by the Ngorek. Many earthenware shards were also found, part of Ngorek origin and part of Kenyah (Leppo' Ma'ut or Leppo' Ké) origin, although the differences between the two are still unclear. The test pits were meant to expose distinct cultural layers reflecting differences between the two ethnic groups and to identify types of artefacts characteristic of these groups, since the context of the many artefacts (stone adzes and earthenware) collected from the villagers' hands is not known. The test pits were expected to contribute more explicit preliminary information, both vertically and horizontally, regarding the Ngorek.

Three spots were selected. Test Pit I shows a structure of burnt clay resembling brick on the surface, which according to the villagers was made by the Ngorek. Test Pit II was dug in a spot where, according to the villagers, houses had stood since Ngorek times. Due to this spot's higher elevation, complete cultural layers could be exposed and numerous stone tools and earthenware shards were found nearby (for a terminology of the parts of earthenware containers, see Figure 11.36). The location of Test Pit III, at the highest ground elevation, has also once been occupied by the Ngorek, and

earthenware and stone adzes were also found on the surface. During the 1992 survey, a test pit had been dug by Kiwok Rampai not far from Test Pit III, in the yard of a lower-lying house.

Figure 11.36 Pottery Terminology



Test Pit I

The 1 x 1m test pit consists of five lots. It reveals a 'brick structure' forming two hollows of, respectively, 40 x 30 cm (to the south) and 60 x 30 cm (to the north). The bottom and sides consist of layers of hard brick. The outer walls are less hard and their colour shifts from bright red to brown and finally fades into the colour of the surrounding soil. In the hollows, river stones, charcoal particles, and earthenware shards were found. One of the river stones, of unclear function, has a round side covered by a layer of greenish yellow glaze. The base of the hollows is greenish brown and rippled and is impermeable to water, maybe the result of high temperatures at burning. Earthenware shards, all from the bodies of containers, are red, grey, and black, with a temper of crushed earthenware. One shows string decoration. No distinct soil layers or other artefacts were found that could be used as markers of cultural layers.

Test Pit II

Test Pit II is 1.5 x 1.5m and consists of three lots. Lot 1 consists of disturbed black soil containing stones and 68 pottery shards (including 1 ridge, 1 neck, and 1 rim). In Lot 2, an earthenware artefact of unclear function, with a temper of coarse crushed pottery was found. The bottom of Lot 2 is a layer of dense yellow soil with black pellets and chunks of river stones, and one piece of dark grey pottery with a coarse temper. The bottom of Lot 3 (75 cm deep) displayed a sterile layer of yellow soil mixed with black pellets. Test Pit III, thus, shows a single cultural layer.

Lot 1 yielded 640 gr of earthenware shards, generally rather small (less than 2 cm), and Lot 2 only revealed one shard (5 cm). The thickness of the shards varies from 0.3 to 1.1 cm. The temper is of crushed earthenware (from fine to coarse, with a maximum of 0.4 cm), or sand with grains still visible, indicating a low firing temperature. The pottery is orange, reddish grey, or black. It does not always have an outside layer of resin, but occasionally the inside is covered by such a layer. One shard shows a straight rim, similar to the form manufactured by the villagers today. No decorated earthenware was found.

Test Pit III

Test Pit III is 1.25 x 1.25 m and consists of four lots. Lot 1 shows crumbly soil with chunks of river stones, 3 unpolished basalt adzes, small flakes of basalt, animal teeth, charcoal, and small pellets of *batu bala* (literally, red rocks, natural red ochre mixed with water and used for painting coffins, house walls, or shields). The earthenware (3 kg of small shards) includes 594 pieces of container bodies, 53 ridges, 65 necks, and 34 rims. Lot 2 yielded earthenware shards and chunks of river stone, *batu bala*, 2 flakes of basalt, and one polished basalt adze with one of its edges reworked. The earthenware (1.6 kg) consists of 286 pieces of container body, 53 ridges, 22 necks, and 23 rims. In Lot 3, the dense brown soil contains basalt flakes, several chunks of yellow and red ochre, and small river stones. The earthenware (less than 1 kg) consists of 216 pieces of the body, 30 ridges (Figures 11.37 and 11.38), 8 necks, and 6 rims (Figures 11.39 and 11.40). In Lot 4, the soil is still of the same type, and the earthenware (0.5 kg) consists of 87 pieces of the body, 19 ridges, 9 necks, and 4 rims, as well as pieces of white earthenware. Furthermore, two basalt adzes were found at a depth of 82 cm. The test pit ended with a layer of sterile yellow soil at a depth of 94 cm. Thus, a single cultural layer was found, which did not show any sublayers.

Figure 11.37 Ridges in earthenware (Apau Ping): (a to e) test pit III Lot 2; (f-g) test pit III Lot 4

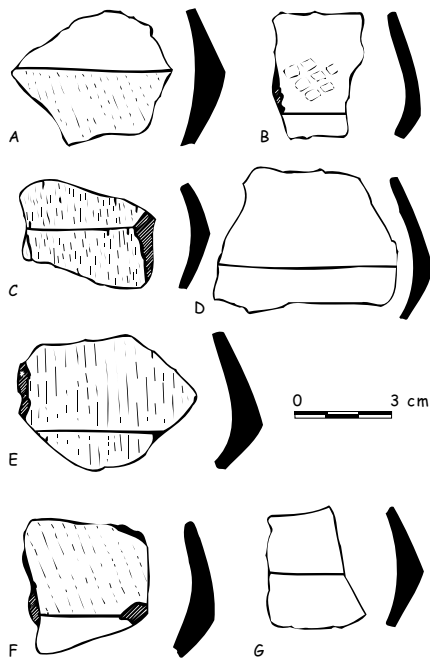


Figure 11.38 Ridges in earthenware from Apau Ping: test pit III Lot 3

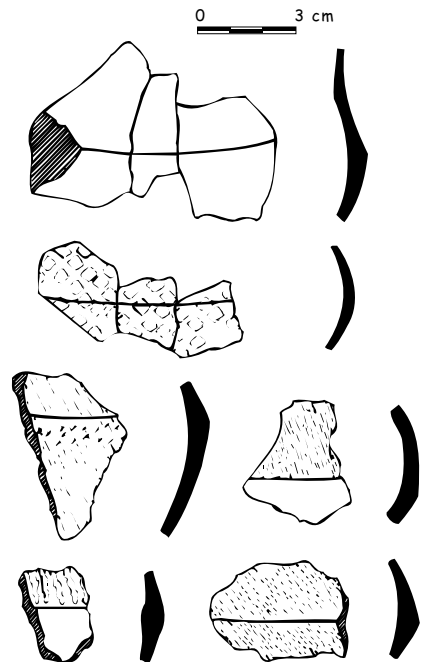


Figure 11.39 Rims in earthenware from Apau Ping: test pit III Lot 1

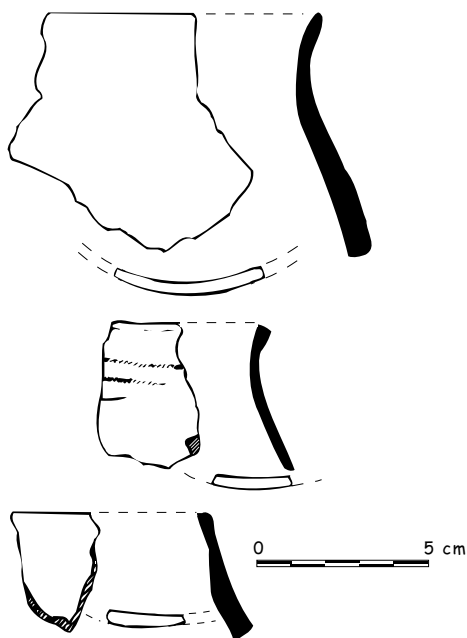
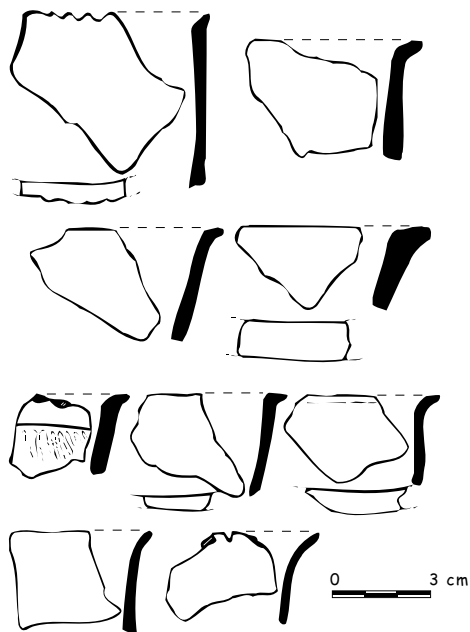


Figure 11.40 Rims in earthenware from Apau Ping: test pit III Lot 2



The pottery is red orange, grey, black or, most infrequently, pale yellow. A layer of resin is often found, either on the outside or the inside. Some pottery polished to a black shine was found, as well as another type, yellowish or greyish red on the outside and black on the inside. The temper generally consists of finely crushed pottery. Some pottery with a sand temper with quartz grains still visible indicates a low firing temperature. More than half the pottery is decorated, generally with a string pattern obtained by beating the pot with a paddle wrapped in string with varying diameter (see Figures 11.41 and 11.42). The straight rim of one container shows another technique of string decoration, made by impressing a string around the neck. A decorative pattern of boxes (squares or diamonds) is also found, made with a wooden paddle incised with crossed lines. The lip may be decorated with a motif of deep scratches around the edge. On the pot's body, decoration may be restricted to the bottom part, below the ridge, or to the part from the ridge to just below the rim. One of the pottery, showing a neck forming an angle, is decorated with a string pattern interrupted just below that angle.

Long Beraa

The Long Beraa site, located on the second terrace from the river bank, is an old Ngrek settlement site (*Iepu'un*) and has been occupied again by the Kenyah Leppo' Ma'ut in the 1940s. This is an ideal location, because the flat is extensive, with a nearby hill suitable for defence. Many earthenware shards are found on the ground surface, as well as fruit trees (rambutan and candlenuts). Test pits were opened in three locations.

Figure 11.41 Pattern made by thin string wrapped around a paddle

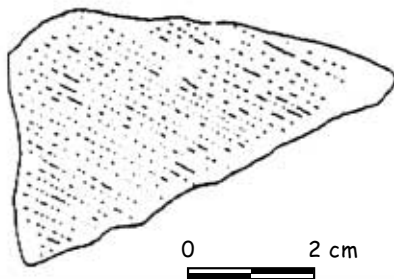


Figure 11.42 Pattern made by thick string wrapped around a paddle



Test Pit I

Test Pit I, measuring 1 x 1m, is located on a flat covered with grass and a few trees and consists of three lots. Lot 1 shows crumbly black soil mixed with roots, charcoal, shards of foreign ceramic, and earthenware shards (less than 0.5 kg) consisting of 30 parts of container body, 3 necks, and 5 rims. There is also one pot bottom with a thickness of 2 cm (110 gr), thought to be part of a large container. The local people, however, claim that they have never seen one so thick. *Batu bala* is also present. In Lot 2, still denser yellow soil contains river stones, charcoal, and orange and grey pottery shards (200 gr) consisting of 11 shards of body, 4 necks, and 1 rim, with a temper of crushed earthenware and very coarse sand (0.5 cm). In the upper part of Lot 3, a grey soil layer yielded one shard of a pot body and charcoal particles, and is gradually replaced with dense yellow soil. Lot 3 ends with a sterile yellow layer at a depth of 60 cm.

Test Pit II

In a flat overgrown with ferns and dense tall *Imperata* grass, Test Pit II, measuring 1 x 1m, consists of 2 lots. In Lot 1, crumbly black soil with charcoal particles yielded 7 chunks of *batu bala* (200 gr) and pottery consisting of 15 shards of container body, 4 necks, and 4 rims. Downward, the soil becomes sandy with fine grey soil pellets, and at the bottom of the lot it is mixed with yellow soil. Lot 2 was dug only 18 cm deep to check the underlying soil in the south of the square. At its bottom, the soil is still black and contains charcoal particles and earthenware (200 gr) consisting of 11 shards of container body, 4 necks, and 1 rim. Small chunks of *batu bala* were also found. The yellow soil layer appears to be sterile.

Test Pit III

Test Pit III, measuring 1 x 1m, is located at the end of a flat area overgrown with thick fern and it consists of three lots. In Lot 1 below the humus, a black sandy soil mixed with charcoal yielded earthenware shards (100 gr) comprising 15 shards of container body, 1 neck, and 1 rim, as well as pieces of glass and bottles, pieces of tin plates, river stones, and *todan* (a sort of resin). Lot 2 consists of dense yellow and brown soil with no charcoal or artefacts at all. Lot 3 was dug in the middle of the square to examine a spot of dark grey crumbly soil to a depth of 17 cm, possibly the remains of

a house stilt. The pottery is reddish orange and dark grey, some showing remains of a resin layer, and the temper is coarsely crushed pottery. Straight rims indicate a rather closed type of pot, like that still made by the local people today. Not a single shard of decorated pottery was found.

Conclusion

The two sites display similar features, i.e., a black upper layer containing charcoal and artefacts (primarily pottery), and a yellow, sterile substratum. In between are transition layers of black and yellow soils, frequently still containing artefacts. The upper layer does not show distinctive sublayers that could be viewed as representing two or more different cultural layers. It is thus difficult to identify or distinguish between the groups that manufactured the artefacts recovered. The Kenyah never manufactured basalt tools and always insist that these were made by the Ngorek, which leads to the conclusion that the stone tools in Test Pit III at Apau Ping were made by the Ngorek. The problem is different with regard to the pottery shards found everywhere. Without a clear differentiation of cultural layers, there is no indication to determine who made these pots. Although the people of Apau Ping tend to state that these shards are of Ngorek origin, they themselves, to this day, still produce earthenware (see Sellato 1997a).

ANALYSIS OF ARTEFACTS FOUND IN APAU PING

Research on the artefacts found in the Apau Ping area in 1991–92 was conducted in Jakarta. These artefacts consisted primarily of stone implements and pottery shards, and a few shards of foreign ceramic ware and pieces of iron.

Stone tools

The stone tools investigated totalled 205 pieces. They can be classified as adze, pounder, gouge, scraper, and sharpening stone. Adzes form the largest group (59 items)—to which should be added 42 unpolished adzes. A large number of broken basalt tools could not be classified.

Adzes

These adzes generally are elongated with a quadrangular cross section, and are finely polished all over (see Figure 11.43). A cutting edge is made by abrading the extremity of the tool, giving a sharper slant to the extremity of the lower surface. They vary in size from 4 to 25 cm. They can be divided into eight types according to shape. It should be noted that this typology is essentially descriptive and does not carry implications regarding differences in the functions of the tools.

Type A (23 items; see Figure 11.44): the upper surface rises from a narrow butt towards the centre of the tool and broadens increasingly

Figure 11.43 Terminology of the adze: a) upper surface; b) longitudinal section; c) lower surface; 1) butt; 2) cutting edge

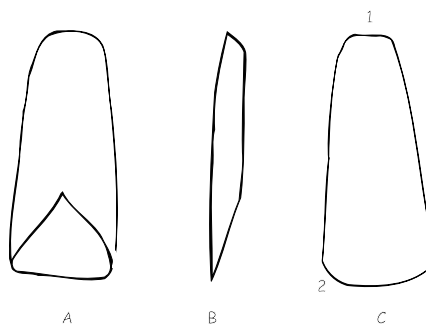
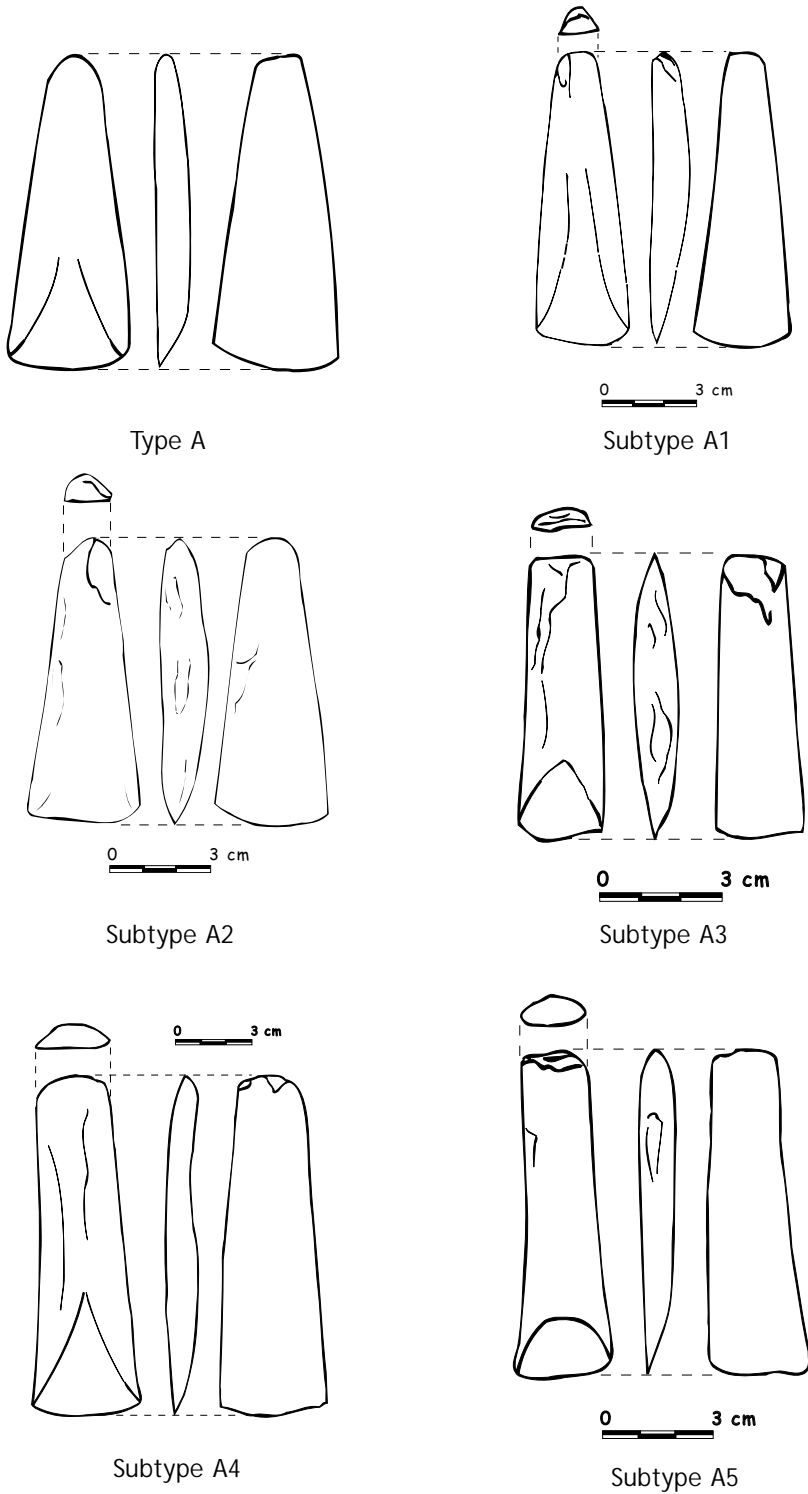


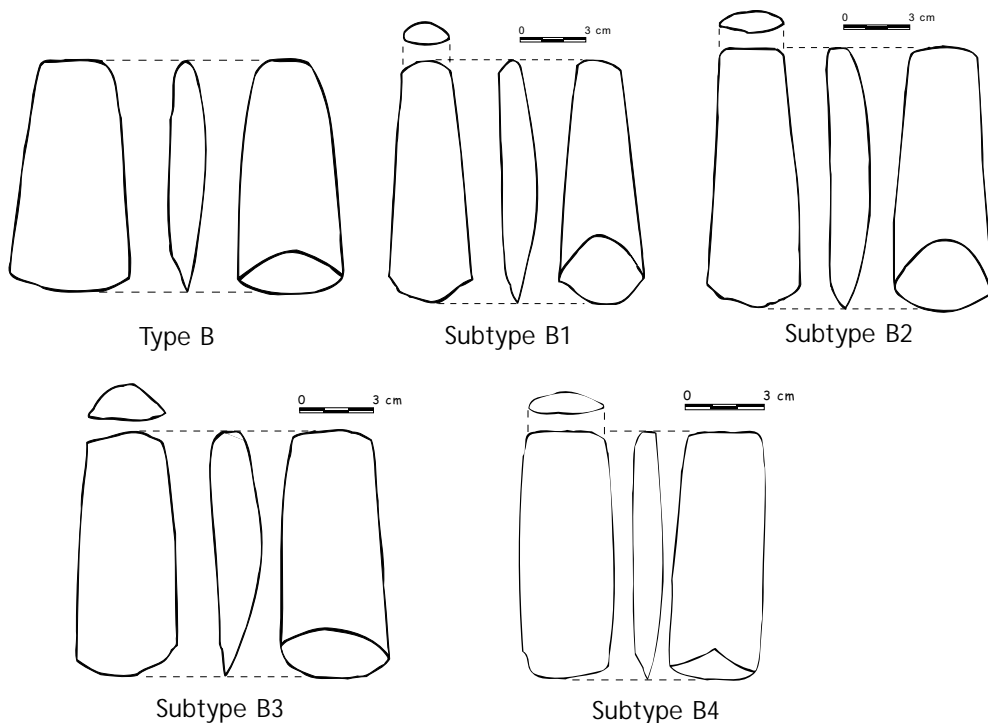
Figure 11.44 Typology of stone adzes from the upper Bahau, type A



to form the cutting edge, which forms a convex triangle on the upper surface (see this type in Duff 1970). Type A adzes have been divided into five subtypes on the basis of their cutting edge and their section. A1 (13 items; 5.3-12.6 cm long): the cutting edge is formed from the convex upper surface, whereas the lower surface is flat. The longitudinal section displays a flat lower surface and a convex upper surface A2 (7 items; 6.1-11.4 cm long): the longitudinal section is almost identical to that of A1, but both surfaces have been abraded to form the cutting edge. A3 (1 item; 7.0 cm long): the butt does not much differ in width from the cutting edge, which was formed from the flat upper surface, whereas the lower surface is rather convex. A4 (1 item; 11.6 cm long): the cutting edge was formed by abrasion of both the lower and upper surfaces, which are both convex. A5 (1 item; 9.0 cm long): the cutting edge was formed from the upper surface, while the lower surface is rather convex.

Type B (21 items; see Figure 11.45): The upper surface is convex, whereas the lower surface, from which the cutting edge was formed, is flat. The butt is not significantly narrower than the edge (see this type in Duff 1970). According to variation in the cutting edge, four subcategories are distinguished. B1 (6 items; 7.8-11.2 cm long): the upper surface is convex while the lower surface is flat; the cutting edge is formed from the lower surface. B2 (8 items; 4.8-15.6 cm long): the cutting edge clearly shows a triangular shape. B3 (4 items; 10.1-14.7 cm long): the cutting edge is shorter and thus steeper. B4 (3 items; 8.5-9.5 cm long): the upper surface is rather convex and the lower surface is flat; the cutting edge is short.

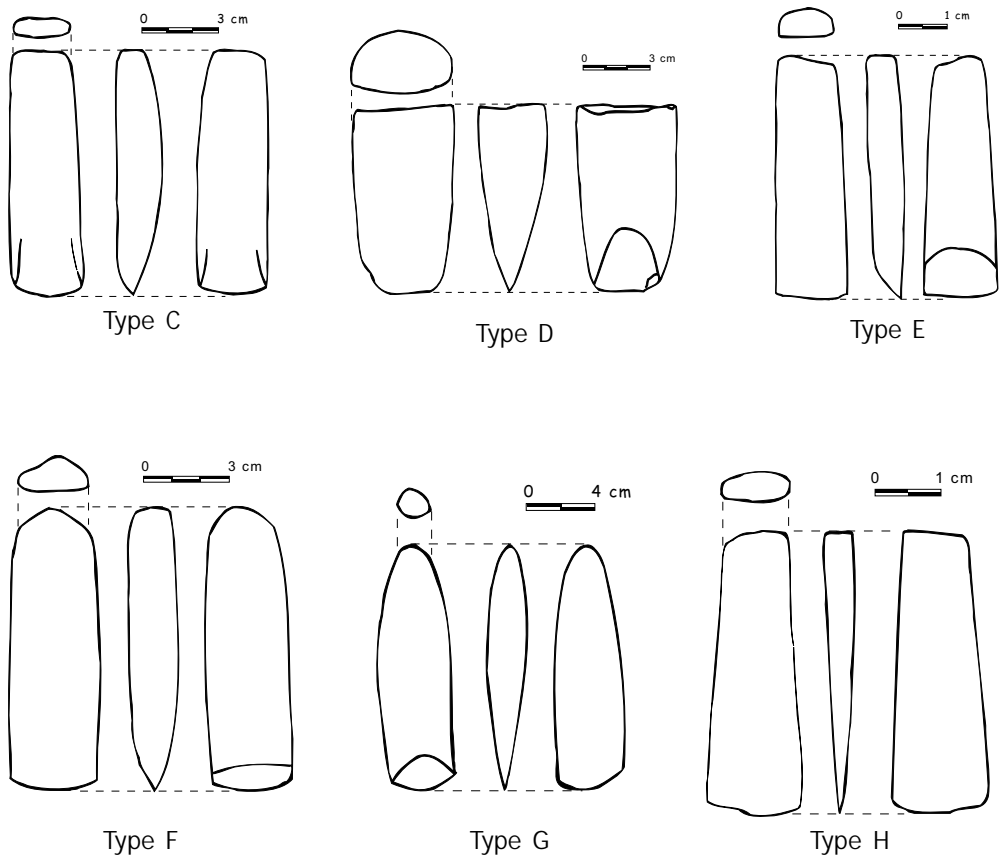
Figure 11.45 Typology of stone adzes from the upper Bahau, type B



Other types (see Figure 11.46): Type C (7 items; 7.0-10.9 cm long): the upper surface is convex while the lower surface is flat. The cutting edge was formed from both the upper and lower surfaces. Type D (6 items; 7.7-10.6 cm long): the upper surface is convex while the lower surface is flat; the cutting edge was formed from the lower surface, and is narrower than the butt. Type E (2 items; 11.1-11.7 cm long): the lower surface is flat while the upper surface is slightly convex; the cutting edge was formed from the lower surface, and is wider than the butt; the sides of the tool are polished, and the butt is also polished to form a square. Type F (3 items; 10.1-13.8 cm long): the upper surface is convex, while the lower surface is flat; the cutting edge, formed from the lower surface, somewhat widens, while the butt is rounded. Type G (1 item; 15.4 cm long): both the upper and lower surfaces are convex; the butt is rounded and the cutting edge, formed from the lower surface, is slightly wider. Type H (1 item; 9.0 cm long): both the upper and lower surfaces are flat; the butt is smaller than the cutting edge, formed from both the upper and lower surfaces.

A total of 42 unpolished adzes (4.3-21.5 cm long) were collected. Their features are in line with those of an adze, except that they remained unpolished.

Figure 11.46 Typology of stone adzes of the upper Bahau, C to H



Other tools

Gouges (2 items; 9.2-17.8 cm long; see Figure 11.47): the overall shape is elongated and rather convex, with the butt and cutting edge of the same width. The curved cutting edge is found on the lower part. **Pounders** (2 items; 12.2-14.1 cm long; see Figure 11.48): they are ovoid, with a butt smaller than the pounding end, which has a hollow centre and a rim forming a flat circle and is used for crushing (see Sellato 1996). **Scraper** (1 item, 7.5 cm long): it is rectangular with a thick butt and a pointed cutting edge, and both the upper and lower surfaces are flat. **Sharpening stone** (1 item; 9.1 cm long): it is thin and triangular, with a hole at the butt end. **Unidentified** (83 items; 2.6-13.8 cm long): various broken tools and pieces of worked basalt of unknown function and type.

Figure 11.47 Stone gouge from the upper Bahau

**Pottery and Ceramics**

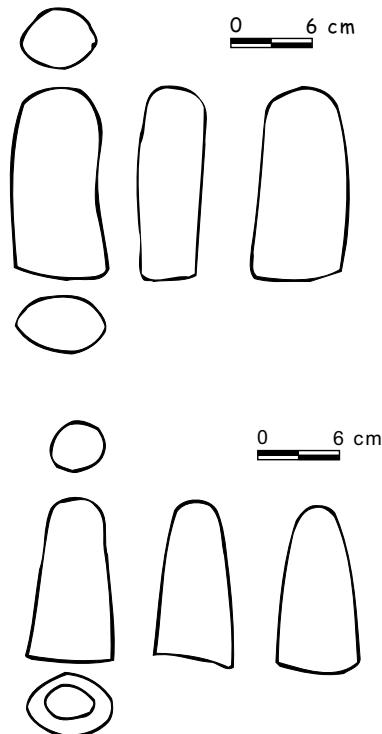
These finds are distinguished into local earthenware and foreign ceramics. The analysis is based on the analytical methods for pottery described by Wahyudi (1985).

Local Earthenware

The basic material is clay, but some pieces are made from clay mixed with lime. The clay, with a high iron content, is grey, black, or red. Low-temperature firing results in a coarse earthenware, whereas fine earthenware results from medium-temperature firing. The tempers are sand and crushed earthenware. The technique used is hand modelling (for terminology, see Figure 11.36), and finger imprints are found on several earthenware shards.

At the end of the manufacturing process, a brushing technique was applied, which may have used straw, leaving fine lines visible on the pot's body. Pressure techniques of decoration were also used, employing paddles wrapped in string, resulting in lines whose width depended on the size of the string. Some very thick black shards of a container's body may have belonged to a metal-smelting container.

Figure 11.48 Stone pounder from the upper Bahau



A total number of 676 shards included 7 pieces of black or grey, undecorated rims, with an open, straight, or closed angle, with a mouth diameter of 8 to 18 cm; 1 piece of black ridge with line decoration, manufactured by the hand modelling technique; 182 pieces of grey, black, or red container body, plain or decorated with (thick or thin) lines made with a paddle wrapped with string (see Figures 11.41 and 11.42); 6 shards of smelting containers, black and undecorated; and 487 unidentified undecorated shards.

Foreign Ceramics

This category includes all shards of glazed, white or pale blue, kaolin base. From a total number of nine shards, 1 is a rim shard with a flower motif under the glaze, an open angle, and a probable diameter of 21 cm (possibly from a plate); 3 bottom shards, plain or decorated with floral motif under the glaze, one of which contains a factory mark which could not be clearly read (only a crown is visible); and 5 unidentified pieces with floral motif under the glaze.

MEGALITHIC GRAVES: A SUMMARY

The surveys that were carried out indicated differences in the form of the burial structures in the four subdistricts visited. In Long Pujungan, the graves generally consisted of stone urn-dolmens in various forms, but a few menhirs were also found, usually erected near graves. In Kerayan, two forms are known, the *batu terupun* (or *perupun*, *pelepuun*) and a type of urn-dolmen with a ceramic jar container, as well as a number of menhirs. So far, no stone burials have been found in Malinau where, instead, there are grave monuments made of wood and including ceramic jars. In Kayan Hulu, the most common burial container is a rectangular stone trough. This last subdistrict, however, will not be discussed in this summary.

Pujungan Subdistrict

The urn-dolmen burial structure (Figure 11.2) basically consists of a stone urn, standing on short stone pillars or blocks or directly on the ground, and covered with a flat stone (lid or cover). This container is protected by a dolmen consisting of several stone pillars supporting a large stone slab (the roof or table). The term urn-dolmen was coined by Schneeberger (1979). The materials used generally can be found in the vicinity of the grave, yet, in some cases they must have been carried from rather far away. The container and its lid, as well as a number of dome-shaped dolmen roofs, consist of medium-to-coarse-grained feldspatic sandstone of Cretaceous age. This rock formation is found in several locations, for example, on the Ngiam River and at Kiam Bio'. Many stone slabs which have been made into dolmen tables consist of Cretaceous siliceous siltstones or fine-grained sandstones, found along the length of the Bahau River. The pillars of the graves were made of whatever type of stone was available (Sellato 1995c).

The form of the structures varies significantly. For example, the cylindrical containers, found at Ka Tempu and Lepu'un Nyibun and reaching 1.5 m in height, apparently had not been protected by a dolmen, but only by a stone slab as a cover. The shape of the stone container also varies. Its mouth may be rectangular, oval, or circular, while its bottom is round. The rectangular containers found at Long Pulung

and Long Lenjau Ca have a base smaller than their opening, so that their walls slope. The pillars may resemble a square beam, or be somewhat convex ('onion skin'), or just retain the natural shape of the stone used. There are also pillars of rectangular stone (e.g., at Long Tela'u), or made of carefully processed and shaped flat slabs (e.g., at Long Beraa). So far, only two carved stone graves have been found (Long Pulung and Ka Tempu).

The size of the graves, too, varies. The highest is 2 m, with its container alone reaching 1 m in length. Yet, more commonly found are graves about 50 cm high. Near or attached to large structures are occasionally a number of smaller structures, seeming to form a cluster, as in Long Berini. Ceramic jars are also found, placed between the pillars of large stone urn-dolmens. The differences in the size and layout of the grave structures are thought to indicate status differences.

Ceramic jars were found at several sites, placed on the ground, or sometimes partly buried to prevent them from toppling. At Long Berini, a broken ceramic jar was located on the ground, enclosed by a ring of stone slabs slanting as if covering the jar. The various ceramic jars found as parts of stone burial structures in the Long Pujungan area still await identification with regard to their origins and age. Some have been identified as 18-19th century Chinese jars, such as the rather common brown jars with dragon motif and the jars with four ears and two rows of protruding pegs underneath (Sellato 1995c). A number of jars with a red paste, coarse temper, and black lead glaze, originated from 15-17th century Thailand or Burma (see Manguin 1995).

Kerayan Subdistrict

Here, too, a variety of burial structures are found. At Sungai Bulu and Sungai Kuyur, ceramic jars are often used as burial containers, and placed inside a square chamber of rectangular stone slabs with relatively straight edges and of even thickness; the chamber was covered with a stone slab. The only stone urn found was unique in that it had been carved to resemble a ceramic jar, complete with ears. At Sungai Bulu, a triangular stone pillar carved with a human form had been set up in one of the inside corners of the stone chamber—a similar carving was found on the surface of a stone cropping out on the bank of the Kerayan River upstream from Tang La'an. The graves of Sungai Kuyur and Sungai Bulu seem to represent a specific form, which may be widespread in the Kerayan Hulu region. In the area of Kerayan Darat, the common grave structure is the *batu terupun* (or *perupun*, *pelepuun*), a large dolmen made of stone slabs reaching 2 m in length and 1 m in width, erected on a heap of river stones.

Several stones stand alone, both rectangular pillars (menhirs) and flat slabs. At Terang Baru, for example, several stone slabs had been erected in the ground as markers of the village, the church, or something else. Very likely, in the Kerayan Darat area, these slabs were formerly part of a dolmen structure. For example, one pillar of a *batu terupun* in Pa' Api has been moved to the edge of the football field to be erected as a village marker. In the Kerayan Hulu area (e.g., at Tang La'an), several tall menhirs clearly had not been part of a dolmen structure.

Malinau District

The grave structures here are made of large wooden beams, yet their construction and their function are reminiscent of the megalithic structures in other districts. The same is true of the burial structure of the Nyibun people—a large wooden post supporting

a ceramic jar containing human bones—which seems to represent a sequel to the tradition of the stone structures. It may be guessed that the use of stone as construction material for graves does not only depend on the local traditions, but also on the availability of the materials. A shortage of stone of the right type does not mean, however, that a community must abandon its tradition of megalithic structures. In the Kerayan area, for example, the large stone slabs used in the *batu terupun* must have been brought there from a rather distant area. It must be asked why some people stopped building megalithic graves, even though the underlying ideas persisted. It is also possible that an important change in social structure caused the abandonment of the megalithic tradition, so that the stone burial structures were replaced with wooden ones.

Further Research

The test pits dug at two former Ngorek settlement sites (Apau Ping and Long Beraa) did not show distinct cultural layers. It was possible, however, to determine differences in the types of artefacts, especially with regard to the basalt tools and the earthenware. Further surveys of other settlement sites are needed to determine their size, characteristics, and environment, before selecting some for excavation. Further surveys should also focus on cave sites, to obtain a better picture of their types, morphology, and distribution, before test pits or true excavations begin. Extension work should be performed among the local people regarding the protection and preservation of archaeological remains in their regions, in order to protect the sites and prevent further destruction. This is also important for inducing pride and a feeling of ownership regarding these historic monuments among the villagers, who so far do not understand their significance.