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THE NEGRITOS OF MALAYA

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THE NEGRITOS
OF
MALAYA

By
IVOR H. N. EVANS, M.A.

CAMBRIDGE
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS

1937

In gratitude to my friends the Negritos
for the many pleasant hours that I have
spent in their company

PREFACE

IN a previous book I expressed the opinion that the time had not yet come for the appearance of a comprehensive work on the pagan races of Malaya to take the place of the monumental tomes of Messrs Skeat and Blagden. This is still the case in so far as the Sakai and Jakun are concerned. The present volume is an attempt to bring up to date, and put into handy form, our knowledge of the Negritos only. I have, by giving plentiful references in footnotes, attempted to avoid overloading the letterpress with detail.

The chief work among the Negritos of recent years has been done by Father Paul Schebesta and myself. The former studied them in 1924, devoting the year to this purpose, while his expedition to Malaya and Sumatra lasted from January of that year until September 1925, most of the remainder of his time being spent in visiting Sakai and Jakun groups in the Malay Peninsula and the Orang Kubu of Sumatra. His visit was undertaken at the behest of Prof. Dr. Schmidt and financed by Pope Pius XI. The results of his researches have been given in two books of a somewhat popular nature, both published originally in German, and in a number of papers scattered through various scientific and other journals.

Almost all the papers deal with the Negritos or the mixed Negrito-Sakai groups, while of the two books the first treats of the Negritos, the second of the Sakai, the Jakun and the Orang Kubu. The volume on the Negritos has also been published in English under the title of *Among the Forest Dwarfs of Malaya*, having been translated by Arthur Chambers.

My own work among the Negritos extends, at intervals, from 1913 to 1932, in which year I left Malaya. Recently, however, when the greater part of this book had been written, I paid a short return visit to our Malayan Negritos for the purposes of

taking photographs and getting further information about certain points which were not sufficiently clear. Where fresh information has thus been added I have stated the year in which it was obtained. My results have appeared from time to time, chiefly in the *Journal of the Federated Malay States Museums*, while in sections of my two books, *Studies in Religion, Folk-lore, and Custom in British North Borneo and the Malay Peninsula* and *Papers on the Ethnology and Archaeology of the Malay Peninsula*, I have given, with the exception of other details about two groups and two papers on Negrito combs in the last-named work, only material dealing with religion and custom, etc.

The present volume may, therefore, be regarded as a compilation of Schebesta's and my own work, plus that of Skeat and his authorities.

Apart from his book on the Negritos, mentioned above, a considerable difficulty exists in dealing with Schebesta's material. Some of the papers that he has published on Negrito religion tread one upon the tail of the next, part of what is recorded in paper 1 re-occurring in paper 2, part of paper 2 in paper 3, and so on, and sometimes these appear to be contradictions between the different accounts, but they are chiefly in minor matters. He has added very materially to our knowledge of the Negritos, as he spent a considerable time with them, enduring, as I can bear witness from my own experience, much discomfort in doing so.

His account of jungle life, as given in his book, is somewhat highly coloured—no doubt for popular consumption—but this is scarcely in consonance with the scientific material that it also contains. Two bad faults are to be found with his work in general, one, which betokens at the least considerable carelessness, is that he occasionally lays claim to discoveries previously recorded as being his own and new,¹ and that he usually gives the impression, by very rarely indeed referring to the work of others, that nothing happened in regard to Negrito research from the days of Vaughan Stevens until his own advent.

¹ I notice instances of this in the body of the book.

With regard to the preparation of this book I have to thank the Government of the State of Perak, the Perak Museum having now again become a State, instead of a Federal, Institution, for permission to reproduce certain photographs taken by me, or for me, in former years, and used as illustrations in various papers of mine, and also for allowing me to have photographs taken of specimens in the Perak Museum, the majority of which were collected by me when visiting Negrito groups.

I have, too, to tender my most grateful thanks to the Secretary of State for the Colonies and to certain officials in the Colonial Office for obtaining for me a subsidy of £150 towards the cost of printing and publishing this volume, while thanks are also due to the High Commissioner for the Malay States and to the Government of the Federated Malay States for providing the aforesaid sum.

I also owe a debt of gratitude to my friend Mr. F. H. Nash, late of the Mines Department, Federated Malay States, and now of Northlea, Yarmouth Road, Lowestoft, for his work in preparing the map and the "Negrito Chart of the Heavens and the Underworld" for me, while I have to thank Mr. M. R. Henderson, of the Botanic Gardens, Singapore, for the gift of a photographic negative and Mr. E. la M. Stowell, Director of Education, Kedah, for material assistance during my visit to Malaya in 1935 and for furnishing me with a picture of a Negrito.

Dr. C. O. Blagden, too, has helped me greatly in various ways, especially by lending me copies of many of Schebesta's papers which it would have been difficult for me to obtain otherwise, while Mlle. Cuisinier kindly gave me a copy of her book on the magical dances of Kelantan. I have also to thank Mr. T. R. Hubback for a note on the wild tribe that frequents the Tanom River, Pahang.

While the manuscript of this book was in the hands of the Cambridge University Press, awaiting the answer of the Government of the Federated Malay States with regard to a publication

subsidy, there appeared a useful compilation by Dr. Walter Nippold entitled *Rassen- und Kulturgeschichte der Negrito-Völker Südost-Asiens* and, in the *Journal of the Federated Malay States Museums*, a report by Mr. H. D. Noone on the Pleh-Temiar Senoi. Of the first I have not been able to make much use, but in regard to the latter I have added an appendix to the present work, as Mr. Noone puts forward certain suggestions which have some bearing, even if not very directly, upon subjects with which I deal.

I. H. N. E.

OULTON BROAD

SUFFOLK

May 1937

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CHAPTER I

THE GEOGRAPHY AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE MALAY PENINSULA. NEGRITO DISTRIBUTION AND HABITAT

IN writing about one of the pagan races of the Malay Peninsula, the Negritos, it is perhaps necessary to give a short sketch of the country in general, so that it may be seen how these primitive people fit into the picture.

The Malay Peninsula is a long projection from S.E. Asia, narrow at first, but becoming tumid towards the end. Burma and Siam, to its N.W. and N.E. respectively, meet, the first continuing into it as the Tenasserim Province, while Siam extends into it as well, and much farther south, occupying the whole of its breadth after the Tenasserim Province has been left behind.

Below S. Peninsular Siam, filling the broadest part of the Peninsula, are various Malay States under British protection. Four of these (Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan and Pahang) are federated, while the others (Perlis, Kedah, Kelantan, Trengganu and Johore), though their rulers have received "British Advisers", remain outside the federation.

To the south of Johore, the southernmost state, lies the island of Singapore and this, with the town and territory of Malacca (on the west coast towards the south) and Penang Island and the adjacent territory of Province Wellesley (on the west coast towards the north), forms the British Colony of the Straits Settlements.

The west coast states of British Malaya, reading from north to south, are Perlis, Kedah, Perak, Selangor and Negri Sembilan with, as remarked above, Johore in the extreme south. The east coast states are Kelantan, Trengganu and Pahang.

West coast and east coast railway lines start from Singapore and after passing, as one line, over the Johore causeway and as far as Gemas, on the Johore-Negri Sembilan boundary, divide and, having traversed British Malaya, eventually reunite at

Haad Yai in S. Peninsular Siam, whence the line proceeds to Bangkok and N. Siam, but throwing off two branches eastward at Bangkok, the longer reaching the boundary of French Indo-China. The west coast line of British Malaya has some short side branches.

A main road, with branches, extends from Singapore up the western side of the Peninsula to Perlis, the northernmost state of British Malaya, whence there is road communication also with Singgora on the east coast of S. Peninsular Siam. Kuala Lipis, the capital of Pahang, which is also on the eastern railway line, can be reached by two roads through the main range of hills, one branching from the western road at Kuala Lumpur, the other at Kuala Kubu. From Kuala Lipis the east coast can be gained, at Kuantan, by the Benta-Kuantan road.

Far the most notable topographical feature of Malaya is the main range alluded to above. This jungle-covered backbone of the country lies far nearer to the west coast than to the east. In the south it breaks down somewhat, as also in the north, but appears again in the latter direction, fairly well developed, in the Trang and Patalung Provinces of S. Peninsular Siam. The main range forms, in some cases, a boundary between the western and eastern Malay States.

The states of the western side of the Peninsula, speaking generally, have been more exploited than those of the east. It is in Perak and Selangor that most of the tin mines are found,¹ while rubber has been extensively planted in these two states and in Negri Sembilan; so, too, in Johore. The same statement about planting is true for S. Kedah, on the west, and for Pahang, on the east, but, in the latter case, the area under rubber is small in comparison with the size of the state.

Where land has been alienated for planting on a large scale and for mining, local labour has proved insufficient and there has been a great influx of foreign Asiatic population, mostly of the labouring classes, but not entirely so, since this influx has also made work for traders, professional men and others. The chief contributors to the influx have been Chinese, from the

¹ There appears to be less tin east of the main range, though there is a very large lode mine at Sungai Lembing in Pahang.

southern maritime provinces of their country, and Southern Indians. The former are chiefly tin miners or unskilled workers, artisans, and, in the towns which have sprung up in connection with the two major industries, shopkeepers, professional men, etc., though some are large or small estate owners, mine owners and labourers on estates. The latter are mostly estate labourers and rubber tappers, workers on the railway or under the Public Works Department, or, in the higher grades, estate owners, professional men, clerks, money-lenders and shopkeepers. It may be remarked here that with the mechanization of the tin industry (dredges instead of the old open-cast mines) and the lessened labour force required on that account, the Chinese mining element has decreased considerably.

Numerous representatives of many other peoples have also entered Malaya, attracted by better pay or prospects than they could expect in their own countries. Among them are Northern Indians (Sikhs, Pathans, Punjabi Mohammedans and others), foreign Malays (mostly from Sumatra), Banjarese (also Malayan, from Banjar Masin in Dutch Borneo), Boyanese (Malayans from the Dutch island of Bawean), Japanese, Sinhalese, Siamese and all sorts of oddments, including some Arabs. Added to all these there are the Europeans, mostly British (Government officers, rubber planters, miners, merchants, doctors, lawyers, etc.), and a not very big resident Eurasian population.

So far, I have said nothing of the native Malays. They were, and are, largely peasant proprietors, rice-growers naturally, but, in certain districts, rubber, formerly very remunerative, has displaced rice. On the coasts they are fishermen, but sometimes plant rice as well.

Before the arrival of the British and before the days when tin and rubber yielded revenue, though tin always produced something in that regard for Malay rulers and nobles, there were no roads in the country. The rivers, supplemented by tracks, often short cuts, were the natural highways of the country. The Malay, therefore, generally lived close to a large river, though, where the population was fairly numerous, he spread to the tributaries and even to the twigs of the river system. Not only was the river his highway, but it provided him with fish to eat

and water to irrigate his crops of wet-growing rice in the valley bottoms, while on the hill sides above the stream he could obtain such jungle produce as he required or make a clearing to plant dry-growing rice and root crops. Even to-day the Malay population is usually thickest along river valleys, such as those of the Perak and the Pahang Rivers.

Take it all in all, the Malay peasant has altered remarkably little. His life and property are now safe, as never before, he no longer carries weapons, he is better dressed, possibly better fed and housed, he rides a bicycle, takes a seat in the cars which ply for hire over the excellent Malayan roads, or travels by rail, but the village cycle of marriages, births and deaths, sowings, plantings and reaping, still continues. His definite religious profession of Mohammedanism prevents rapid change in his ideas, and even the older layers of belief, Hinduism and animism, that underlie his orthodox faith still persist to a considerable extent.

The strip of country between the main range and the west coast, mostly alluvial, is, as noted previously, in great part under cultivation of one kind or another, or, in places, in the hands of the tin-mining industry. The main range itself still remains, in spite of a road or two through it in its south central part and the recently developed hill resort at Cameron Highlands, to which a road leads from Tapah, jungle-covered and almost unpenetrated except by Sakai aboriginals (if one may so call them) who make it their home. In the north of the state of Perak, before the main range breaks down, there is a good deal of hilly jungle-covered country, consisting, more or less, of spurs or outlying ranges given off from the massif, including one parallel range of some size west of the Perak River. On the east, too, much of the states of Kelantan and Pahang, especially S. and S.W. Kelantan and N. and N.W. Pahang, are occupied by mountainous and hilly jungle-covered country.

The trend of the main range being more or less north and south, the rivers which descend from it flow, chiefly, east and west, and, on the western side of the country, these rivers have, in many cases, been much damaged by tin mining, their waters being turbid and their beds choked with tailings.

The west coast, along the Straits of Malacca, is fringed, nearly everywhere, by mangrove swamps, these often extending for several miles in breadth. Through the swamps the lower reaches of the rivers wind their way. The mangrove belt tends to extend itself seaward on detritus brought down by the rivers.

The east coast, against which the China Sea thunders in the N.E. Monsoon, from about October to March, has sandy beaches with formidable bars at the river mouths, dangerous to cross, even in Malay boats, during this period, so much so, indeed, that the Monsoon is referred to by the Pahang Malays as *musim kuala tutup*, "the season when the river mouths are closed".

Malayan jungle is not easy to describe. Its chief features are, I think, huge greyish tree trunks (in some species with enormous buttresses), masses of rather sad-coloured foliage, meeting overhead and making the light in the forest somewhat dim, but giving grateful coolness, and an undergrowth of bushes with occasional rattan, or other, palms. This undergrowth is usually fairly dense, but rarely so dense that it is absolutely necessary to chop a way through it when travelling. Patches of bamboo jungle occur in some districts and the usual sage-green foliage of the forest, when viewed on a hill side, is sometimes relieved by trees whose leaves are of an arsenical hue. On the trunks of the trees, especially on those which are dead or dying, are all sorts of epiphytes, while lianas dangle like ropes here and there. Flowers are seldom seen. Those that there are, are usually at the tops of the trees, where sunlight reaches them.

Big animals are not commonly encountered, though their tracks are sometimes to be observed where they are to be found, which is by no means everywhere, for, for one reason and another, they are local in their distribution. Where they still live, and even in places where they existed in former times, game tracks along ridges, which the animals have for centuries used as paths, much facilitate the passage of human travellers. In other places tracks made by the jungle people can sometimes be found and utilized. Butterflies are common only where a stream or river makes a break in the sombre body of the forest. Snakes are rarely encountered.

Of the larger animals which frequent our Malayan forests the

following may be mentioned: the elephant, the two-horned Sumatran rhinoceros, the one-horned Javan rhinoceros (almost extinct), the Malayan tapir, the *sĕladang* (*Bos gaurus*), the sambhur deer, the barking deer and the mouse deer, the serow (chiefly in the jungle on limestone hills), wild pig, tiger, black and spotted leopard, sun bears, porcupines, the binturong, the scaly anteater, gibbons, macaque monkeys (two species), leaf-monkeys and the hunting dog. The mangrove swamps of the west coast have tiger, deer and pig and, of course, crocodile (*Crocodilus porosus*) in the estuaries of the rivers.

Birds are of many species, some of them of gorgeous plumage, but are seldom noticed in jungle country unless by those who use their eyes in search of them or their ears to listen for their notes. The call of the beautiful argus pheasant is, however, an accompaniment to the mists of early morning, as are the ululations of the gibbons among the tree tops. Otherwise of birds we may see, or hear (especially if we are in a river valley), only some hornbills of one of the several species flying off with their strange cries and the creak of their wings, a kingfisher flashing by, or a hawk perched motionless on a dead tree waiting for some prey to show itself.

Where the jungle has been felled and burnt, as where Malays or some of the jungle people have planted hill-growing rice and *Caladiums*, growth of a shrubby nature springs up as soon as the clearing is deserted, and this quickly gives place to a secondary growth of soft-wood trees, but it must be many years before those hard-wood trees that grow in virgin jungle can re-establish themselves and reach any size. The growths of grass, scrub and secondary jungle on deserted clearings are a good deal frequented by deer and pig, and even by elephant and *sĕladang* where these animals occur.

The Malays, who are not by nature jungle men, chiefly inhabit, as I have remarked previously, the valleys, large or small, which afford them level alluvial soil for their wet rice crops which can then be irrigated without much difficulty. The hills which subtend such valleys are generally jungle-covered.

The Malay village, nearly always pleasant to the eye, with its palm-leaf-thatched houses walled with sheet bamboo, woven



Photo: specially taken for the author

LANOH NEGRITO MEN AND YOUTHS OF LENGGONG, UPPER PERAK

Two with blowpipes. The dart-quiver worn by the second man from the left is of the type made by the Negrito-Sakai (Pleh) of the trans-Perak River hills. The objects protruding from the waist-cloths of the man on the left of the picture and the man standing second from the right are the handles of working-knives.

bamboo, thatch or tree bark, usually stands on a river bank or on a slight elevation among the rice fields and in a grove of fruit and other trees—coconuts, durians, rambutans, areca palms and sago palms. The last furnish not only sago, but also the best leaves obtainable for thatch-making. A rude mosque will be found in the village, a long building, very likely of similar construction to that of the houses, but partly open along the sides. A large drum calls the faithful to prayers.

The village,¹ unless remote, as some are, especially in the eastern states, may, or may not, be on a bridle path through the rice fields, which connects with a main road; if not, the banks between the rice plots serve as paths. Somewhere on the road, near or far, there will be a small township of Chinese shops, a few general shops stocking rice, dried fish, tobacco, matches, European-made cigarettes, cloth, cheap tinned goods, knives, needles, cotton, working-knife blades, cooking pots, sweets, beads, combs, Japanese beer, cheap mineral waters, kerosene, cheap lamps, biscuits and a truly wonderful variety of other goods. If the settlement is, comparatively speaking, large, there will also be a barber's shop, a shop for the sale of spirituous liquors both European and Chinese (sale not allowed to Mohammedans and to labouring class Southern Indians), a billiard saloon of sorts, a pawnshop (Chinese kept), coffee-shops where light refreshment can be obtained and an eating shop or two, kept either by Chinese or by Mohammedan Indians, where more substantial meals can be served. A tailor's shop and a jeweller's will also very likely be found.

The shops are usually two-storey brick and plaster buildings, the windows below being closed by removable shutters at night. In front of a row of shops there is almost invariably a covered way—called by the Malays "the five-foot way"—the plastered brick pillars of which are flush with the upper storey, the open shop windows on the ground floor being set back in consequence. This covered way provides grateful shelter for shoppers, affording protection from heat and rain. Between the road and the five-foot way is a deep brick drain which carries off surface water and refuse. This is bridged, often by stone slabs, opposite the

¹ Many villages are, of course, on main roads.

shop doors. Here and there in the country, too, in or near Malay villages, will be found small Chinese general shops, singly, or possibly one or two together.

A car park, containing motor cars for hire, is to be seen in almost every settlement of any size. The drivers wait till their cars have filled up with passengers for destinations along their chosen routes, and then depart. If their conveyances are not quite full when they leave, they take up any passengers who may offer themselves on the way. The fares paid for seats are extremely reasonable.

I have given a somewhat detailed description of a Chinese shop settlement, because such places have a considerable influence not only, of course, on the lives of the Malays, but also on those of our Malayan jungle peoples, for it is through these shops that a few necessities and many semi-necessities and luxuries reach them, and, as these luxuries are often not of local origin, it is mostly through the Chinese shops that they are brought into contact with foreign influences.

Before beginning to consider the Negritos, the subject of this book, in detail, it is necessary to glance as well at the other jungle peoples who are to be found in Malaya and for me to define, to the best of my abilities, the territories and boundaries of the three racial divisions that inhabit the Malay Peninsula. To give, in the first place, a rough idea of them:

In the south is found a pagan Proto-Malay people, known as Jakun. The main range is occupied chiefly by the Sakai,¹ a wavy-haired dolichocephalic people, whom some, quite wrongly I think, have placed racially with the Veddahs of Ceylon or the aborigines of Australia, though it is possible that in some instances there may be an Australoid element present. The probability is that the Sakai are nearly connected with some of the "Indonesian" tribes of French Indo-China. A point in favour of this suggestion as to the origin of the Sakai, though it is no absolute proof, is that they speak dialects of a language belonging to the Mon-Annam group.

North of the Sakai are found the Negritos, formerly commonly called Semang (the western Negrito tribes) and Pangan (the eastern Negrito tribes) by some writers. The use of these two

¹ *Vide* Appendix V.

names, which I shall discuss subsequently, is liable to give rise to confusion and I have, therefore, discarded them for many years and used "Negritos" instead for both of them, which term is clear and amply sufficient.

What I have written above about the distribution of the jungle peoples is only an approximate statement and needs considerable amplification. For one thing there is a great deal of fusion along boundary lines.

The Negritos seem once to have had a much more extended range, but nowadays are found only in Kedah, Trengganu, Kelantan and parts of Perak and Pahang, in so far as the British-protected states are concerned, but extend into the Siamese portion of the Peninsula and have been reported from as far north as the province of Chaiya. They are, of course, related to the Andamanese and the "Aetas" of the Philippines.

The Sakai are to be found in their most unmixed condition in the mountains which form the boundary between Kelantan, Pahang and the Kuala Kangsar, Kinta and Batang Districts of Perak. The purest Jakun, or pagan Malaysians, of the south of the Peninsula have been mentioned previously.

Many groups are of mixed origin, the mixture occasionally including all three elements, especially in parts of Pahang, where, among tribes speaking Sakai (Mon-Annam) dialects, but with Malayan (Jakun) physical characters generally dominant, individuals are sometimes encountered who have obviously a considerable strain of Negrito blood in them. In the mountainous regions of Upper Perak, too, the inhabitants are of mixed Negrito-Sakai type, though their dialect and culture are Sakai. As we go farther south, still in the mountains, the Negrito element becomes less and less until, in the neighbourhood of the Kerbau (or Korbu) River and around the headwaters of the Kinta it has almost disappeared. These hill people,¹ who live in the neighbourhoods of the Temengor, Plus, Piah and Kerbau Rivers and around the headwaters of the Kinta, ranging also into Kelantan and N.W. Pahang, form the linguistic group known as Northern Sakai. They are diligent agriculturists and are also remarkable for building communal houses.

¹ Schebesta's Ple-Temiar. *Vide* Appendix V.

From the Raya, the next considerable river, down to the Selangor border, the people of the main range are as pure Sakai as can be found. When, however, we pass this limit we encounter mixed tribes, generally with Jakun physical characters predominating, some of whom speak Sakai dialects as their mother-tongue, some a rather archaic form of Malay (Jakun). These mixed tribes also occupy a large portion of Pahang. In this state there are, however, some groups which may, I think, be regarded as fairly typical Jakun, those in question occupying the coast and a considerable strip of hinterland between the mouth of the Pahang River and the Endau, which forms the boundary between Pahang and Johore. In Johore, where I have never visited any of the pagan groups, we are in the chief stronghold of the Jakun, who appear originally to have come over from Sumatra and to be related to the Orang Kubu and some other wild tribes of that island.¹

Having given the above short account of the distribution of the jungle peoples of Malaya, that of the Negritos must be dealt with in greater detail with regard to that of the Sakai. This subject of Negrito distribution presents an interesting problem. Since the Negritos are much the most primitive of the representatives of our three pagan races, it has been assumed that they were the first comers. This supposition seems to be sustained to some extent by the occasional presence of what appear to be Negrito characters among wild people, Sakai or Jakun, far from the present range of any of the Negrito groups.² On the other hand, if it is allowed that the Jakun arrived in the Peninsula from the south,³ it is necessary to imagine, if the Negritos were the earliest comers, that the Sakai drove through them from the north, into the hills of the main range, for, even now, their position is that they are cut off to the north by Negrito groups. In an appendix I have something to say with regard to what little light excavation of rock-shelters has thrown upon the problem.

¹ Evans, *Studies in Religion*, pp. 135-136, with slight alterations.

² For a rather marked case among the Besisi of Selangor *vide* Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* 1913, Vol. v, No. 2, Pl. II. The boy there figured presented hair characters which appeared to be Negrito, but it is, of course, just possible that some comparatively recently imported African blood might have been responsible for the peculiarities. Malay pilgrims to Mecca used occasionally to bring back African slaves with them.

³ According to the legends of some Jakun groups they came from Pagar Ruyong in Sumatra.

The arrival of the Malays, too, in the Peninsula presents another interesting problem. It has been customary to say that the Malays came into the country from Sumatra and this is no doubt true with regard to the Negri Sembilan mother-right Malays who claim Menangkabau origin, while Sumatra lies so close to the west coast of the Malay Peninsula that there has been, at various times, and still is, immigration from that island. Nevertheless, it is difficult to account for the whole Malay population of to-day as coming from that source. For instance, leaving the west coast states out of the question, whence came the Malay population of the "Patani States" (in S. Peninsular Siam) and of Trengganu and Kelantan? To my mind the solution of the origin of their population must be sought among the very nearly related Chams of Indo-China, once, in their heyday, the people of the rich empire of Champa—now reduced to an insignificant and degenerate remnant. May not the Sumatran Malays, too, have had the same origin, though possibly at an earlier date?

With regard to the present habitat of the Negritos, they are now, in most cases, to be found, not in the depths of the forests, but living, though usually in the forest, not very far away from Malay (or Siamese) settlements. This statement will, I think, hold good for all the groups in Perak (with the possible exception of some of the Jehai Negritos) and Kedah and for those of the Cheka River and Jeransang in Pahang and, to a lesser extent, for the Negritos of the Trang-Patalung hills in S. Peninsular Siam. There may be, however, some wild tribes to whom what I have said above would not apply, those of the Tanom River in Pahang, for instance, who are believed to be Negritos.

The Negritos, it may be remarked here, are not mountaineers, or even hillmen. They like river valleys; at the most foot-hills; formerly even coast lands. Owing to these preferences, as the country has become settled by Malays and Chinese, the Negritos have come into relations with the invaders and have, indeed, tended to become economically servile to them owing to their desire for articles which they cannot make or obtain otherwise than from outsiders. I shall have a good deal to say about this subject later.

CHAPTER II

NUMBERS, HEALTH, TERRITORIES

TO one who likes the Negritos as much as I do, it is painful to have to acknowledge that these little people are decreasing. Districts that knew them formerly, even since the coming of the British, know them no longer, and where they are still to be found there is only too good reason to believe that it is, in some cases, in sadly depleted numbers.

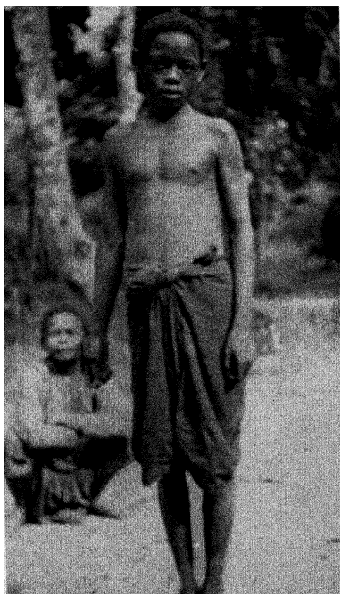
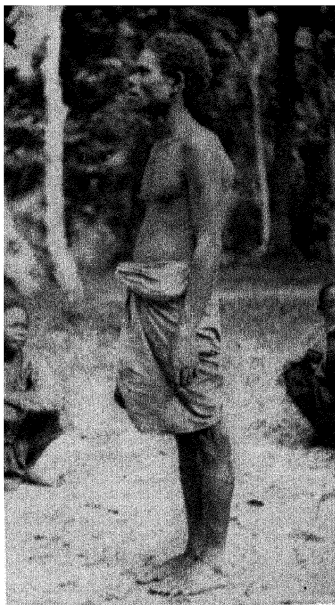
Epidemic disease has been partly, though probably not altogether, responsible for the decrease—sometimes mass decrease—while other diseases, introduced or endemic, have, no doubt, helped. Malaria certainly takes a heavy toll. Smallpox is said to have wiped out the Menik Gul (whom the Malays called Semang Paya) of the Selama sub-District of Perak, while the influenza epidemic of 1918 ravaged the Kintak Bong (Schebesta's Kenta Bogn) of the Perak-Kedah boundary in the neighbourhood of Ulu Selama. I was told that twenty-seven members of this small group died, mostly at Mahang in Kedah. In 1921, according to the then headman's statement, there were rather over fifty of these people left, the majority being in Kedah, but nineteen at Lubok Tapah, Ulu Selama, where I was then camping.¹ Schebesta, writing later, puts their numbers at sixty-one.² Possibly, therefore, my informant's estimate was incorrect.

Going back to earlier times, Anderson³ speaks of Negritos in the neighbourhood of Yen, a Malay village, with a river of the same name, at the foot of Kedah Peak (Gunong Jerai), where there are no Negritos now; also in the mountains of Juru in Province Wellesley. He says: "They are at present most numerous in the interior of Ian (= Yen), a small river to the northward of Mirbow, near the lofty Jerei (Kedah Peak), in

¹ Evans, *Studies in Religion*, p. 144, footnote 1.

² Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs of Malaya*, p. 15. His book is, annoyingly, not dated by his English publishers, but his whole expedition, not only to the Negritos, lasted from Jan. 1924 to Sept. 1926.

³ Anderson, *Considerations*, p. xxxviii.



NEGRITOS OF CHONG, TRANG,
S. PENINSULAR SIAM

The two pictures at the top are of the same man

the Quedah territory." He also refers to the "Semang Bakow" (Mangrove Negritos), "so called from their frequenting the seashore and occasionally taking up their quarters in the mangrove jungles". There are no seashore Negritos nowadays.

Wilkinson, at a much later date, records three in the Matang sub-District, which is near the Perak coast, when he was writing (about 1910), and says that "at one time they were to be found on colonial territory as well; but the last Semang (who 'twittered like a bird' according to the enumerator) was recorded from Province Wellesley at the Census of 1891. Everywhere they are dying out."¹

Negrito tradition, too, speaks of a once wider range. Tōkeh, one of the last of a group calling itself Menik Kaïen, told me that his people's range was once from Batu Kurau in Larut, Perak, to Bruas near the Dindings.² It is possible, too, that excavations that I carried out at a settlement site of Hindu times on the Perak coast, not far from Port Weld, have shown that Negritos were present there, some of the skeletons, according to Dr. Harrower, showing distinct Negrito affinities.³

It is, of course, probable that the reduction in the area occupied by the Negritos is in part due to the opening up of the country, but I am afraid that, on the evidence of damage by epidemic disease alone, leading to the practical extinction of certain tribes, there can be no doubt that the Negritos are not even holding their own. Here is an instance, however, of vacation of an area not entirely due to decrease in numbers. When I was in Ulu Selama in 1921, the Kintak Bong Negritos, who lost so heavily in the influenza epidemic, as narrated above, were com-

¹ Wilkinson, *Papers on Malay Subjects, Supplement, The Aboriginal Tribes*, 1910, pp. 10-11.

² Evans, *Studies in Religion*, p. 144. Clifford (*J.R.A.S.*, S.B., No. 24 (1891), pp. 13-19) records meeting, in 1885, the remaining members of a group which called itself Semang as far south in Perak as the jungles near Sadang on the geographical right bank of the Perak River. The father of this family party said that he, his wife and children were the survivors of a comparatively large group. They called themselves Semang, as opposed to the Sakai tribes of Lengkuas, near Blanja, but Clifford remarks that they "differed very considerably in physical appearance" from the Negritos of Perak, Kelantan and Pahang. Their dialect, of which Clifford obtained a vocabulary, is, however, placed with those of the Negritos by Blagden.

³ Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* 1932, Vol. xv, p. 85, footnote 1.

plaining that they were being worried by subordinate officers of the Forest Department and told me that they intended going over the boundary into Kedah, where they would not be molested. They subsequently did so, and Ulu Selama was deserted for a while, though, as far as I remember, they returned again for a short time, only to go back to Kedah. If so, they were not there in 1931, if the census enumerator did his work properly, for the return is *nil* for the district with regard to "aboriginals"; nor are they there now (1935).

Speaking of census returns, these do not as a rule afford much help with regard to Malayan wild peoples, especially where groups of different stock exist in the same district, or where a tribe—the only one—may wander in and out of a census area. No distinction is drawn between Negritos, Sakai and Jakun, nor is notice taken, as a rule, of the different tribes of each race. Thus in the District of Upper Perak, where comparatively pure Negrito groups are to be found as well as Negrito-Sakai (Pleh) in the hills, no attempt at differentiation is made, both sections being placed together in a total. Again, where we know that a group is not extinct (the Kintak Bong, for instance), a census return, did we not know better, might make us think that they had become so since the last census, whereas they had merely moved into the adjoining district or state. Yet, again, the taking of a census of the wild tribes is not an easy matter, nor one which lends itself to close supervision by a European officer. Early censuses may well have been somewhat incomplete, however good work was put in on them, while lazy enumerators could easily shirk work and fake their returns without anybody being the wiser.

Schebesta has made a very interesting suggestion with regard to the decrease in number of the Negritos, which is that it is due in part to lack of women among them—"a great dearth of women is making itself felt in their ranks".¹ I believe that he is correct in his statement, for one certainly does notice considerably more men and boys about the camps than women and girls. If

¹ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 16. A count that I took recently (1935) at a Negrito camp near Kuala Kenering, Upper Perak, showed, for all ages, only an excess of one male over females, but a single count is insufficient to prove anything, one way or the other.

I remember rightly, this is also one of the causes of depopulation in the South Sea Islands, but I do not know that any satisfactory reason has been advanced for the too great preponderance of males. He also gives an estimate of a little under 2,000 for the total Negrito population and divides it as follows—I omit his tribal names for the present:

Trang-Patalung hills of Peninsular Siam	...	...	...	100
Group in Kedah and the Patani States	...	...	...	200
Group and sub-group in S. Kedah and N.W. Perak	...	...	...	130
Group in N.E. Perak and N.W. Kelantan	...	...	...	800
Group in S.W. Kelantan and N. Pahang	...	...	...	400
Some groups in Pahang	...	...	...	100
Group in Perak River Valley	...	...	...	250
Total				<u>1,980¹</u>

Taking his estimate as more or less correct—I do not suppose that he would claim more for it himself—I think that there may still be a few small groups, here and there, that are not included, especially perhaps in Siam.²

I have already drawn attention to Schebesta's statement that the Negritos suffer from a great dearth of women. Elsewhere, on the same page, he remarks:

The Semang (Negritos) are dying out; nevertheless, they are numerically and physically tougher than has been supposed.... European civilization is digging the grave of the dwarfs of Malaya as it presses further into the interior, thrusting the Malays before it³ and crowding the nomadic Semang (Negritos)⁴ into an area too confined for them, where they are being economically smothered.⁵

¹ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 16.

² *Ibid.* p. 23.

³ This is hardly a fair picture of the state of affairs with regard to the Malays, though the danger exists, or, perhaps one should say, existed. The Federated Malay States Government has created large Malay reserves, to prevent the people becoming landless owing to their improvidence and the advantage taken of it by the more unscrupulous and cunning of the Asiatic immigrants of other nationalities. Nobody but a person of Malayan race may own land in such a reserve and the regulations have been tightened recently to prevent legal evasions of a wise law.

⁴ I am not quite sure that this is a fair picture either. Some groups have certainly been dispossessed, wholly or in part, of their ancestral territories by the felling of the jungle and the cultivation of the soil, but they could have migrated to unopened districts. They rather like, however, hanging on to the fringes of "civilization" unless they have no jungle in which to camp.

⁵ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 16.

Schebesta also says (in a joint paper with Lebzelter) that with regard to the Negritos "we have to speak of a decrease of population, if we give credence to their tale that they had formerly been more numerous and that they were terribly decimated by epidemic diseases".¹

He has also made an interesting attempt, among the groups that he visited, to gain an insight into the Negrito population problem by ascertaining the number of living children of males and females respectively. He states that there are few prolific families. Sometimes there are three or four children per family, but mostly less. In regard to 62 women he found that they had 108 living children and 70 dead children, an average of about $2\frac{2}{3}$ children per woman and of $1\frac{5}{7}$ living and $1\frac{1}{7}$ dead children. Out of the total number of women, however, 26 were estimated as being thirty-five or more years old. Their children amounted to 66 living and 45 dead, 111 in all. That is about $4\frac{1}{3}$ children per woman, $2\frac{2}{3}$ living and $1\frac{2}{3}$ dead.

84 men had altogether 252 children,² 154 living and 98 dead, this amounting to an average of 3 children per man with $1\frac{5}{8}$ living and $1\frac{1}{8}$ dead.

Again, 32 men of forty and over, out of the total, have 87 children living and 62 dead, altogether 151 children (*sic*). Therefore each man has $4\frac{2}{3}$ children, $2\frac{2}{3}$ living and 2 dead.

It will be seen here again conditions prove to be satisfactory, and it becomes clear that in general statistics the number of children is lower only because most of the unions are still young.

From the above statistics it results: Though the general statistics, which however include many young unions, seem to indicate a gradual extinction of the Semang (Negritos), as less than two living children fall to one family, we get quite a different picture when taking into account the older families alone. In this case the Semangs are seen to be stationary and even increasing in number, as $2\frac{2}{3}$

¹ Schebesta and Lebzelter, *Anthropologie*, Prague, 1928, Vol. VI, Parts 3-4, p. 192. There is no doubt that these Negrito statements must be accepted, though it is possible that they are sometimes inclined to be *laudatores temporis acti*.

² No doubt many of the men and women had been divorced and remarried, sometimes several times, and in some cases the men probably had more than one wife at a time.

children fall to one family. Doubtless only the statistics of the older families give a correct idea of the movement of population among the Semang.¹

He further says that the Negritos do not otherwise give the impression of a race on the decrease, though it must be admitted that they were once more numerous. He considers that the decline is due to persecutions by Malays and Siamese and says that many have been absorbed in a mixed race. They are threatened by European-Chinese civilization and may become degenerated or absorbed, but there will be no true extinction.

I can only say that I hope that Schebesta's estimate is correct, but I feel very doubtful about it. One fact emerges, and that is the terrible infantile mortality, for presumably most of the children die while young. He has no figures, unfortunately, with regard to the ratio of male to female births and survivals, in support of his contention as to a shortage of women,² nor has he paid very much attention to the destruction caused by epidemic diseases, even so recently as the great influenza epidemic of 1918-19. These have done far more harm than Malay oppression, to the best of my belief: the Negritos could often escape from the Malays. Though the general health of Malaya has much improved, even in my time, the advent of serious epidemics in the future is not outside the bounds of possibility.

As to mixed breeds between Malays and Negritos, some interbreeding has probably taken place (I think that I have seen occasional traces of it in the Malay population) where Negrito slave women were formerly kept.³ I do not believe, however, that a Malay woman would, unless very exceptionally, give herself to a Negrito man who had obtained nominal equality of status by entering Islam. I remember a case at Ulu Selama in which a Negrito, who had become a Mohammedan, complained bitterly to me that he could not obtain a wife from among his co-religionists.

¹ Schebesta and Lebzelter, *Anthropologie*, Prague, 1928, Vol. VI, Parts 3-4, p. 196.

² Unless this shortage is shown in the larger number of men from whom he obtained birth statistics.

³ Schebesta mentions unions between Malay men and Negrito women in Upper Perak in former days. *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 41.

Of diseases other than those that are epidemic that take their toll of, or affect, the Negritos, malaria has already been mentioned, while dysentery also, in all probability, causes some deaths, though I have no proof of it. Skin complaints are common, especially forms of *Tinea*,¹ which sometimes cover the whole body with intricate patterns. I remember a Malay at Lenggong (Upper Perak) telling me that a much *Tinea*-decorated Negrito had been called Pënglima Pamor by a Malay chieftain, because the markings of his skin disease resembled the damascening (*pamor*) of a Malay *këris*-blade.

In writing of Negritos seen at Ijok (Selama, Perak) not long after my arrival in Malaya, I noted that some individuals were suffering from a form of indurated ulcer. I now know that this was yaws, a disease formerly extremely prevalent also among the Malays, until it was dealt with by means of wholesale neo-salvarsan injections. This campaign, largely, I believe, under the inspiration of Sir George Maxwell, was one of the finest pieces of work, if not the finest, that the Medical Department has done.

About the existence of syphilis among the Negritos I am not sure, but I have seen a case of ulceration which I suspected of being due to this cause.

Leprosy appears to exist. I saw one man in what appeared to be an advanced stage of the disease in a camp near Lenggong, but, by the time the local authorities, whom I warned, got there the man, a visitor, had disappeared. It is said, too, that Dahabok, a Lenggong Negrito, and a headman when I first knew his group, contracted leprosy and died of it.² This was the man through whom Grubauer obtained skeletal material.³

Schebesta gives a terrible verbal picture of the condition of a small group of Kedah Negritos,⁴ but does not state the nature of the disease from which one of their number, "all eaten away", was suffering. A boy was said to have consumption.

Skeat notes the occurrence of "some form of acute rheumatism

¹ I believe either *T. circinata* or *T. imbricata*. There appear to be at least two kinds of the disease.

² Evans, *Papers on the Ethnology*, p. 23.

³ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. I, p. 581.

⁴ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 248.



Photo: by author, 1935

**GROUP OF KENSIEU NEGRITO MEN OF THE SIONG
NEIGHBOURHOOD, S. KEDAH**

Note huts in background.

or sciatica", a Kedah Negrito woman suffering very severely from pains "in the bones of the leg".¹

I have come across at least one case of elephantiasis.

At one time I tried to interest the Perak Government in taking some medical care of the Negritos and a sympathetic doctor and his wife (also a doctor), who were stationed at Kuala Kangsar at the time, did some good work among them, even persuading some of them to be vaccinated. There was, too, for some while a kindly dresser at Lenggong, Upper Perak, who gave such Negritos as came to him treatment, one actually entering hospital as a patient (he was suffering from pneumonia) and being discharged cured. However, I believe that, with the shifting of officers that takes place so frequently, less, if any, interest was taken in the Negritos subsequently.

To come now to the subject of two terms which have often been used to describe the Negritos—Semang and Pangan. These were applied to the western and eastern Negritos by Skeat and his predecessors and, in my earlier days, by myself. I have said, in the previous chapter, that these terms lead to confusion and I have, therefore, discarded them for many years, while Schebesta also recommends this step as if it were something new,² though, indeed, he writes of Semang throughout his *Among the Forest Dwarfs*.

The term Semang, sometimes used by Malays when speaking of Negritos, sometimes not, is usually loathed by the Negritos themselves and they rather like to be called Sakai, which is exactly, anthropologically speaking, what they are not, this name being attached to the wavy-haired people of the mountains. The Malays too, to whom anthropological niceties mean nothing, frequently call the Negritos Sakai, so there is plenty of room for trouble for the European enquirer, if he does not know the facts. The origin of the term Semang is somewhat obscure,³ but Sakai really seems to mean "followers, retainers, dependents, a name given to aboriginal tribes as being theoretically races subject to the Malays".⁴

¹ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. 1, p. 101.

² Schebesta, *Man*, 1927, No. 61.

³ Annandale and Robinson, *Fasciculi Malayenses, Anthropology*, Part 1, p. 1.

⁴ Wilkinson's *Malay-English Dictionary*, "Sakai".

It is curious, too, that while the woolly-haired western Negritos in general detest the name Semang and rather like to be called Sakai, perhaps because they think that a stigma attaches to one term, but not to the other, the wavy-haired Sakai of the anthropologist are most indignant if called Sakai and, failing knowledge of their own tribal name, some such polite description as "Hill People" has to be used when speaking to them of themselves.

The term Orang Pangan, applied by Skeat and others to the eastern Negritos of Malaya, which appears to mean "People of the Forest Glades", is also open to misunderstanding. When in search of Negritos in Pahang, Malays have before now directed me to wild groups, which they assured me were Pangan (or Pangan Tanah, Earth Pangan, as they are sometimes there called), but which, on investigation, turned out to be somewhat primitive Sakai-Jakun.¹ The name Batek, a Malay variant of the Negritos' own word (Bateg), to describe themselves, is pretty generally used among the Malays in N.W. Pahang to refer, as far as I know, to Negrito tribes only.

Wilkinson's description of the Semang-Sakai muddle is so excellent that I cannot forbear to quote it here:

The word *Semang* is a term applied by the Malays of Kedah to the negrito aborigines who live in their country. Like most names given by a dominant to a subject people it has come to be regarded as contemptuous, so that no wild tribesman will answer to it. "We are not Semang," say the negrito of Ijok, "we are Sakai of the Swamps; if you want Semang you will find them in the hills behind us." "Not so," say the negrito of the hills, "we also are not Semang, but if you cross the valley of the Perak to the main range of the Peninsula you will find Semang on the heights behind the rivers Piah and Plus."...A name that is rejected or misapplied in this way is a fruitful source of error and confusion, especially among anthropologists of the excursionist type who accept uncritically everything that they hear. Paradoxical as it may sound, the man who calls himself a Sakai is never a Sakai. That name also is contemptuous; and no true Sakai will own up to it—he prefers to call himself "mountaineer" or "man of the forest". But the negrito, who belongs to a lower plane of culture, is flattered when he is taken

¹ Evans, *Studies in Religion*, p. 144.

for a Sakai, and accepts the word at once. Whence more confusion....¹

What Wilkinson says was reflected in my first experiences with the Negritos of Lenggong, Upper Perak:

The idea that the term Semang indicates a race with woolly hair and a black skin seems to have obtained a hold on several of the Negritos of Lenggong, and, giving these features as characteristics, they tried to make it plain that they had nothing to do with any such people, one man saying that the Semang lived at Ijok, another that they were the aborigines of Grik and a third that they were the hill tribes who live across the Perak River. It would, however, perhaps be difficult to find people in the Peninsula with more woolly hair than some of those seen at Lenggong, while the skin colour too was often extremely dark.²

Each Negrito group, though shifts of camp are frequent, has its own recognized beat or territory and does not, as a general rule, move outside this, though individuals, or even a number of individuals, may pay visits to other tribes. The fact that Malays, or others, may live within the territory may be a nuisance to the Negritos, but does not affect their ideas, or movements, unless, of course, all the jungle has been felled and they have thus nowhere to camp, dig for tubers or hunt. Moreover, Schebesta mentions that the *durian* trees, which are to be found here and there in the jungle where seeds of the fruit have been ejected and the resulting seedlings have survived, are regarded as being the property of individual members of the group. He illustrates this personal ownership of trees as follows:

When I asked him to whom the forest really belonged, Ramogn answered proudly "It belongs to me, from Bersiak almost as far as Kuala Temengor. Here we have our *ipoh* and *durian* trees." And so I learned that property is not communal. Each male has one or more *ipoh* trees and several scattered *durian* trees which are regarded as his personal property. Thus Ramogn had three poison trees in his district. His *durian* trees stood on the other side of the Perak, not far from Bersiak.

Where a family has established its claim to trees, there is its home.

¹ Wilkinson, *Papers on Malay Subjects, Supplement, The Aboriginal Tribes*, 1910, p. 9.

² Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* Vol. v, No. 2, p. 66.

The Semang (Negrito) does not wander at random in the forest, but remains, as far as possible, within the boundaries of his own territory, though he can pass these and settle temporarily in another's territory. The Jehai from the Teladn had done this when they occupied Ramogn's area. But this was only temporary, for a few weeks later they returned to their own. The individual groups wander within the tribe's boundaries, but always return to their family territory, especially at the time of the *durian* crop. So it comes about that individual tribes are named after definite districts.¹

Each Negrito tribe has a name for itself, and not only that but other tribes may have different names for it. The existence of tribal names has been known for many years. It was surprising, therefore, when a paper by Schebesta appeared in *Man* in 1927² in which he made the assertion that none of his fore-runners in Negrito research had discovered any tribal names, such in fact existing and being in general use. In a subsequent number of *Man*³ I controverted this statement, pointing out, giving chapter and verse, that I had noted a number of such names and that he would find them in a book and in various papers with which I had supplied him when he first came to Malaya. Moreover, though I had noted a number of tribal names, more than previous workers among the Negritos,⁴ yet I, too, had predecessors in this matter. No reply to my paper appeared.

This subject of tribal names is dealt with in the following chapter.

¹ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 83.

² Schebesta, *Man*, 1927, No. 61.

³ Evans, *Man*, 1928, No. 40.

⁴ Even Vaughan Stevens had noted some—"Kensiu", "Kinta", "Bong". *Vide Pagan Races*, Vol. 1, p. 26. Skeat's remarks regarding these names should probably be disregarded.

CHAPTER III

GROUPS, GROUP NAMES, GOVERNMENT

I HAVE, in the last chapter, given some general description of Negrito distribution, but the time has now come to deal with the subject in greater detail. Of those groups of whom we have certain knowledge the farthest north is that which haunts the Trang-Patalung hills in S. Peninsular Siam. This appears to consist of two sub-groups, one on either side of the range in Provinces Trang and Patalung respectively. Both Schebesta¹ and I have visited these people and to them he gives the names of Tonga or Tenga² and Mos, which I did not obtain. The section of these Negritos living near Chong, on the Trang side of the range, gave me information that Negritos are also to be found at Kuan Mai Dam, Yong Setar, Trang; at Khao Nam Tow (also in the Yong Setar *ampurship*) and at Khao Ron, Trang, while there are also said to be many in the Kra-Bi Muang.³ I give this information for the benefit of future workers, as these groups appear not to have been visited by Europeans. The Chong people seem occasionally to range as far north as Tung Song. Warrington Smyth⁴ states that he met Negritos in Province Chaiya, but enquiries made by me about their presence there yielded no very definite results.

The Siamese call the Negritos Ngok, Ngok Pa, Chao Pa or Kuan Pa. The first name is preferable. It appears to mean "frizzy". The term Chao Pa, which seems to be about equivalent to "jungle folk", appears occasionally to be used in speaking of jungle-dwelling Siamese, and there is thus some danger of confusion arising if one enquires for Negritos under this name. The (Chong) Negritos call themselves Monik—Menik is a common term for themselves among

¹ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 269.

² He calls them Tonga in his book, Tenga on his map at the end of the said volume.

³ Evans, *Papers on the Ethnology*, p. 3.

⁴ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. I, p. 43.

the Perak Negritos (cf. Menik Gul, Menik Lanoh)—while they refer to the Siamese as Homik.¹

Schebesta has some further interesting information of a general nature about the Trang-Patalung group. He took with him to Siam my old Negrito friend Měmpělām² or Hěmpělām (Mango) of the Kintak Bong, whom I got down to Taiping for Schebesta's benefit. He appears in Schebesta's book as Hem-pělābn, a version of his name which the Kintak Bong told me in 1935 was incorrect. Měmpělām informed Schebesta that there had, in comparatively recent times, been connection between the Trang-Patalung Negritos and those of S. Kedah, the former having come south temporarily when there was a civil war in Siam.³

Coming south on the western side of the Peninsula the next groups of Negritos that are known to exist are in S. Kedah. These comprise the Kensieu, round about Siong and Sik, the Kintak Bong (Schebesta's Kenta Bogn) near Kupang (but also until recent years to be found in the Ulu Selama in the Selama sub-District of Perak) and the Kintak, Schebesta's Kintak Nakil (also known as Kintak Kroh and Kintak Hangat), whose territory seems to be chiefly round Kroh in Upper Perak, not far from the Kedah boundary.⁴ Then, also in Kedah, we have some Kensieu Batuk at Sok. This group seems really to belong across the Siamese boundary in the neighbourhood of the Reh River. I recently (1935) met some of them as far south as Siong and had encountered some previously at Weng. Just as I was leaving Baling (Kedah) in that year (1935), too, I came across two members of a Negrito group of pure type which I believe has escaped the notice of ethnologists up to the present. Unfortunately I had

¹ Evans, *Papers on the Ethnology*, p. 4. The Negritos, of Ulu Selama, Perak, call the Malays Hemik. Another term for "outsiders" is *gob*. This is used by many Negrito and Sakai groups. *Vide Pagan Races*, Vol. II, p. 654, M 28.

² On my visit to Malaya in 1935 I regret to say that it was reported to me that Měmpělām was very ill and spitting blood, from which I fear that he may have contracted consumption.

³ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, pp. 269-270.

⁴ Schebesta in his various papers often speaks of the Kenta; when he does so he almost invariably really refers to the Kintak Bong (Kenta Bogn). He made no stay with the Kintak, on his own showing.



Photo: by author. From Jour. F.M.S. Mus., Vol. v, 1915

NEGRITO MAN AND BOY FROM KUALA BESUT, TRENGGANU

**These two Negritos were living with Sakai-Jakun on the Retang
River, not far from Kuala Tembeling, Pahang.**

finished all my films the previous day, so could not get any pictures of them. The Kintak Bong who brought them to me, the subjects of the conversation agreeing, said that they were Menik Pumset, their group coming from Bukit Enggang. Their dialect, I was told, is most like that of the Kensieu but is "long drawn out". These people are said to use the blowpipe and wooden spears (*sēligi* in Malay). One man of the two was tall for a Negrito and of very negritic type, with almost black skin. Their names were Bangul and Hilik ("leaf"). Bangul had two wives, but no children. Another tribe mentioned by my Kintak Bong friends as being on the Siamese side of the boundary was the Menik Mabek.¹

Coming next to Perak, I have already mentioned the extension of the Kintak Bong and of the Kintak into that state. There are some fragments of nearly extinct tribes here, such, for instance, as the Menik Kaien. My chief informant with regard to the Menik Kaien was my old friend Tōkeh of that group, now, I regret to say, dead. His brother survives him. Tōkeh, with whom I was in touch in 1921 and previously, stated that the Menik Kaien territory extended formerly from Batu Kurau in the Larut District of Perak to Bruas in the south-west.² Though Kaien is the Negrito name of the Krian River, Tōkeh would not recognize that stream as being in the country of his people. Mēmpēlam, the Kintak Bong, to whom I have referred above, told me, in 1921, that there were only two pure-blooded Menik Kaien left—Tōkeh and his brother. Tōkeh, later in the same year, said that there were many Menik Kaien in Upper Perak, but that they had become assimilated to the Negritos there.³

Another practically extinct Perak group is the Menik Gul (Marsh⁴ Menik), called sometimes by the Malays Semang Paya (Marsh Semang) and Bianok by the Kintak Bong, Menik Gul being the name given to them by the Menik Kaien. The original territory of the group is said to have been around Titi Ijok on the road from Taiping to Selama. It appears to have been

¹ Probably the people met by Annandale and Robinson in that neighbourhood.

² Evans, *Studies in Religion*, p. 144.

³ Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* 1922, Vol. IX, p. 192.

⁴ *Vide Pagan Races*, Vol. II, p. 633, H 113 in the comparative vocabularies.

destroyed by smallpox a good many years ago. According to Měmpělam, there were, in 1921, less than ten of them left. Tōkeh, later in 1921, asserted that there was only one left, a woman, married to a Chinese convert to Mohammedanism, living at Pantai Besar, Larut, Perak, by whom she had three children. I believe that this is the woman, though Schebesta does not say so, that he figures in Malay dress and with a Chinese man, on the plate facing p. 248 of his book *Among the Forest Dwarfs*. The plate bears a reference to p. 272 but nothing about the picture is to be found there.

Messrs Robinson and Kloss in their paper on *The Semang Paya of Ijok* state¹ that the group is rapidly approaching extinction. Měmpělam when he saw (in 1921) the plates appended to their paper, out of nine persons recognized—many are shown more than once—identified six as being Lanoh (Lenggong Negritos), two as Kintak Bong, and one old man, then dead, as a Menik Kaien; none as Menik Gul (= Semang Paya = Bianok).

Passing now to the Negritos of the valley of the Perak River: Groups frequent the neighbourhoods of Lenggong, Sumpitan and Kuala Kenering and call themselves Semāk Belum or Semāk Belong,² being known to the Kintak Bong and Menik Kaien as Lanoh (Schebesta's Lano). I have referred to them as Lanoh elsewhere, as being the more convenient term. They are, incidentally, as well as the people round Grik, farther north, speakers of what is termed a Sakai dialect, as against the "Negrito dialects" of other groups, though in blood they are pretty pure Negritos, as also in culture. Schebesta marks all the Perak Valley from Lenggong to Grik as being occupied by the Sabubn. I have absolutely (1935 and previously) failed to trace the name among the Negritos of Lenggong and Kuala Kenering,³ but I got ample confirmation for the two names for

¹ *J.F.M.S.M.* 1913, Vol. v, No. 4, p. 187.

² "Perak River Negritos." For the Perak River is called by them Ong Bělum (or Bělong), the Bělum (or Bělong) Water. There is a Malay settlement named Bělum in the headwaters of the river and Capt. H. Berkeley, formerly, and for many years, District Officer, Upper Perak, told me that *bělong* is the name (Malay, I presume) of a tree from which poison was once manufactured. *Vide* Evans, *Studies in Religion*, p. 144, footnote 3.

³ A Lenggong Negrito told me that *sabubn* means "black", and said that he knew what a *kərbau sabubn* (black buffalo) was. I do not think that

the Lenggong people that I have mentioned above. The Grik people, very similar to those of Lenggong, are, according to Měmpělām, called Menik Semnam by his group, and those of Bělukar Semang (also in Upper Perak) Menik Hangat. These appear to be the same as the Kintak Nakil (Kintak Hangat).

The Negritos of Temengor (Upper Perak) and of Tadoh (Kelantan), termed Jehehr by the Malays, are generally known as Jehai (Schebesta's Jahai). They have been visited by Annandale and, subsequently, by myself and Schebesta in the order indicated. They are speakers of a "Negrito dialect".

Two other groups were mentioned by Měmpělām as dwellers in Kelantan; they were the Mengos, said to live at Lanih, and the Menik Tiong, neither of whom I have visited.¹

Supplementing this information from that of Schebesta, we have the Jehai partly in Perak, partly in Kelantan, as noted above. He has also marked on his map a tribal division called Belubn, one that he did not visit apparently. The word is, no doubt, the same as my Bělum or Bělong. He puts the position of the group not far from Bělum village. It is probable that the people are the same as the Jehai Bělum, two men of which people I met in the Siong neighbourhood, in S. Kedah, in 1935. They were not typical Negritos, having, one presumes, much Sakai blood. I have figured them on one of the plates.

The Negritos sometimes people with fabulous beings districts that they do not know. Thus Měmpělām, of the Kintak Bong, told me of a tribe called Batak, said to live around the headwaters of the Plus, that was cannibal, its members dwelling in burrows in the ground. Neighbouring tribes pushed babies down these burrows as offerings.¹ It may be that a story of the Bataks of Sumatra, some tribes of which people are (or were) cannibal, has reached the Negritos and become naturalized among them.

Schebesta can have got the name from the people themselves. Perhaps he obtained it from the Jehai or the Pleh. I find in a paper of mine in the *J.F.M.S.M.* (1916, Vol. VI, p. 209) that I was told by the Pleh that a group called "Orang Sabun" lived north of the headwaters of the Pergau River, Kelantan. The description of these people was, however, so vague that I was unable to judge whether they were Negritos or Sakai.

¹ Evans, *Studies in Religion*, p. 145.

Schebesta marks on his map a tribe named Mawas, slightly to the south-south-east of the Jehai. I have not found that he mentions it anywhere in his *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, and do not know whether it is supposed to be a Negrito group or not. He appears to have reached it, judging by the track of his journeys, but the name is that given by the Malays to the legendary ape which has iron sickles on its elbows, and that makes me a little suspicious of the existence of such a tribe. He says, too, that he took a short vocabulary of the Karei tribe,¹ also somewhere near the Jehai, it seems, but I do not find this tribe mentioned again or marked on the map.

To deal now with the Negritos of the eastern side of the Peninsula. These are much less known than those of the west. For one thing the country is not easily accessible in many parts owing to lack of roads, and there are vast stretches of hilly jungle country. There is now an eastern railway line which makes matters easier and, in Pahang, a road running right through the State, Benta to Kuantan; but, even now, the rivers are the chief highways. Furthermore, certain groups of jungle people, said to be Negritos, which are known, or thought, to exist (such as the group on the Tanom River, Pahang), remain unapproachable.

Skeat reported the presence of a Negrito group on the north-western shore of the Inland Sea in S. Peninsular Siam, but saw only their sleeping-places in a rock-shelter, the people having left immediately before his arrival.²

Annandale and Robinson met a few Negritos at Mabek³ in Jalor (Jala or Yala) in the Siamese "Patani" States, and they give the group the name of Hami. It would appear that there may have been a misunderstanding, as, in many dialects, the word Hami means men (*homines*), but only outsiders. Thus the Trang-Patalung Negritos appear to call the Siamese Homik, while referring to themselves as Monik,⁴ and the Negritos of the Kintak Bong group, in Perak and Kedah, refer to the Malays as Hemik and to Negritos (or Sakai) as Menik (e.g. Menik Gul).⁵

¹ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 178.

² Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. I, p. 173-174.

³ *Vide supra*, p. 25.

⁴ Evans, *Papers on the Ethnology*, p. 4.

⁵ Evans, *Studies in Religion*, pp. 145, 185.

One may perhaps remark here that the name that Annandale gives to the Grik tribe, Séman,¹ again seems extremely doubtful. It is probable that he found some individuals there, as I once did at Lenggong,² who did not totally reject the title of Semang, which they may have heard the Malays use in their regard.

Of Kelantan Negritos I have already mentioned the Jehai, partly in that state, partly in Perak, as also groups called Mengos and Tiong.

Schebesta did not go far into Kelantan, but he has added to our list the Menrik (his Menri)³ in south-eastern Kelantan and northern Pahang.⁴ This is obviously a *lapsus calami* for "south-western". As to their reaching as far as Pahang, though the statement may well be correct, further evidence would be useful. If it is correct, it may be that the wild people on the Tanom belong to this group.

Skeat managed to see a little of the Negritos east of the main range, meeting them at Ulu Lebir and Ulu Aring, Kelantan, the latter neighbourhood being not very far from the Pahang border. He does not seem to have obtained any group names. Coming now to Pahang:

In 1913 I visited, photographed and described⁵ two groups of Negritos living on the Cheka River, a tributary of the Pahang River on its right bank. These people call themselves Bateg, while the local Malays call them Batek. It is of them that Schebesta, writing some time subsequent to his expedition (1925), says: "I should like to add something about the most south-westerly (easterly?) Negritos in the Peninsula, the discovery of whom was a great surprise to me".⁶ Comment is superfluous, especially in view of the fact that I furnished him with copies of all my papers on ethnological subjects when he first entered Malaya. Moreover, he also had my book

¹ Annandale, *Fasciculi Malayenses, Anthropology*, Part 1, p. 9.

² Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* Vol. v, No. 2, p. 65. One Negrito said that his people were Semang, but a Negrito headman denied this vigorously.

³ Menrik appears to be a variant of Menik, which indicates a Negrito person (*homo*) as opposed to outsiders, Hemik. Semäk (p. 26), the term for themselves used by the Lanoh, is the equivalent, in their dialect, of Menik.

⁴ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 16 and map.

⁵ Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* Vol. v, No. 4, pp. 193-204 and Pls. XXVI-XXX.

⁶ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 275.

(*Studies in Religion*) in which this group is mentioned again and again. Schebesta says that the correct name of the group is Bateg Nogn.

I visited another small section of the Bateg, who call themselves Bateg Hapen from a small stream which they name the Hapen, in 1925. This group is to be found in the neighbourhood of Jeransang, on the Benta-Kuantan road. I also paid a return visit to the Negritos on the headwaters of the Cheka while on the same expedition.¹

One may remark here that Schebesta, though referring to the Bateg as the most south-westerly (easterly?) Negritos in the Peninsula, places on his map, and refers to casually in one place in his book, another group very much farther south, towards the source of the Rompin River. This group he calls Temo. It is obvious from his journeys, as marked on the map, that he did not visit it, and I think that, as it is so very far down the Peninsula, judgment as to whether it is, or is not, a Negrito tribe should be suspended pending further investigation. He also marks on his map, and speaks casually of, two sections of an unvisited group in West Pahang which he terms Kleb.²

In recording places where the Negritos have been found I may mention here two Negritos of pure type (illustrated) whom I found living, in 1913, with a Sakai-Jakun group on the Retang River, near Kuala Tembeling, Pahang. These two individuals, a man and a boy, had been brought back to Pahang by the tribe of Sakai-Jakun from near Kuala Besut in Trengganu. It was said that their group was almost extinct. I noted that the boy had quite a black skin.³

We now come to the subject of Negrito group organization and government. The groups seem to be but little organized, but in every camp will be found an acknowledged headman and often, too, a "medicineman" who is also an important personage in the life of the people. At Chong in the Trang-Patalung hills of S. Peninsular Siam a woman was the ruler of the Negritos to

¹ Evans, *Papers on the Ethnology*, pp. 15-21 and Pls. II and III.

² Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 16 and map. He places the Temo in Ulu Bera, Pahang, but gives no further details about them. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, Vol. IV, Part II, p. 271.

³ Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* Vol. V, pp. 204-205.

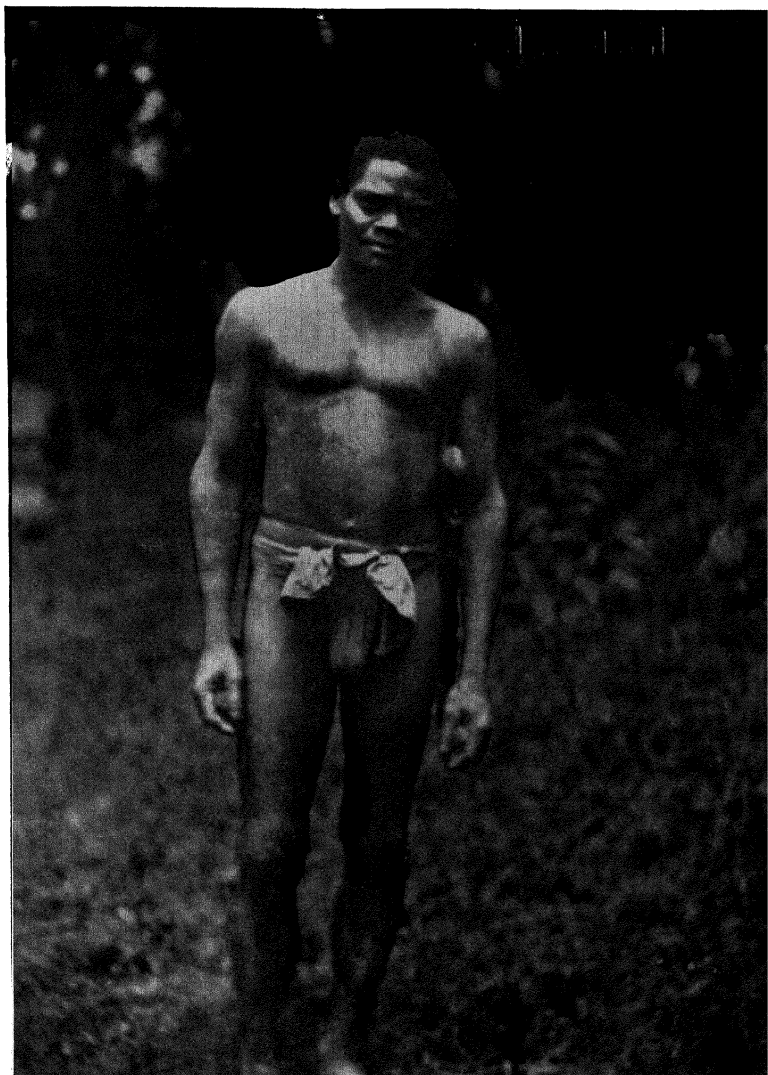


Photo: by author

A BATEG NEGRITO OF KUALA CHEKA, PAHANG

Two pictures of this man, taken by myself, were first published in *Journ. F.M.S. Mus.*, Vol. v, in connection with a paper of mine. They reappear, as those of a Perak Negrito (which they are not), in Winstedt's *History of Malaya* in the Journal of the Malayan branch of the R.A.S., Vol. XIII, Part 1. The contours of the head and face there appear to have been somewhat altered in the removal of the background of the picture.

some extent, this being the only case of the kind of which I know.¹ Perhaps the reason may have been that Ai-Klieng, the nominal headman, was only about eighteen years old at the time of my visit.

Skeat relates that the last big chief of the Kedah tribes was called To'Pëlima Chiak² (or Old Chief Finch). He was reported to be invulnerable and hence had great influence. The modern Pëlima in Kedah, according to Skeat, is also the medicineman of the tribe.³

Skeat obtained a list of fines which the headman could inflict, \$5 for the theft of a blowpipe, \$6 for the theft of a bow, \$10 for the theft of a shotgun (European blunderbuss) and \$40 for the abduction of a married woman. He adds footnotes that it is interesting to note that among the Negritos the theft of a bow was considered a greater offence than that of a blowpipe. The Negritos were originally users of the bow, the blowpipe being a weapon borrowed from the Sakai comparatively recently. The gun would, of course, be much valued on account of its rarity. The amounts of the fines are, as Skeat justly remarks, "less by way of illustrating the precise amounts which would be actually levied in each case than the general principles and proportions according to which the amount would be determined". The fine for murder was the same as that for abduction.

In default of paying the fine the culprit should be "flogged with a rattan" or "bound to a tree until he paid". For cheating a fellow-tribesman a man would be fined, so long as he had money to pay the fine; otherwise he would come in for a "thoroughly good scolding" from all the members of the tribe (in other words he would have to run, on a limited scale, the gauntlet of tribal opinion.⁴)

¹ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 268. Evans, *Papers on the Ethnology*, p. 4. I give her name as I-Ron, Schebesta as I-San. I note that I record the name of I-San as that of a woman about thirty years old, whereas the "headwoman" was elderly. One or other of us must be slightly incorrect, but the statement that a woman acted as headman is vouched for by both of us. It is just possible that they may have shared the office.

² All these words are Malay.

³ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. I, pp. 496-497. It would appear that Skeat is writing of the Kensieu Negritos. The chief is not necessarily the medicineman or the reverse.

⁴ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. I, pp. 497-498.

Writing of the Lanoh Negritos that I met near Lenggong, Upper Perak, in 1913, I said:

Tribal organization appears to be but slightly developed. An elderly man is the acknowledged head of every encampment and he is, to a certain extent, recognized by the local Malays as chief of the aborigines. A high-sounding title, such as Pēnglima or Datoh, is sometimes conferred on him in jest and of this he is generally inordinately proud.¹

According to information obtained from the Kintak Bong in 1935, the headman is succeeded by his son, if he has one, when he dies.

The Cheka River Negritos, however, being somewhat under the influence of neighbouring Sakai-Jakun tribes, have adopted, to some degree, the Jakun system of tribal chiefs. On visiting the group in 1913, I was told that the tribal officers were Batin, Raja, Penghulu and Pemangku. The Rajaship was then in abeyance, the occupant of the office, who lived upstream, having died recently. The Batin and the Pemangku were with the downstream division of the group. There was then said to be another group, apparently part of the same loosely organized tribe, living with the Sakai-Jakun on the Kērau River. Titles were said to descend in the male line to the eldest son of the deceased officer.²

Schebesta does not tell us much in his book with regard to tribal government, but he remarks of one Jehai group that "Ramogn, called by the Malays Pa Ramogn (Father Ramogn), was the chief, though not the eldest, because the encampment was on his land".³ This statement is worthy of more explanation.

¹ Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* Vol. v, No. 2, p. 66.

² Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* Vol. v, No. 4, p. 194.

³ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 63.

CHAPTER IV

INTERCOURSE WITH MALAYS AND FOREIGNERS

THE Malay, who, anyway, has a pretty good conceit of himself, naturally looks down, from the height of his superior culture and from his certainty of his religious election as a Mohammedan, upon the rude and uncivilized unbelievers of the jungle and, as a rule, would not even allow one of such to enter his house. At best his attitude is that of somewhat amused contempt, and it is not uncommon to hear a Malay assert, *coram populo* and with Negritos present, that the jungle-dwellers are nothing but animals, as, he states, is self-evident from their behaviour and manner of living. Naturally such remarks, vouchsafed quite gratuitously, and heard by the Negritos, do not increase these little people's regard for their erstwhile oppressors, for, if we are to believe Clifford,¹ the Malays used not infrequently in the old days to hunt down the Negritos, enslaving such of those that they caught as they considered desirable, and killing the others.

On the other hand, though the Malay may laugh at and despise the habits of such jungle "beasts", a certain amount of superstitious respect not infrequently attaches to them, for the Malay reasons that the Negritos, being to all intents and purposes animals, must, therefore, be in league not only with the wild beasts, but with all the supernatural and inhuman powers of the forest that he dreads so much. On occasion, therefore, and individually, he is somewhat chary of offending the Negritos too deeply. The Negritos, on their side, too, sometimes are not backward in taking advantage of Malay beliefs in their regard, of which they are well aware, by selling, not too cheaply, jungle roots, plants or parts of animals which are believed to have a medical (generally aphrodisiacal) or magical value. One of those most commonly supplied is a small plant, usually in

¹ *Vide also Among the Forest Dwarfs*, pp. 41-42.

dried condition, said to be the *chenduai*, a magical herb, which, treated in the correct manner, is thought to be an infallible love-charm.

Occasionally, also, the Negrito, with his supposed kinship with the wild beasts of the jungle, is actually able to intimidate the Malay. A case of this kind occurred when I was living close to a Negrito camp in the Ulu Selama, Perak, which had been pitched not far from a Malay hamlet. Towards evening one day, when both Malays and Negritos were visiting my tent, and after some of the Malays had made derogatory remarks about the Negritos, which I tried to stop, but too late, conversation turned upon the subject of a tiger which had been prowling round for a couple of nights, leaving its pug-marks as witnesses to be seen in the morning. Hearing the Malays professing fear of this animal, Měmpělām (or Hěmpělām), the Negrito headman, said in rather a boastful manner—"Tiger! Who's afraid of a tiger? Anybody can call one! I'll call one now, if you like!" The Malays kept quiet and so, I must admit, did I, as I had no gun with me and thought it not impossible that the Negritos might have means of calling tigers of which I did not know.

In various parts of the country, certain Malays, sometimes foreign Malays, have, by one method or another, gained an ascendancy over some Negrito groups and act as their "protectors", very much to their own advantage, for they take care that they shall be the only persons who swindle their protégés, and keep them busy cutting rattans, or palm leaves for thatch, or gathering other jungle produce, giving them in return a ridiculously small payment in kind—rice, salt, cloth, etc.

On the west (in Perak chiefly) I have come across cases where these self-appointed Malay or Chinese masters of the Negritos have purposely taught some of the men to smoke opium, thus getting them still more firmly into their clutches once they have become addicted to the drug.

In the neighbourhood of Lenggong, Upper Perak, it is not uncommon to find Negrito women helping the Malays during the harvest season—again for a minimum payment in rice or cloth.

In this neighbourhood, too, they often work for Chinese,

especially in making attap thatch, and, on the whole, the Chinese swindle them less than the Malays, though they are more likely to give them opium. Like the Malay, the Chinese shopkeeper seldom, if ever, gives the Negritos cash in return for their services. First of all, if the Negritos got cash they might spend it elsewhere, which would not do at all, and then, even if the shopkeeper takes only a fair profit on the goods given in payment, he does get a double profit, as he makes money both on the jungle produce brought to him and on the goods from his shop with which payment for it is made. Moreover, the Negrito is no arithmetician and seldom has much idea of what the goods that he is getting should cost,¹ so that the Chinese can easily tell him that a cheap cloth, on which there is an excellent profit at the usual price of fifty cents, is worth a dollar fifty or two dollars, and the Negrito goes off well pleased with his "bargain".

I remember when I was in the Ulu Temengor that a Malay elephant driver, employed by me, lamenting the "good old days", said, "Why, in former times one could always give them a fifty cent piece and tell them that it was a dollar, and they did not know the difference, but they're getting too clever now!" As a matter of fact, however, at that date (1913) I did not find them much more advanced, for dollar notes were refused with the remark—"We don't understand them—tree leaves!" Luckily, however, knowing what was likely to find favour, I had provided myself with numbers of silver ten cent pieces, and these were in great request.

One day a Jehai Negrito brought me a bow for sale and, on my asking him how much he wanted for it, said that he would take two dollars. I presume that he mentioned this sum, which appeared to me quite reasonable, as being beyond the dreams of avarice. Anyway, I brought out a roll of ten cent pieces and began counting them out aloud to him into his hand and, on reaching ten, asked him if that was sufficient. "Enough," replied he in Malay, and was preparing to walk off when I called him back and told him that he had another ten pieces still to

¹ My Malay servant and I have frequently helped the Lenggong Negritos in their shopping after they have had money from me for services rendered or specimens bought.

come, and that if he did not learn how many ten cent pieces there were in two dollars the Malays would swindle him badly.

Though not a sign of moral progress on the Negritos' part—the reverse in fact—it is rather refreshing to know that occasionally some of the more sophisticated Negritos “get their own back” and swindle the Chinese and Malays, obtaining advances in respect of jungle produce which they subsequently fail to deliver. If I remember rightly, one of the opium-smokers, always unreliable, was responsible for a cheat of this kind, so the Chinaman's responsibility for teaching the Negrito the vice came home to roost.

No doubt, as with all primitive peoples, contact, directly or indirectly, with those in a more advanced condition has had, and is having, an unfortunate effect upon the Negritos. I have mentioned the introduction of opium above and it is, of course, through the Malays, the Chinese or the Indians that infectious or contagious diseases reach them, and I have noted in the previous chapter in this regard the terrible toll formerly taken of some groups by smallpox and in more recent years by influenza. I will, therefore, merely content myself here by saying that the general appearance of those groups which are less in contact with foreigners seems to me more satisfactory than that of those who are more so.

Many tribes, in Kedah and Perak especially, do not dwell deep in the jungle, but can, at any rate now, be found camped at the edge of jungle where it borders on Malay or Chinese cultivation, and I have actually seen (one in 1935) camps close to and in sight of the Upper Perak road. The extension of cultivation has, of course, taken away from them some of their favourite camping spots and has almost certainly tended to make them, if not more the slaves of the Malays and Chinese, at any rate more of hangers-on and semi-parasites upon the fringes of so-called civilization. I will not guarantee the accuracy of a story that was told to me some time ago, but it at any rate illustrates what I have said above. It was said that on the road to Baling (in Kedah) Negritos lie in wait for European passengers by car who may have cameras with them and, if offered a small sum

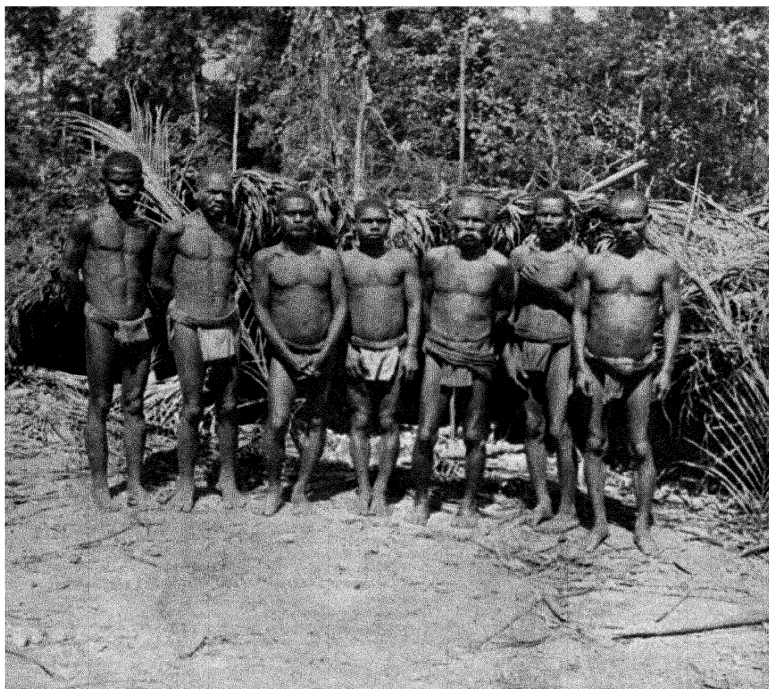


Photo: by author, 1935

**GROUP OF KINTAK NEGRITO MEN FROM KROH,
UPPER PERAK**

The old man with the moustache is not typical.

of, say, ten or twenty cents to have their pictures taken, reply, "We always get a dollar!"

Yet, in spite of the impact of new and unfortunate influences, the Negritos remain curiously themselves in the building of their camps, in their daily life at home, in their religion, in their ceremonies and usually, I am glad to say, in their dislike, so far as the men are concerned, of wearing anything more than a somewhat exiguous loin cloth. The women, however, frequently make use of a Malay *sarong* (tubular skirt, generally of checked material woven in India), though this is frequently worn over a Negrito kilt of fungus rhizomorphs or shredded bark. In such circumstances the *sarong* is sometimes shed by a woman when she returns to camp.

At first the Negritos are liable to be suspicious of Europeans, and this suspicion is frequently fostered by Malays, who do not want the Negritos to be more generously treated than they are by themselves. Thus they do not welcome the possibility that a people whom they consider their legitimate prey should become independent through association with outsiders and by obtaining money from them. Once the Negritos have given their confidence to a European, however, it is easily retained if they are well treated.

On one occasion, some time after having been with some Negritos at Ijok in Perak, I went to visit a group that I had not then seen, the Kintak Bong, near Ulu Selama in the same state, and not a great distance away. As the people were strangers to me, I obtained the services of a Malay who was said to be well known to them and sent him up, an hour or two in advance, with a present of tobacco. His orders were to tell the Negritos that a European was coming up to see them and had sent them the present of tobacco; that the European would not worry them in any way and that they were not to be frightened. On arrival at the camp I found only men near the shelters, all the women and children having disappeared, while the men themselves were looking rather uneasy. I noticed, however, that one of the men was peering at me from a distance, and having satisfied himself after a minute or two's inspection he came forward to greet me, saying to his friends as he did so, "Oh, I know this

Tuan, he's all right. I met him at Ijok and he gives us tobacco and other things." Whereupon somebody gave a call and down came all the women and children from the jungle-clad hillside near by.

Once I took two Negrito men back to Taiping with me, partly in order to identify certain omen birds from the collections of stuffed specimens in the Museum. I proposed to them that they should occupy a room in the servants' quarters at the back of the house, but nothing would satisfy them but that they should sleep on my bedroom floor; which they did.

Another time I sent word to Pandak and Suli (two of the Lanoh Negritos of Lenggong in Upper Perak whom I have known for many years) that a European was coming to see them and that they should treat him as they did me. The answer came back, however, that they did not wish to see anybody but Tuan Evans—flattering to me, but not so pleasing for the European visitor.

The following Malay story, told to me by a descendant of *Tukang Bola*, the hero of it, may be of interest as illustrating the relations formerly existing between Malays and Negritos. I have abbreviated the legend considerably, cutting away parts which have nothing to do with the Negritos. I have printed it *in extenso*, however, in the *Journal of the Federated Malay States Museums*.¹ Batu Kurau is a "parish" in the Larut District of Perak, not many miles from Ijok, where Negritos are still found at times.

"*Tukang* (craftsman) *Bola* was a Bugis.² Many *pawang* (magicians) had tried to open up Batu Kurau, but had failed owing to the fierce tigers that were there." The story then tells how Moyang (ancestor) *Bola* dealt with the tigers and founded a village. It continues:

Now Moyang *Bola* was a smith and the Negritos came and made friends with him, and, every week, brought him fruits from the jungle. One day, Moyang *Bola* went to the jungle and, while he was away, eight Negritos came to his house and deposited their fruit there. They saw an iron cauldron hanging up in the forge, and took it without leave. They took it to the end of the pass called Ginting Balok. When Moyang *Bola* returned and noticed that his cauldron

¹ *J.F.M.S.M.* 1927, Vol. XII, pp. 97-99.

² Native of Celebes.

was missing and saw the fruit at his house he said, "Certainly the Negritos have stolen my cauldron". Then he took a spear and went up stream till he came to the place under Gunong Kurau (Kurau Mountain) where the river branches into two, and taking up water from each stream in his hand, smelt it. Now he got the smell of the Negritos in the water from the left-hand stream. So he caught up his spear and, when he had balanced it in his hand three times, it left his hand and pursued the Negritos to Ginting Balok, about three miles away. It hunted them round trees as they tried to escape, and killed seven of them, but left one alive. Moyang Bola followed his spear at his leisure and found the seven dead men and one left alive. So he asked the live Negrito why they had taken the cauldron and the Negrito acknowledged the fault and swore that neither his people nor their descendants should camp near Batu Kurau without the permission of Moyang Bola or his descendants.

The man who told me this story said that if Negritos came to the Batu Kurau neighbourhood they asked permission from his grandmother (now dead), the granddaughter of Moyang Bola.

Skeat, quoting Anderson,¹ whom one may term the grandfather of Negrito research in Malaya, gives us an insight into the callous treatment meted out to the little jungle people by Malays when they came in contact with them. The Bendahara² of Kedah of that day sent two Kedah Negritos to be inspected by some of his European friends in Penang. One of the Negritos, through fear, became troublesome and endeavoured to upset the boat. The Malays, therefore, killed him and threw his body overboard.

Negrito relations with other races of jungle people seem, as far as my observations go, to be fairly amicable. The Jehai Negritos of Temengor, in Upper Perak, and the Negritos of Lenggong, Kuala Kenering and Grik less often, are in touch with the Pleh (Negrito-Sakai, Schebesta's Ple) of the trans-Perak-River hills, and both blowpipes and quivers, different from those that they make themselves, and obtained from the hill people, are not infrequently seen in their hands. Sometimes, too, one finds mixed breeds in the camps, the mother generally having been a pure Negrito, the father a Pleh.

¹ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. I, p. 525; Anderson, *Considerations*, p. 427.

² One of the highest Malay officials. In Perak always of royal family.

CHAPTER V

GENERAL APPEARANCE, PERSONAL CHARACTER

IN this chapter I attempt to give some details with regard to the general appearance of the Negritos, as they would appear to an intelligent traveller, and also some slight account of Negrito character.

The Negrito is a little man—he has been called a pygmy—his height being perhaps about 150 cm. His women folk are smaller, about 140 cm.¹ Skin colour may vary a good deal, from black to dark brown or reddish brown, dark brown being the most usual tint. The body is generally fairly well proportioned with good shoulders and chest, though the limbs are somewhat delicate. The movements are untrammelled and graceful, though the gait is of that peculiar rather high stepping kind found in jungle-dwellers—Sakai and Jakun as well. The cast of countenance, particularly in the women, is somewhat infantile. The hair is woolly.

First impressions of a people are often best, because after long association the perceptions become somewhat blunted to outstanding peculiarities through familiarity with them. Of Negritos (Lanoh) met at Lenggong, Upper Perak, in 1913, one of the first groups that I visited, I wrote:

The average colour of the people was a dusky chocolate, the women being as a rule rather lighter than the men. Almost every individual was filthy dirty. . . . For this reason the real skin colour is probably a great many shades lighter than it appears to be; in some cases the skin over the cheek bones, which had in some manner been wiped more or less clean, showed up as a rich red brown. In addition to their dirty condition about one half of the total population was badly afflicted with a very unpleasant skin disease (*kurap* in Malay) of fungoid origin (*Tinea circinata*) and a few individuals were suffering from a form of indurated ulcer.² In about seventy per cent of the

¹ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 277. Vide also Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. 1, p. 573.

² I know now that this complaint was yaws, *Frambæsia*.

males the hair could be described as of the true peppercorn type, while in almost twenty per cent it was as straight as in the Malays. The rareness of intermediate types was very noticeable. None of the men wore his hair more than three inches long and the majority had it a great deal shorter. The women's heads were close shaven with the exception of a single tuft in the median line at the back. This tuft seemed to be about nine inches to one foot long and the hair looked harsh and frizzly. In many cases, both in men and women, the hair had a distinctly rust red tinge.

With regard to facial characteristics, the forehead was generally low and rounded, the nose low at bridge and root, the nostrils broad and depressed. The eyes were placed fairly wide apart, but were rather narrow. No trace of the Mongolian fold was observable. The lips were usually rather thick than thin, but not abnormally so. Slight prognathism was common, and in a few cases the lower jaw bone was prominent and heavy at its angle.¹

Of Negritos met at Ijok (Selama, Perak) in the same year, probably also mostly Lanoh, I remarked that they seemed to differ little from those encountered at Lenggong, but I noted by way of supplement to what I had written previously that

the stomach, especially in children, was often protuberant, though the body generally was but poorly nourished. This may possibly be due to food, when obtainable, being gorged in quantities. The skins of most of the men and women appeared to be of a dark chocolate colour, but this was at least partly due to dirt. One young man, aged about 20 or 21, was very fairly and powerfully built and had an open and pleasant countenance, which in spite of its rather rounded forehead, low-bridged nose and broad nostrils could almost be termed handsome. His skin was also rather lighter than those of the others and his body by no means unclean. Both men and women age early and atrophy of the muscles of the body seems to set in much more quickly than in the average European. The hair of most of the individuals seen had the peppercorn structure well developed and the Semang (Negritos) themselves seem to recognize that this is a racial feature as is shown by the legend of their origin given below.²

The story here alluded to is that of how the Negritos got their hair burnt (and so frizzled) when they hid themselves in por-

¹ Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* 1913, Vol. v, No. 2, p. 66.

² Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* 1913, Vol. v, No. 4, p. 177.

cupine burrows on a grass plain during the war between rival monkey kings. One of the kings fired the grass. I give the story *in extenso* in a subsequent chapter.

I have twice above remarked on the dirtiness of the Negritos. Though they do not ordinarily use soap, they do bathe. I noticed them doing so frequently when I was at Lubok Tapah, Ulu Selama, while two Negritos who came with me to Taiping used to go out early every morning to bathe at the standpipe near the servants' quarters. In 1935, too, when some Kedah Negritos were conducting me to the highroad and we crossed a river, the whole party of men stripped themselves of their loin cloths and spent some minutes in the water.

Among the Negritos of the Cheka River, Pahang, there is probably more admixture of blood (Sakai-Jakun in this case) than there is in Kedah or Perak. Of them I have written as follows:

With regard to the aborigines of the Ulu Cheka, the four men and one woman seen might all be said to be fairly typical Negritos. The skin colour was dark brown to black and the hair of the sooty dry-looking colour commonly found among the Perak Semang (Negritos). ...The leader of the party, Pachet, had a rather childish facial expression....

Some of the younger members of the group seen at Kuala Cheka were less typical with regard to hair character than were their elders, and one woman had wavy hair and a lighter skin colour than the others. On the other hand a little girl, whose hair was pretty well typical, had a skin almost as black as that of a negress.¹ Another woman was fairly true to Negrito type, having frizzly hair, a dark brown skin and a rather infantile type of face. One man had ultra-typical hair, each curl being tightly wound into a little ball with the skin showing between. Two Negritos had small chin-tuft beards, one a man in the Ulu Cheka,² one at Kuala³ Cheka.⁴

Two other Negritos, seen on the same expedition to Pahang,

¹ One of the darkest Negritos that I have ever seen.

² Headwaters of the Cheka River.

³ Mouth of the Cheka River.

⁴ Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* Vol. v, No. 4, p. 200 and Pls. XXVI—XXX. Two of these plates are reproduced in the present volume.



Photo: specially taken for the author

HUTS OF LANOI NEGRITOS, LENGGONG, UPPER PERAK

Note sleeping platform and supports, also method of carrying child on hip. It is slung in a cloth.

were also very typical. They had been adopted by a Sakai-Jakun group which was living on the Retang River, near Kuala Tembeling. I was told that both Negritos, one a man of perhaps twenty-six or twenty-seven years of age, the other a boy of thirteen or fourteen, had been brought from Kuala Besut, in Trengganu, during some wanderings of the Sakai-Jakun group in search of getah-percha and other jungle produce, each having been adopted while quite young. They were at first said to be the last survivors of a group that had been killed off by diseases, but, on questioning further, I was told that there were then six other members of it left, but they had all been converted to Islam. Neither the man nor the boy could speak a Negrito dialect, owing to their adoption at an early age. The man had married within the group that had adopted him. The impression that these people produced was that they were of very pure blood. In the boy the skin colour was an intense black, but that of the man was somewhat masked by a skin disease.¹

Passing now to what Skeat has to say about the general appearance of the Negritos. Of Negritos of Kelantan he writes that:

The face was round, the forehead low, rounded, narrow and projecting, as if it were "swollen". The nose was short and flattened, the nostrils much distended and the breadth of the nose remarkably great. The cheek bones were broad, and the lips were full and turned outwards, or "everted", but not as a rule thick.

The jaws often protruded slightly, but I did not see any marked prognathism. . . . The teeth as a rule were white and good, except in advanced age. The shoulders were comparatively broad. The forearms, with two exceptions, appeared not to be so long relatively as they are in the Andamanese. . . . The person was usually well developed.²

Skeat describes Negrito hair as being, in most cases, crisp, short and very curly, in fact actually woolly in the purer types, and its colour as being brownish black. Chin hairs were few and straggling and only two beards were seen, in one case curled and woolly, in the other thin and straggling. Skin colour was

¹ Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* Vol. v, No. 4, pp. 204-205 and Pls. XXXI-XXXV. Plate XXXI is reproduced in this book.

² Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. 1, p. 44.

from chocolate brown to (in some Kedah Negritos) glossy black, as mentioned by Anderson.¹

Of the Negritos of Grik, Upper Perak, Annandale says that the figures of the men were slight, but not emaciated, and that the women appeared the better nourished. The breasts of the men were somewhat prominent, those of the women firm and shapely. The tendency to protuberance of the abdomen was slight. Hair was often absent on the men's bodies, except on the pubes, but sometimes the surface of the thighs was covered with fine curly hairs, every one of which curled independently of the others. The scanty beard and moustache were removed with tweezers. A reddish tinge was observable in the hair, but was not very marked. It was frizzly or almost woolly. The nose was negroid in outline, with broad *alae*. The lips were thick, never everted. The *epicanthus* was usually absent and, when found, vestigial. Skin colour was never darker than chocolate. The eyes were reddish brown. The soles of the feet and palms of the hands were nearly white.²

Schebesta gives a general description of the Negritos in which he says that they are squat and ill-proportioned with powerful and short bodies on long legs. The shoulders are broad, while the arms are long, the hands being well-formed. The feet look clumsy owing to the outward bend of the big toe. Beards are extremely weak; hair on the chest not seen by him. The hair of the head is either woolly or curls in fine spirals. A childlike facial expression is not uncommon. The forehead is usually vertical, though low. The nose is very broad and triangular in shape, with a deep depression at the root. The eyes are big and wide open and the iris of a reddish-yellow colour. The face is somewhat rounded in form, its lower part protruding, but with cheek-bones that are not prominent.³

The above accounts of the Negritos, as they struck various observers, agree in many respects, but differ in details. In

¹ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. 1, pp. 46-47. Anderson, quoted by Col. James Low, states that the Negritos of Trengganu were not of such a jet-black and glossy appearance as those of Kedah. *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, Vol. IV, p. 428.

² Annandale, *Fasciculi Malayenses, Anthropology*, Part I, pp. 10-11.

³ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, pp. 277-278.

some cases they are, of course, descriptions of the members of single groups. The salient points of the Negrito seem to me to be dark brown to black skin colour, hair that is typically woolly and black, but sometimes with a reddish tinge, beard weak, body glabrous, childish expression of features, low and bulging forehead, reddish irises to the eyes, heavily built torso on legs which are somewhat long in proportion and not so sturdy. Arms rather long.¹

To give some idea of how the first sight of Negritos may affect a European who has had African experience the following story may be of interest:

Once, when I had two Negritos with me in Taiping, I took them out by train on a fishing excursion, putting them under the charge of my Malay servant (one of them had never been on a train before) into a second-class carriage next to the first-class carriage in which I was myself. When we got back to Taiping, I stood on the end-board of my carriage to watch my jungle friends descend and, as I did so, a European came behind me and, leaning over my shoulder, touched one of the men with a stick and said something in a language that I did not understand. Thinking that he might possibly be speaking Tamil (for we have many thousands of Tamils in Malaya), though it did not sound like it, I said, "These people aren't Tamils, they're natives of this country." "Are they?" replied he. "I thought that they were Kaffirs, or at any rate 'Cape boys' and I was trying them with Kaffir."

In my earlier papers on the Negritos (those met at Lenggong and Ijok) I have given, perhaps, a rather unfavourable picture of Negrito character, due to the fact that on first acquaintance one encounters, especially among the more sophisticated groups, certain less pleasant traits, most of which have been developed through contact with outsiders. After some twenty years' association with them at intervals, however, I wish to record my very real affection for these little people and, in spite of an unfortunate incident in which he was concerned,² it is obvious

¹ Examine plates in Schebesta's book as well as in this volume.

² He plundered a Kensieu Negrito grave for skeletal material and was detected. Scientific curiosity should have its limits, especially when the

that Schebesta has the same liking for them that I have myself. His little sketches of family life and character form very pleasant parts of his book and are also valuable for purposes of record. In their camps, where they are seen at their best, they are a merry and cheerful little people.

Though the Negritos sometimes tell one stories of their hard lives in the jungle, and hard they no doubt often are, yet nothing, I am sure, would induce them to give up their present method of living for a more settled existence. Indeed I do not believe that they would survive conditions other than those that they know. Any attempt to force them to settle down would be an act of the greatest cruelty and would lead to their speedy extinction.¹ Sometimes one sees someone sitting apparently plunged in profound gloom, but such depression is not generally of long duration. On occasion a man may be heard speaking in a peculiar complaining and grumbling tone of voice, but often he will suddenly break out into a loud giggle, apparently struck by the humour of his own behaviour. When bellies are full and fruit is plentiful then the Negritos are seen at their light-hearted best, the young bucks adorned with flowers and other ornaments.

From what I have seen, too, I should judge that the Negritos are capable of considerable, though rather childish, affection for those who like them and treat them well. They are shy and suspicious with regard to strangers, especially Europeans,² but once their confidence has been gained, sometimes a matter of difficulty, they give it freely. One need hardly say then that nothing should be done to destroy their faith.

In regard to revealing their religious beliefs, probably from fear that they will be laughed to scorn, they are particularly reticent until they have given their trust. Skeat, Schebesta and I have all noted this peculiarity, and questions with regard to such subjects, when put by somebody that the Negritos do

exercise of it entails outraging the feelings and destroying the trust of harmless little people like the Negritos. Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, pp. 245-248.

¹ The "settled" Andamanese are now almost extinct.

² Some of the Cheka Negritos trembled with fear when I first met them in 1913, but we soon became excellent friends.

not know well, will be met with the answer, "We don't know", which answer is highly incorrect. When they do "open up" on these matters, however, the information given, apart from misunderstandings on one side or the other, is remarkably correct, though many informants find it difficult, unless telling a folk-story, to give a connected account of anything or to describe religious customs or ideas. I have on several occasions found that information which I rather doubted when obtained was perfectly good.

Pre-knowledge of the religious beliefs of a primitive people is of the greatest use in extracting further information, for if it is seen that you already know a good deal, there seems to your prospective informants little use in concealing anything that remains. A little pre-knowledge, too, if used judiciously, can often be made to go quite a long way. Thus I have been able to use what I have got from one informant in getting further results from another. I have more than once wondered what Schebesta would have found out about such subjects—he has added quite a lot of material—if he had had to start with (apart from Vaughan Stevens's much debated work) only Skeat's somewhat scanty facts to use as keys.

As among other peoples, characters vary among the Negritos. Braggarts and boasters, usually of a rather childish type, are not unknown, nor are the greedy, the quarrelsome, the work-shy and the deceitful. Diffidence and shyness are not uncommon. Modesty is not rare. When I was with the Negritos of Chong (S. Peninsular Siam),¹ the Siamese official who kindly acted as my interpreter asked a young Negrito, in the presence of a girl to whom he was engaged, whether he thought her beautiful, and the young lady cast down her eyes in the most becoming manner when her suitor answered in the affirmative. As a matter of fact she was "no oil painting".

Children are, I think that I may say correctly, usually regarded with great affection and very well treated, though Schebesta says that orphans are sometimes neglected.² I remember one

¹ I do not speak Siamese, which was the only medium of communication possible.

² Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 110.

pretty and very lively and intelligent little girl at Ulu Selama, Perak, who was the pet of the whole camp, mine as well.

I have mentioned above the excellent descriptions of Negrito family life given by Schebesta and these are a few short extracts, selected here and there, illustrating Negrito character: "Semambu was a shy youth, while his friend Chago, who was of the same age, was the reverse. . . . Semambu and Chago were inseparables." "Jelei was obviously very fond of his wife." "Whenever any bitter or unfriendly feeling arose in the encampment Bersiak was involved. But first responsibility always rested with Bejuan." "He (Lei) was bigger than his brothers, Burong and Lemo, and very reserved, not to say suspicious." "Bejuan was not clever, but he was crafty and a great talker, the result of mixing much with the Malays." "'What are you doing there?' I asked little Bunga. 'Making huts', he answered, meaning that they were playing at house." "The mother tries to bring the naughty child into the right path by loud scolding, the father by shouting." "Old people always enjoy great respect, which is expressed by their never being contradicted."¹

These examples will have to suffice, though it would be possible to quote many others. I have mentioned elsewhere the Negritos' love of personal ornament, especially of the men's delight in flowers for this purpose. I have also referred to the people coming through the jungle singing, walking, as they do, in single file. These are both expressions of the happy side of their character which is at its optimum, as I have remarked previously, when the jungle fruits are ripe or when a rice crop, if they have one, has just been reaped.

¹ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, pp. 64, 65, 68, 71, 72, 74, 82, 112, 113.



Photo: by M. R. Henderson, Esq.

**BEEHIVE TYPE OF HUT, MADE BY BUILDING TWO
SHELTERS FACING EACH OTHER**

Lanoh Negritos of Lenggong, Upper Perak.

CHAPTER VI

DWELLINGS

THE Negrito home, set up in the jungle, is generally a very simple type of windbreak which I shall describe in detail later, but sometimes exceptions to the rule can be found. Schebesta states that Negritos near Lenggong, Upper Perak, told him, though they were camping under an overhanging cliff temporarily, that they never lived "for days together in caves".¹ This is not correct, though they never, as far as I know, live in dark caves, nor would they be likely to do so. I have, on at least two occasions, found the Negritos who roam between Lenggong and Kuala Kenering living in the Gua Badak (Rhino-ceros Cave), not far from the little Malay hamlet of Sumpitan. On the last occasion that I did so it was when, in March, 1927, in company with Dr. P. V. van Stein Callenfels, I visited this light cave in order to make excavations in search of objects belonging to stone-age cultures. In this case the Negritos had built their shelters² within the cave, but not far from its mouth, and had been living there, according to their statements, for seven days previous to our arrival. Thus, having labour at hand, we recruited several of the men as excavators, work at which they did very well. After a day or two, however, the dust that we raised in excavating made the camp too unpleasant to occupy and the Negritos shifted their quarters to a little distance from the cave, still working excellently for us until we stopped operations. Neighbouring caves, too, showed many traces of use, if not of occupation, being full of charcoal drawings or etched pictures on their walls, all these being the work of the Negritos. Schebesta (*loc. cit. supra*) also mentions drawing in the caves as being of Negrito origin.

Of tree huts I have only one record, this being from the Jehai

¹ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 47.

² At certain times of day the sun entered.

in the neighbourhood of Temengor, Upper Perak, whom I visited in 1915. This hut

was supported on eight small trees, with the floor about fifteen feet above ground-level. Small trees growing together in the most advantageous manner possible had been selected to support the dwelling and the house was built among their slender trunks much as a bird's nest is built between the twigs of a branch. Access to the hut was obtained by a ladder of several saplings placed side by side.¹

Schebesta's remarks about tree-dwellings among the Negritos seem rather contradictory. He says that they are never built by Negritos, but are the work of Malays overtaken by night when on a journey. Then he makes a distinction between tree huts and "large tree huts used as refuges from elephants" and says that these too are not made by the Negritos "although they are occasionally found among them". Finally he gives the impression that they are constructed by the Sabun (? Lanoh) Negritos of the Perak Valley.²

Before reverting to the subject of the normal type of Negrito dwelling and the arrangement of the shelters in Negrito camps, a short note on a quite unusual type of house seen among the Bateg Negritos on the headwaters of the Cheka River in 1913, and for the building of which they told me they were themselves responsible, may be of some interest. To quote my description from notes made at the time:

Each house consisted of a single room and, apart from the fact that there was no kitchen or inner room and that it was built on the ground, the dwelling... in its shape, method of construction and materials was not unlike that of the poorer class of Pahang Malay. The walls were made of sheets of bark of the *kepong*³ tree stretched over the framework of the house, while the roof was thatched with leaves of the *chuchoh*³ palm. In one hut visited, which will serve as a sample of the others, there was a space of bare earth reaching from the door to the wall at the back, and occupying about one-third of the floor space: in the middle of this a small fire was burning, which was made of small logs, placed radially. The rest of the earth floor

¹ Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* 1916, Vol. VI, p. 206.

² Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, pp. 59-60.

Both Malay names. The *chuchoh* palm is probably *Calamus castaneus*.

was covered in by a platform of split bamboo, raised about six inches from the ground on a rude framework of saplings or small branches.¹

The huts, of which there were three, stood in quite an extensive clearing. On a later visit to the same neighbourhood only ordinary Negrito shelters were seen.

One may say that the typical Negrito shelter consists of a sloping thatch covering a small sleeping platform roughly constructed of sticks, and sometimes covered with sheet bamboo, alongside which is a log fire that is used both for cooking and for keeping the inhabitants warm at night—with the details of the construction of the shelter I will deal later. The personal belongings of the owner, blowpipes, carrying-baskets, etc., are thrust into the under side of the thatch, or between the thatch and its supports, or hung under it.

The camp consists of a number of shelters and their arrangement may vary a good deal, while there may also be departures from the most usual type of hut. Here, for instance, are descriptions of two encampments, both in the neighbourhood of Lenggong, Upper Perak, that I visited in 1913:

The Lenggong settlement and that near Kampong Gėlok (between Lenggong and Sumpitan) differed considerably in the type of dwelling in use.

At Lenggong the Negritos were living in a number of huts, each made of *tėpus*² leaves lashed to a light framework of saplings. The essential plan of a hut was that of two wind-shelters set opposite to each other and arching over slightly, so as to meet at the top. Sometimes, however, a whole arch frame was made from a single piece of wood. In several instances, in order to afford greater protection, one end of the hut was shut up by a frame of sticks covered with palm leaves. Every hut had its own fireplace and also a sleeping platform of bamboos over a framework of sticks, which was raised about a foot from the ground. As far as the writer could ascertain separate huts were assigned to married couples, bachelors and unmarried girls.

The Gėlok encampment consisted of three shelters so arranged as to enclose an oval piece of ground some 25 feet by 15 feet. The shelters though leaning towards one another at a considerable angle from the

¹ Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* Vol. v, No. 4, pp. 194-195.

² A kind of wild ginger. This is the Malay name of the plant.

perpendicular, did not meet in the middle and left a space, about 4 feet wide, open down the centre. One side of the hut (camp) was occupied by the women and children¹ and the other by the young men, the ends being reserved respectively for Toh Singha,² the headman of the camp, and a married couple. . . . The Lenggong camp was said to have been in use for more than two months. A fire of logs, placed radially, was burning in every shelter in both encampments.³

I also noticed the arch-shaped hut framework at Ijok, Selama, Perak, in 1913, a place frequented chiefly by Lanoh Negritos from the Perak Valley. Here the sleeping platforms were sheets of split bamboo raised about a foot above the ground on a framework of small tree boughs. The married couples had slightly larger sleeping platforms than those of the bachelors.

The only other type of dwelling noticed was the simple wind-shelter consisting of a sloping palm-leaf thatch resting on a rectangular framework of small branches, the whole being supported by two posts about 4½ ft. high, with a fork at the top of each to hold the uppermost bar of the frame.⁴

In a Negrito (Kintak Bong) camp on the Damak River, Ulu Selama, Perak, I noted that the shelters were set in an oval and that the married people, bachelors, unmarried females—maidens, divorced women, widows—occupied separate divisions of them, the maidens being partly concealed from the public gaze by a slight screen of palm leaves on the inner side of their particular abode. The work of thatching and building the shelters is, I was informed, undertaken by the women alone.⁵

With regard to a camp of Jehai, seen near Temengor in 1915, I have recorded that it consisted of eight screens of palm leaves, placed roughly in a circle, while enclosed within this circle were the boles of two fairly large trees.⁶

¹ I note that I did not say anything about the unmarried women or the married men.

² Now dead.

³ Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* Vol. v, No. 2, pp. 64–65.

⁴ Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* Vol. v, No. 4, pp. 176–177. Schebesta (*Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 51) describes a Lanoh camp at Ulu Ijok as the largest that he had seen, consisting of eighteen huts in an irregular ellipse. He noted several tunnel-shaped dwellings formed of two shelters facing one another.

⁵ Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* 1920, Vol. ix, p. 2.

⁶ Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* 1916, Vol. vi, p. 207.

The Negritos of Chong, S. Peninsular Siam, that I visited had typical windbreak dwellings of palm leaves, disposed in a continuous row. Five sleeping benches, or platforms, were built at right angles to the shelters and had fires, or the remains of them, close by.¹

Turning now to Schebesta's work, he has two excellent sketches, and equally valuable descriptions, of Jehai Negrito dwellings and of their building. As he justly remarks, house-building is really women's work. In making the hut that he describes, three saplings were planted slantwise in the ground, a crossbar being lashed across these near their tops and each being supported by a short forked stick, driven into the ground on the inner side of the shelter. The upper ends of the saplings were kept bent down somewhat by guy ropes of rattans or creepers attached to neighbouring scrub. The thatch is added over the above-described frame.² Schebesta also gives a good description of the making of the thatch and of the sleeping platforms. The particular camp that he describes was circular, though two huts were outside the circle, the huts facing one another, mostly only from two to three metres apart. Sometimes, he says, the shelters are so close together as to form gabled, or tunnel-shaped, dwellings. "In such cases the roof is made specially thick and the supports of the framework are vertical."

Also speaking of the Jehai, he says:

The sleeping-places are arranged with their head(s) to the main supports. If there are others under the same shelter—as always where there are children—they are set apart, often with the foot towards the parent's bed. The fireplaces are placed on both sides of the main sleeping-place, with the children's beds grouped round them.³

The Menrik huts that Schebesta saw in Kelantan showed Temiar (Northern Sakai) influence. There was a considerable plantation.⁴

¹ Evans, *Papers on the Ethnology*, p. 5 and frontispiece.

² Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, pp. 56–57. He also says (p. 58) that, when adult youths build their own hut, they have to provide the foliage themselves without female help, but often they live in the same shelter as their parents.

³ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, pp. 58–59.

⁴ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 273.

The Kintak Bong Negritos of N. Perak and S. Kedah told me that if a hut is to be built in the jungle, a fire is first lighted on the spot chosen. If the smoke from this drifts about without rising, another spot must be selected, as, if this were not done, a tiger would raid the occupants of the hut, or they would fall ill with fever.¹ Schebesta records a similar custom from the Jehai.²

He also gives a useful sketch of a Jehai hut which has, unfortunately, been reversed by the printer.³ Here he shows the sleeping platform lengthways in the hut, while there appear to be two sapplings supporting the thatch in front.

Schebesta has, too, a plan and slight description of a Jehai camp on the Teladn. It comprised seventeen shelters containing fifty-four inhabitants. Each family, of which there were several, had a continuous flight of huts. Two large family shelters were "built in gable form, the roofs facing one another and touching". The framework of these shelters was made from massive bamboos.

In addition, Skeat has some good material with regard to Negrito dwellings (far the best of it obtained on his own journeys to Kedah, Kelantan and S. Peninsular Siam). His record of a camp at Ban Tun, Patalung (Siam), is particularly interesting. This place is on the north-western shore of the Inland Sea. The signs of occupation—the people had gone—were one small bamboo sleeping platform and other sleeping places made of heaps of leaves, "still quite green and fresh on our arrival". There were, too, the ashes of four fires, one of which had been extinguished by water.⁴

Skeat also records round, or beehive, huts from Ulu Aring, Kelantan:

Mr Laidlaw and I visited several of these curious habitations. One that we photographed was a hemispherical leaf-shelter, very slenderly constructed, the materials employed being leaves of the *běrtam* palm (*Eugeissona*) and Rattan or *Calamus* called "Rotan Dudok".⁵ The

¹ Evans, *Studies in Religion*, p. 184.

² Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 59.

³ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 69.

⁴ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. I, pp. 173-174.

⁵ Both Malay names.



Photo: by author, 1935

KENSIEU NEGRITO CAMP, SIONG NEIGHBOURHOOD, S. KEDAH



Photo: by author, 1935

**KENSIEU NEGRITO CLEARING PLANTED WITH INDIAN CORN.
SIONG NEIGHBOURHOOD, S. KEDAH**

bases of the leaf stalks were firmly planted in the ground, the upper ends of the leaves bending naturally over so as to protect about one-half of the hut floor from the rain. The leaves planted round the circumference of the semicircle at the back of the shelter were full length, but a slight fence of shorter leaves, about 2 feet (60 cm.) high completed the circumference. At the back of the hut was the usual *abattis* or *chevaux-de-frise* of felled trees, which is generally formed by these people for protection against wild beasts.¹

Skeat also gives, under the heading of communal shelters, an excellent description of a Negrito (it must have been Kensieu) camp at Siong in Kedah, this being more or less a long oval in shape and with the thatches of opposite shelters, as is shown by a cross-section, nearly meeting in the middle. The majority of the sleeping platforms, but not all, are placed at right angles to the walls and a fire between each pair. He mentions two central posts, each about a third of the distance from either end of the shelter, and about a dozen poles, placed as props to prevent the structures from being blown down. The roofs appear to have been supported on saplings (or perhaps the midribs of palm leaves) planted in the ground. The thatch was of palm leaf of a kind like *Eugeissona tristis*.¹

In connection with the same camp Skeat also reports a tiny granary, containing the group's scanty store of rice. This

stood on six thin posts, the floor being raised about 4-5 ft. (1.2 m. to 1.5 m.) from the ground, for the purpose of protecting its contents from invaders. It measured about 4 ft. in length and about 3 ft. (1.2 m. × .91 m.) in width and was little more in fact than a large box on posts. Its walls were made of tree-bark, and the roof was thatched with the leaf of the "bertam" palm, and it was entered by a tiny doorway to which access was afforded by a long inclined pole.²

Of observers earlier than Skeat, and quoted by him, I have not troubled to re-record anything much. For one thing their use of the word Semang, by which they usually intended to signify Negrito, was extremely loose. Skeat refers to a record by L. Wray³ of a Semang house in the Piah Valley, Perak, which was fifty feet long and on high posts, the floor being fifteen feet

¹ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. 1, p. 176.

² Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. 1, pp. 178-179.

³ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. 1, p. 175.

above the ground. This was almost certainly not a Negrito house at all, but one of the mixed Negrito-Sakai of the hills, the Pleh, Schebesta's Ple.

Somewhat similar remarks must also be made here about two plates in Volume I of *Pagan Races* which face pp. 178 and 179. They are from pictures taken by L. Wray, who was first Director of Museums, Federated Malay States, and previously Curator, Perak Museum. They purport to be of a Semang of Sungei Tapah near Batu Gajah, Kinta, Perak and of Semang of Gopeng in the same district of Perak. The Kinta District is far outside Semang (Negrito) territory and in Sakai country. The pictures are of a man and woman, fairly obviously Sakai, and of a man (again a Sakai) standing outside a hut wall. The mistake pretty obviously is with Wray, though, as remarked above, the earlier observers sometimes appeared somewhat muddled as to what a Semang was. Skeat was never, I believe, in the Kinta District, and less was then known of Negrito distribution than it is to-day.

CHAPTER VII

HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS, FOOD, COOKING, AGRICULTURE, HUNTING AND FISHING, NARCOTICS, FIRE-MAKING

As Negrito habitations are of the simplest, it would appear likely, as is the case, that the household utensils would be of a similar nature. Indeed they could scarcely be simpler.

A leaf forms a platter, cooking is done, if not in the most primitive vessel of all, an internode of bamboo with one node left to form the bottom, in earthen, or occasionally brass, pots, obtained from the Chinese shops. "Game" is roasted at the fire. The ordinary Malay chopping-knife,¹ of one type or another, of which every Negrito must have one to use in the jungle, is used for cutting up meat, etc., when it can be obtained, as well as for other culinary and household purposes. Wooden spatulae are used for stirring the rice while cooking and pieces of rattan (of the kind called *rotan seni* by the Malays) with thorn-bases attached are used for shredding certain jungle tubers and fruits (tubers called *ubi kapor*² by the Malays and the fruits of the *pěrah* tree³).

Wooden mortars of no great size, with flat bottoms, are used by the Lanoh Negritos of Lenggong and Kuala Kenering, Upper Perak,⁴ for husking small quantities of rice or pounding up condiments, etc. Both one of these and the rough wooden pestle used with it are illustrated. A wooden mortar with a spike below, to enable it to be stood firmly on the ground (illustrated), was procured from the Bateg Negritos of the Cheka River, Pahang.⁵

¹ *Parang* in Malay.

² Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* Vol. v, No. 2, p. 70. Lanoh Negritos of the Perak Valley.

³ *Pěrah* fruits seen being thus treated among the Lanoh in 1935. *Pěrah* is the Malay name of *Elataeriospermum tapos*, according to Wilkinson.

⁴ *Vide* also Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* Vol. v, No. 4, p. 180.

⁵ Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* Vol. v, No. 4, p. 199.

The cooking pots, if any, are usually kept on the ground, ranged along the edge of the thatch of the shelter.¹ Gourds² or lengths of green bamboo are used for holding water, and the fires near the sleeping and sitting platforms are used for cooking as well as for keeping the people warm at night.

A few roughly made mats of strips of *Pandanus* leaves are sometimes to be seen, and I have noted these at Ijok, Selama, Perak. They are woven with the aid of a porcupine quill.³

I do not ever remember having seen a pillow of any kind in use among the Negritos, and that was Skeat's experience too.⁴

Food stuffs are brought to camp in small carrying-baskets, worn on the back, but I deal with these in connection with agriculture.

The Negrito eats pretty well everything that is eatable, and many things which the European would class as inedible afford him a banquet. A full belly, which he does not always get, puts him into a state of bliss, and his great season for rejoicing, as I have noted elsewhere, is when the jungle fruits, especially the far-famed and far-smelt *durian*, are ripe. In reality the Negrito is by nature a hunter, root digger (the latter being woman's work) and fruit gatherer and, though he practises agriculture to some extent in various parts of the country, he still retains his more primitive methods of food-getting, which, indeed, afford his main source of supply. His menu consists, therefore, of rice, Indian corn (both when procurable), cultivated *Caladium* tubers, wild tubers (some of which are poisonous until cut, pounded or shredded and washed for a considerable time), jungle fruits, palm shoots, birds, squirrels, tortoises, fresh-water turtles, fish, and nearly any of the jungle animals that he can manage to kill, large or small, and especially monkeys. As far as my experience goes, however, the Negrito is not a great fisherman. Red peppers and salt (obtained from Malays or Chinese) are the chief condiments.

Skeat states, of the Negritos in general, that cooking is the

¹ Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* Vol. v, No. 4, p. 177. Negritos at Ijok, Selama, Perak.

² Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* Vol. v, No. 4, p. 195. Cheka River Negritos, Pahang.

³ Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* Vol. v, No. 4, p. 180.

⁴ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. 1, p. 178.

duty of women. Flesh meat is inserted in a cleft stick which is made to lean at an angle over the fire and small birds and mammals are slightly roasted, though sometimes flesh is consumed absolutely raw. Rice is cooked in green bamboos—Skeat says fire-dried, but I believe that this is incorrect—while yams and roots are grated and wrapped in strips of banana leaf for baking. Fish are usually baked in the same way as birds or mammals.¹

Annandale has given an account of the cooking of rice in bamboo joints by Negritos of Grik, Upper Perak, which can scarcely be bettered:

They boil rice in bamboos about two feet long, supporting them in a slanting position over a fire of wood. Before it is inserted, the rice to be cooked is wrapped in large leaves, often those of a species of *Caladium*, and only a small quantity of water is poured in.² Wild tubers and roots, which form an important part of their food, are roasted on the embers, as is also done with the flesh of mammals, birds and reptiles. Near Krunei I came across a fire at which some Semán (Negritos) had lately cooked and eaten a tortoise; judging from the condition of the fragments that remained, the flesh had only been heated through, for they were still red and full of blood.³

Schebesta, too, has a good deal of interesting material with regard to the preparation of food. He says of the Jehai that each family contributes its own food, ready cooked, to the general supply. If one family is unusually well supplied it contributes generously, even to its own detriment, but that if there are families present who do not belong to the group they do not share, or only slightly, in the general distribution.⁴ He describes, too, the roasting of tubers in the fire, and a dish of leaves and pith boiled with water in a bamboo and sprinkled with a little salt and red peppers pounded in a mortar. He also speaks of *hoid*⁵ nuts, roasted in the fire, the fruit consisting of a thick shell in which the nuts are. Over-indulgence in this delicacy produces stomach trouble. The *tulegn* (*ubi kapor* in Malay) and the *gadogn*

¹ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. 1, p. 112.

² Rice so cooked is called *lémang* among the Malays.

³ Annandale, *Fasciculi Malayenses*, *Anthropology*, 1903, Part 1, p. 18.

⁴ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 84.

⁵ Probably the fruit of *Pangium edule*, vide p. 165.

(*ubi gadong* in Malay) tubers are poisonous, and in the case of the former, he says, the leaves of the *gobn* tree (unidentified) are burnt and the ashes mixed with the tubers, which are first pounded to a pulp. The *hakai* tuber (*lekir*¹ in Malay) is crushed, dried and then boiled. The *gadogn* is soaked in the river. He counted in a camp on the Teladn "twelve different edible roots and a number of plants of which the pith (cabbage?) was eaten".²

Schebesta comments on the fact that the Negritos did not wash their hands before eating—they are of course guileless of knives, forks or even spoons for the purpose. They ate "with the three fingers of the right hand, holding the dish under the chin" and when eating rice from a banana leaf either laid the leaf before them, or lifted it near their mouths with their left hands. After meals, dirty hands were wiped on any handy leaf. He has noted, too, the use of a leaf folded to form a cup.³ Skeat says of the Kedah Negritos that the women, who, of course, do the cooking, waited their turn until the men had finished eating.⁴

One presumes that in former times the Negritos were entirely hunters and root diggers as, even now, they remain in a very great degree. The roots, mostly tubers, are procured with pointed digging sticks, manufactured on the spot with the aid of a working knife, and thrown away after use. Passing up the Cheka River, Pahang, in 1913, I saw numbers of quite deep holes on the banks, made by Negritos in search of tubers. I have, too, seen the women—it is woman's work—busily engaged in digging for such roots in the neighbourhood of Sumpitan, Upper Perak. The digging stick may, indeed, almost be considered a national emblem, as a legend recounts that when the stock from which arose the Malays became separated from that from which arose the Negritos, the ancestors of the latter ran away upstream carrying a digging stick, while those of the former ran downstream carrying a rice spoon.⁵

In certain parts of the country, however, the Negritos do

¹ Schebesta writes *lekeh*.

² Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, pp. 115–117.

³ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 38.

⁴ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. I, p. 116.

⁵ Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* Vol. v, No. 4, pp. 180–181.

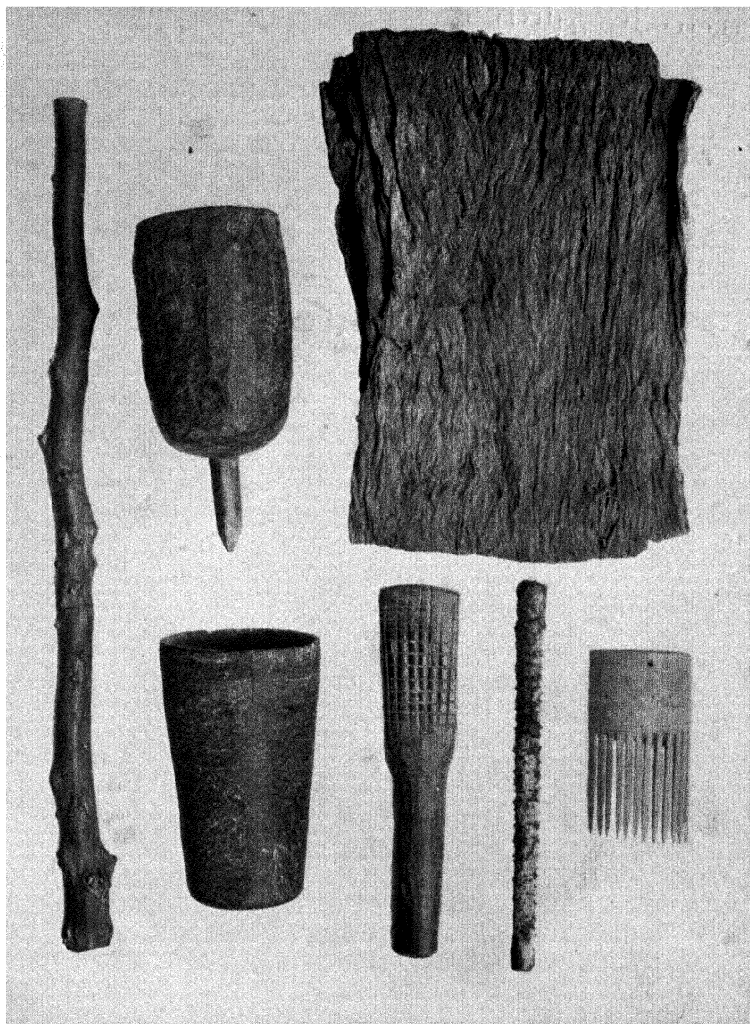


Photo: specially taken for the author of specimens in the Perak Museum

VARIOUS NEGRITO IMPLEMENTS, ETC.

Mortar with spike for standing on the ground. Bateg Negritos of the Cheka River, Pahang. Such mortars are used for pounding foodstuffs, especially unhusked rice. Pestle and mortar. Lanoh Negritos, Lenggong, Upper Perak.

Bark-cloth (from the bark of *Artocarpus Kunstleri*). Lanoh (probably) Negritos of Ijok, Selama, Perak.

Bark-cloth beater with cross-hatching. Bateg Negritos of the Cheka River, Pahang. Rattan grater for tubers, etc., with thorn bases adhering. Lanoh Negritos of Lenggong, Upper Perak.

Negrito comb of bamboo, roughly decorated with engraved patterns. Kelantan, but district and tribe not known.

make clearings and plant hill rice and other crops. Some Negritos met at Ijok, Selama, Perak, in 1913, had no ground under cultivation, but one man said that he intended opening a small clearing. The local Malays spoke very scornfully of the Negritos' agricultural efforts, saying that they were too lazy to undertake the troublesome business of burning the felled jungle, and that when occasionally they did overcome their natural indolence and plant a little rice, they would probably leave the locality just before it became ripe, and everything would be eaten by birds and monkeys.¹

Lanoh Negritos of Lenggong, Upper Perak, told me that they planted rice at Ayer Balik, near Kuala Kenering.² The Bateg Negritos of the Ulu Cheka, Pahang, whom I visited in 1913, had Indian corn planted in a fairly extensive clearing. This was only just ripening when I arrived and the people were beginning to gather a few heads.³

I have recorded of a visit to Jehai Negritos at Temengor, in Upper Perak, that they practised agriculture to some extent:

In reaching the settlement just described I had to pass through two clearings of considerable size. The first of these was deserted, but the second, although the padi crop had been reaped, still afforded the Jehai (Jehai) some bananas, some brinjals and other vegetables. In this second clearing was a small watcher's hut, built in a commanding position and raised on very high posts. On one side of the clearing, and not far from the jungle, was a house built on posts in the usual Malay (or Sakai) fashion, but this had been abandoned, after the harvest, in favour of the ground shelters already described, which were in the jungle.⁴

Schebesta records the destruction of the crops in a Jehai clearing by an elephant, tapioca bushes torn up and sugar canes eaten.⁵

Skeat says that the Negritos of Siong, S. Kedah, "had cleared a great part of the slope of Bukit Tēmēsu and planted it with

¹ Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* Vol. v, No. 4, p. 184.

² Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* Vol. v, No. 2, p. 70.

³ Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* Vol. v, No. 4, pp. 199-200.

⁴ Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* Vol. vi, p. 207.

⁵ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 84.

rice and the light catch-crops mentioned in the foregoing list, with the exception, however, of tapioca, which, for some reason unknown to me, they did not plant".¹ The crops named in the list of which he writes are bananas, sugar-cane, tapioca, maize and sweet potatoes. When I, too, visited the Kensieu Negritos of the same (Siong) neighbourhood in 1935, I found that they had a large clearing (illustrated) in which Indian corn was growing.

Rice seems to be regarded rather as a much-desired luxury than a positive necessity, no doubt because it was not originally planted, and, as the Negrito likes to eat his fill when it is at all possible, the crop is, I believe, quickly consumed, often with the efficient help of visitors from other groups.

With regard to agriculture, tuber-digging and general jungle foraging, mention must be made of the back-basket with its two strings to go over the shoulders. Generally this useful hold-all, worn by both men and women, but perhaps more by the latter as food-foragers, is not large. Among the Lanoh Negritos of Upper Perak the back-basket is a mat bag of *Pandanus*-leaf strips, as also in S. Kedah. Skeat figures a specimen from Kuala Sam, Kelantan, which is of open-work type (like that of the Sakai) and probably made of rattan.² Schebesta has a photograph of Bateg Negrito women (of Pahang) digging tubers, and alongside them is a rather large open-work basket, also probably of rattan,³ while he also has another excellent picture of Jehai women making back-baskets of the mat type.⁴ The Jehai, do, however, also use the open-work variety, as is witnessed by specimens in the Perak Museum collected by myself. This type seems to have come from the Sakai and is found, therefore, among the groups that are most in touch with them.

The Negrito depends largely on his blowpipe to provide him with meat (monkeys, squirrels, etc.), but a digging stick, similar

¹ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. 1, p. 342.

² Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. 1, plate facing p. 376.

³ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, plate facing p. 265. Open-work back-baskets made of the stalks of the *bémбан* (the Malay name of the plant) were seen by me on the Cheka River in 1913. *J.F.M.S.M.* Vol. v, No. 4, p. 195.

⁴ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, plate facing p. 89.

to that used to obtain tubers in the jungle, made, used and thrown away on the spot, is employed for digging out bamboo rats, a favourite article of diet. Annandale says that among the Grik (Upper Perak) Negritos

the same digging-sticks (as those used for digging tubers) are also used in hunting the bamboo rat (*Rhizomys*), which is considered a great delicacy. In this case a smouldering fire of damp leaves is made, and the smoke is wafted into the holes at the roots of a clump of bamboos by means of palm leaves roughly stitched together with the stems of creepers to form small triangular fans. The rodents appear to be stupefied by the smoke and are easily dug from their burrows.¹

Schebesta says that the Kenta (the Kintak Bong) eat little meat, though I would suggest that this is because it is difficult to obtain and not from choice. He seldom saw game in the camp and then it was generally a bamboo rat. The children greeted a dead monkey with a regular howl of joy, and it was soon cut up and eaten. He states, too, in the same place, that this group will not eat the bear, the elephant or the tiger, because it is believed that they were once men.²

Skeat states that the Kedah Negritos make use of all kinds of ingenious traps, pitfalls and snares to secure their quarry. Birds are caught with bird-lime made from *Ficus* sap and rats "by means of a peculiar snare which resembles, however, in principle, a rat-trap commonly used by the Malays". He also quotes Marsden's story of the Negritos' stalking elephants and driving stakes into the soles of their feet, when an elephant, thus lamed, was followed up and finally killed. Modern writers about the Negritos, Skeat included, do not appear to have any evidence in favour of this story, which may, or may not be, true. I have never remembered to enquire about it myself. Another story of Marsden's is of the Negritos' burning the rhinoceros to death while stuck in the drying mud of a wallow.³ These accounts sound to me rather like Malay "fairly stories".

Mention may be made here of dogs, which are to some extent used in hunting, but also serve to guard Negrito camps and to

¹ Annandale, *Fasciculi Malayenses, Anthropology*, Part I, p. 19.

² Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 237.

³ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. I, pp. 203-204.

give warning of the approach of strangers or of noxious animals. A number of undersized, prick-eared curs, black, brindled or yellowish red, often greet one's arrival at a camp. They appear to exist, rather than to live, getting only a few remnants of rice, or other food, and what they can pick up for themselves. Skeat writes of a kind of semi-wild reddish-coloured dog, which did not seem to have much pace, being kept by the Negritos of Kedah for hunting purposes.¹ Nowadays there has been so much interbreeding with village "pi-dogs" that colour varies considerably and, if the dogs kept by the wild tribes are descended from the wild dog of the jungles (*Cyon rutilans*), which the Malays call *anging sërighala*, the breed is now very impure in most localities.

Apart from dogs, pets are to be found in Negrito camps. Schebesta mentions that among the Jehai he saw a young leaf-monkey being suckled by a woman, and also instances a young wild pig being reared in a similar manner. He has seen women with a child at one breast and a monkey at the other. Young animals reared in this way are not killed.² Suckling of young animals whose mothers have usually been killed by the men while hunting is, too, common among the Sakai groups. Skeat also mentions that young "lotong" monkeys are kept as pets by the Kedah Negritos, but remarks that domestic cats are not commonly found.³ I only remember having seen a kitten in a camp on one occasion.

Schebesta has an interesting little note with regard to the Negritos and tigers. He says (*Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 82), "Ramogn, however, clenched his right hand with the bent fingers spread out: the sign of a tiger among the Semang." Like a claw, it is presumed, though clenched scarcely seems the right word to employ of the hand.

Of fishing, Skeat records that the Siong (Kedah) Negritos used a basket scoop for catching small fish in pools and a simple rod and line, the former being an unpeeled stick and the latter made from twisted strands of tree-bark (*Artocarpus*). The line was

¹ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. 1, p. 204.

² Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, pp. 69-70. He also saw a tame bamboo rat among the Kensieu (p. 256).

³ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. 1, p. 204.

fastened to the rod top and no reel was used. The hooks were manufactured from bits of brass, or other, wire. In addition, these Negritos used a long fish-spear of palm wood—ten feet in length—with an iron head that was obtained from the Malays. The harpooner concealed himself behind a snag (or fallen tree) in the river, while another Negrito drove the fish upstream towards him. The fish, in endeavouring to conceal themselves, made for the snag and gave the harpooner his chance.¹

When I have been with the Negritos I have seen little evidence of their engaging in fishing, probably, in part, because they were rarely camped near a stream of any size; but I have recorded that among the Lanoh of the Lenggong neighbourhood (Upper Perak) I saw, in 1913, a conical rattan fish-trap (of the kind that the Malays call *tengkalak onak*), with the thorns projecting inwardly, in one of their camps.²

Schebesta mentions the use of the fish-spear among the Jehai, but gives no description of it.³ He remarks that the Jehai are experts in managing bamboo rafts.⁴

Having dealt with the Negrito's food and his method of procuring it, we will now pass to his few luxuries, of which tobacco is one. The Negrito enjoys his cigarette as much as anybody else. His tobacco he obtains through the Chinese, and it is, as a rule, native-grown Java tobacco, somewhat finely shredded and in long strands, done up into fairly large flattened sheets which are then folded into loose cakes. Siamese native-grown tobacco, darker, more coarsely shredded and in smaller cakes, is, however, preferred, but is dearer. The Negritos have often told me that it makes them more "intoxicated".⁵

The wrapper for the native cigarette is made from the shoot of the *nipah* palm (*Nipa fruticans*), long strips of which, of the

¹ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. 1, pp. 205–206.

² Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* Vol. v, No. 2, pp. 69–70.

³ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, pp. 114, 149. He also writes (p. 114) of a net, almost certainly a cast-net, borrowed from Malays being in the hands of Negritos who were with him.

⁴ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 152.

⁵ On visiting Lenggong, Upper Perak, in 1935, I found that Siamese and Javanese tobacco had been displaced by locally grown produce, the cultivation of the plant having become quite widespread in Upper Perak, owing chiefly, I believe, to the imposition of additional import duties.

right breadth for wrappers, hang up, bent double and in bunches, in the Chinese shops. These strips have to be cut into lengths by the purchaser, but bundles of ready-cut wrappers are also sold. I always took a good supply of tobacco and wrappers with me when visiting Negritos, as these prove very acceptable gifts, as also do matches, dried fish, salt, chillies, rice, and even onions. When the Negrito has tobacco, but no wrappers, he improvises a substitute from leaves found in the jungle.

I do not know that any Negrito group grows tobacco, but I think it possible, and the Jehai Negritos of Upper Perak are in touch with the Pleh (Negrito-Sakai) who, to my knowledge, are tobacco planters.¹ At Ijok, in 1913, *Pandanus* mat pouches for holding tobacco, or the requisites for *sireh* chewing, of which tobacco is one, were common. These pouches were small bags without any cover. One rather fine specimen had an inner lining of the same material and was ornamented on the outside with patterns in black.² I saw a double *Pandanus* tobacco pouch among the Kintak Bong in 1935, one piece fitting over the other.

Skeat speaks of obtaining a beautifully decorated bamboo tube in Ulu Kelantan which was used as a tobacco box,³ and a very similar specimen (illustrated) from the Lanoh Negritos of Upper Perak is in the Perak Museum.

Pandanus pouches for tobacco and chewing requisites were also common among the Bateg Negritos of the Cheka River, Pahang, and two curious tobacco boxes made from hard fruit shells, those of *Sorodocarpus borneensis*, were also seen and purchased. These were formed by boring a round hole in the lower end of the shell at either side and polishing the exterior. The septum was left complete on the inside.⁴

Like the Malays, the Negritos are not averse from chewing *sireh* (betel), but the habit does not seem to be much ingrained and appears to be found, as among the Malays nowadays, chiefly among the older people.

Of opium-smoking, unfortunately, as I have mentioned previously, there is some, and I have recorded of the Lanoh

¹ Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* 1916, Vol. vi, p. 213.

² Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* Vol. v, No. 4, p. 180.

³ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. 1, p. 117.

⁴ Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* Vol. v, No. 4, p. 199.

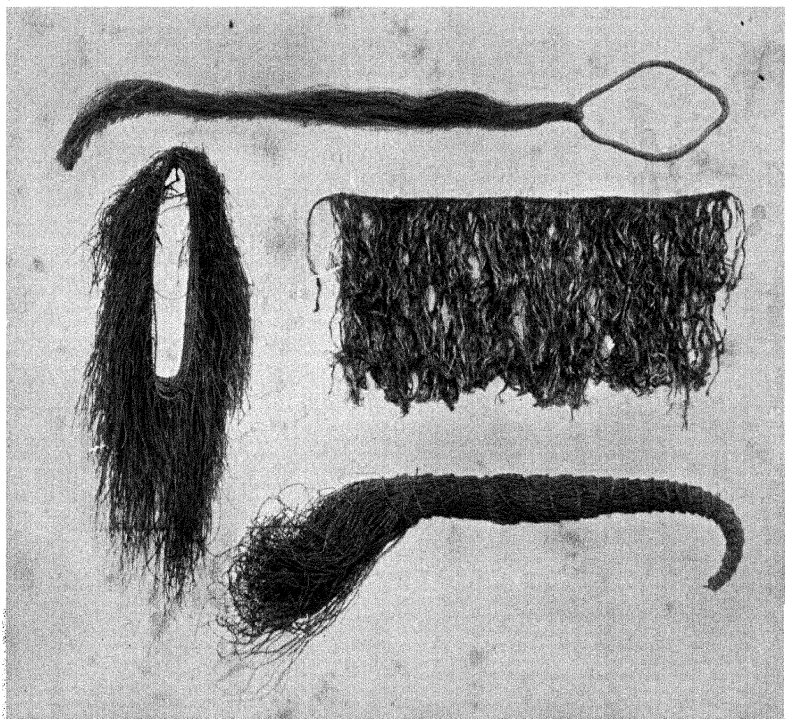


Photo: specially taken for the author of specimens in the Perak Museum

NEGRITO DRESS

Top. Man's fibre headdress. Jehai Negritos of Temengor, Upper Perak.

Second Row. Woman's skirt of black fungus rhizomorph. Lanoh Negritos. Collected at Ijok, Selama, Perak.

Woman's skirt of shredded *Artocarpus* bark. Lanoh Negritos. Collected at Ijok.

Below. Rolled woman's skirt of black fungus rhizomorph. Collected at Weng, S. Kedah.

Negritos of Lenggong, as long ago as 1913, that "some have been further demoralized by the vice of opium-smoking, with which it is probable that some Chinaman or Malay has infected them of set purpose in order that they might become permanently attached to him owing to their craving for the drug".¹ Again, I have written of Negritos met at Ijok, Selama, Perak, in 1913, probably many of them Lanoh from the Perak Valley near Lenggong:

Two of the Ijok people were opium-smokers, one an old man, the head of the tribe, the other a young fellow of nineteen or twenty. They seem to obtain supplies of the drug from the miners (Chinese) at Klian Gunong or else from the shops (also Chinese) a little further down the valley.²

Schebesta has also something to say about opium-smoking. Speaking of the Kintak Bong (his Kenta Bogn) Negritos whom he met in S. Kedah, he tells us that "Hitam and Hempĕlabn were opium smokers" and that the vice had been introduced by Chinese. The former had become an addict and several other men smoked too, but only occasionally. When the two men, just mentioned, could not get opium they smoked *kentobn*(?) leaves, said to have a similar effect. Immediately after this, however, he says that "the leaves are burned to ashes and then chewed" and that sometimes they are eaten green.³ I may again remark here that Schebesta's man Hempĕlabn is the same as my Měmpĕlam—the name means "mango", and I have given the Malay version of the word the Negrito version of which, probably from the Malay, is Hěmpĕlam.⁴ His portrait appears as a frontispiece in my *Studies in Religion*, and when Schebesta was in Taiping I had Měmpĕlam called down there for his benefit and he appears to have made considerable use of him. His picture appears in Schebesta's book in several plates, notably in that facing p. 176.

¹ Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* Vol. v, No. 2, p. 67.

² Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* Vol. v, No. 4, p. 178.

³ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 215.

⁴ I do not know how Schebesta gets his spelling Hempĕlabn. When I tried this version of the name on the Kintak Bong recently (1935), they said that it was incorrect (*ta' tĕrkĕna* in Malay). Měmpĕlam, whom I did not see, was reported to be seriously ill and spitting blood, perhaps suffering from consumption.

As the subject of fire production has to do with both cooking and smoking it is one which may well be dealt with in this chapter. At the present day cheap matches (made in Japan or elsewhere in the East, and purchased at the Chinese shops) or flint and steel are the articles most usually employed in making fire, but others are known. The flint and steel, or rather quartz and steel, together with some tinder, fluff from the leaf bases of certain palms, such as is also used as a wad behind the blowpipe dart, are, in Upper Perak, generally carried in a small, usually coverless, *Pandanus* mat wallet of the kind also used for tobacco. The wallet is pushed into the space between the top of the waistcloth and the stomach, this space being the Negrito man's "pocket".

Skeat says that friction is the simplest method of fire-making practised by both eastern and western Negritos. It usually takes the form of rubbing together short blocks of wood, bamboo or cane.

A common method consists in passing a rattan line round the portion of a dried branch (that of certain kinds of trees can alone be used), and holding the branch down with the foot, whilst the line is rapidly worked to and fro with the hands, until the friction ignites the dust which falls from the wood.¹

Of the flint and steel he says that they are "often carried in a small bamboo cylinder".¹

Annandale mentions² a method of fire-making among the Grik (Upper Perak) Negritos, which is very similar to that with the rattan saw described above. It is also known to the Malays. A cleft billet of soft wood, the cleft kept open with a peg, "palm scurf", as tinder, inserted between the divided parts of the billet, and a rattan cane as a saw, were the necessary implements. The saw was worked in the cleft.³

The Bateg Negritos of the Cheka River, Pahang, denied that they knew of any method of making fire other than by matches or flint, steel and tinder.⁴

¹ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. I, p. 114.

² Annandale, *Fasciculi Malayenses, Anthropology*, Part I, pp. 15, 18.

³ I saw this type of fire-making recently among the Negritos of Siong, S. Kedah, and have illustrated it. No tinder was used, however.

⁴ Evans, *Papers on the Ethnology*, p. 15.

I obtained the simplest form of fire-making apparatus mentioned by Skeat from the Trang-Patalung Negritos of S. Peninsular Siam, this consisting of some pieces of bamboo.¹ As far as I remember, the point of one of these was rubbed in the natural groove of another until fire resulted.

Schebesta writes of torches made from dried bamboos, split into shreds, probably at their ends only, being used by the Jehai.²

¹ Evans, *Papers on the Ethnology*, p. 5.

² Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 37.

CHAPTER VIII

CLOTHING, ORNAMENTS, HAIRDRESSING

A PART from clothes, reduced to a minimum in their case, the Negritos, like many peoples savage and civilized, are not at all averse from personal adornment, and the young buck and the consciously pretty girl are found among them, just as among us. To some degree, however, Negrito personal ornament has a magical or religious significance or connection, a subject to which I shall refer later.

I was much struck by this love of adornment when I paid my first visit to a group of Negritos (at Lenggong, Upper Perak) in January, 1913, and of these people I wrote:

In visiting the Negrito encampments the thing which perhaps struck me most was the people's great love of dressing up and their fondness for using flowers for the purpose. The young bloods seemed to do little else in their spare time and many of them had decorated their heads with wreaths of purple and white everlasting flowers (Malay, *bunga tiga bulan*) which were threaded on the stalks of some fibrous plant: headdresses of yellow blossoms were also in favour, and one boy had a fillet of green *Pandanus* leaves decorated with yellow flowers at the top.¹

It is possible that some festivities were going on at Lenggong about which I did not know, but, even ordinarily, the Negritos are fond of self-adornment. I have, on several occasions, seen them pluck red *Hibiscus* (cultivated) blossoms at the Lenggong Rest-House and put them behind their ears.

Apart from ornament, clothing is simple. The men wear a somewhat exiguous loin cloth with an end falling down in front. Exiguous as it is, however, it serves as the Negritos' only pocket, as I have remarked previously, currency notes, little pouches containing various oddments such as talismans, flint and steel, tobacco, etc., being tucked in between it and the stomach. In previous times no doubt the loin cloth was always made from tree-bark, hammered soft and only the inner parts employed, but

¹ Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* Vol. v, No. 2, p. 67.

nowadays the use of European (or Indian) machine-woven cloth for this purpose is very general. Often bits of ordinary Indian-made *sarongs* are worn as loin cloths.

Skeat quotes a few observers as saying that cases are known of individuals of the wild races of Malaya (not Negritos) going entirely naked and a note with regard to naked Negritos in Upper Perak, by Mr. F. Dennys, appeared in the *Journal of the F.M.S. Museums* some years ago, but there is no evidence of nakedness being customary, indeed rather the reverse. That small children often do not wear clothing is, of course, no criterion by which to judge the usage of their elders.

But to revert to the subject of the manufacture of bark cloth, whether for loin cloths or for other purposes. Kedah Negrito men, according to Skeat, even so long ago as the time of his visit, though wearing loin cloths made from *Artocarpus* or *Antiaris* bark, "preferred to use the cloth variety, which they obtained from the Malays". His description of the Negrito loin cloth cannot be bettered. He says that it consists "of a long narrow strip of beaten tree-bark or cloth, one end of which is wrapped round the waist, the other (loose) end being passed between the legs and tucked in through the part which serves as a girdle, with the free part hanging down in front".¹ Skeat also figures² a strip of Negrito bark-cloth from Kedah and the cudgel with which it was manufactured. The cloth is of the whitish variety which is made from the bark of *Antiaris toxicaria*, the *ipoh* (or Upas) tree, from which a poison for the blowpipe darts is obtained.

Negritos met by me at Ijok, Selama, Perak, in 1913, told me that they no longer used bark-cloth but, to prove that they could still make it, manufactured two pieces, one of *Antiaris* bark, the other from *Artocarpus* bark and brought them to me for sale.³

Of the Bateg Negritos of the Cheka River, Pahang, visited in 1913, I wrote that the

men all wore T-bandage loin-cloths of native bark-cloth or of European cotton stuff, supported by a string of vegetable fibre or split

¹ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. I, p. 143.

² Skeat, *Pagan Races*, plate facing p. 376.

³ Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* Vol. v, No. 4, p. 178.

rattan tied round the waist. Above this a long cord made either of the plaited (black) rhizomorphs of a fungus called (by the Malays) *akar batu*, or of the plaited fibres of a palm, was wound several times tightly round the body with its ends tied together. This cord was often used for holding a sheathless *parang* (Malay) or working knife, which thus hung with its naked blade against the thigh and buttocks.¹

A heavy palm-wood club or bat, 28 cm. long and used for making bark-cloth, was purchased in the Ulu Cheka. It is cross-hatched on one face.¹ Both brown (*Artocarpus*) and white (*Antiaris*) bark-cloth, dirty from use as loin cloths, was seen among the Bateg of Jeransang.²

Before passing to the essentials of women's clothing, one may remark here that the Negritos of Chong in the Trang Province of S. Peninsular Siam are much more given to the use of non-Negrito clothing than are those of British Malaya, both in respect of men and women. Rather dirty more or less Malay-type *sarongs* were worn by the men and similar garments, let down longer, with the addition of short jackets, by the women.³

Among the Negrito women of Kedah and Northern Perak the Malay *sarong* (skirt)⁴ is frequently worn to-day, and this may either be brought up sufficiently high to conceal the breasts or may be rolled below them. In spite of the common use of the *sarong*, however, the wearing of Negrito "garments" still persists and it will often be found that a woman has one of these on under the *sarong*.

The commonest kind of Negrito female dress is a short kilt of the black and shiny rhizomorphs of a fungus which the Malays call *akar* (or *urat*) *batu*—"rock roots" (or "strands"). These strands hang from strings, usually of the same material, the kilt consisting of several rows. The kilt is secured with the opening in front and this necessitates the wearing of a loin cloth, similar

¹ Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* Vol. v, No. 4, p. 199.

² Evans, *Papers on the Ethnology*, p. 16-17.

³ Evans, *Papers on the Ethnology*, p. 16 and frontispiece.

⁴ The *sarong* is a tubular skirt worn by both Malay men and women, but by men, at any rate on full dress occasions, over trousers. It is considerably broader than the body. A usual method of putting it on is to pass it up from the feet, hold it out on either side of the body with the hands, cross the left side over the body, and then the right over this and roll the edges downward until the skirt is held firmly.

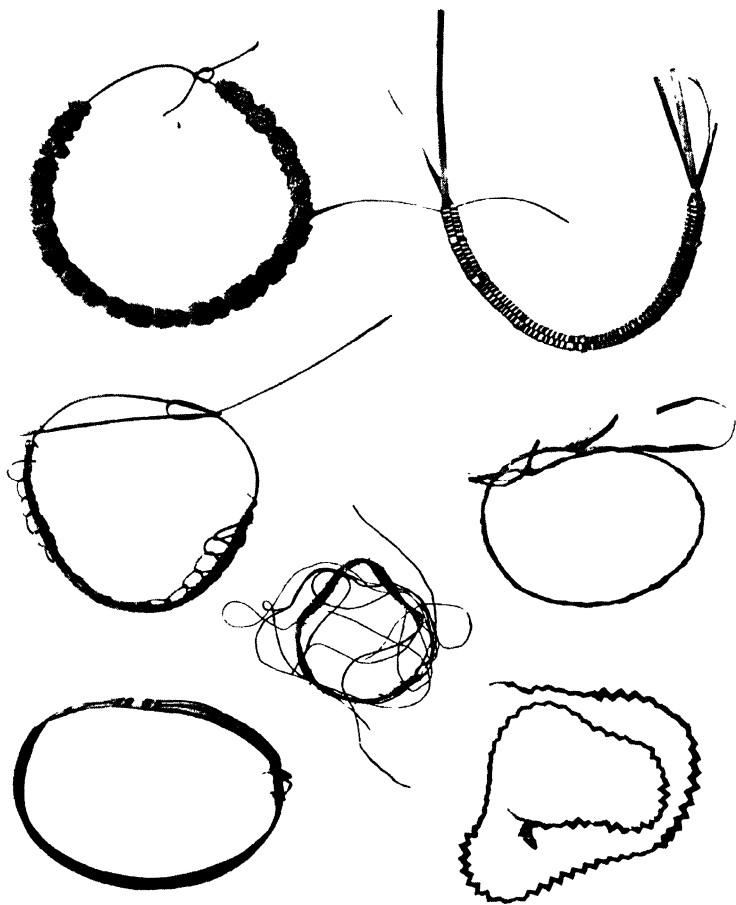


Photo specially taken for the author of specimens in the Perak Museum

NEGrito ARTICLES OF PERSONAL ADORNMENT

Top Row. Man's headdress of white and purple everlasting flowers. Lanoh Negritos of Lenggong, Upper Perak.

Man's headdress of plaited *Pandanus* leaf. Lanoh Negritos of Leng-gong, Upper Perak.

Centre. Man's rattan headdress. Kintak Bong Negritos of the Damak River, Ulu Selama, Perak.

Man's head-band of black fungus rhizomorph and fibre. Kintak Bong Negritos of the Damak River, Ulu Selama, Perak.

Man's headdress (or band) of plaited *Pandanus* leaves. Lanoh Negritos of Lenggong, Upper Perak.

Bottom Row. Man's headdress of painted bark. Lanoh Negritos of Leng-gong, Upper Perak.

Man's headdress of plaited leaves. Lanoh Negritos of Sumpitan, near Lenggong, Upper Perak.

to that of the men but with a rather larger tab in front, under it. Annandale considers that the kilt is worn rather for magico-protective purposes than as an article of dress, since these fungus rhizomorphs are considered to be a protection against "hot rain", i.e. rain while the sun is shining, which is much feared and disliked by the Negritos as being thought to bring sickness. Among the Grik people the skirt was constructed entirely of *akar batu*.¹

Of Negrito women's skirts at Jalor (Jala or Yala), in the "Patani States" in S. Peninsular Siam, Annandale and Robinson say of the *akar batu* material used:

Growing in leathery filaments, with a shiny black surface, and about 2 mm. in diameter, it is cut by the Hami² into pieces about a foot in length; these are doubled and fastened over a string of twisted vegetable fibre by means of a clove-hitch in such a way that they hang down in a fringe five or six inches broad. These fringes are worn round the waist as many times as their length will permit.

It was also remarked that every woman that they saw wore a girdle of dead leaves over the supplementary T-bandage.³

Skeat records of the Siong, S. Kedah, Negritos, that is the Kensieu, that the fungus girdles, as he calls them, were of elaborate workmanship. He figures a good example.⁴ I have seen such girdles in use in S. Kedah, in the Selama sub-District of Perak,⁵ and in Upper Perak at Grik and Lenggong.

Another kind of women's dress, as well as that of *akar batu*, is found among the Kintak Bong Negritos of the Perak-Kedah boundary. It is made in much the same way, but consists of narrow strips of bark-cloth hanging from a single string only. I regret that I did not record of what bark the cloth was made, but a similar dress that I bought at Ijok was said to be made from that of *Artocarpus Kunstleri*,⁵ from which the larger sheets of bark-cloth—those of a brown colour—are also manufactured. Schebesta speaks of dresses, apparently similar, among the

¹ Annandale, *Fasciculi Malayenses, Anthropology*, Part 1, p. 11.

² I have commented previously on this supposed tribal name.

³ Annandale and Robinson, *Fasciculi Malayenses, Anthropology*, Part 1, p. 5.

⁴ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. 1, p. 142 and plate.

⁵ Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* Vol. v, No. 4, p. 178.

Kintak Bong made of *ayam* bark, but does not say what that is. He also mentions *urat batu* dresses.¹

The Bateg Negrito women of the Cheka River, Pahang, seen by myself in 1913, wore very scanty T-bandage loin cloths made from the bark of *Artocarpus Kunstleri* or *Antiaris toxicaria*. These were held in position by a string of vegetable fibre wound many times round the waist and had one end hanging as an apron in front.²

Let us pass now from the parts of dress that are more or less essential to those that are chiefly ornamental, or, in some cases, have a magical or magico-protective use. I have spoken of the fungus rhizomorph kilts of the women being considered a protection against the effects of "hot rain". This same material is used by both men and women in other ways, but for an identical purpose. Headbands of it were noted among the male Negritos at Lenggong, Upper Perak, in 1913, as were also simple necklaces and bracelets, composed of a few strands, worn by the men.³ The same types of male necklaces and bracelets were also seen at Ijok, Selama, Perak, in the same year, the strands of the necklaces being knotted in front.⁴ Men's waist cords of the rhizomorph are found among the Negritos of Kuala Cheka, Pahang, as well as male bracelets and necklaces of several single strands.⁵ The Jehai Negritos of Temengor, Upper Perak, too, make considerable use of this substance. Among them are found crown-like woven headdresses, worn by the men, which consist of alternate vertical bands of fungus and leaves, the leaves, which appear to be those of a species of *Pandanus*, often being stained yellow, most likely with turmeric. The loose ends of the leaves and of the rhizomorphs stand up above to form a fairly stiff fringe. This type of headdress, which is tied behind the head when worn, is also to be seen among the neighbouring Pleh (Negrito-Sakai) of the hills, with whom this book does not deal. I am inclined to believe that it may have

¹ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 237. *Vide* also the plate opposite p. 192 which shows the skirts being made and being worn.

² Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* Vol. v, No. 4, p. 196.

³ Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* Vol. v, No. 2, p. 68.

⁴ Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* Vol. v, No. 4, p. 178.

⁵ Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* Vol. v, No. 4, p. 195.

originated among them, but I do not think that the rhizomorph is used in areas where there is little Negrito influence.¹

Other forms of headdress, bracelet and necklace that are figured in the plates need only be mentioned shortly here. Some of the headdresses are of flowers and I have already mentioned the Negritos' love of such personal ornaments. A wreath of purple and white "everlasting" flowers is from Lenggong, Upper Perak, as are also headbands of yellow flowers (unidentified) worn indifferently by both men and women. A man's headdress of a flat strip of *Pandanus* leaf, with bindings at intervals, is also from Lenggong. This has an upwardly projecting spike. So, too, are a couple of long tails or whisks, made of some vegetable fibre, coloured with charcoal and turmeric in alternate bands of black and yellow. They were said to be worn at weddings, being stuck into the headdresses so as to fall over the ears. Also from Lenggong come a cleverly plaited headdress made of strips of *Pandanus* which has a square section, a much simpler plaited headband of the same material, another headband of white bark with painted designs in black and yellow and, from Sumpitan, near Lenggong, one of *Pandanus* with a waved plait. I have also recorded that two Lenggong youths were wearing thick bands of twisted grass around their foreheads, tied at the back so as to leave a tail hanging down behind.² One of these is figured.

I obtained no headdresses from the Bateg Negritos of Jeransang, Pahang, nor did I see any worn, but I have noted that bracelets of fungus rhizomorph and of brass wire were fairly commonly to be seen (on the women).³ I have written something with regard to the Cheka River Bateg above.

Bracelets of plaited rattan are found among the Kintak Bong of the Selama-Perak boundary (one illustrated) and probably among other groups too.

Skeat mentions that the Negritos of Siong, S. Kedah, wore "armlets, bracelets and knee bands", which were usually made,

¹ Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* 1916, Vol. VI, p. 205. Annandale also saw these crown-like headdresses worn by Grik Negritos for a dance in honour of the wild areca palm. *Vide Fasciculi Malayenses, Anthropology*, Part I, p. 21.

² Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* Vol. V, No. 2, pp. 67-68.

³ Evans, *Papers on the Ethnology*, p. 16 and Pl. II, fig. 2.

like their girdles and necklaces, from jungle fibre, and very much upon the same principle".¹

I may as well remark here that De Morgan's plate, showing "Negrito Dress and Articles of Apparel", reproduced by Skeat, facing p. 138 of *Pagan Races*, Vol. I, does not depict Negrito articles at all. Skeat is not to be blamed for this fault as he did not, I am sure, visit the districts covered by De Morgan. It is pretty obvious, chiefly from the type of the combs, that the articles illustrated came from the Pleh-Temiar, probably in the neighbourhood of the Korbu (or Kerbau) River. De Morgan is not reliable as to his classification of the different divisions of Malayan wild peoples.

With regard to necklaces other than those of fungus rhizomorph, I figure a specimen of monkey teeth and European glass beads from Ijok, Selama, Perak; one of black and white seeds, also from the Selama sub-District, and one of Job's tears from Weng, S. Kedah, as well as one of teeth and shells from Grik, Upper Perak. I believe that the largest tooth on the last is the canine tooth of a bear; the rest are those of monkeys. The shells appear to be those of *Amphidromus perversus*. I have recorded with regard to necklaces of monkey teeth seen at Ijok that they were worn by the women and children.² These remarks hold good for the other necklaces first described.

Two necklaces of considerable interest, the only specimens that I saw, were obtained by me from the Negritos of Chong, Trang, S. Peninsular Siam. These (they are figured) consist of sections of monkeys' limb bones threaded end to end.

European-made glass beads are welcome to the Negritos when obtainable, and I have noted from Ijok, Selama, Perak, that "strings of glass beads worn (by the men) crossed over the breast were also popular and one young man had a regular collar formed of a long string of beads wound round and round the neck".²

Of girdles (or waistbands)—not kilts—other than those of

¹ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. I, p. 145. The Negritos of Siong are the Kensieu.

² Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* Vol. V, No. 4, p. 178.

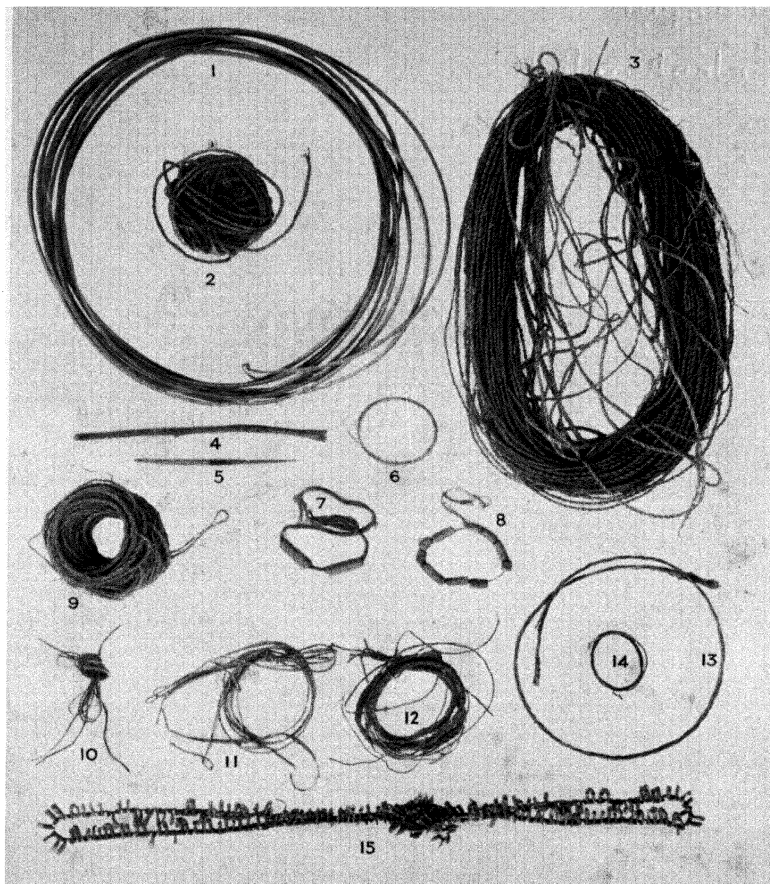


Photo: specially taken for the author of specimens in the Perak Museum

VARIOUS NEGRITO ARTICLES OF ADORNMENT

1. Woman's rattan girdle. Bateg Negritos of Kuala Cheka, Pahang.
2. Man's fungus rhizomorph girdle. Bateg Negritos of the Ulu Cheka, Pahang.
3. Woman's girdle of palm fibre and banana fibre. Bateg Negritos of Jeransang, Pahang.
4. Stick with split end, used for applying "paint" to body. Bateg Negritos of Jeransang, Pahang.
5. Porcupine nose-quill. Ijok, Selama, Perak. Probably from Lanoh Negritos.
6. Man's rattan bracelet. Kintak Bong Negritos of Ulu Selama, Perak.
- 7, 8. Two monkey bone necklaces, worn by women. Negritos of Chong, Trang, S. Peninsular Siam.
9. Man's palm fibre girdle. Bateg Negritos of Ulu Cheka, Pahang.
10. Man's necklace of black fungus rhizomorph. Lanoh Negritos of Lenggong, Upper Perak.
11. Man's necklace of plaited *Pandanus*. Lanoh Negritos of Lenggong, Upper Perak.
12. Man's head-band of black fungus rhizomorph. Jehai of Temengor, Upper Perak.
13. Man's girdle or belt of plaited rattan. Lanoh Negritos of Lenggong, Upper Perak.
14. Man's bracelet of black fungus rhizomorph. Lanoh Negritos of Lenggong, Upper Perak.
15. Necklace of European beads and monkey teeth. Ijok, Selama, Perak. Probably Lanoh Negrito.

fungus rhizomorph, I figure one (man's) of twisted rattan from Lenggong, Upper Perak, and a finely plaited and many-coiled woman's girdle, made chiefly from the fibre of the sugar palm (*Arenga saccharifera*), from the Bateg of Jeransang, Pahang.¹ I also figure a woman's girdle of coiled rattan from the Cheka River Bateg, decorated with rudely scratched-in patterns. I have described and illustrated the patterns on similar girdles from Jeransang in my *Papers on the Ethnology*, p. 21.² They represent two species of snakes, bees and a fish, and are said to protect the wearer against pains in the back.

We next come to the subject of Negrito combs. These are always, as far as I know, of bamboo and are worn only by the women. They appear not to be used at all by the Negritos of Chong, Trang, S. Peninsular Siam, while, though in use among the Bateg of Pahang, the specimens made by them are both rudely manufactured and rudely decorated, as can be seen from the specimens illustrated.

I think that one may say that the Negritos of Perak carry off the palm for the beauty of their combs, both with regard to workmanship and decoration, but those of parts of Kedah are not far behind, though they use a comb of another type. This is of broader and narrower proportions and has two little horns, somewhat incurved, above, one on either side.

A great deal has been written about Negrito combs, for some of which I have been responsible, especially concerning the elaborate theories of Vaughan Stevens in regard to the magico-medical uses of the patterns engraved on them. Of the truth of his assertions very little proof has been found by Skeat, Schebesta or myself. I deal with this subject in a later chapter, discarding Vaughan Stevens's statements in so far as they have not been proved true and starting afresh with such other evidence as we have.

I have published a paper on the technique of Kintak Bong combs from Perak,³ and in this I have shown that the decoration usually consists of either six or eight horizontal bands of pattern

¹ Evans, *Papers on the Ethnology*, p. 16.

² *Vide* Evans, *Papers on the Ethnology*, Pl. II, fig. 2, where a woman is depicted wearing a similar girdle.

³ Evans, *Papers on the Ethnology*, pp. 29-32 and Pls. IV and V.

between the top of the teeth and the top of the comb. On a six-panel comb the topmost band, or panel,

stands by itself, not being reproduced elsewhere on the comb. Pattern 2, however, recurs again in panel 6, and pattern 3 in panel 5. The fourth pattern—different from any of the others—is always much larger than the rest. Now it is in accordance with tradition that only a few kinds of patterns are allowable in panel 1, and the same is true for the similar panels 2 and 6, 3 and 5, as well as for panel 4.

In the ordinary type of eight-pattern (or eight-panel) comb the arrangement is similar, except that two extra panels, containing the same patterns as panels 2 and 6 of the six-pattern comb (2 and 8 in the eight-pattern comb), are inserted, one on either side of the largest panel—panel 4 in a six-pattern comb.¹

Among the Kintak Bong the whole comb is called *kenait*, the panels *papan*² and the boundary lines between the panels *enem*.³

In a six-panel comb the largest panel (no. 4) may have any of the following patterns: "crossing jackfruit shoots", "cucumber flowers", "thighs of the monitor lizard", "young moon", "breast of the red-breasted tortoise" and "bracken leaves". In panels 2 and 6 the commonest pattern is "padi grains", but "leaflets of the *salak* palm" and "gourd seeds" also occur. "Leaf monkey's teeth" are usual in panels 3 and 5, while panel 1 may have "torn-open cabbage of the *běrtam* palm", "millipedes' waists", "spikes of the *bayas* palm" or "spikes of the *rotan manau*".⁴ I have, however, treated the subject at greater length in the paper to which I have last referred in a footnote, and this is easily obtainable if further information is required.

With regard to the horned comb, usually broader and shorter than those of Perak, details of its distribution are somewhat scanty. I have collected specimens from Kensieu at Weng in S.E. Kedah and two are figured. Skeat also illustrates four such combs from Kedah, from Ulu Siong,⁵ where he

¹ Evans, *Papers on the Ethnology*, p. 29.

² A Malay word meaning plank or panel.

³ Evans, *Papers on the Ethnology*, p. 29.

⁴ These plant names are Malay.

⁵ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. 1, Plates facing pp. 149 and 415. One, on the first plate, is from Ulu Aring, Kelantan, a long hornless comb of rough construction and, seemingly, without patterns on it. Though there are six pictures of horned combs on the two plates, two of the specimens appear to have been figured twice.

worked. Annandale and Robinson figure one from the "Patani States".¹

These Kedah-type combs do not show six or eight panels of decoration. Annandale's specimen has four panels, a small one above, the second being the largest, and two small ones below. Skeat's combs—some of his illustrations are not very clear—appear to have either one or two narrow panels at the top, then a larger panel and a smaller one below this. Mine have one small panel above, then the largest one, and two small panels below, like Annandale's example.

There appears to be less variety in the patterns displayed on the Kedah horned combs than on those of the Kintak Bong and Lanoh. The designs are mostly of triangles or diamonds, but one comb that I figure has a design like the monkey-tooth pattern of the Kintak Bong.

I have written of the horned combs from the Negritos of Weng:

They are much broader than the combs of the Perak Negritos and their teeth more numerous, varying in our (Perak Museum) specimens between seventeen and twenty-four. Out of eight examples purchased, seven have incurved horns. . . . The patterns are neatly executed, but the bamboo skin has not been partly removed to heighten the effect of the patterns, as is common in Perak, while the pattern bands are fewer. Four pattern bands are the normal number in every comb, instead of the six or eight bands of the Perak combs, while the third band is the broadest. The teeth and horns are sometimes slightly decorated. The pattern names seem to be very similar to those found in Perak. I collected the following, as well as some others: *kebok padi*, rice grains; *tenwug*, criss-cross pattern; *helik kejok*, a kind of rattan which the Malays call *rotan dahan*; *yus ai*, teeth of the *lotong*² monkey.³

I have referred above to the removal of the outer skin of the bamboo to accentuate the patterns, which is common among the Kintak Bong and the Perak Valley Negritos, and found to some extent among the Negrito-Sakai (Pleh) of the hills.

¹ Annandale and Robinson, *Fasciculi Malayenses, Anthropology*, Part I, p. 5. The specimen is from Mabek in Jalor (=presumably Jala or Yala).

² The Malay name of a species of leaf monkey.

³ Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* 1926, Vol. XII, p. 82. I should have written that the second band, not the third, is the broadest. *Helik* means leaf, so the pattern *helik kejok* is "leaves of the *kejok*."

I have written with regard to this process that

the ornamentation was produced by cutting away the white outer skin of the bamboo to form the background and leaving the patterns standing out slightly in relief. The background is rubbed with *damar kělulur*¹ (a resin used by a small species of bee to make its nests) to give it a rich brown appearance, and the white skin of the patterns shows up clearly against it. Sometimes this process is reversed and the bamboo skin removed (and coloured) to form the patterns, the background remaining untouched.²

In typical Sakai ornamentation neither method is, as far as I know, employed; the designs are merely scratched in and coloured. Negrito tribes of Perak frequently use scratched-in patterns, but, on a finished article, there are generally some patterns to be found made by, or enhanced by, removing the outer skin of the bamboo.

One other point may be noticed here. Both in Kedah and in Perak the women decorate their combs, which are, incidentally, made by their menfolk, with sweet-smelling herbs, natural, shredded, or sometimes cut decoratively. Two combs figured are so adorned, one from Perak, one from S. Kedah.

Before leaving the subject of combs, to which reference will have to be made again later, something must be said with regard to a paper on the subject by Schebesta.³ Much of this is taken up with material with which I shall deal later—Vaughan Stevens's comb-pattern theories, the possible Sakai origin of the Negrito comb, and also with the magico-medical uses of combs and the occasions when they must, or must not, be worn—but it is only with combs in the concrete, as articles of adornment, that I am concerned at the minute.

He gives rough sketches of two typical six-pattern comb designs (his nos. 4 and 5) and of one eight-pattern design (no. 3), all from the Kintak Bong (then at Kupang, S. Kedah). He also has a Kensieu comb, the names of the designs, as he gives them, being (from the top) *pěsuah cenbeg* (my *pisuas chinbeg*), *bunga timon* (cucumber flowers), *ñus ai* (my *yus ai*) and *boh padei* (padi fruits).

Other patterns illustrated by him are those on a Jehai comb from Perak. These are arranged like those on an eight-pattern

¹ The Malay name for the substance.

² Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* Vol. v, No. 2, p. 68.

³ *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Oct. 1929, pp. 749-760.

comb, but the first (and unrepeatd) pattern is missing. The largest panel has a leaf design of which the name is not given and the other six panels have padi grains and leaf monkey (*ai*) teeth.

A comb of Kensieu origin, seen by me among the Kintak Bong of Kupang this year (1935), has *pisuas chinbeg* for its first pattern, *ketug menlang* (bark of the jackfruit tree) for its largest panel, then *pisuas chinbeg* again and last of all *yus ai*.

From the subject of combs one proceeds somewhat naturally to that of hairdressing. As a general rule Negrito men keep their hair fairly short, and I have noticed that the Lanoh are fond of shaving the head. Sometimes one finds a man with somewhat of a mop. Shaving is done with a cheap pocket-knife, purchased from the Chinese shops, or with a small Malay knife. It cannot be a pleasant operation. The womenfolk of the western Negritos, with the exception of the Kensieu, leave a patch of longish hair on the crown of the head, somewhat towards the back, and it is in this that the combs, described above, are worn. Only one comb at a time is usual, but I have seen two, or even three, at a time among the Lanoh. The combs are generally so placed as to show their patterns at the back. Sometimes they stand upright, sometimes they are rather askew. The Kensieu women leave much more hair on the head, only shaving the front, if any part of it. Schebesta has a good picture of a Kensieu woman wearing her comb, it being pushed into the hair so as to lie flat on the top of the head, edge towards the front, teeth points towards the back.¹

The Bateg women of Pahang and, judging from Schebesta's pictures, the Menrik of Kelantan, wear their hair in mops, while the Negrito women of Chong, S. Peninsular Siam, do not allow it to grow to any great length.

Schebesta states that Menrik women of the Nenggiri River, Kelantan, do not wear combs, because it is easy to put flowers into their long hair; but adds that combs are said to be common among the Lebir River Menrik, also in Kelantan, where they are thought to be of Temiar origin.²

¹ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, plate facing p. 105. He also remarks the mop heads of the Menrik women and says that their ears are pierced and that they insert rolled *palas* (*Licuala*) leaves in the holes (pp. 166-167).

² Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, pp. 272-273.

CHAPTER IX

FACE-PAINTING, MUTILATIONS, TATTOOING

FROM hairdressing one may well pass to face-painting and to a much rarer form of personal decoration, tattooing.

Face-painting is common. I remember seeing Jehai Negritos at Temengor with their faces stained yellow, probably with some kind of turmeric. I believe that both sexes had so ornamented themselves, but I regret that I did not make a note at the time. Face-painting is, however, as far as I have observed, much more usual among the women than the men.

At Ijok I recorded having noticed that "one young woman had stained her forehead with a horizontal band of red pigment".¹ At the corners of her mouth were two smears of lime (one at each corner) which looked at a distance like tusks protruding from the top jaw.²

Among the illustrations in this book attention may be called with regard to face-painting to a picture of a Kintak Bong woman who has smears of lime on the face, one at each corner of the mouth, one between the eyebrows and one at each temple. Another woman, also Kintak Bong, has a smear of lime on each temple and two on either side of the mouth, while in two Lanoh girls, dressed for dancing, there is a row of lime marks around the forehead of each and down the sides of the head, terminating above the ears, and each has also a smear of lime at either side of the mouth. The breasts of both are decorated with lines of dots radiating from the nipples, white in one girl, red and white in the other, lines of red dots and white dots alternating.

Schebesta has a picture of two Menrik (Kelantan) Negrito girls who have somewhat tusk-like lime smears, one on either side, near the corners of their mouths and double white (lime) smears

¹ Most probably with her own reddened saliva after chewing *sireh*. I have seen this used among Lanoh Negrito women at Lenggong, Upper Perak. This woman was also, in all probability, a Lanoh.

² Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* Vol. v, No. 4, p. 183.

running across their foreheads at the level of the brows, dipping round the eyes slightly at their ends.¹

Stamps for applying face, or body, paint are known, and I figure one, made of the shell of a tortoise carapace, obtained from Negritos at Ijok, Selama, Perak, probably Lanoh. This is of Sakai type and may have been made by the Pleh. Another, much simpler, stamp, also illustrated, I collected from the Bateg Hapen Negritos of Jeransang, Pahang. It is "a piece of stick divided into sections at one end by making repeated cuts with a knife, these passing from side to side and through the centre. Using this for applying the gummy paint, one lady had covered her thighs with flowerlike designs".² Face-painting, done with the sap of the *pěrah*³ tree, was observed on Bateg Negrito women of the Cheka River, Pahang, in 1913. The designs consisted of two parallel and perpendicular lines on the forehead in the median line, and two similar lines on the chin, together with two pairs of parallel lines on either side of the face, these being set one pair at an angle to another, the point of the angle being in the direction of the lobe of the ear, while the other ends of the lines pointed more or less in the direction of the chin and of the nostrils respectively.⁴ Almost exactly similar designs, too, were seen among the Bateg Hapen of Jeransang.⁵ Face-painting on a Cheka Negrito woman can be fairly well seen in a plate in this book, the picture being reproduced from Volume v of the *Journal of the Federated Malay States Museums*.

Face-painting was not observed, though that does not prove that it is unknown, among the Negritos of Chong, Trang, S. Peninsular Siam.

Skeat saw among the Siong Negritos of S. Kedah, that is the Kensieu, the tips of the noses and the cheeks of the men coloured with a yellow unguent used for decorative purposes only. It was

¹ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, plate facing p. 248, first figure.

² Evans, *Papers on the Ethnology*, p. 17.

³ This is the Malay name of the tree which produces fruits which are eaten, but are said to be poisonous unless cooked in various ways. *Elataeriospermum tapos*?

⁴ Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* Vol. v, No. 4, p. 201 and Pl. XXXVIII, top sketch.

⁵ Evans, *Papers on the Ethnology*, p. 17 and Pl. II, lower figure.

said to be pure coconut oil, but wild "saffron" or turmeric was also employed for this purpose. Among the Negritos of Ulu Kelantan, Skeat adds, this turmeric is converted (by mixing it with lime) into a sort of burnt red-ochre.¹

Schebesta speaks of some Jehai men that he met having their faces heavily painted with black and white colouring and ascribes this to Pleh (Negrito-Sakai) influence.²

Annandale saw a Negrito woman at Grik "who had daubed white clay³ upon her forehead in an arc consisting of five circular blotches, on the lower part of each cheek in a slanting vertical line and between her breasts". This was done, it was said, to "make her beautiful".⁴

Schebesta's remarks with regard to face-painting among Jehai being due to Sakai influence raise the question as to whether all face- or body-painting among the Negritos is due to borrowing. It does not seem to me possible to give a definite answer to this, but it is, perhaps, worth noting that this form of personal decoration is not known to be found among the Trang-Patalung Negritos who are far away from the Sakai. At the same time body-painting is a very obvious form of adornment and one that might easily arise from accidental smearing if the skin were brought in contact with lime or certain tree juices. Moreover, the occurrence in cave deposits of pieces of red colouring matter, often ground down by use, suggests body-painting at a time when the inhabitants of the rock-shelters were still in an early stage of development, their culture being of a palaeo-protonolithic type.⁵

We pass now to the subject of tattooing, a practice which I do believe to have been of Sakai origin, chiefly because it is generally found among those Negrito groups that are most in touch with Sakai, or part-Sakai tribes. This method of ornamentation, also not yet observed among the Trang-Patalung Negritos, is comparatively rare. Skeat seems to have been rather doubtful about

¹ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. II, p. 37.

² Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 43.

³ Perhaps lime from her chewing requisites? That is usual.

⁴ Annandale, *Fasciculi Malayenses, Anthropology*, Part I, p. 12 and Pl. IV, fig. 1.

⁵ Evans, *Papers on the Ethnology*, p. 155.

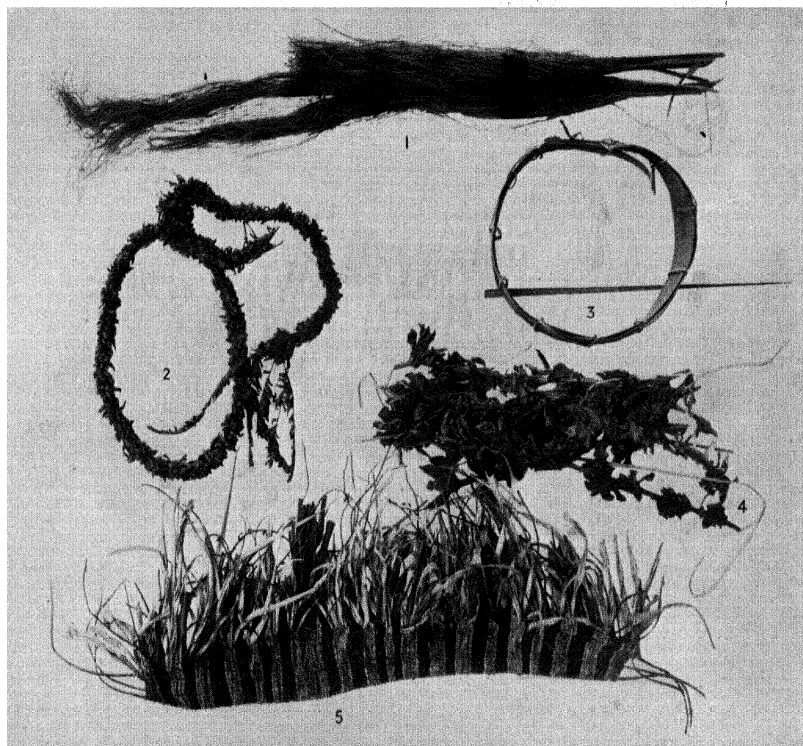


Photo: specially taken for the author of specimens in the Perak Museum

VARIOUS NEGRITO HEADDRESSES

Top. 1. Whisks of vegetable fibre, coloured yellow and black with turmeric and soot. These are stuck into the men's headdresses above the ears. They are worn at weddings. Lanoh Negritos of Lenggong, Upper Perak.

Central Row. 2. Woman's headdress of leaves. Lanoh Negritos of Lenggong, Upper Perak.

3. Man's head-band of *Pandanus* leaves. Lanoh Negritos of Lenggong, Upper Perak.

4. Head-bands of yellow flowers, worn indifferently by men and women. Lanoh Negritos of Lenggong, Upper Perak.

Bottom. 5. Man's headdress of leaves and black fungus rhizomorph. The leaves are dyed yellow with turmeric. Jehai Negritos of Temengor, Upper Perak.

the existence of true tattooing in the Malay Peninsula at all, but says that he heard of marks being made with a thorn by Negritos of Belimbing, Ulu Kelantan, and he saw a woman, wife of a Negrito headman in Kedah, who had four distinct scarifications on both cheeks. "These marks, which were not quite horizontal, but slightly divergent, started from the nose and were carried across the cheek, each of them forming a dark red (almost black) stripe across the skin, looking like the cut of a whip-lash." The woman who came from the Plus Valley, in Perak, and had Sakai blood, told Skeat that the marks were made when she was quite young and living in the Ulu Plus. The serrated edge of a sugar-cane leaf was drawn across the skin and soot or charcoal was rubbed into the excoriations thus made. She said that it was a tribal mark.¹

My own experience of tattooing with regard to the Negritos is with the Jehai of Temengor, Upper Perak, and the Bateg Negritos of the Cheka River and Jeransang, Pahang. Among the latter tattooing is fairly common, while among the Jehai it is not. Of the Jehai I have written:

Tattooing was observed on one man and one woman—and, in the case of the man, he told me that it had been done by Hill Sakai (i.e. Negrito-Sakai, the Pleh) among whom... I found a very large percentage of individuals with tattoo marks. The tattoo patterns on the woman consisted of two parallel and vertical lines running from the top of the forehead to the tip of the nose, those on the man of two similar lines from the top of the forehead, but terminating at the level of the eyebrows.²

Tattooing is fairly firmly established among the Bateg Negritos and was common on the Cheka River in 1913 on both males and females. The tattooing consisted as a rule of large blue-black dots, or round marks, as large as the tips of the fingers, the most common form of ornamentation, both in men and women, being a line of them running round the face, taking in the chin, the sides of the face in front of the ears, the temples and the forehead just above the eyebrows. A rather more complicated design was seen on the face of Pachet, the headman of the Ulu Cheka

¹ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. II, p. 35.

² Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* 1916, Vol. VI, p. 206.

Negritos.¹ All the Cheka Negritos questioned were unanimous in saying that the art of tattooing was one which had been known for generations. With regard to its use, they said that it was done merely for decoration, but one man further asserted that it was a good remedy for headache. I was also told that the pigment used was soot produced by burning damar gum, and one of the Ulu Cheka men stated that before use it was mixed with a little human milk. It is rather curious that these Negritos should have taken to tattooing, as tattoo marks do not show up at all clearly on their dark skins and it was necessary, in one case, to inspect a man's face at very close quarters before it was possible to make out how the pattern was arranged. In no instance was tattooing seen on the Sakai-Jakun of the neighbouring rivers, though it would show up clearly on their much lighter skins.²

A mutilation common, or universal, among certain Negrito groups is the boring of the nasal septum. This custom is also found among the Sakai and may well have been borrowed from them, especially as it is found chiefly among those Negrito groups who are, by their proximity, most subject to Sakai influence.

Of Negritos met at Ijok in 1913, probably mostly Lanoh from the valley of the Perak River, I have recorded that "many of the men and women, especially those of some age, had the nose (i.e. the nasal septum) pierced to contain a nose stick, though none of these was seen in use". I was, however, shown a specimen made from a porcupine quill.³

Of the Jehai I have written that "the nasal septum was pierced in the majority of the men, the operation being, the Jehai told me, performed with a porcupine quill, porcupine quills being also frequently worn through the hole as an adornment".⁴ Annandale mentions that among the Jehai "the nasal

¹ *Vote illustration, J.F.M.S.M. Vol. v, Pl. XXXVIII.*

² Evans, *J.F.M.S.M. Vol. v, No. 4, pp. 201-202.* Schebesta's statement that the Negritos do not tattoo is incorrect (*Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 260). Some Bateg women of Jeransang had one or two large, dark blue tattooed spots on their foreheads. Evans, *Papers on the Ethnology*, p. 17.

³ Evans, *J.F.M.S.M. 1913, Vol. v, No. 4, p. 183.*

⁴ Evans, *J.F.M.S.M. 1916, Vol. vi, p. 205.*

septum was pierced in the case of the men, and the young shoot of some zingiberaceous plant, that was used as a nose-skewer in the jungle, was thrust behind one ear when approaching the village".¹ I presume that the skewers were removed when approaching the Malay village of Temengor, so that the Negritos should not be subjected to derisive remarks, but the point is not made clear.

Schebesta says of the Jehai that the nose quill is worn in the pierced septum and that the custom which has come from the Pleh (Negrito-Sakai of the hills) "has spread greatly, but not universally, among the Jehai".²

Skeat writes that among the Negritos of Siong, S. Kedah, the nasal septum is not pierced.³ These are the Kensieu; and what Skeat says was confirmed by statements made to me recently (1935) by their neighbours the Kintak Bong of Kupang, formerly also of Ulu Selama, over the Perak border.

The Kintak Bong do, however, pierce the nasal septum both in men and women, but the practice is not universal, and this is true also of the Kintak of the Kroh neighbourhood, Upper Perak. The above information is from the Kintak Bong (1935). An illustration shows a Kintak Bong woman with a nose skewer.

Two Jehai men, a Lanoh man and a Lanoh girl are also depicted wearing nose quills or sticks. The boring of the nasal septum among the Lanoh, as noted above of Negritos met at Ijok, is common.

Annandale also records the piercing of the nasal septum as being universal among the Negrito men of Grik, Upper Perak. It was concluded that it was a puberty custom, as in children the operation had not been performed. When in the jungle, a rolled-up leaf of a gingerwort, a porcupine quill, or a piece of wire was thrust through the hole.⁴

I did not see nose-piercing among the Bateg Negritos of the Cheka River,⁵ nor have I any record of it from the Negritos of the Trang-Patalung hills, S. Peninsular Siam.

¹ Annandale, *Fasciculi Malayenses, Anthropology*, Part 1, p. 27.

² Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 43.

³ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. 1, p. 150.

⁴ Annandale, *Fasciculi Malayenses, Anthropology*, Part 1, p. 12.

⁵ Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* Vol. v, No. 4, p. 202.

Ear-piercing is more common among the women. Of the Kensieu Negritos of Siong, S. Kedah, Skeat states that earrings of rolled-up leaf (banana and *Licuala*) were worn by both sexes.¹ Schebesta has a picture of a Kensieu woman wearing an ear-stud which looks as if it might be made of a piece of bamboo.² If found at all, ear-boring does not seem to be common among either the Kintak Bong or the Lanoh of the Lenggong neighbourhood. Annandale says of the Grik (Upper Perak) Negritos that, as a rule, the lobes of the ear are not pierced.

Among the Bateg of the Cheka River, Pahang, however, I note that

all the women and girls who had reached the age of puberty had both ears pierced. The most common objects used as earrings were small pearl or bone shirt-buttons, obtained from Malay traders, these being worn against the front of the lobe and secured by a string passing through the hole. Occasionally a native cigarette was carried in the lobe of the ear.

Ear-studs of rolled leaves were also seen.⁴

One may remark here that the ears of girls are pierced both among the Malays and Sakai, among the former usually when they are quite small.

Tooth-filing is another mutilation commonly performed among the Negritos, also among the Malays (of both sexes) before marriage.⁵ Skeat says of the Kensieu Negritos of Siong that they filed the six front teeth of the lower jaw to a flat edge, the operation being performed with a piece of sandstone at the age of puberty. He also notes that the six upper front teeth of a Negrito skull that he brought home had been filed, "the filing being of the 'concave' kind (in which the front part of the teeth is filed away, so that the teeth thus treated become concave instead of convex)." He states, too, that the various Negrito tribes in Ulu Kelantan were alleged to practise tooth-filing.⁶

¹ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. 1, p. 150.

² Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, plate facing p. 105.

³ Annandale, *Fasciculi Malayenses, Anthropology*, Part 1, p. 12.

⁴ Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* Vol. v, No. 4, p. 202.

⁵ Among the Malays the front teeth of both jaws are filed, but those of the lower not nearly so much as the upper.

⁶ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. II, pp. 33-34.

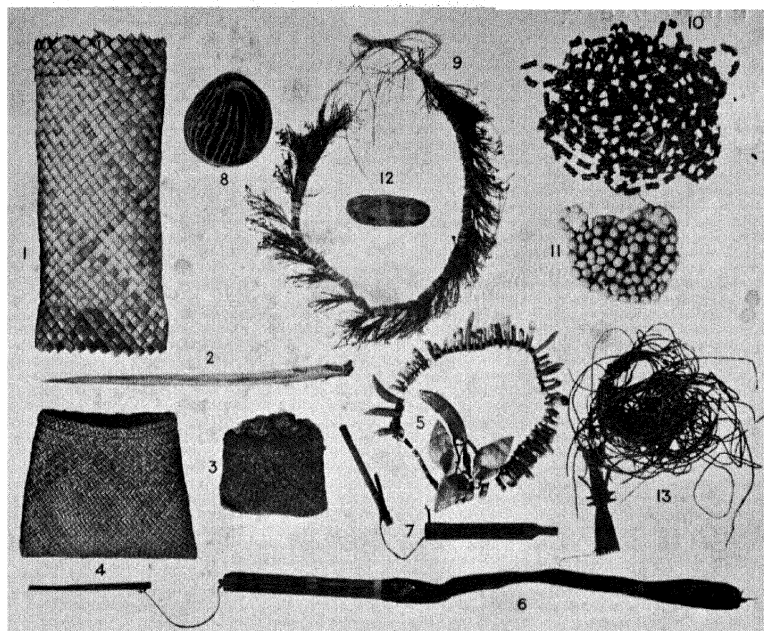


Photo: specially taken for the author of specimens in the Perak Museum

VARIOUS SMALL OBJECTS USED BY THE NEGRITOS

1. *Pandanus* bag. Lanoh Negritos of Lenggong, Upper Perak.
2. Bone awl. Negritos of Chong, Trang, S. Peninsular Siam.
3. Small *Pandanus* wallet. Lanoh Negritos of Kuala Kenering, Upper Perak. This contains tinder.
4. Larger *Pandanus* wallet. Lanoh Negritos of Lenggong, Upper Perak.
5. Necklace of teeth, shells and beads. Negritos of Grik, Upper Perak.
6. "Jews' harp" with cloth pendant. Negritos of Chong, Trang, S. Peninsular Siam.
7. "Jews' harp" of bamboo. Kintak Bong Negritos of the Damak Valley, Ulu Selama, Perak.
8. Tobacco box made from a *terua* nut. Bateg Negritos of the Cheka River, Pahang.
9. Man's headdress of flowers on a fibre backing. Lanoh Negritos of Sumpitan, Upper Perak.
10. Necklace of black and white seeds. Negritos of the Selama Sub-District, Perak.
11. "Job's tear" necklace. Kensieu Negritos of Weng, S. Kedah.
12. Magician's magical crystal. Lanoh Negritos, Lenggong, Upper Perak.
13. Strings of black fungus rhizomorph with face-paint stamp, cut from the shell of a tortoise, attached.

Filing the teeth, too, is common, though I was told not universal, among the Lanoh of the Lenggong neighbourhood, Upper Perak, as well as among the Kensieu Batuk, the Kintak and the Kintak Bong, both men and women having the front teeth in the top jaw so treated. It is said that a stone from the river is used, and my Kintak Bong informant (1935) said that the teeth were also blackened in the manner formerly common among the Malays.¹ I did not, however, see any obvious signs of this.

I found tooth-filing also practised among the Bateg Negritos of the Cheka River. It was here stated not to be obligatory, but several men had the six front teeth in the upper jaw rubbed down to an even edge.²

¹ With a tarlike substance from burnt coconut shells collected on iron as the smoke rises. Skeat mentions blackening of the teeth among the Negritos of Ulu Kelantan. *Pagan Races*, Vol. II, p. 34.

² Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* Vol. v, No. 4, p. 202.

CHAPTER X

WEAPONS—THE BOW AND ARROW AND THE BLOWPIPE

The Bow and Arrow

WITHOUT much doubt the chief original weapon of the Negritos of the Malay Peninsula was the bow, as it remains that of the Andamanese and of the Negritos of the Philippine Islands. This has been recognized by Skeat as well as by myself and (later) by Schebesta. I have pointed out, moreover, that while the blowpipe, an introduction from the Sakai, has to-day entirely supplanted this weapon among many of the groups, so that the bow and arrow are only memories among them, yet references to the bow and arrow are much more frequent in their folk-tales, most of them certainly of ancient origin, than are those to the blowpipe.¹

At the present day one may say that only the Jehai (if they) and the Pleh (Schebesta's Ple), the Negrito-Sakai of the Upper Perak-Kelantan border, use the bow regularly, and, even among them the use of it is, I believe, dying. Occasionally one may see a bow in the hands of the Negritos who inhabit the neighbourhood of the Perak River from Grik to Lenggong and sometimes they make very bad specimens for sale, but, in the case of well-made weapons of this kind, I have always found that these examples had been obtained from the Pleh, with whom they are occasionally in contact.

Skeat tells us that the Negritos of Siong, S. Kedah (i.e. the Kensieu), were familiar with the bow when he visited them and described it in detail, but said that they had given up using it. He thought it possible, however, that the people were concealing their bows, but this, in view of the fact that groups nearer to the present users of the weapon do not have bows, seems scarcely likely.²

¹ Evans, *Studies in Religion*, p. 193, footnote 3.

² Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. 1, p. 270.

De la Croix (quoted by Skeat) speaks of the Negritos of Patani (presumably of the "Patani States" in S. Peninsular Siam, not Patani town) using a bow 1·8 m. to 2·1 m. in length.¹ No scientific observer has, as far as I know, visited these groups since the time of Messrs Annandale and Robinson, though the Kensieu Batuk, some of whom are found in the Siong neighbourhood of S. Kedah, come from over the Siamese border.

The Negritos of the Trang-Patalung hills in S. Peninsular Siam told me that they knew the bow as a Siamese weapon and called it *chendu*, which is not one of the words employed for the bow among the Negrito tribes that know of it, or use it, in British Malaya. The pellet-bow, from which clay pellets are fired at small birds, is much used in this part of the Siamese kingdom, but I did not see it in the hands of Negritos.²

The existence of the bow, though it is not generally, or perhaps at all, used, seems to be known to the eastern Negrito groups of British Malaya as far south as the Cheka River in Pahang, for I obtained a usual word for it from the Bateg of that locality, though my informant said that he had never seen a specimen.³

The Negrito bow is of somewhat simple type. In section it is rounded on the exterior surface, slightly ridged in the median line on the interior. It tapers towards either end. Notches for the cord are cut in the sides near each end, and the latter is made fast at one end, hitched, by means of a loop over the shoulders of the notch at the other, the top end, to allow unstringing of the weapon when not in use. Skeat has given a very full description, except with regard to their type and section, of two bows from Perak collected by Grubauer and now in the University Museum of Archaeology and of Ethnology at Cambridge. Their lengths, over all, are respectively 1·957 m. and 1·983 m. The twisted cord appears to be made of *Artocarpus* bark.⁴

Schebesta describes a specimen that he saw in course of

¹ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. 1, p. 280.

² Evans, *Papers on the Ethnology*, p. 5.

³ Evans, *Papers on the Ethnology*, p. 16.

⁴ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. 1, pp. 272-273. The bows are figured on the plate facing p. 271.

manufacture (by a Jehai) as being strung against its natural curve:¹

The bow is bent for stringing by placing the end at which the cord is fixed on the ground, grasping the other end in the hands and pressing with the knee of the right leg, the wood of the bow being gripped near the ground between the big and second toes.

None of the arrows that I saw among the Jehai and Pleh had detachable foreshafts, as had some described by Wray. The blades of the arrowheads were broadly lanceolate, or spatulate, in shape and furnished with either one or two barbs at their base. A stem of at least 5.5 cms. in length, often considerably more, projected from the base of the blade and the end of this was lashed into the bamboo arrow-shaft with a rattan binding, but more than two thirds of it was left protruding. The notch for the cord across the top of the shaft was in the same plane as the flattened arrowhead, as was also the feathering. This consisted of two long and narrow strips of the tail feathers of a hornbill, fixed to the shaft at their ends with slight bindings covered over with *damar kělulut*,² but free along the rest of their length. The part of the shaft to which the feathers were attached was ornamented with incised annular markings. In some cases these markings were extended beyond the lower point of attachment of the feathers. The quivers were made, as is usual, from an internode of bamboo with a node to form the bottom of the receptacle, a piece of the next internode, sharpened to a spike, for planting the quiver in the ground, being left adhering to the node. The arrows were prevented from rattling in the quiver, or from falling out, by a plug of leaves pushed down into its mouth between the arrow-shafts, which projected from it to the extent of rather less than half their length.

The Jehai arrow quivers were quite plain, those of the Pleh (Negrito-Sakai) decorated to some extent. The above is taken from a joint account of bows and arrows that I saw and collected among the Jehai and the Pleh. The Jehai of Temengor, whom I visited in 1915, told me very definitely that they made both bows and arrows and could even forge the arrowheads.³ Schebesta, who visited the Jehai in 1924, saw both a bow and arrows made by a Jehai, iron arrowheads included.⁴

¹ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 76.

² The Malay term for the substance. The damar gum which a small species of bee uses in making its nest.

³ Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* 1916, pp. 206, 214-215.

⁴ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 76. A boulder served as an anvil, large leaves for a fan, a piece of iron with a liana handle as a hammer.

As to the wood of which bows are made, Schebesta says that not every kind of wood is suitable and the best is *langset*. I do not know if this is that of the *langsat* of the Malays.¹ A bow in the Perak Museum, collected by Wray, is said to be made of *ibul*, and in writing of the Jehai and Pleh bows I have recorded that they were made of *ibul* or *menhar* wood.² Skeat mentions an unidentified wood which the Negritos called *tēmākāh* as having been used for making bows by the Siong people (Kensieu).³

With further regard to arrows, Wray, as mentioned above, has described some with detachable foreshafts, with either barbed iron or hardwood heads.⁴ Two arrows dealt with by Skeat, belonging to the Grubauer bows referred to previously, are 101 cm. and 897 mm. (*sic*) in all-over length. Describing one of these Skeat says: "The shaft was of bamboo and the arrow was made on the harpoon principle; that is to say, its head was fitted into a short wooden socket-piece with a sharp upper end which fitted into the hollow at the lower extremity of the shaft or 'stele', so that the head could be drawn out without difficulty when required." The head of this arrow was of iron, thickly encrusted with *ipoh*-poison, and was single-barbed.⁵ There is nothing to show whether these Grubauer specimens from Upper Perak were collected from the Jehai, or other Negritos, or from the Pleh (Negrito-Sakai).

The bow, arrows and quiver figured in this book were collected by me from the Jehai at Temengor, Upper Perak, in 1915. As I have stated above, the heads fit directly into the shafts, being secured by a binding, and in his account of the arrows that he saw made by the Jehai, Schebesta speaks of the arrowheads being driven directly into thin bamboo shafts.⁶ Skeat also describes two arrows of this type in the Grubauer collection.⁷

¹ A kind of fruit tree.

² Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* 1916, Vol. VI, p. 214. *Ibul* is the Malay name of a kind of palm. *Menhar* is unidentified.

³ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. I, p. 271.

⁴ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. I, p. 272.

⁵ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. I, p. 274.

⁶ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 76.

⁷ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. I, p. 277.

The iron arrowheads, as far as I know, are always broadly lanceolate and may be either with one or two barbs, these springing from the base of the blade and being slightly everted. Those illustrated by Skeat (which may be from the Pleh) show long tangs. In my specimens the tangs do not project from the shaft to any extent.

I have remarked above, in regard to arrows purchased by myself, that the feathering, of which the webs are cut very close to the quill, lies more or less in the same plane as the blade, as does also the somewhat shallow nock (or notch) for the bowstring. Skeat says that the feathering can have only the very slightest effect upon the flight of the arrow. He also remarks that the webs (all that is left of them) are fixed at a convergent angle, and this raises the question as to whether the Negritos understand the principle of feathering and whether it does not merely exist as a survival.¹ The webs are set, apparently, sometimes in one direction and sometimes in the other, and Schebesta, who saw Jehai fixing them in both manners, obtained from one man the explanation—not, I think, altogether satisfactory—"If I shoot the arrow at a wild pig, the feathers whirr through the air, the pig stands transfixed by fear, looks round and is hit." "The feathers whirr", says Schebesta, "because they are cropped close; they whirr still more when turned in the reverse direction owing to the vibration caused by wind resistance."²

Schebesta's description of the Jehai quiver agrees with mine. It is undecorated and has a spike at the base to enable it to be stood upright.² When in use it is thrust into the loin cloth.

In shooting with the bow the arrow passes between the first and second fingers of the hand (left) that grasps the bow and is held against the string between the retracted first and second fingers (of the right hand).³

The arrowheads are thickly covered with dark brown gummy poison. About the nature and preparation of this substance

¹ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. I, p. 275. For Vaughan Stevens's remarks on arrow feathering *vide* pp. 277-278.

² Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 77.

³ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, plate opposite to p. 72.

I shall have a good deal to say later in connection with the darts for the blowpipe.

According to De Morgan, the ordinary range (presumably effective range) of the bow and arrow is 23–30 m., but the arrows will carry much farther, to about 150 m.¹

The Blowpipe

As I have remarked above, the blowpipe appears to have been a weapon borrowed from the Sakai which has, among the majority of the groups, supplanted the bow, but it is certainly curious that those Negrito groups farthest from Sakai influence (such as the Trang-Patalung Negritos) use the blowpipe and appear to be almost, or quite, ignorant of the bow, while the group (the Jahai) most in touch with the Pleh (Negrito-Sakai) still retain it in use. Schebesta remarks that the exchange of weapons is still within the memory of both the Jehai and the Pleh, for the former now use the blowpipe as well as the bow; the latter the bow in addition to the blowpipe.²

The blowpipe consists essentially of an inner and an outer tube, the function of the latter being protective. The mouthpiece is attached to a projecting, or slightly projecting, portion of the inner tube. A more or less apple-shaped mouthpiece of wood, or of wild rubber of some kind, is the most usual type among the Negritos, though other styles are found.

Among the Lanoh in the neighbourhood of Lenggong, Upper Perak, as well as the Menik Hangat of Grik, blowpipes are found which have an inner tube all in one piece and without any node in it. These inner tubes are made from the long internodes of *Bambusa Wrayi*, and such blowpipes are obtained from the Negrito-Sakai (Pleh) of the hills, where the species grows. When the Lanoh make blowpipes for themselves, as they do, they make use of two internodes placed end to end to form the inner tube (as they cannot get the long-jointed bamboo), these being held in position by a section of bamboo, or other stiff material, passed over the joint and attached by gum to the adjacent ends of the internodes. I have seen such blowpipes

¹ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. I, p. 279.

² Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 77.

with two-piece inner tubes in course of manufacture by Lanoh living in the Gua Badak (Rhinoceros Cave) near Sumpitan, Upper Perak. The sections of inner tube were hung vertically, to cure, over a fire before being joined.

Speaking of two blowpipes collected from the Negritos of Chong in the Trang-Patalung hills of S. Peninsular Siam, I have written:

The two blowpipes are without ornamentation. They are constructed of bamboo, and, as do the bamboo blowpipes of the Malay States, consist of an inner and an outer tube. Both these are built of two pieces. In the outer, protective tube, the distal section appears to fit into the proximal, but the joint is concealed by a rattan binding, covered with a black gummy substance. It is not easy to see the join when the inner tube is removed, and the interior of the outer tube viewed from one end. The proximal portion of the outer tube is much the longer. The inner tube is constructed of two joints of bamboo, placed end to end, and with a short retaining and strengthening tube, apparently of the same material, encircling the join.¹

Of home-made blowpipes in the hands of a mixed group of Negritos (mostly Lanoh from Lenggong) met at Ijok in the Selama sub-District, Perak, I have recorded that:

The blowpipes of their own manufacture always have the inner tube composed of two sections of bamboo placed end to end and united by a covering section of the same material over the joint. Blowpipes with the inner tube made from a single section of bamboo are occasionally to be seen, but these are procured from other tribes (i.e. the Pleh). The mouthpieces of all the blowpipes examined were spheroidal and composed either of wood, or of wood with a coating of "getah" (rubber of some sort). The outer tubes were either not decorated at all, or had merely a few incised circles running round them at top and bottom. The bamboo of the outer tubes was, in old specimens, of a warm red-brown hue this colour being acquired by constant polishing with damar gum or oil and continual smoke-drying when not in use, it being customary to keep the blowpipe on the under side of the thatch of the hut, where it is constantly in the smoke of the open fire. When thus out of use both ends of the tube are kept carefully plugged with down to prevent the entry of wasps, ants, or other insects.²

¹ Evans, *Papers on the Ethnology*, pp. 5, 6.

² Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* Vol. v, No. 4, pp. 178-179.

Of blowpipes seen in the hands of Lanoh Negritos at Leng-gong I have written:

The former (the blowpipe) was generally without decoration on its outer tube and had the spherical mouthpiece typical of Upper Perak, either of wood or "getah". The inner tube was, in the majority of cases, made of two pieces of bamboo placed end to end and joined by a short covering section of the same material. The Negritos said that they made the two-jointed tubes themselves, but they could not get bamboo internodes long enough to make a single-piece tube and that blowpipes of this variety were purchased from the "Orang Bukit" ("Hill People" = Pleh).¹

With regard to Jahai blowpipes I have noted that, out of four purchased, three have apple-shaped mouthpieces of *damar kélulut*, as the Malays call it (*damar* gum used by a small species of bee in making its nest). The remaining specimen has a mouthpiece of wood of a similar shape. For the other characters of the Jahai blowpipe I referred to those of the Pleh, who live on the neighbouring hills, as being of a similar nature. In the description of the latter I state that the inner tubes were in one piece, consisting of a single internode, while the mouthpieces were of wood and oblately spheroidal. The outer tube was never sufficiently long to enclose the whole of the inner. A cylindrical piece of bamboo was, for this reason, pushed over the inner tube just above the mouthpiece. This might be either larger or smaller than the outer tube. In the former case the end of the outer tube was somewhat pared away and the short section fitted over it; in the latter the end of it, perhaps pared down somewhat, was fitted into the outer tube. The only attempts at ornamentation on the blowpipes externally were annular scratched-in markings below the muzzles and occasionally some slight patterns on the extra bamboo section near the mouthpiece.²

Kensieu blowpipes from Weng, S. Kedah, have been described by me as follows:

The blowpipes have, as a rule, one-piece outer tubes and two-piece inner tubes. The best specimens are decorated with patterns along their entire lengths. The outline of the wooden mouthpiece is a low,

¹ Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* Vol. v, No. 2, p. 68.

² Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* 1916, Vol. vi, pp. 206, 213-214. The outer tubes were in one piece.

rounded cone. A short section of ornamented bamboo is attached to the mouthpiece outside the inner tube, and this projects from the outer tube when the inner is in position. A cleaning-rod for blowpipes, consisting of a long piece of bamboo with a backwardly directed brush of fibre attached to it, was also purchased.¹

Of a Kintak Bong blowpipe (from Kupang, S. Kedah) that I examined in 1935 I have noted that the outer tube, which was in two pieces, the proximal fitting over the distal with the joint protected by a rattan binding, had its muzzle also protected by another such binding. The join of the two-piece inner tube was covered with a piece of spathe of the *taak* palm (*Arenga obtusifolia*), the *langkap* of the Malays. A short section of bamboo attached to the apple-shaped wooden mouthpiece fitted into the proximal end of the outer tube and was decorated with the *sudak manau* (spikes of the *manau* rattan) pattern.

Annandale and Robinson speak of the blowpipe that they found in use in Mabek in the "Patani States" of S. Peninsular Siam in the following terms:

It was made, like all other blowguns we saw in the Peninsula, of an outer and an inner tube. The former was made of two lengths of bamboo neatly spliced together, the junction being protected with a plaited rattan band; while the inner tube was fashioned in a similar way, except that a piece of the flower-spathe of a palm was gummed over the splice.² The total length was about seven feet. The ornamentation of the sheath was elaborate and consisted of a series of bands of incised geometrical patterns extending over the whole of the section nearest the mouthpiece. The design was composed of dots and transverse slanting hatchings, mostly arranged in lozenges, the long diameter of which was in the direction of the length. In a few cases the pattern had been emphasized by the use of a hot iron. The mouthpiece was annular, composed of rather soft wood, and fixed to the tube by resin. The distal end of the blowgun had been closely bound with vegetable fibre and coated with resin, to prevent splitting; the action of fire was evident upon this.³

The two characteristics just mentioned, binding the distal end of the outer tube and coating it with resin, are not unusual. I have not made mention of them previously.

¹ Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* 1926, Vol. XII, p. 82.

² The inner tubes must, I am almost sure, have been laid end to end, not spliced.

³ Annandale and Robinson, *Fasciculi Malayenses, Anthropology*, Part I, p. 6.

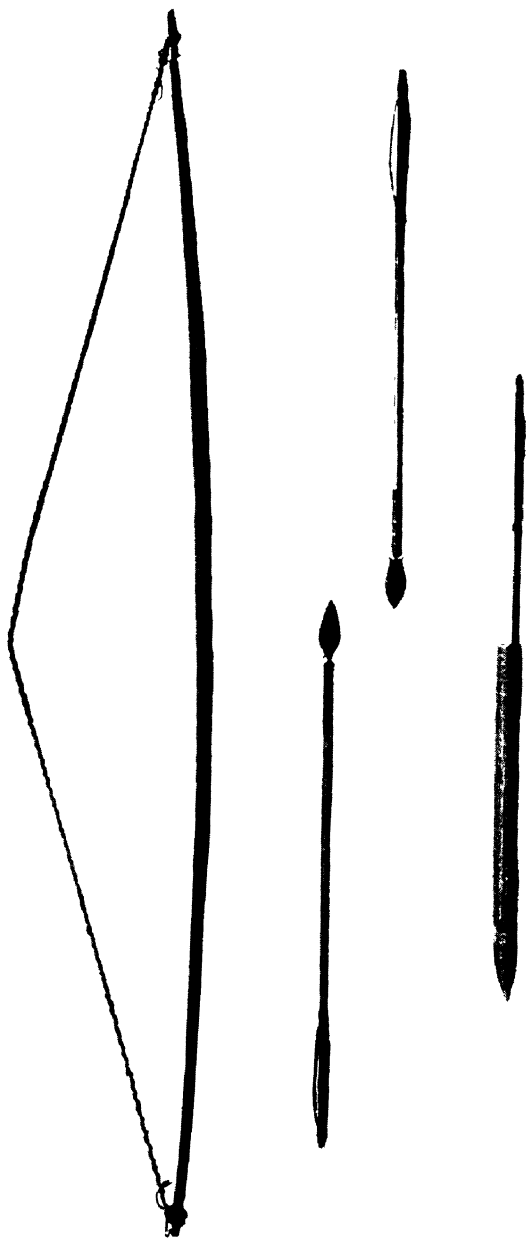


Photo specially taken for the author of specimens in the Perak Museum

BOW, ARROWS, AND ARROW IN BAMBOO QUIVER. JEHAI NEGRITOS OF TEMENGOR, UPPER PERAK

Note double and single barbs in arrows, feathering in same plane as blade and the spike at the base of the quiver which enables it to be stood upright on the ground.

Skeat, referring to the Negritos of S. Kedah, after speaking of the difficulty these people have in obtaining long enough internodes of bamboos to make a single-piece inner tube and describing how two internodes are placed end to end, says that the Negrito, with regard to the outer tube,

apparently finds it too much trouble to poke out the central node of the blowpipe case, and to polish it within (Sakai fashion) by drawing through it the prickly whip-ends of the rattan. Hence he simply cuts the outer tube through at the central knot and, having excised the latter, slips the two portions of the now bisected casing over the inner tube and unites them by a mere splice of the roughest description. Again, he seldom takes any great trouble in decorating or giving a "finish" to a completed weapon.¹

Having now given several descriptions of blowpipes from what may be termed the central block of the Negritos, and also one from the far north, it is perhaps necessary, in order to make the picture as complete as possible, to turn to a Negrito group in Pahang—the Bateg of the Cheka River. Of blowpipes obtained from these people (in 1913) I have written that these are comparatively rare, each man, as a rule, only possessing a single specimen. The reason for this was said to be that bamboos with a length between the joints sufficient for making blowpipes were hard to get locally. The most prized weapons they owned were those obtained from other tribes, especially from the people of the hilly country at the source of the Jelei River; probably a Sakai group, who, living in a mountainous district, are able to obtain long-jointed bamboos. These Negritos thus value their blowpipes very highly, one man saying that his had belonged to his father before him, and that it was an heirloom. A few locally-made blowpipes were, however, seen: these were much clumsier than those made by the hill people. In general design they resembled the usual type found in Selangor and Negri Sembilan (among Jakun and Sakai-Jakun groups), having a conical wooden mouthpiece and a lashing of rattan binding around the distal end of the outer tube. This end of the bamboo tube was split longitudinally all round into a number of thin

¹ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. I, pp. 281–282. Cf. my description of Kensieu blowpipes *antea*.

strips by cutting out long wedge-shaped pieces, the broader ends of the wedges lying towards the muzzle. The strips of bamboo into which the muzzle of the outer tube was thus divided were drawn together again into more or less cylindrical form, this necessarily leaving the muzzle with a diameter considerably less than that of the rest of the tube. To keep the strips together they were lapped round with the rattan binding mentioned above, which is covered with some kind of gum or resin. The purpose of treating the end of the outer bamboo in this manner is to give it a good grip on the inner tube. Negrito statements as to the difficulty of obtaining suitable bamboos for making blowpipes were supported by two peculiarities in the outer, or covering, tube of most of the locally-made specimens, one being that the weapons were rather clumsy, since the bamboos used for the outer tubes were considerably larger than those generally employed by the jungle peoples of Selangor and Negri Sembilan; the other that each outer tube was made in two sections and consisted of a long proximal portion, a whole internode, into which a shorter piece was fitted to form the distal, or muzzle, section. These two pieces were joined by shaving down one end of the bamboo that was to form the muzzle section for a length of about 7 cm., and then pushing this portion into the proximal section, the joint being strengthened by a binding of rattan round the end of the enclosing bamboo. The inner tube was in two pieces, the proximal portion being rather short, which brought the covering section of bamboo over the joint well down within the longer portion of the outer tube. The mouthpiece fitted into the proximal end of the larger covering bamboo.¹

¹ Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* Vol. v, No. 4, pp. 196-198.

CHAPTER XI

WEAPONS (*continued*)—DART-QUIVERS, DARTS, SHOOTING WITH THE BLOWPIPE, THE POISON AND ITS EFFECTS

IF there is a truly Negrito type of dart-quiver, the blowpipe being a borrowed weapon, it would seem to be one that has no cover. The coverless quiver is found among the Negritos of the Trang-Patalung hills of S. Peninsular Siam, among those of the "Patani States", of Kedah, and of Perak and of parts of Kelantan.

In the Trang-Patalung hills the quiver is undecorated and made from a fairly large bamboo; in the other regions mentioned above it is smaller and, among some groups, much decorated. The Negritos of Grik and Lenggong, Upper Perak, the Menik Hangat and the Lanoh, are often to be seen wearing large quivers, attached to the body by cords round the waist, that have closely woven and hard, dome-shaped covers made of fine rattan(?) work, such quivers being also decorated with somewhat large engraved patterns. These are not made by themselves, but by the Negrito-Sakai (Pleh) of the hills, being obtained from them by purchase or barter. They are the companions of the blowpipes with one-piece inner tubes that I have described in the previous chapter. Whether the Jehai, nearest to the Pleh, make this type themselves, I cannot say, but it appears to be more commonly in use among them than the smaller coverless variety. I rather suspect, however, that they do not, as they can easily obtain covered quivers from their near neighbours. I have noted only one coverless quiver as being seen among the Jehai of Temengor whom I visited in 1915.¹

Let us now examine a typical coverless quiver. It is made out of a length of medium-sized bamboo, consisting of an internode, or part thereof, with one node attached to form the bottom.

¹ Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* 1916, Vol. VI, p. 206.

Such quivers, which have no cords for attachment to the body, are usually stoppered with a plug of leaves and are carried mouth upwards, being thrust through the loin cloth rather slant-wise, mouth forward, on the left side of the body.¹ New internodes cut for the manufacture of dart quivers are dried by filling them with hot wood ashes from the fire, but the patterns—about which I shall have something to say presently—are generally roughly scratched in first. Bamboo receptacles, rather larger than the ordinary quivers, are used for holding large wooden spatulae coated with poison for the darts, but smaller spatulae are often found in the true quivers. These larger receptacles are also sometimes used for holding darts.²

Annandale speaks of the Negritos of Grik carrying the quiver, stoppered with leaves, upside down in the jungle to prevent the entrance of wet, and also of poisoned darts being thrust loosely into the cloth round the waist.³ I do not remember that I have seen either quiver or darts treated as described by him.

With regard to the ornamentation of the quivers I will content myself with remarking here that such decoration, in bands running horizontally, sometimes covers the whole outer surface or, in some cases, is found in two or more blocks. The manner of making the patterns is the same as that which I have already noted for the women's combs, the designs being either left standing in the light-coloured outer skin of the bamboo on a dark brown, artificially coloured, background; or made by removing parts of the outer skin to form them and then colouring them so that they stand out on a light background. On the quivers, however, patterns that are merely scratched in and darkened are also common.

The patterns represent such objects as leaf-monkeys' teeth, flying fox elbows, gourd seeds, eyes of the *lotong*⁴ monkey, eyes of the bird called *kuwangkweit* by the Malays (a kind of goat-sucker, I believe), bracelets (cross-hatched dividing bands between the other patterns), crossing shoots of the jackfruit,

¹ Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* Vol. v, No. 2, p. 68.

² Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* Vol. v, No. 4, p. 179.

³ Annandale, *Fasciculi Malayenses, Anthropology*, Part 1, p. 14.

⁴ The Malay name of the animal, a black long-tailed monkey with white spectacles, *Semnopithecus obscurus*, I believe.

tortoise-breast patterns, snakes, etc. As these designs seemingly have a magical use I shall say more of them in a later chapter. Quivers thus decorated are found among the Kintak and Kintak Bong, the Lanoh,¹ the Menik Hangat of Grik and, to a lesser extent, among the Jehai, with variations of patterns and their arrangement according to the groups from which particular quivers come. I was told in 1935 by a Kintak Bong informant that the Kensieu dart-quiver has only rings running round it by way of ornament, but quivers bought from Kensieu and Kensieu Batuk at Weng, S. Kedah, in 1925 did not seem to bear out this statement, for I wrote of them that many were "highly decorated" and that, in some cases, parts of the outer skin of the bamboos had been removed in order to accentuate the patterns.²

The Negritos of the Trang-Patalung hills of S. Peninsular Siam, particularly interesting as being the most northerly group yet described, have a fairly large coverless bamboo quiver, as remarked above. This is, as far as my observations go, absolutely without ornament.

It consists of a single internode and one of the adjacent nodes, which forms the bottom of the receptacle. Inside the quiver are a number of dart holders—small tubes of bamboo, each for a single dart. These are kept disposed round the inner circumference of the quiver by a wad of dirty cloth, European or Siamese, rammed tightly down the centre. Above this is vegetable fluff, used as a wad behind the darts when they are placed in the blowpipe. Two cords are attached to the quiver which enable it to be tied round the waist.³

The presence of these dart holders is remarkable as they are not found in "typical" Negrito quivers. They are a feature of the large quivers of the Negrito-Sakai (Pleh) and of the Sakai in general.

Annandale and Robinson purchased from Negritos of Mabek in Jalor (Jala or Yala) in the "Patani States" of Siamese Malaya a quiver somewhat similar to those of the Trang-Patalung Negritos. It was a short length of one of the larger bamboos and was undecorated but bound with plaited rattan "and had

¹ Small, usually plain, bamboo tubes, to hold a very few darts, are also found among the Lanoh.

² Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* 1926, Vol. XII, p. 82.

³ Evans, *Papers on the Ethnology*, p. 6.

attached to it by means of a string the ulna of a monkey, said to be that of a white gibbon. This was used to twist into the girdle of the owner and was also regarded as a charm against the effects of *hot rain*.”¹

The Negritos of the Cheka River, Pahang, who are in touch with non-Negrito groups of jungle people, have a covered quiver. A specimen obtained in 1913 is thus described:

It is a plain bamboo receptacle 39 cm. high with a cover of soft plaited *Pandanus*, the top of which is slightly convex and rises near its edge into four very slightly marked points. This is rather reminiscent of the type of cover found on many of the quivers belonging to what Skeat calls the Kuantan type of blowpipe.²

From the study of the Negrito dart-quiver we will now proceed to that of the darts. The darts are made from leaf stalks of the *běrtam* palm³ (*Eugeissona tristis*) and have the diameter of, perhaps, a fine knitting needle. Their length varies somewhat according to the Negrito group from which they come, and they invariably have a light conical head of some pith-like material, the point of the cone being directed distally. Into this the proximal portion of the shaft is thrust. This cone fills the bore of the blowpipe. The sharp points of the darts are covered with poison. Writing of darts seen in Lanoh Negrito quivers at Lenggong, I have recorded that

the darts were all nicked about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches from the point in order that when an animal is wounded the rest of the dart may break off and leave the poisoned end in the wound. The point of the dart below the nick is slightly thickened. In a quiver which contains (it was purchased) both poisoned and unpoisoned darts, as well as small spatulae covered with *ipoh*⁴ poison, the poisoned darts are marked on the tops of the heads with two dots in order to distinguish them from the others.⁵

Skeat says that among the eastern Negritos the dart shaft, after being shaped, is rubbed down with “tiger’s tongue” leaves

¹ Annandale and Robinson, *Fasciculi Malayenses, Anthropology*, Part 1, p. 6.

² Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* Vol. v, No. 4, p. 198. The “Kuantan” type of blowpipe is built of two long pieces of wood and appears really to be made by Jakun tribes living between the Rompin and Endau Rivers, Pahang.

³ The Malay name of the plant.

⁴ The Malay name of the tree *Antiaris toxicaria*.

⁵ Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* Vol. v, No. 2, p. 68.

and lightly touched with resin before having its cone-shaped butt end, made of the kind of rattan that Malays call *rotan 'lang*, fitted. He also mentions the nicking of the dart shaft above the poison and speaks of standard measurements used among the Ligh Negritos in the making of darts: the length of the foot or that of the forearm from the elbow to the little finger joint.¹ He was told, too, that the S. Kedah Negritos used several strengths of poison and that in the case of darts treated with the full strength, the dart head was marked with a burnt line running across it through the centre, otherwise, if poison of inferior strength was used, the dart head was left unmarked.²

At Grik (among the Menik Hangat) Annandale records that the poison on the darts was of two qualities, those darts treated with the more potent variety being indicated by a black mark on the base of the conical butt.³

Schebesta also gives descriptions of Negrito dart-quirvers and darts, though they are somewhat perfunctory. The darts (presumably among the Jehai) are described as being 15 cm. long, and he mentions the open Negrito quiver, but speaks chiefly of dart-quirvers with plaited rattan covers and containing dart holders. These, as I have remarked previously, are typical of the Pleh (Negrito-Sakai) and I feel doubtful if even the Jehai make them. Schebesta says, too, perhaps speaking generally, that the darts are nicked above the poison.⁴ I may mention here that in no case that I saw were Jehai darts treated in this manner,⁵ though this does not prove that it is not done.

The darts used by the Trang-Patalung Negritos of S. Peninsular Siam I have described as being very similar to those in use among the wild people of the Malay States. They are rather short and consist of a conical head of palm pith⁶ and a slender shaft of palm wood, while they are notched above the poisoned point, so that this may break off in the wound when an animal is struck.⁷

¹ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. 1, pp. 282-283.

² Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. 1, p. 286.

³ Annandale, *Fasciculi Malayenses*, *Anthropology*, Part 1, p. 13.

⁴ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 78.

⁵ Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* 1916, Vol. VI, p. 206.

⁶ I judged from appearance only.

⁷ Evans, *Papers on the Ethnology*, p. 6.

The darts of the Bateg Negritos of the Cheka River, Pahang, are made to the length of the forearm, measuring from the elbow to the bottom joint of the little finger. In a quiver that I purchased, the butts of several darts were marked with a black cross, which the Negritos said was only made for ornament. The poisoned darts, of which there were only three in the quiver, were all unmarked, and, of those not poisoned, some had the markings, others not. In a few cases the base of the dart head (i.e. the point of the cone) had also been blackened to a height of about a third of an inch.¹

I have two fairly good descriptions of the use of the blowpipe, including distances shot and the effect of the poison on a fowl. I may remark here that Annandale, I and Schebesta have all, in order of time as placed, tried the experiment with similar results—exactly none. It is generally said that pigs and fowls, both considered earth-eating animals, are immune from antiarin. Annandale heard both from the Negritos of Grik and from the Malays that the fowl and the cat were immune. A frog that he inoculated died quickly.²

At Ijok, Selama, Perak, a place now frequented by Lanoh Negritos, I found that a man squatting on his haunches and holding his blowpipe horizontally could easily shoot a distance of 65 feet, but a piece of paper, set on a stick as a mark, was not hit at this distance in three or four attempts. The Negritos complained, however, that they could not do themselves justice owing to the fact that, previous to shooting, they had broken off all the poisoned points of their darts because the trial had to take place along the bridle-path, the only convenient place that could be found. The precaution was wise as numbers of Malays quickly turned out to see what was going on. The day was windless, and shooting was in two directions. The Negritos' remarks about darts with broken points were probably quite justifiable, as the dart stem is considerably thicker just above the point than at any other place. Above this thickening comes the notching of which I have spoken previously.

¹ Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* Vol. v, No. 4, p. 198.

² Annandale, *Fasciculi Malayenses, Anthropology*, Part I, p. 14; Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 80.

It was interesting to note the way in which the blowpipe was treated in preparing for a shot. The performer seized it in his right hand at the mouthpiece and with his left a little way up the stem, grasping it between the first and second fingers of the latter. Using the right hand, he then drew it several times smartly backwards and forwards between these two fingers¹ meanwhile keeping in the dart (with its wad of fluff behind it), which had already been inserted, by means of the right hand. Then, squatting suddenly, he grasped the weapon close to the mouthpiece between the interlaced fingers of both hands² and, taking aim, expelled the dart.³

It is usually difficult to find a monkey when a Negrito with his blowpipe is present. The reason for this is, very often, that, where there are wild people who use the blowpipe, monkeys have either been exterminated, or have made themselves scarce owing to being continually hunted. At Lenggong, on one occasion, I did find monkeys when I had Negritos with me, but, as I wished to observe the shooting and the effects of the poison, was much disappointed when my Negrito friends, after considerable scouting round the tall tree in the top of which the animals were, and after tentative aiming, decided that the monkeys were too high to be worth a shot.

The following description was written with regard to my first visit to the Lanoh of Lenggong:

One of the men informed the writer that *ipoh*⁴ (*Antiaris toxicaria*) juice was the only ingredient used, in the poison, and warned him against handling spatulae covered with fresh poison, saying that they would set up irritation of the skin. In order to try the poison on a hen—a bird which according to the Ulu Langat aborigines (Sakai-Jakun of Selangor) is immune from its effects⁵—one was brought and tethered to a peg on an open piece of ground. A Semang (Negrito) then retired to a distance and, placing a dart and a wad of vegetable fluff in his blowpipe, squatted down on his haunches and grasped the

¹ Note that a Kintak Bong boy in one of the illustrations is apparently using his first finger and thumb.

² This may be a slight error. Note that in the picture of a Kintak Bong boy shooting only the thumbs and forefingers appear to be crossed.

³ Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* Vol. v, No. 4, p. 179. Account slightly altered.

⁴ The Malay name of the tree.

⁵ Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* Vol. v, No. 2, p. 78.

blowpipe with both hands close above the mouthpiece. When he discharged the dart the mouthpiece was half taken into the mouth, so that the lips, especially the top one, projected over it. The wad left the blowpipe with considerable force and fell some yards away on the shooter's right: the dart struck the hen in the muscles at the back of the neck on the right side.¹ At first, except for a slight flapping of the wings, the bird, when struck, seemed scarcely to take any notice of the wound, but after a few minutes it began to look decidedly "roopy" and squatted down with feathers puffed out. It remained in this condition for about a quarter of an hour and then seemed to recover, for it began to peck about in the sand in search of food. The Semang (Negritos) up to this time had kept on saying that a monkey when wounded with one of their darts died almost instantaneously. As the fowl showed no signs of dying, after a wait of about half an hour it was handed over to the Negritos for their supper.²

The Lenggong Negritos, therefore, seemingly did not know that fowls were not killed by the poison, though their neighbours at Grik did, as noted by Annandale.

It is perhaps necessary to say here that the blowpipe is loaded through the mouthpiece, the dart being, of course, pushed in point first and a wad of vegetable fluff added behind the conical butt. Skeat says that the palm fluff used comes from the leaf bases of certain palms (*Caryota Griffithii* or *C. mitis*) or from certain kinds of rattan (*Calamus geminifloris*).³ This fluff appears to be similar to that employed as tinder with strike-a-light apparatus. In loading, the blowpipe is held more or less vertically and, in shooting, the dart is expelled with a strong and sudden expiration with a slight pop.⁴

Skeat gives 50 to 60 yards as the maximum effective range that can be obtained with the blowpipe by the best shots of any of the Malayan wild peoples, Negrito, Sakai or Jakun, but says that, in practice, a range of 100 feet is seldom exceeded. He quotes in his footnotes the estimates of various authorities for various tribes.⁵

¹ The dart broke off at the nick, though I have not stated so in the account.

² Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* Vol. v, No. 2, p. 69.

³ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. 1, p. 260. He is apparently quoting Vaughan Stevens. He says the fluff is really the fibrovascular bundles of the leaf-sheaths.

⁴ Skeat says "ping".

⁵ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. 1, p. 260.

Let us pass now to the nature of the poison used on the darts for the blowpipe and on the heads of arrows. The constituent which is nearly always—perhaps always—present is the cooked sap of the *ipoh* (*Upas*) tree (*Antiaris toxicaria*), which contains an alkaloid called antiarin which has been isolated as a crystalline substance.¹

Gimlette writes that antiarin is a glucoside akin to strophanthin and that the sap of the *ipoh* tree is harmless when taken by the mouth, but deadly when injected under the skin of human beings, causing violent intestinal paralysis. According to reports from the Netherlands East Indies it is fatal, when injected, to monkeys and pigeons, but not to fowls. Kelantan Malays recommend as a remedy juice of the thin-skinned lime squeezed into the wound or a mouthful of dried earth swallowed immediately. Kelantan Negritos believe in eating the fruits of the *kulim* tree (*Sorodocarpus borneensis* Becc.) or drinking an infusion of its bark or human urine.²

Skeat says that the Kedah Negritos were not in the habit of mixing anything with the *ipoh* poison.³ The same is true for the Lanoh of Lenggong, Upper Perak,⁴ while Schebesta says that the Negritos know only one kind of poison, that made from *ipoh* juice.⁵ This statement, as I shall show directly, is not correct, though it is no doubt so in the case of the Jehai of whom he seems to be speaking chiefly at the moment.

Rather curiously the more or less isolated Trang-Patalung Negritos use a mixed poison. I was told that poison from a creeper (*dok santieng*), that from a tree (*dok kogeung*), birds' fat and the gall of fowls are the materials of which it is composed.⁶ Judging from the poisons employed by the Negrito and Sakai tribes of British Malaya, it is probable that the tree is *Antiaris toxicaria* and the creeper *Strychnos tieute*. The Cheka Negritos, who are influenced by the Sakai-Jakun, compound their dart poison of *Antiaris toxicaria*, *ipoh akar* (the Malay name for a

¹ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. I, p. 291.

² Gimlette, *Malay Poisons and Charm Cures*, 3rd edition, 1929, pp. 199–200.

³ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. I, p. 286.

⁴ Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* Vol. v, No. 2, p. 69.

⁵ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 79.

⁶ Evans, *Papers on the Ethnology*, pp. 6–7.

Strychnos, a climber) and *bangkong tikus* (unidentified) and other vegetable substances.¹

Skeat has an excellent account of the collection and preparation of *ipoh* poison among the Negritos of Siong. The poison receptacle was about a foot long and of just sufficient diameter to admit a man's thumb. It was made from a bamboo internode, with, presumably, one adjacent node left to form the bottom. The collector stopped in front of a fine tree, about 12 m. to 18 m. high, which had a smooth bark. He affixed a strip of leaf of the *bértam*² palm about 9 inches long to the stem of the tree by means of wax (to act as a spout for the descending sap). He next cut a succession of large V-shaped marks, one above the other, with his chopping-knife. This process was said to be dangerous on account of the possibility of sap spurting into the operator's eyes. Skeat, however, does not believe that there was danger, as antiarin is a blood poison.

When the poisonous juice had been collected it was poured into a bamboo tray made from a diagonal section of a big stem of bamboo. Next, a little was taken out by means of a primitive bamboo ladle and poured on to a broad wooden spatula and toasted at one of the camp fires, being worked up thereon with a smaller spatula. At first the poison was a light coffee colour but as the heating was continued it became of a rich vandyke brown tone, only a little lighter than the poison to be seen on the darts. When it had thus acquired the proper consistency and colour the points of the darts that were to be treated were rolled in it until coated, after which they were dried in the sun, leaning against a log with their points up.³

L. Wray describes the tapping of an *ipoh* tree at Ulu Selama, Perak (i.e. by the Kintak Bong). He was there shown two large *ipoh* trees by the Negritos.

The larger was about five feet in diameter at a height of five feet from the ground, and had a trunk full a hundred feet in height at the first branch. It had been tapped many times, the bark being deeply

¹ Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* Vol. v, No. 4, p. 198. This is a Malay name. Schebesta says that the Bateg use *ipoh*, but mix it with water and boil it twice. *Vide Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 275.

² The Malay name of the palm, *Eugeissona tristis*, Griff.

³ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. 1, pp. 284-286.

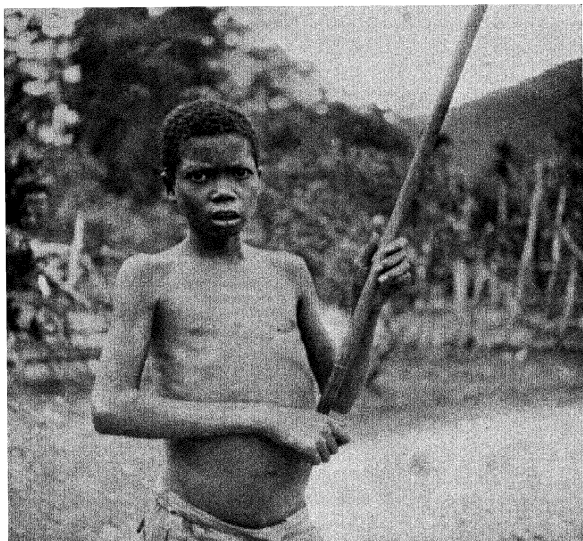


Photo: by author, 1935

**KINTAK BONG YOUTH PREPARING TO SHOOT
WITH BLOWPIPE**

He runs it rapidly up and down between the thumb
and first finger of the left hand.

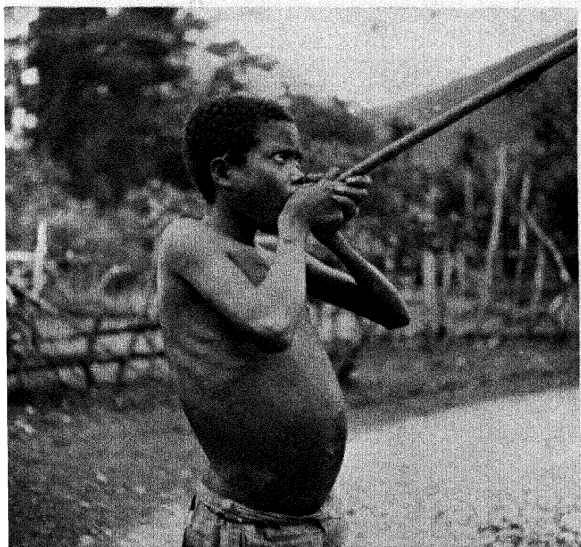


Photo: by author, 1935

**KINTAK BONG NEGrito YOUTH OF KUPANG, S. KEDAH,
SHOOTING WITH BLOWPIPE**

scored up to a height of twenty-five feet from the ground; the smaller tree was also scored all over. The bark externally was white, and internally orange-brown, and very thick and fibrous. On fresh scores being cut into the bark, the dirty whity-brown sap ran very sparingly out, and was conducted down palm leaves, stuck on to the trunk of the tree with clay, into bamboos. The scores were cut slanting alternately right and left, like what is known as herring-bone stitching, with the lower ends of the scores pointing inwards. At the bottom of each series of scores was put a leaf, fastened to the bark with clay, to lead the sap which trickled down into a bamboo. Only about three ounces of sap was got the first day; but two days afterwards, by erecting a scaffolding around the tree and extending the scores up the trunk, about one pint was obtained. Three ounces of sap, the Semang declared, was enough to poison a hundred blowpipe-darts.¹

Wray's description of cooking the poison is almost exactly similar to Skeat's. Schebesta, too, has a description both of tapping the tree and cooking the poison among the Jehai. His tree was one that had been much used and a scaffolding of branches, bound with lianas, was erected to reach a part of the trunk that was yet but little scarred. Several gashes were inflicted, these connecting with a main channel, which ended in a spout, made from a leaf, that was attached with clay. He then tells us that a spatula, covered with the poison on both sides, was held over a blazing fire until the sap coagulated and turned brown. Dart points were worked in the poison until they became coated and the darts were then laid aside to dry for a quarter of an hour.²

Skeat quotes a most interesting account of Wray's with regard to the accidental wounding of a man by a dart treated with *Antiaris* poison. The accident happened when Wray was in Upper Perak in 1889. He says that

a poisoned blowpipe-dart fell out of a quiver and stuck into the upper part of one of the men's feet. It was at once pulled out and a Semang squeezed the wound to get as much blood as possible, then tied a tight ligature round the leg and put lime juice on the wound. The man complained of great pain in the foot, of cramp in the stomach, and vomited, but these symptoms soon passed off. The

¹ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. 1, pp. 290-291, quoting L. Wray in *J.A.I.* Vol. xxi (1892), pp. 476-477.

² Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 79.

point only went into the foot about one-third of an inch, and the dart was instantly pulled out. The Semang said that had it gone deep into a fleshy part of the body it would have caused death.¹

In Wray's paper, quoted by Skeat, too, he speaks of Semang (Negritos, therefore) mixing the expressed juice of tubers with the poison. As Wray, like several of the older authors, was sometimes not very clear as to what was and what was not a Semang (=Negrito), I feel a little uncertain about the accuracy of this statement.²

As to antidotes for the poison we have a statement that earth is the only antidote that is of any use³ and S. Kedah Negritos could only suggest to Skeat the eating of earth mixed with a wild jungle fruit which the Malays call *asam kělubi*, but he remarks that this does not seem to agree with Sakai and Jakun prejudice which is directed against the eating of acid fruits with the flesh of animals killed with poisoned darts.⁴ It has already been noted that earth-eating, or supposedly earth-eating, animals are said to be immune from its effects. The poison probably becomes less effective with age, but whether this is merely due to its becoming less easily soluble the drier it is or whether any chemical change takes place in it, I do not know.

The only other Negrito weapons to be mentioned are certain clubs, to which Annandale and Robinson allude, and spears. With regard to the former these authors state that at Mabek (in the "Patani States" of Siamese Malaya) the men carried stout cudgels, one of which was made of a sapling covered with particularly stout spines set at right angles to the stem. They were not shaped, but merely cut from the tree.⁵

Spears of Malay make occasionally find their way into the hands of the Negritos and are much prized when they do so. Skeat very justly remarks that daggers, knives, jungle choppers

¹ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. 1, p. 292.

² Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. 1, pp. 292-293. The tubers, mentioned by their Malay names, are those of the *lêkir* (an Aroid of the genus *Amorphophallus*) and the *gadong*, a thorny climbing yam belonging to the order *Dioscoreaceae*.

³ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. 1, pp. 294-295.

⁴ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. 1, pp. 287-288.

⁵ Annandale and Robinson, *Fasciculi Malayenses*, *Anthropology*, Part 1, p. 6.

and hatchets (or adzes) used by the Negritos are of Malay origin and are usually made by Malays or by Chinese following the ordinary Malay patterns.¹ On occasion, however, it is probable, though I have not seen one, that the Negritos make wooden or bamboo spears for their own use. Thus I was recently (1935) told by the Kintak Bong that the Menik Pumset of Gunong Enggang, S. Kedah, two of whom I met in their company, used palm-wood spears, of the type that the Malays call *sēligi*, as well as blowpipes. A spear obtained by Grubauer, now in the Museum of Archaeology and of Ethnology at Cambridge, is described by Skeat. It came from Gunong Sapi in Upper Perak and may be from a truly Negrito group. It is 1307 mm. in length and 25 mm. at the thickest part and has an iron blade, which, if rough, might, like the arrowheads, have been hammered out of scrap iron by the people themselves. Skeat, however, does not give his opinion in this regard.²

¹ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. 1, p. 269.

² Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. 1, p. 270.

CHAPTER XII

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS, SINGING, DANCING

THE musical instruments used by the Negritos are neither very numerous nor very complicated, but are, nevertheless, not without interest. Skeat's description of those seen by him in S. Kedah is so excellent that I cannot resist giving it *in extenso*:

The simplest form of Negrito music (if it may so be called) consists of various ways of "beating time". One of these methods is to take a couple of hardwood slivers, which are held in the two hands, when one of them is struck upon the other in the air.

This method of beating time was employed by the Semang (Negritos) of Kedah, who made use of it to accompany their songs.

Another method of obtaining a musical note from the percussion of bamboo, employed by the Semang (Negritos) of Siong,¹ simple as it is, has not yet been recorded. It consists in beating the open end of a long bamboo internode of large calibre with a palm-leaf fan. The bamboo employed measures from about three or four inches. The lower end, which rests on the ground, is closed by the node, and the upper end is cut off evenly and left open for the beater. The beater is made by folding the leaf of the "palas"² palm (*Licuala*) into the shape of a fan and lacing and relacing it across with a strip of rattan to stiffen it, and keep it in proper shape. It measures about one foot in length by five inches at the broadest part and (is) struck sharply against the upper (open) end of the bamboo, which latter usually rests upon another piece of wood or else upon the knees of the performer. This instrument, like the last described, is used by way of accompaniment to the songs of the tribe.³

A small variety of Jew's harp is a favourite musical instrument with the Semang (Western Negritos), though it is, of course, not used as

¹ I.e. the Kensieu.

² The Malay name of the plant.

³ Skeat illustrates the "fans" in *Pagan Races*, Vol. II, plate facing p. 122. Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, has a picture of these instruments in use among the Kensieu (lower illustration facing p. 201). The "fans" in this case appear to be made of *Pandanus* mat-work (perhaps pouches). I note that Měmpělām (Schebesta's Hempělābn) of the Kintak Bong is present (on the right of the photograph).

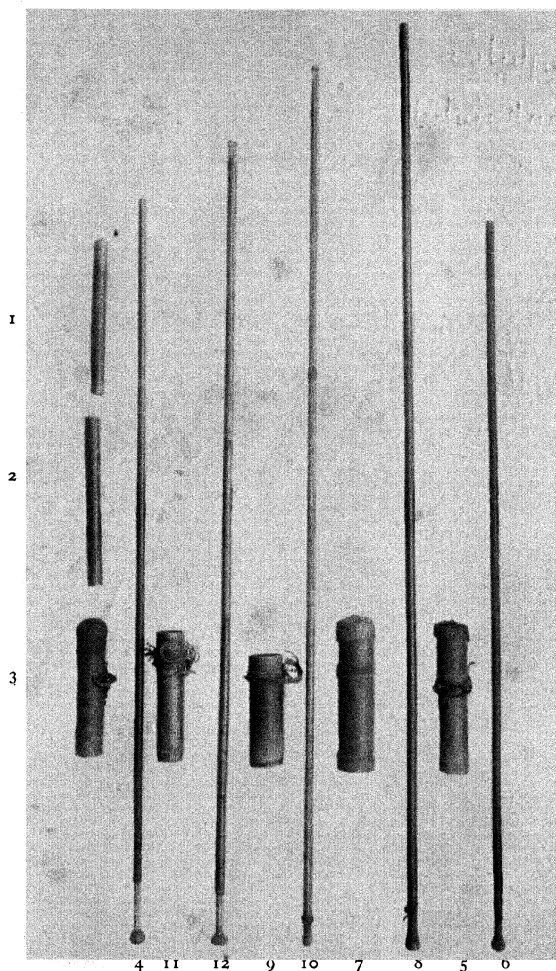


Photo: specially taken for the author of specimens in the Perak Museum

NEGRITO BLOWPIPES AND DART-QUIVERS

- 1, 2. Two typical Western Negrito bamboo dart-quivers. Jehai Negritos of Temengor, Upper Perak.
3. Bamboo dart-quiver with large engraved designs and hard, rounded cover of woven rattan. This is typical of the Pleh (Negrito-Sakai) of the hills of the Upper Perak-Kelantan boundary. It was purchased from the Jehai of Temengor but probably obtained by them from the Pleh.
4. This is from the Jehai of Temengor. It has an apple-shaped mouthpiece and an adjacent section (covering inner tube) which fits into the outer tube at its proximal end.
- 5, 6. Blowpipe with apple-shaped rubber (?) mouthpiece and short adjacent section over inner tube. Quiver, of bamboo, has cover of plaited *Pandanus*. Both specimens purchased from Sakai-Jakun of the Tekai River, Pahang, who stated that they had obtained them from Negritos.
- 7, 8. Blowpipe with more or less conical mouthpiece; bamboo quiver with soft cap of plaited *Pandanus*. Bateg Negritos of the Cheka River, Pahang.
- 9, 10. Blowpipe with rounded mouthpiece; quiver coverless and made of bamboo. Negritos of Chong, Trang, S. Peninsular Siam.
- 11, 12. Mouthpiece of blowpipe rounded, but somewhat flattened at end, with adjacent covering section of bamboo (over inner tube) which fits into proximal end of outer tube. The quiver has no cover, and the engraved patterns on it are rather large. Kensieu Negritos of Weng, S. Kedah.

an accompaniment. It consists of a small strip of bamboo (about five inches long by one inch in width), in the central portion of which a small free tongue is cut, in such a way as to allow it to vibrate easily when the instrument is played. To effect this the performer takes the instrument in his left hand, the left thumb resting upon a slight depression at the lower end of the harp. In his right he takes the handle (which is attached by a short string to the upper extremity of the instrument). By giving the handle a sharp tug or jerk, he sets the tongue of the instrument in vibration, producing a twanging note, which can be heard at some distance, but which is by no means unmusical. In order to increase the volume of sound the body of the instrument is generally held between the teeth of the performer, or else over the hollow of the bamboo case in which it is sometimes kept.

The string by which the instrument is attached to the handle is generally of twisted vegetable fibre, and the handle itself the rib of a small monkey.¹ In all other respects, however, it is very similar to the Jew's harp of the Peninsular Malay.

The flutes used by the Semang (Negritos) of Kedah are of two kinds, the common bamboo mouth-flute and the nose-flute. Both are occasionally, though rarely, used to accompany their songs.

The common flute is usually about a foot long and is made of a segment of young bamboo. It usually has three holes, apart from the mouth hole, and is often decorated with incised patterns.

The nose-flute, which has a similar number of holes, was about twice the length of the common flute used by the same tribe. There does not appear to be any record of the plugging of one of the performer's nostrils with grass or leaves (as is done by other races who use this implement), but my impression is that I saw this done by a member of this tribe. The practice certainly obtains among the Sakai, though, as when a pair of nose-flutes is played both nostrils may be used simultaneously, there should not be any special necessity for plugging the unused nostril when a single flute is used.

The stringed bamboo or "guitar" is occasionally found among the Semang² (in fact I myself obtained a specimen from the Semang of Kedah), but it appears to be very rarely used by them, and is probably not a Negrito instrument. In its simplest form it consists of a big segment of bamboo—usually from about 2 ft. to 3 ft. (60 cm. to 90 cm.) in length, with a diameter varying from 2-4 in. (5 cm. to 10 cm.). This segment comprises an internode with its two adjacent nodes or joints, the strings in my specimen being made by raising several thin parallel strips of the outer skin of the internode with a

¹ Those that I have seen have usually been of wood.

² Negritos.

sharp knife, and inserting under them at each end small wooden wedges or bridges (called "pillows" in Semang) in order to stretch the strings to the required extent. By moving these wedges the instrument can, of course, be tuned. A strong rattan ring is also passed over each end, partly to keep the instrument from splitting, partly to keep the strings themselves from breaking away at their extremities.¹

H. Balfour describes several Negrito instruments from the collections made by Annandale. The specimens that were obtained from Negritos comprise a transverse flute with three stops and a lateral sound orifice. The proximal end was plugged with wax and the distal closed by a node. The instrument was blown transversely across the sound orifice. This instrument appears to be of the same type as Skeat's "common flute". It comes from the Negritos (Menik Hangat) of Grik, Upper Perak, and a note by Annandale states that he had heard the Negritos playing these flutes in the jungle on several occasions and had noticed that the younger men generally had one stuck in their belts when travelling. At a dance they did not play the flutes but beat them vertically on the ground, as clappers, in time with the primitive zithers.²

On another page Annandale states (in a note) that he does not believe that the Negritos use the nose-flute, which on Skeat's showing and on mine, as I shall demonstrate later, is incorrect.³

A zither from the same collection, and also from Grik, is described as a

bamboo cylinder, eighteen and a half inches long, slightly engraved. Two strings, consisting of a single cane thong, the ends of which are passed through small holes at the lower end of the bamboo, and are drawn tight and bound round the bamboo above, the ends being scrolled ornamentally. The upper bridges are missing.⁴

Balfour also describes certain instruments constructed by Malays, but said to be of Negrito design. As Malay evidence

¹ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. II, pp. 121-124. *Vide* also plate opposite to p. 145.

² Balfour, *Fasciculi Malayenses, Anthropology*, Part II, p. 15.

³ Annandale, *Fasciculi Malayenses, Anthropology*, Part II, p. 16.

⁴ Balfour, *Fasciculi Malayenses, Anthropology*, Part II, p. 18.

with regard to the Negritos is notoriously untrustworthy I omit his descriptions of these.

At Lenggong, Upper Perak, among the Lanoh, I have recorded the use of Jews' harps, similar to those described by Skeat, and one such instrument is illustrated in this book, while there is also a picture of a Lanoh man playing one and of a flute-player (also a Lanoh) with one depending from his nose quill, which, incidentally, when the instrument is being played, becomes its handle. Of Jews' harps and other instruments among the Lanoh I wrote:

One man, who was wearing a headdress made of a thick band of twisted grass around his head, the said headdress being tied at the back so as to leave a long tail hanging down behind, had two of these instruments attached to it (the headdress) and depending down one side of his face. The only other musical instruments noted were bamboo flutes and a pair of "stampers" of the same material. The latter were very large and gave out quite a musical note when struck on the ground. These stampers consist of an internode with a node at what is used as their lower end. The Jew's harp was played by means of a cord with a small transverse handle attached to one end of the instrument just above the base of the tongue. By holding the "harp" between the lips, with the teeth kept slightly apart, and jerking the string, some not unpleasant vibrating notes were produced. The Negritos seem to have a strongly developed taste for music and, when they were walking in the jungle in single file, I sometimes heard them keeping up a rising and falling chant of considerable sweetness.¹

I shall have more to say of such matters later.

Among Negritos met at Ijok, Selama, probably mostly Lanoh, I have noted having seen the Jews' harp, the bamboo stamper and a peculiar kind of earth drum, made by digging a hole about a foot and a half square in the ground and stretching over it a piece of tree bark tied between two short posts driven into the earth on either side of the hole.²

The bamboo Jews' harp was also found by me among the Negritos of Chong in the Trang-Patalung hills of S. Peninsular Siam.³

¹ Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* Vol. v, No. 2, pp. 67-68.

² Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* Vol. v, No. 4, p. 180.

³ Evans, *Papers on the Ethnology*, p. 5.

At a singing performance by Kintak Bong Negritos of Ulu Selama, Perak, at which I was present in 1921, the songs were accompanied by bamboo stampers struck on a log of wood by one of the women and by two pairs of "castanets", such as the Malays call *chërachap*—which were beaten, one piece against another by two of the youths.¹

From the Bateg Negritos of the Cheka River I got a simple two-stringed zither, very similar to that described by Balfour, whom I have quoted above. It consisted of two fine strings made from a single length of liana(?) doubled and stretched longitudinally on an internode of bamboo. At the upper points of attachment the strings (i.e. the ends of the length of liana) are bound several times round the body of the instrument and finished off in two ornamental scroll-knots. At the lower point of attachment, where the cord is folded backwards, the strings are kept in position and taut by a small wooden cross-piece held by a loop knot, the cross-piece resting against the edge of the bamboo internode. The Negritos said that musical entertainments were only indulged in during the fruit season, the time for rejoicings among the Negritos in general, and, consequently, at other times of year they had few instruments in their dwellings, those of the previous season having been broken or thrown away.²

Schebesta has disappointingly little to say about musical instruments in his book on the Negritos. Bamboo "reeds", normally for holding water, were used as stampers among the Jehai of Upper Perak.³ That is almost all that I can find, though he has a good deal to say about singing, and I shall refer to this later. He has also a picture of Kelantan Negritos (his Menri) playing flutes,⁴ one being a long transverse flute and two others short instruments, held flageolet-fashion and played from the end. I have mentioned above another picture of his of Negritos making music by striking the open ends of bamboo tubes with fans.

¹ Evans, *Studies in Religion*, p. 171. The castanets were similar to those mentioned by Skeat (above).

² Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* Vol. v, No. 4, pp. 198-199.

³ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 36.

⁴ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, plate opposite p. 249, upper figure.

During a recent visit to Malaya (1935) I took some photographs of musical instruments being played by the Lanoh and the Kintak Bong. With regard to flute-like instruments my observations do not appear to agree very well with those made by Skeat among the Kensieu.

Among both the Kintak Bong and the Lanoh I found a long transverse mouth-flute in use, this having three stops. Among the former, when I made enquiries as to whether they used a nose-flute, a boy started playing with the nose the same transverse flute that he had just been playing with the mouth. One nostril was used and the other was not stopped with anything. Among the Kintak Bong, too, I found a species of flageolet with five stops, and though I did not see this among the Lanoh, it is quite likely that they know it and use it. The Lanoh, however, produced a distinct nose-flute of three stops. I bought specimens of all these instruments and brought them home with me and they are now in the University Museum of Archaeology and of Ethnology at Cambridge.

The Kintak Bong and Lanoh transverse flutes that I purchased are very similar. Each has three stops, the holes having been bored, one judges, with a red-hot iron, and a similar hole, towards the proximal end, for the mouth. The ends of the essential parts of both instruments are closed by nodes of the bamboo, the body of each consisting, therefore, of an internode between two nodes. In the Kintak Bong flute, parts of the adjacent internodes are left beyond the nodes at either end. It is also of somewhat greater diameter than the other, though of nearly the same length, and is strengthened by four circular rattan bindings. These were probably added to prevent further splitting along a considerable crack on the under side which has been covered with a gummy substance, perhaps damar, to prevent the escape of air.

The Lanoh transverse nose-flute, which is slightly ornamented with seven bands of engraved rings, has also three stops and a hole of similar size, and in the same line, for the nostril. The latter is close to the proximal end, which is quite open. The distal end is partially closed by a node, but a hole has been roughly broken through the septum of this.

The Kintak Bong flageolet is curious. It is of two pieces and appears to be a composite instrument built up from an older and a newer section. The proximal portion is the shorter and, from its darker colour, the older of the two. I much suspect that originally it had nothing to do with a musical instrument and think it likely, from the patterns¹ with which it is decorated, and the fact that one end (the distal) has been shaved down, that it was originally the short outer-tube section attached to the mouthpiece of a blowpipe. The lighter-coloured and longer distal length has five stops on its dorsal aspect, which has been flattened somewhat by paring away the outer surface with a knife. One end has been shaved down to fit into the shorter proximal tube, the splice being covered with gum to prevent leakage of air. The distal end of the instrument is open; the proximal end closed by a plug of wood, except for a slight passage leading to a newly-cut, whistle-like opening on the ventral surface.

One point with regard to the bamboo stampers is perhaps worthy of mention, as I have not noticed that it has been referred to anywhere previously, and that is that the two joints employed for the purpose are of different lengths so that, presumably, they give out different notes.

The bull-roarer is known among the Kintak Bong and is used as a toy by children. They told me (in 1935) that they called it *bélaling*, which much resembles the Malay name for it, or for a windmill, *běrbaling*. But it is possible that it is not a modern introduction, since I was told previously, as recorded also in another chapter, that it was the ghosts' Jews' harp.

From musical instruments we will pass to singing and dancing. Of Negrito singing one may say that it is generally melodious; quite the reverse of that of the Malays.

Among the Kensieu Negritos of Siong Skeat was present at a Negrito choral dance with females as the chief performers. Two or three women and a girl were the dancers, while the

¹ It has bands of typical western Negrito decoration with bands of engraved rings at the two ends and separating the bands of pattern (of which there are three). The patterns stand out in the natural colour of the skin of the bamboo against a dark brown background, made by scraping away the outer surface and rubbing in colouring matter.

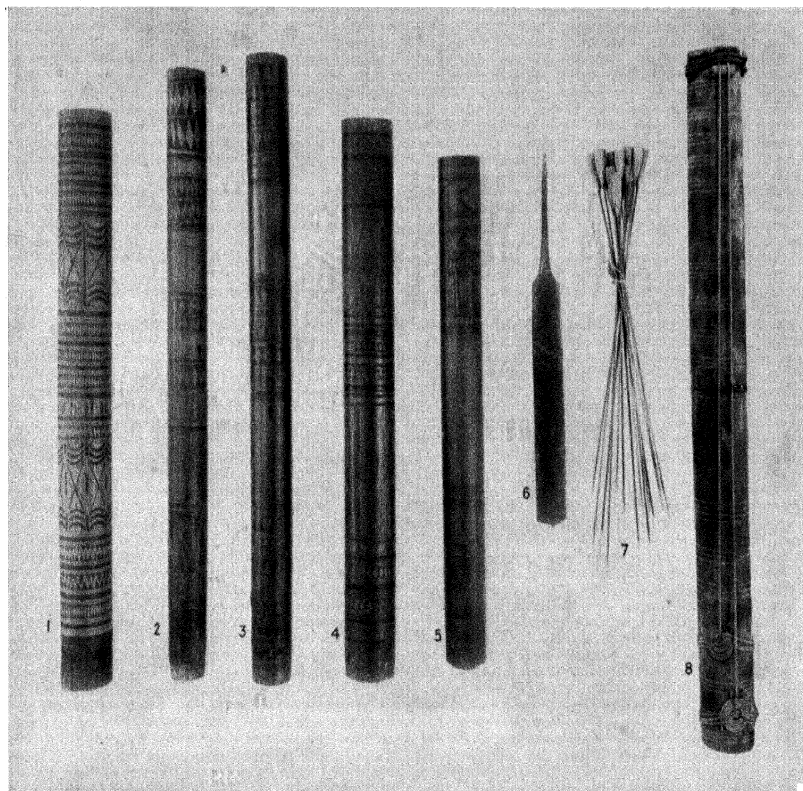


Photo: specially taken for the author of specimens in the Perak Museum

NEGrito DART-QUIVERS, POISON SPATULA, DARTS
AND A MUSICAL INSTRUMENT

1. Typical Western Negrito bamboo dart-quiver with engraved patterns and having no cover. Kensieu Negritos of Weng, S. Kedah.
- 2, 3. Two ditto. Ijok, Selama, Perak. Probably from Lanoh Negritos.
4. Ditto. Lanoh Negritos of Lenggong, Upper Perak.
5. Ditto. Lanoh Negritos of Lenggong, Upper Perak.
6. Wooden poison spatula covered with *Antiaris toxicaria* poison. Negritos of Grik, Upper Perak.
7. Bunch of poisoned blowpipe darts. Lanoh Negritos of Lenggong, Upper Perak.
8. Stringed musical instrument, Ijok, Selama, Perak. Probably from Lanoh Negritos.

orchestra consisted of two men playing long bamboos by beating their mouths with fans, as already described, a man who performed on the nose-flute, and two others who beat the time by knocking sticks together. Sometimes the musicians chanted songs; sometimes they merely played the accompaniment.

When the former was the case, there was invariably an old man who "conducted", and from whom the rest of the performers caught up the words of the song, even though in some cases they evidently knew the words so well that they might easily have dispensed with his services. The step danced by the women was a graceful one, the knees being bent, the body turned partly round, and the arms either hanging loosely and slightly swaying from side to side or else stretched forward and swaying in time to the music.

The women did not move from where they stood. The performance was held in daylight at Skeat's request, though the night is considered the proper time for such things. The song-dialect was described by the Negritos as being different from the everyday speech.¹ This is a matter about which I shall have something to say in a later chapter.

Skeat took phonograph records of the songs that he heard among the Negritos and Dr. R. J. Lloyd's remarks upon them are that one song (from Rahman) is sung to a very simple tune and has a monosyllabic refrain. Of another song Dr. Lloyd says that it shows a different type of chant.

The lines of the original have four accents each, but the invariable part of the line occurs at the beginning and the variable part at the end of the line. Each part carries two accents and the lines sometimes rhyme, but without regularity and apparently without design. This song shows well the unorganized character of these compositions and the singer's habit of bringing in the same lines repeatedly, and in any order, *ad lib.*²

Of yet another song Dr. Lloyd observes that it "is not marked by any regular refrain, though the love of repeated words and sounds shows itself in one way or other in almost every line;

¹ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. II, pp. 126-127.

² Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. II, pp. 128-129. Skeat gives translations of the songs on these pages, and the songs themselves, in the Negrito dialect, in an appendix to Vol. I. To my mind the song translations show that the Negritos have considerable power of poetical imagination.

otherwise, however, its only quality as verse is that of possessing four accents to the line". Of two other songs the report is that in one case "the music is simplicity itself, and that the time is well kept, the four accentuated syllables of each line coming in on the exact beat of the music, with the regularity of marching"; in the other that "it possesses six accents to the line, of which four belong to the variable part of the line and two to the invariable refrain".

His summary is that the music and metre are on a par with the simplest of Skeat's east coast Malay records.

The versification is based always upon the possession of a given number of accents in the line, and nearly always upon the repetition, either at the beginning or end of the line, of certain invariable words or phrases. The incidence of the accent is, however, totally different from that of Malay songs. The Malay lines usually end in, and are rhymed on, unaccented syllables, but the Negrito lines never end on an unaccented syllable, and though lines often end in identical words, actual rhymes never seem to be sought for. The thoughts expressed are of the extremest simplicity, and almost every line is complete in itself. The lines rarely have any special sequence, and most of them can be recited in any order, without injury to the poem, and it can be heard in the phonograph that the singers are alive to this and freely alter the order of the lines.¹

Near Sungei Mat Sam, a tributary of the Kelantan River, Skeat saw a dance performed by two Negrito women to the accompaniment of a somewhat monotonous chant and a bamboo guitar (or zither), the latter being played by one of the men. The women kept moving to and fro and round in a small circle.²

Skeat also gives a description of a musical performance in Perak at which Maxwell was present and of a dance seen by De Morgan. The dance, however, I believe not to have been Negrito at all, as De Morgan's use of the term Semang (Negrito) was extremely loose, as I have pointed out previously.³

Annandale witnessed a male Negrito dance at Grik, this being in honour of the wild areca palm. The Negritos at first

¹ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, pp. 128-130.

² Skeat, *Pagan Races*, pp. 126-127.

³ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, pp. 131-133.

made difficulties about dancing by daylight, saying that they were ashamed to do so.

Six men squatted on the ground, two of them having bamboo stringed instruments, and the remainder beating on the ground with bamboo flutes, which, for some reason, they refused to play. Two other men put on their heads peculiar dancing crowns made of alternating bands of rhizomorph (*urat batu*) and strips cut from a green *Pandanus* leaf, plaited together in such a way that a broad fringe was left that stood up above the plaited part.¹ At first these men squatted with the rest, joining in the monotonous song, which they proceeded to intone rather than to sing. I could distinguish neither rhythm nor time. After the chant had continued for some little time, the two men with the crowns got up and commenced to dance. The chorus continued the chant, in which it now became possible to distinguish time and rhythm. There appeared to be no co-ordination of movement between the two dancers, who moved about within a very limited space, keeping time to the tune of the stringed instruments with the movements of their arms and bodies. Their bodies were swayed from side to side and their arms waved in the air; sometimes one or other of them knelt down on one knee, or even squatted on the ground, but the movement of the hands never ceased. At stated intervals they joined in the chant of the musicians. They did not have any definite steps in common, but one of them usually advanced with two long paces and a short one, which was abruptly terminated by drawing the toes of the right foot up to the left heel.²

I have nothing recorded about Negrito dances, and what slight material I have was gathered in 1935 and will be given last of all. I have, however, some notes with regard to singing performances among the Kintak Bong of Ulu Selama, Perak, and I give here only some general impressions of the singing together with some remarks about the instruments on which it was accompanied. The songs themselves I deal with in another section, as they have a definite magical, religious or medico-magical significance.

These performances are accompanied with bamboo stampers. In one case a woman struck the stampers on a log while two

¹ Evidently very similar to a Jehai headdress that I have described previously. Such an ornament is figured on one of the plates.

² Annandale, *Fasciculi Malayenses, Anthropology*, Part 1, p. 21.

youths provided a further accompaniment with two pairs of castanets, pieces of wood or bamboo that are struck one against another.

Of another performance, or rather séance, for it was definitely shamanistic, I note that the chant was started by the main performer and taken up and repeated by the chorus.¹

Schebesta has some observations with regard to choral dances. One such at which he was present (among the Jehai) took place after dark to the accompaniment of bamboo stampers. The dancers were women "decorated strangely with greenery and cloths". In agreement with Skeat's observations among the Kedah Negritos, the dancers did not move from one spot, their performance consisting of movements of the body, chiefly of the upper parts, the arms being held high and the body moved from right to left. There was a chorus-leader, the others joining in a few beats behind. "A boy's clear voice rose pleasantly above the chorus."²

Among the Menrik Negritos of the Nenggiri River, Kelantan, Schebesta describes a magical performance in which the chief (a male) performer and his assistant sang to the accompaniment of a bamboo zither, and here he heard a "kind of recitative" for the first time.

Music was made among the Menrik "by striking with cudgels a beam about four yards long which is hung up by both ends. They sing and dance to the rhythm of this beat, which produces a high-pitched note." Only the women dance and they decorate themselves with flowers and "green stuff", while sometimes they paint their faces with white stripes on their foreheads and spots at the corners of their mouths. The dances of the men, Schebesta states, are reminiscent of those of the Pleh.³

I saw a little dancing in 1935, both among the Lanoh and the Kensieu, as I induced the women to dance in order to take photographs of the performances.⁴ Among the Kensieu the

¹ Evans, *Studies in Religion*, pp. 158, 171.

² Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 36. Also the plate facing p. 40.

³ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 273 and plate facing p. 256. Of the Bateg he says (p. 276) that dancing is unknown among them. Such negative statements are, however, somewhat dangerous to make.

⁴ *Vide* two not too good illustrations.

women put on large green wreaths, I think of *Pandanus*. Here I found, as Skeat says, that the dancers do not move from where they stand, the dance consisting of more or less graceful movements of arms and body. The performers stood in a row with a woman with stampers (a Kintak Bong woman) on their right and slightly in front.

The Lanoh dance was more animated, the women standing in single file and sometimes breaking rank with capering movements of the legs. Here again bamboo stampers were used, one of a pair being, in order to obtain different notes, longer than the other.

CHAPTER XIII

NEGRITO ART

I HAVE thought it best to give Negrito art a chapter to itself, though the subject impinges to a certain extent upon the provinces of religion and magic. Where it does so, I will attempt to deal with such matters here.

The Negritos generally confine their artistic efforts to decorating their bamboo combs, quivers for blowpipe darts, blowpipes and other objects in more or less daily use, but an exception must be made in regard to drawings on the walls of caves. A very good series of these is to be seen in a small cave near that which the Malays call Gua Badak (Rhinoceros Cave), about a quarter of a mile off the main road between Lenggong and Sumpitan, Upper Perak.¹ The Gua Badak itself is frequently used by the Lanoh Negritos as a camping ground and I have found them there on three occasions.

The drawings, though all quite modern, are of interest as examples of the pictorial art of a primitive race. Those in black are made with charcoal, while the pictures in white are produced by scratching away the surface of the limestone marble in places where it has become discoloured. It seems probable that old drawings would not persist, as the cave walls appear to powder somewhat under the influence of the atmosphere. At any rate I have not found any, though I have searched.

The Negrito who took me to see the drawings was one Puchok, an elder of To' Singha's group, who frequently acted as deputy for that aged (now dead) headman. As my guide was not one of the artists responsible for the pictures, he could only tell me for what some of them were meant, and these generally the most obvious.

A few of the drawings were really excellent, especially that of a man carrying a pole laden with coconuts and followed by his

¹ Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* 1927, Vol. xii, pp. 105-106, where a full description of the drawings is given, and Pls. XXVIII-XXXII.

NEGRITO IMPLEMENTS,
ETC.

On left. Mat back-basket. Lanoh
Negritos of Grik, Upper Perak.
On right. Mat bag containing
spatulae of dart poison.
Negritos of Weng, S. Kedah.
Bamboo tube of dart
poison. Chong, Trang, S.
Peninsular Siam.
Two wooden spatulae of
dart poison. Lanoh Negritos
of Lenggong, Upper Perak.
Bamboo vessel for holding
poison sap. Selama, Perak.

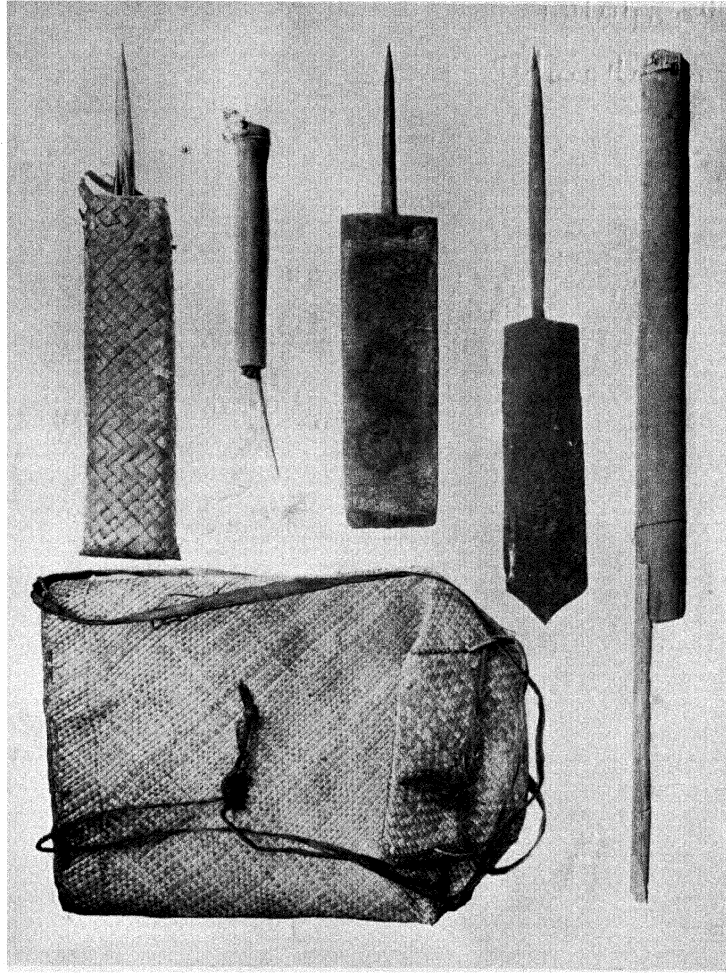


Photo: specially taken for the author of specimens in the Perak Museum

tame *běrok*¹ monkey, which he has just sent up a neighbouring palm to pick the nuts for him. It is also of considerable interest to find the bow depicted, it being the original weapon, but no longer in use among the Lanoh. The pictures of motor cars are intriguing. One shows all four wheels as well as the radiator, steering-wheel, hood and driver. In other cases only the two near side wheels are drawn. It is fairly evident that the Negritos are sometimes puzzled as to how they must draw a vehicle which they know has four wheels, and I have seen (on a previous occasion) the difficulty overcome by their drawing a car with two wheels (a side view) and then adding a couple of wheels, separate from the body, one in front and one behind.

The following is a list of the drawings identified, or probably identified. Where they are to be found in the two pictures of rock-drawings in this volume I have indicated that this is the case by putting "illustrated" after the description. All the objects are shown in connection with my short paper in *J.F.M.S.M.* 1927, Vol. XII, pp. 105-106:

- (1) Cock.
- (2) Mats. I understand that these are meant to represent the mats of some of the ancestor deities.
- (3) Man on horse.
- (4) Man carrying coconuts on pole.
- (5) Man on bicycle.
- (6) Ditto.
- (7) Possibly a monitor lizard, but it is also rather like the drawing of a horse, No. 24 *infra*. Illustrated.
- (8) Perhaps the same as the above. Illustrated.
- (9, 10, 11, 12). Motor cars. Illustrated.
- (13) Probably a porcupine. Illustrated.
- (14) Man carrying coconuts on a pole with his *běrok* monkey following him. Illustrated.
- (15, 16) Coconut palms with nuts. Illustrated.
- (17) Man and elephant. Illustrated.
- (18) Bow and arrow. Illustrated.
- (19) Malay-style house with ladder. Illustrated.
- (20) Palm tree. Illustrated.

¹ This monkey, I give its Malay name, is trained to pick coconuts by the Malays. It is the Pig-tailed Macaque, *Macacus nemestrinus*, an ugly, strong, and often vicious animal.

- (21) Monkeys climbing a tree. Illustrated.
- (22, 23) Motor cars. Illustrated.
- (24, 25, 26) Men on horses.
- (27) Elephant with driver holding goad.
- (28) Probably a horse.
- (29) Probably a stick insect.
- (30, 31) Leaf-monkeys. Monkeys are a favourite article of Negrito diet.
- (32, 33, 34) Men on bicycles, one with a child riding pillion.
- (35) Man with hoe.
- (36) Hunting party. Two of the party are wearing dart-quivers and carrying blowpipes. One of the two has some articles on a carrying pole; the other a back-basket. The third man also seems to have a back-basket and to be carrying something (? a gun) on his shoulder. Illustrated.
- (37) Probably a soft turtle. Illustrated.
- (38) Probably a monitor lizard. Illustrated.
- (39) Motor car. Illustrated.
- (40) Man with gun. Illustrated.
- (41) Man with coconuts on pole and *běrok* monkey, or possibly dog. Illustrated.

This is the only extensive series of Negrito drawings that I have seen.

Let us now examine in detail the designs on Negrito dart-quivers and combs. I have already, in the chapter on dress and adornment, said something about the comb patterns and a little about those on the quivers in the second chapter on weapons. Vaughan Stevens is responsible for a great deal of controversial matter that has been written with regard to the magical meaning and value of the patterns on the combs and on various engraved bamboos. Skeat has reprinted a great part of his records,¹ so they are easily accessible to those interested, and I do not propose to re-quote them here in view of the fact that Skeat, Schebesta and myself have been unable to get any confirmation of the greater part of his work, except, perhaps, in regard to pattern names, though even here there are obvious mistakes.

Skeat remarks with regard to Vaughan Stevens's work that "an edifice has already been reared upon a foundation of sand and that though the bricks of which it is composed may to some

¹ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. I, parts of pp. 395-471.

extent be useful in laying the foundation of a new building, the original edifice is none the less doomed to irremediable destruction".¹

Wilkinson, in, writing of Vaughan Stevens, is a good deal more downright. I omit some portion of his comments:

I knew the "Professor" as Vaughan-Stevens was styled. He was a kindly, simple man who possessed a great gift of imaginative exaggeration.... Any one who totalled up—as I did—the periods of time that Vaughan-Stevens asserted spending in different savage countries that he had visited was impelled to the conclusion that the "Professor" was either a Methuselah or an Ananias. He was neither. He was a humorist who did not expect to be taken seriously. But, afterwards, when his professional work came to be impugned these jesting stories of his idle hours were also quoted against his memory with a Teutonic solemnity that made them still more ridiculous....

Vaughan-Stevens was no "Professor"; he was not even a *savant*; he was an expert collector sent out to collect skulls and anthropological exhibits for a syndicate of scientists in Germany. Within limits he did his work well. His skulls were genuine and there is no suspicion attaching to his blow-pipes, quivers and bamboo-combs. But his employers expected more. Ignorant as he was of Sakai, and even of Malay, he could not hope to get any real insight into the ideas and beliefs of tribes whose plane of thought is so far removed from our own. When asked to give information of this sort he could only do his best; and his best was a *bona fide* conjecture by a very imaginative person. Vaughan-Stevens' best work lies in his collections. His records of customs and beliefs must be regarded as valueless, though they are based on first-hand information and there is no evidence of imposture or even of extreme carelessness. First-hand information is of very little use without a satisfactory medium of interpretation; that, at least, might be learnt from the failure of Vaughan-Stevens.²

Though there is much truth in what Wilkinson says I am inclined to think that, in some ways, a better report is justified.

To take first of all the subject of the decoration on dart-quivers:

Skeat records that the (Kensieu) Negritos of Siong, S. Kedah, told him that "the object of their entire set of quiver patterns was to bring down various species of monkeys and apes and

¹ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. 1, p. 395.

² Wilkinson, *Papers on Malay Subjects, Supplement, The Aboriginal Tribes*, pp. 3-5.

other small mammals". One particular set was described as possessing much magical virtue, as it is said that it would be a "slayer of many victims". In the case of another quiver he notes, too, that a pattern called "deer slots" points towards a fruit pattern and a rattan pattern, "the object of the patterns being no doubt to *attract the deer* by a suggestion of their favourite gathering grounds, where they would of course be more easily slain or captured".¹ He also points out, quite rightly, that in Negrito magical art the part is equal to the whole; a stag is represented by a small triangle, its slot, etc.²

My own evidence with regard to the magical use of the patterns on Negrito dart-quivers is very similar to that of Skeat. I have noted that

the patterns with which the Western Negritos decorate their dart-quivers represent, generally, either parts of animals which they hunt, or articles of diet of which the animals are fond. Thus in the first class we have such patterns as "*lotong*³ monkey's teeth", "arms of the *lotong*", "eyes of the *lotong*", "tortoise breast pattern" and "eyes of the *kuwangkweit*⁴ bird"; while in the second are "padi grains", "flower sheaths of the jackfruit", "cucumber flowers" and "cucumber seeds". Such designs as these are, according to my Menik Kaien informant, Tōkeh, of use to hunters, for, were the quivers not ornamented in this manner, the game would be frightened and run away, but as they have upon them patterns of rice, cucumber seeds, teeth of the *lotong*, etc., the souls of the animals are not afraid.

Tōkeh told me moreover that men decorate their dart-quivers with any patterns which they may dream will aid them in hunting. His statements are supported by those of a Lanoh Negrito, who said

that the *lotong* patterns on the quivers were thought to aid hunters in their quest for monkeys, while a man met at Ijok also affirmed that the patterns on the dart-quivers assisted his people in obtaining food—game, I presume—in the jungle. Another man of the same group denied this, but there is plenty of evidence of the magical intention of these patterns on the dart-quivers.⁵

¹ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. I, p. 417.

² Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. I, pp. 401-402.

³ The Malay name of the animal. The spectacled monkey, *Semnopithecus obscurus*.

⁴ The Malay name of the bird. A species of nightjar, I understand.

⁵ Evans, *Studies in Religion*, pp. 182-183.

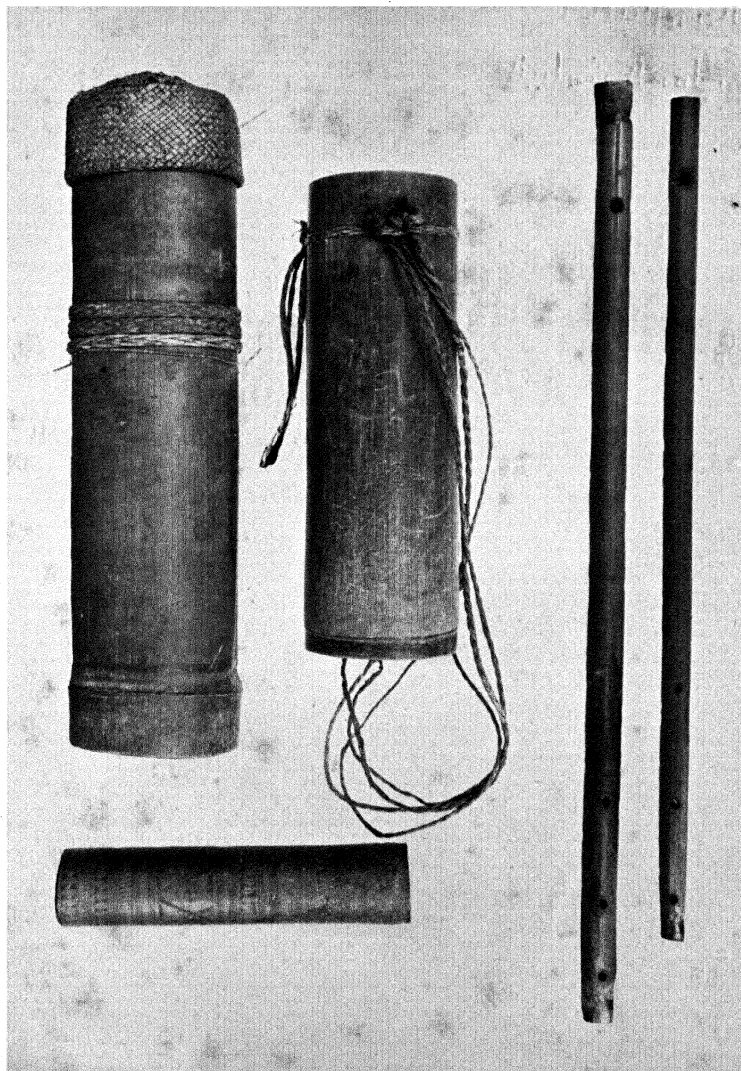


Photo: specially taken for the author of specimens in the Perak Museum

NON-TYPICAL NEGRITO DART-QUIVERS WITH SOME OTHER OBJECTS

Left. Dart-quiver with *Pandanus* cap. Bateg Negritos of the Ulu Cheka, Pahang.

Centre. Bamboo dart-quiver with waist cords. This type does not have a cap. Negritos of Chong, Trang, S. Peninsular Siam.

Right. Two transverse mouth flutes of bamboo. Lanoh Negritos of Leng-gong, Upper Perak.

Below. Bamboo cylinder for holding tobacco, decorated with engraved patterns. Lanoh Negritos of Lenggong, Upper Perak.

Leaving out of account Vaughan Stevens's complicated statements and theories, little evidence has come to hand as to the magical uses of the comb patterns, of the arrangement of which I have given a short account in a previous chapter. As many of them, however (e.g. monkeys' teeth, padi grains, cucumber seeds), are the same as those on the quivers one might infer that perhaps here, too, they had a magical, though other, purpose. Skeat is, however, able to produce something in this respect, though I have met with little, or no, success. Writing of the Negritos of Siong, that is the Kensieu, he says of a comb that apparently had only two patterns (rattan thorns and cucumber seeds) that "the complete design is meant to serve as a charm to protect the woman against venomous reptiles and insects. The chief's wife informed me that a similar design, *for a similar reason*, was sometimes painted upon the breasts of women belonging to the wild Semang-Sakai (i.e. Negrito-Sakai) tribes of the northern part of the valley of the Plus."¹

I have remarked above on my non-success in getting information with regard to the magical value of the patterns on Negrito combs. One of my best informants, Tökeh, the Menik Kaïen, denied that they had any such use when asked (in my despair) a direct question. One man that I met at Ijok (Selama, Perak), in answer to a similar direct question, replied "that they might, perhaps, have a magical use as the women always wore them".²

Schebesta has something to say on the subject and I shall refer to this later.

I have, however, evidence with regard to the magical intention of patterns, not nearly so complicated as those of the Perak and Kedah combs, on another article of personal adornment, the rattan girdles worn by the Negrito (Bateg Hapen) women of Jeransang, Pahang. Here I was told that the talismanic value of the ornamentation was to protect the wearer against pains in the back, but it was denied that the rough patterns on this people's combs had any uses other than those of ornament. The designs on the girdles were said to represent two kinds of snake, bees and a species of fish which the Malays call *bujok*.³

¹ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. 1, p. 419.

² Evans, *Studies in Religion*, p. 183.

³ Evans, *Papers on the Ethnology*, p. 21. The patterns are there figured.

In the chapter on dress and adornment I have described the method frequently employed by the Negritos of removing parts of the skin when making a pattern on a comb or dart-quiver, so that the pattern consists of a design in the whitish (or yellow) skin of the bamboo standing out on a darker background, the colour of which has been enhanced by treatment with oil or the resin used by a small species of bee in making its nest.¹ Conversely, too, the pattern is sometimes brown, the background the light-coloured natural skin of the bamboo. The combination of patterns made in these ways with those produced by merely scratching designs through the skin of the bamboo, and colouring the scratches in the manner referred to above, is distinctly pleasing and I rate Negrito decorative art, as practised in Perak and Kedah, as high as, if not higher than, anything produced by the Sakai, though it seems possible that there has been borrowing from the Sakai in the first place.

As to the designs themselves, a number of comb patterns will be found illustrated and described in one of my books,² so I will not reproduce them here.

I have not had an opportunity of visiting Berlin to see Vaughan Stevens's collections, but Skeat illustrates, on four plates,³ a most remarkable series of combs from that source. Out of all these combs apparently only three, the last three in the fourth plate, were obtained on the western side of the Peninsula,⁴ though quite a number of others conform to the types of six-pattern and eight-pattern combs found in Perak. Many others, however, do not.

With regard to some criticisms of Vaughan Stevens's theory that the pattern occupying one panel of each comb represents a disease, those who are interested will find an analysis of some of these so-called pictures of diseases and of the names that Vaughan Stevens gives for them in my *Papers on the Ethnology and Archaeology of the Malay Peninsula*.⁵

In his paper on *Das Hala- oder Medizinmannwesen bei den*

¹ This kind of resin is called by the Malays *damar kélulut*.

² Evans, *Papers on the Ethnology*, Pls. IV and V and pp. 29-32.

³ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. 1, plates facing pp. 426, 427, 432, 433.

⁴ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. 1, p. 429.

⁵ Pp. 33-36.

*Semang auf Malakka*¹ Schebesta has a section on Negrito styles of ornamentation. I have summarized and criticized this paper in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*² and it is of this summary and critique that I here make use. He first of all makes reference to Vaughan Stevens's work and considers that his sources of information and intentions were excellent, but he sometimes misunderstood what he was told and "invented explanations for many things". Stevens made a long stay at Baling, in Kedah, among the Kintak and Kensieu at a time when the great *puteu*³ of the Kensieu was still alive, and the Kintak also had a *puteu* at Iboh.

Schebesta then states that some tribes do not ornament their belongings and even have no combs. The Negritos of Patalung and the Bateg of Pahang are examples. The patterns engraved by the Menrik and the Jehai have merely a decorative value. Only the Kintak Bong and the Kensieu attribute a magical power to such patterns. Tak Piagok (Ta Piago), the ancestor of the Kintak Bong, a *halak*,⁴ taught the men, and his wife Yak Tanggoi (Ya Tangoi) the women, how to engrave patterns respectively on blowpipes and combs, but only the men do this work.

The designs are generally called *bunga*, though there is no pretension that they always represent flowers. They often represent the eyes or teeth of animals, or animals themselves. The Kintak Bong engrave *tebil* and *malau* (examples of the patterns are given) on their blowpipes, and say that if these designs did not decorate the blowpipes game would only be struck and not killed. *Tebil* and *malau* are not flowers. It is not necessary to decorate dart-quivers and they are often left plain. On the blowpipes frequent patterns are *tenwag ai* or sash of Tak Piagok, which is composed of *temtobn* and *palas*. This scarf made Tak Piagok a *megun* (*serdadu*)⁵; that is to say a clever archer. *Palas* and *temtobn* (Mal. *urat batu*) possess magical properties.

¹ *Jahrbuch* of St Gabriel's College, Vienna, 1926.

² *J.R.A.I.* 1930, Vol. LX, pp. 115-125, under the title of *Schebesta on the Sacerdo-Therapy of the Semangs*.

³ Greater shaman.

⁴ Magician.

⁵ Schebesta's version of the Malay word *soldadu*, soldier, a borrowing from the Portuguese.

He then deals with other patterns, remarking that *med kongkuad* (eyes of the *konkui* bird), *med basign* (eyes of the *lotong* monkey), and *nus basign* are all found on the blowpipes, while the Kintak combs are always supposed to have *bach padei* (grains of rice), *nus ai* and *belo patign* (an unexplained design) said to be protective against the "principal wind", while in the middle of the comb any pattern can be put with the first three patterns repeated again below this.¹ This is a theory of the comb patterns, though in practice it is not always observed.

A woman must wear a comb at the birth of a child, and during the seven subsequent days, to protect it against epilepsy and other kinds of spirits, and when a violent hurricane breaks forth. She must not wear a comb during a thunderstorm, because this excites the wrath of Karei,² and for seven days after a death occurs. Combs are worn chiefly for dancing and singing. A woman never wears more than one at a time and rarely possesses more than one.

Schebesta concludes his paper by stating that, as the blowpipe is not a weapon of Negrito origin, probably the patterns are not of Negrito origin either, and that the comb, too, seems to be imported, because some Negrito tribes do not use it. Furthermore, the true Negrito weapon, the bow, is never decorated, while the bamboo quiver for its arrows is also without patterns, or has them very rarely.

Let us now examine these statements. Firstly, I agree with what Schebesta says with regard to Vaughan Stevens, and his surmise that Stevens got his information from a *puteu* is interesting.

The statement that the Bateg have no combs is incorrect.³ Some are figured in this volume. The patterns on these combs are roughly executed and unlike those of the "central block" groups of Negritos. I collected no combs among the Trang-Patalung Negritos, and my experience of them bears out

¹ This appears to be incorrect, *vide supra*, pp. 77-78, with regard to 6-pattern and 8-pattern combs.

² A Negrito thunder deity of whom more later.

³ Schebesta, however, mentions the use of combs by the Bateg in his *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 275.

Schebesta's. It is, however, dangerous to make negative statements.¹

The information that, according to the Kintak Bong, Tak Piagok and Yak Tanggoi originated the patterns is interesting, but another version is that it was Yak Jalang who taught the Negritos how to make combs. Two folk-tales about Piagok and Tanggoi will be found in chapter XXII.

With regard to Schebesta's remark that the patterns, which are called *bunga*, are not always flowers, he seems to be labouring under the same disadvantage as Vaughan Stevens—a lack of knowledge that the Malay word *bunga* (flower), adopted by the Negritos, has the secondary meaning of pattern. Skeat has long ago attempted to clear up this source of mystification.²

Concerning the unexplained pattern called *tebil*, this appears to be the small bee known to the Malays as *kělulut*,³ which builds its nest of damar-gum. *Malau*, if Malay, is sticklac. The statements about these two patterns afford further confirmation that some patterns, among some groups, are of magical use, as has been pointed out previously.

The pattern *tenwug ai*, which Schebesta says is the scarf of Tak Piagok, made of *palas* leaves and the well-known black fungus rhizomorph which the Malays call *urat* (or *akar*) *batu*, appears to be a bandolier-like band of leaf-monkey teeth.⁴ No doubt such a belt might be ornamented with *palas* leaves and *urat batu* but *tenwug* simply means a criss-cross pattern.⁵ Piagok's "scarves" were probably crossed on the chest, as strings of beads commonly are at the present day. The magical uses of *urat batu* have been noted long ago.

¹ He also says that he showed them a Negrito comb and that they could not say anything about such things (*Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 270). Against this in *Man*, Vol. xxv, No. 12, he gives some translated excerpts from King Chulalongkorn's book on the Trang-Patalung Negritos, one of which reads "Women wear bamboo-combs and bracelets". He does not comment on this statement. It is possible that the reference is really to the Negritos of the "Patani States", farther south.

² Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. I, pp. 397-398.

³ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. II, p. 527, B 136.

⁴ *Vide ai* a few lines *infra* and also *Pagan Races*, Vol. II, p. 659, M 140.

⁵ Cf. the common pattern *tenwug nangka*, crossed shoots of the jackfruit tree. For confirmation *vide Pagan Races*, Vol. II, p. 564, C 215. *Vide* p. 76, *supra* for a reference to cross belts of beads; *infra* also p. 192. *Tenwag* (p. 133) is Schebesta's spelling of the word.

Of the other patterns given two are unexplained, *nus ai* and *belo patign*. The first is "teeth of a leaf-monkey", the *ai* being, I believe, the species which is known to the Malays as *kĕkah*, while *belo patign* is probably the same as my *bleuk patiu*, "thighs of the monitor lizard".¹

The statement that *belo patign* is a protection against the principal wind is interesting. Schebesta's remark that the comb patterns do not always conform to type seems to be very true.

The evidence with regard to Kintak Bong women wearing combs at childbirth and for the protection of the child is new to me and the information that a comb must be worn during a storm but not during a thunderstorm is curious. It had been noted previously that Negrito women must not wear flowers or other ornaments for seven days after a death has occurred.²

I am inclined to agree with Schebesta's concluding paragraph as to the origin of the comb, the blowpipe and the bow, and also of the patterns to be found on the first two, though it must be noted that the borrowing of patterns, and of combs, is probably not recent, the origin of both being ascribed to the ancestor deities by the Negritos.

Schebesta has also another paper dealing with Negrito combs and patterns³ in which most of the information here given is repeated, which may be consulted by those who are further interested. In it will be found a number of illustrations of comb patterns. He also there remarks on the term *bunga* (flower) having the secondary meaning of pattern.⁴ There is, however, one other point in this paper with which I will deal here and that is in regard to the bamboo combs of the Philippine Negritos. He cites a paper by Read on the *Negritos of Zambales* in the *Ethnological Survey Publications* (Vol. II, Part I, Manila, 1904), in which several of these combs are figured,⁵ to the effect that

¹ Evans, *Papers on the Ethnology*, p. 32. Also *Pagan Races*, Vol. II, p. 733-734, T 60; p. 649, L 123.

² Evans, *Studies in Religion*, p. 179.

³ Schebesta, *The Decorative Art of the Aborigines of the Malay Peninsula*, J.R.A.S. Oct. 1928.

⁴ *Bunga* is a Malay word adopted by the Negritos. It would appear that, at one time, Schebesta did not know of the secondary meaning of the word, any more than did Vaughan Stevens. *Vide supra* p. 135.

⁵ On Pl. XXXVI.

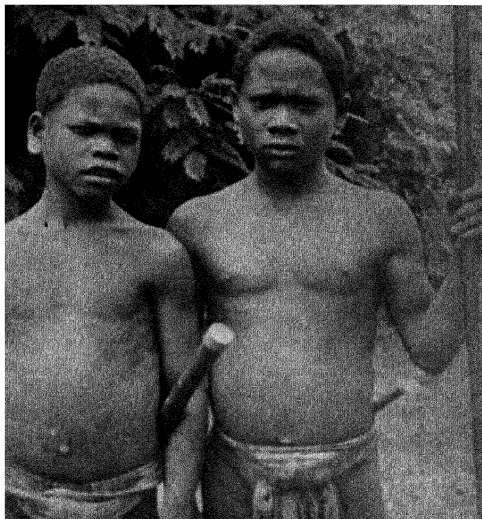


Photo: by author

LANOH NEGRITOS OF THE LENGGONG NEIGHBOURHOOD,
UPPER PERAK

The man on the left of the picture has a working-knife: that on the right a blowpipe and a small quiver with a few darts in it in his waist-cloth.



Photo: by author

AN IPOH TREE (*ANTIARIS TOXICARIA*)
SHOWING TAPPING SCARS

It is from this tree that the wild tribes obtain their most important dart poison. The specimen here figured is at Dusun Tua, Selangor, and has been tapped by Sakai-Iakun.

such combs are in use by both men and women, especially in Bataan and S. Zambales.

A section of bamboo or mountain cane, varying in length from 5 to 10 inches, is split in thirds or quarters and one of these pieces forms the body of the comb. Teeth are cut at one end and the back is ornamented according to the taste of the maker by rude carving. This carving consists simply of a series of lines or cuts, following some regular design, into which dirt is rubbed to make it black.

I quote only a part of Schebesta's quotation.

I had an opportunity of inspecting some of these combs in the Museum of the Bureau of Science, when calling at Manila in 1935. While I should hesitate to say that they have any connection with those of our Negritos, it is rather remarkable that certain patterns, simple enough, it is true, which occur on the combs of the Malayan Negritos are also to be found on them. The patterns in question are rows of small plain diamonds (lozenges), such as are called padi grains by our Negritos, and a similar pattern in which each diamond has a dot in the centre—"cucumber seeds" according to our Negritos.

CHAPTER XIV

THE NEGRITO DEITIES

NEGRITO religion is not a subject about which it is easy to write, and this for several reasons. First of all, for such primitive people, Negrito beliefs are extraordinarily complicated and the personages who figure in them surprisingly numerous. Then, again, there appear to be considerable variations of belief from group to group, leaving out of the question such outlying Negritos as the Bateg of Pahang, who have, in one way or another, been affected by Jakun or Sakai influences. Again, individual Negritos, though they rarely tell a deliberate untruth, once you have gained their confidence—in fact I have often been pleasantly surprised by the subsequent confirmation of evidence that I at first considered shaky—often do not quite agree with one another in the accounts that they give. Furthermore, it is a subject on which Vaughan Stevens has had much to say, and though some confirmation of a little of his work has been obtained, yet it does not add to the pleasure of dealing with a subject if it has been, if one may be allowed the phrase, “messed up” by somebody else previously. I have, therefore, as mostly elsewhere, entirely disregarded Vaughan Stevens’s material, which is quoted extensively by Skeat and, therefore, readily accessible, unless it can be confirmed in any respect, when I have done my best to draw attention to this in a footnote.

Of other writers on Negrito religion who have contributed something new it can be truthfully said that there are only, in order of time, Skeat, myself and Schebesta, though I have also added something to the total since Schebesta’s visit to Malaya. All three of us have, to a greater or lesser degree, encountered Negrito reluctance to admit outsiders to a knowledge of their religious beliefs. The usual method of baffling an enquirer is to profess agnosticism, and it is only after their confidence has been fully gained that they will admit one to an intimate

knowledge of their beliefs. Their confidence once gained, however—and needless, or perhaps unfortunately needful,¹ to say they should never be given cause to regret having given it—they make few, if any, reservations, and their willingness to help is only limited by the difficulty they experience in telling a connected story and their often lack of understanding of the kind of information that their European friend needs.

Skeat has not a great deal of his own material with regard to religion, but still some, and I should judge that, at the time that he was forced to discontinue his investigations, he was only beginning to pierce the Negritos' armour of agnosticism and that, if it had been possible for him to stay just a little longer, he would have reaped a rich harvest from his sowing. For myself, I have been able to add a very considerable amount of information which Schebesta has increased materially. This author, however, rarely makes reference to other writers, either in his book or in his various papers and, to anybody not intimately acquainted with the subject, the inference to be drawn from his writings would be that all that he records is new, which is very far from being the case. I have pointed this out previously, both here and elsewhere. Another thing is that to be able to go to the Negritos with a preknowledge of their religion (even if only obtained from books) makes it comparatively easy to gain their confidence, for it is no use, they think, concealing their beliefs from one who obviously knows so much already. I sometimes wonder, therefore, whether Schebesta would have been equally successful if he had had to make his own keys to open locks, starting, as I did in 1913, with only such information as could be obtained from *Pagan Races*, instead of having so many keys ready for him. His numerous papers, too, are not easy to use, for part of one paper is repeated in a second, and part of a second in a third, and so on, while the accounts do not always seem to tally exactly. Furthermore, unless I much misunderstand him, which I do not think is the case, in his book² he gives unnecessary trouble to the reader, or worker, where he writes

¹ Let those who are interested to know what I mean read *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, pp. 246-248.

² *Among the Forest Dwarfs of Malaya*.

of two Negrito deities (Ta Pedn and Kaei)¹ as being regarded as separate individuals among the Kintak Bong from p. 218 onwards, even going so far as to give a diagrammatic representation of both of them seated in the sky (p. 218), only, on p. 250, to announce that he subsequently found out that the two are not two, but one and the same, and that he has been applying two names to the same individual. Why he should thus wantonly confuse a not too easy subject it is difficult to see, but the trouble seems to have arisen through his visiting the Jehai and Lanoh first, where there are two chief deities with these names, and then having forced them on the Kintak Bong and Kensieu. This becomes sufficiently clear when his p. 250 is read carefully.

I have in writing of the Negrito gods previously spoken of them as ancestor deities and, on the whole, I do not think that I shall withdraw this description.² Schebesta refers to them as *Orang Hidop*, and one of his papers is so entitled. This is a Malay, not a Negrito, phrase, and I do not see any utility in it. It means approximately the live or living people, and the intention is to convey the impression that the live people do not die and are, therefore, immortals, in which case why not simply call them so?

As to the deities being ancestors, the story of how certain Negritos were able to escape to heaven and become deities because they had not had their hair frizzled by fire in the war between the monkeys supports this contention; so, too, does the legend of the death of Yak Tanggoi, who was subsequently brought to life again and went to the sky to become one of the deities. This story (Yak Kampeh and Piagok) is given in a subsequent chapter on folk-tales. Further evidence as to the supposed ancestral origin of the deities will also be found in the present chapter.

Let us now see what sort of a patchwork account it is possible to make of this very difficult subject of the Negrito deities. I have thought it best to give verbatim extracts from my *Studies in Religion* and to supplement these with Schebesta's work,

¹ Evans, *Studies in Religion*, p. 147.

² Schebesta himself so designates one of them (Tak Piagok). *Vide* p. 133, *supra*.

which is of later date, and also to add details from my *Papers on the Ethnology* and later papers of mine in the *Journal of the Federated Malay States Museums* as well as some information obtained recently. Here is my account of the Negrito deities as given in *Studies in Religion*:

Skeat tells us that Ta' Pönn is the supreme deity of the Negritos of Siong¹ in Kedah, whom he states that Vaughan Stevens disguises under the name of Tappern. Now, though I have been unable to obtain any confirmation of much of Vaughan Stevens' work, yet I have certainly found that there is some truth in his writings, and in no case has more evidence of this come to hand than in the Ulu Selama region (of Perak).² Judging by what Skeat says—I have not Vaughan Stevens' original papers in the *Globus* to refer to—he seems seldom to have given the localities from which he obtained his information. This makes it exceedingly difficult to judge of his accuracy or inaccuracy, but he did, at any rate, work near Ulu Selama.³ It will be found, I think, on comparing the material in this and some of the following sections—largely obtained from a Menik Kaien (Tökeh), but also checked in part by questioning others (Kintak Bong) as well—with what Vaughan Stevens, as quoted by Skeat,⁴ wrote upon similar subjects, that it bears out his work to a considerable extent.

Among the Menik Kaien and Kintak Bong I found that the principal god is called Tapern, and on one occasion I heard him alluded to as Tak (Ta') Tapern. No doubt the difference between Ta' Pönn and Tak Tapern is merely due to the fact that the dialect spoken by the Siong people differs from that of Ulu Selama.⁵

Tapern appears to be a kind of deified tribal ancestor, for—according to the story that I obtained from Tökeh—Tapern, his wife (Jalang⁶), his younger brother (Bajiaig) and Bajiaig's wife, Jamoi, escaped from the war between the Siamang and Mawas, of which I give an account below.⁷ The four were able to climb up to heaven because they had not had their hair burnt, but the rest of the Negritos could not follow them. Tapern made a ladder up to heaven by shooting a series of darts

¹ I.e. the Kensieu.

² One of the places where Vaughan Stevens carried out investigations.

³ Wilkinson, *Papers on Malay Subjects, Supplement, The Aboriginal Tribes*, p. 4.

⁴ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. II, pp. 202–225.

⁵ *Vide* further, pp. 149, 150, *infra*.

⁶ Tökeh said that it was Jalang who taught the Negritos how to make combs, headdresses and other personal ornaments. Mothers still say to their girl children, when they are inclined to pride themselves on their good looks, "Don't think that you are as beautiful as Yak Jalang!"

⁷ Pp. 147–148, 161–162. "Above" in the original account.

from his blow-pipe into the air. The first of these stuck into a black cloud, and the others ranged themselves in order below, so as to form steps, up which he and his three companions then climbed. Tapern is white, and his father's name is Kukak, while his mother is Yak Takel. Yak (grandmother) Lepeh is the mother of Jalang, while Jamoi's mother is Yak Manoid.¹ These three "Grandmothers" live under the earth and guard the roots of the *Batu Herem*, the stone which supports the heavens, which I shall have occasion to refer to later on, and they can make the waters under the earth rise and destroy any of the Negritos who give great offence to Tapern. Tapern's subjects, the beings of the heavens, are called *Chinoi*, and he uses them as messengers, while a personage named Jatic, who lives in the eastern sky, acts as body-servant,² and two others, Chapor and Chalag, as his constables, who inform him if anyone on earth is committing sins. When he is angry, Tapern commands the stone which makes the thunder to roll over the four boards which meet in the centre of the heavens, one of which extends towards the east, one towards the west, and the other two towards the north and south respectively.³ Tapern's house stands at the angle where the southern and western boards meet. As the stone rolls along the boards, making thunder (*kaii*), a cord, which is attached to it, winds and unwinds itself, and this flashing cord is the lightning. The thunder is heard to roll from one end of the heavens to the other as the stone rolls over the planks.

I have alluded to the three Grandmothers who live under the earth. The Kintak Bong (in 1921) confirmed what had been told me previously by Tökeh, but substituted the name of Yak Kalcheng for Yak Takel. It is these three grandmothers who make the waters rise from under the earth, causing *henweh*,⁴ and Tanong (the dragonfly) carries the message from Tapern to Yak Manoid when people have committed some impious act and incurred this punishment. It was Yak Kalcheng who made the four boards in the heavens, over which the thunder-stone rolls at Tapern's command. Yak Kalcheng was carried up to the sky by Taheum, the dung-beetle, because she was very old and could not walk.

¹ Manoid and Lepeh are the same person according to one account, *vide* pp. 143, 177-178, *infra*, and, therefore, Jamoi and Jalang are sisters. In the latter regard *vide* on p. 240 a folk-story obtained by me in 1935.

² According to Tökeh, Tapern has also an attendant named Tak Suwau. I collected a considerable amount of information about this individual in 1935. It is given in another chapter, pp. 167-168.

³ I.e. forming a cross of the four quarters.

⁴ Rising of water from below the earth accompanied by storms and subsidence of the ground. The Negritos of Lenggong speak of *henwoie*.

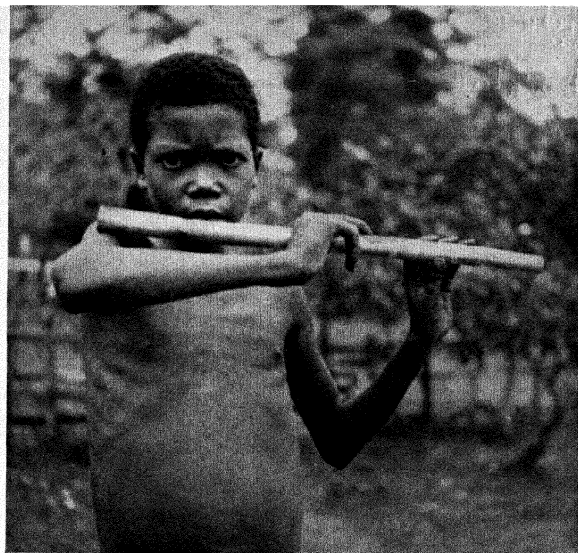


Photo: by author, 1935

**KINTAK BONG NEGRITO YOUTH OF KUPANG, S. KEDAH
PLAYING TRANSVERSE FLUTE OF BAMBOO**



Photo: by author, 1935

**KINTAK BONG NEGRITO YOUTH OF KUPANG, S. KEDAH,
USING TRANSVERSE FLUTE AS NOSE-FLUTE**

The evidence that I obtained about some of the deified Negrito ancestors from Měmpēlam (in 1921) differs in some respects from that of Tōkeh, especially in the matter of the relationships between the males and the females. After a somewhat lively discussion with other Negritos he produced the following scheme of relationships. As discussion was necessary, it must be taken that the Negritos are not very certain about the matter themselves.¹ The Kintak Bong claim that though the other tribes reverence these beings, they are their ancestors. Here is the relationship scheme:

Tang-ong and Yak Manoid are husband and wife. Their children are Tapern and Jalang. Tak Tinjeg and Yak Lepeh are husband and wife. Their children are Bajiaig and Jamoi. Jamoi is the wife of Tapern. Jalang is the wife of Bajiaig. Tang-ong, the father of Tapern, did not go to heaven with the other ancestors, but remained below upon the earth. This is as much as I learnt of Tapern and the other chief celestials from Tōkeh² and from the Kintak Bong, but I got another story from the Negritos of Grik.

[The following further information I got from the Kintak Bong in 1935. They were then at Kupang, S. Kedah:

Tak Pern³ (Tapern) and Bajiaig are elder and younger brothers. They married Jalang and Jamoi the daughters of Ag-ag (who became a crow) and their younger brother was Klang, the hawk. Jamoi was the elder sister (I doubt this, but I was told so).⁴

Chemam, who lives below Tak Pern, makes thunder with his top-spinning. Tak Pern tells Chemam to make it. Another informant said that Chemam makes thunder like spinning a top. The thunder-stone formerly was a top, but is now a stone with a cord attached to it. A person called Ang-lah also makes thunder (*kaii*) on a plank with a stone and thread.

I was told that Yak Lepeh, Yak Manoid, Yak Kalcheng and Yak Teh-hi are all one person, the first and third names being two used by the *Chinoi*.

¹ Tōkeh (1921) says that the relationships between the "Grandmothers" and the younger generation of heavenly beings are uncertain, but he affirms his relationship scheme for the latter.

² The Menik Kaïen man. Tak Tinjeg, mentioned above, is, says Schebesta, the lord of iron. He eats earth which becomes water. He would destroy the world if not prevented from doing so by Tahobn, the dung beetle. *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 219.

³ I have something further to say about the spelling of this name in the next chapter.

⁴ *Vide* folk-story, p. 240.

It will be seen how muddled these stories are on comparing this new information with that obtained previously.]

The tale of the Grik aborigines, which I extracted from them with a good deal of trouble, is as follows:

Kari¹ makes the thunder. He has long hair all over his body, like a *siamang* monkey (*Symphalangus syndactylus*), but this is white, and shines as if it had been oiled. The hair of his head is long like a Malay woman's, but white. Kari and his younger brother, Tapern, who also has white hair covering his body, went up to the sky. They were magicians (*halak*); and before they ascended there was no thunder. They came on foot up the Perak River from its mouth on a fishing expedition. They stopped at the place where Gunong (Mt.) Këndërong now is to smoke tobacco, and the elder brother unfastened his fishing-line and wound it round his head, sticking his rod upright in the ground. The younger brother also fixed his rod upright in the ground near his brother's, but, before doing so, broke off the top part, and wound the line round its stump. Then they both returned to a shelter that they had built, some little way down-stream, to eat tubers. When they had eaten, they looked towards the place where they had left their rods and saw two mountains (Gunong Këndërong and Gunong Kërunai) had arisen there, whereupon the younger brother said, "Our fishing-rods have become mountains!" but his brother told him not to speak about it. The next night they made a circular "medicine-hut" and held a magical performance; then they disappeared into the sky. It was the elder brother's rod that became Gunong Këndërong (the taller of the two mountains) and the younger's which became Gunong Kërunai. Kari and Tapern met their wives, Jamoi and Jalang, in the sky. Yak Manoid and Yak Takel² live under the earth and are the mothers of Jamoi and Jalang.

I have referred above to the *Chinoi*, whom Tapern uses as messengers. From Mëmpëlam I got a good deal of fresh information with regard to these beings. They are both male and female and have many occupations. The female *Chinoi* use different words from those of the ordinary Kintak Bong dialect, and the males sometimes copy them. They bind their heads with the fibre of a creeper called by them *chingchong*. This is the same as that which the Kintak Bong call *awih aiyem* (*akar jinërok* of the Malays). Among the beings who come

¹ *Kari* means thunder and is, of course, equivalent to *kaii* of the Ulu Selama Negritos. Some tribes cannot, or do not, pronounce the letter *r* in either their native dialects or in Malay, e.g. *kari* and *kaii*, *darah* (Malay) and *daiah* (Negrito pronunciation).

² According to my Menik Kaïen informant, however, Yak Takel is the mother of Tapern.

to the shaman during a séance are many *Chinoi*, among them, as will be seen from the lines chanted by him which I give below,¹ the *Chinoi Sagar* who lives on the bridge over which the dead pass to *Belet*, the *Barau*-bird *Chinoi* and the Argus Pheasant *Chinoi*. In the songs, too,² are 'mentioned a male *Chinoi*, Menlus, who plays the Jew's-harp to Yak Kalcheng; the Screw-pine *Chinoi*; Langyau, a male *Chinoi* who lives near *Ligoi*; the *Tepus*-plant *Chinoi*; the *Chinoi* who lives near the *tang-al* of the *Batu Herem*, and others.³

Mëmpëlam gave me some interesting details with regard to the Mat *Chinoi*. He said that a large snake—the Mat *Chinoi*—lives on the road to Tapern's house on a piece of carefully smoothed ground. The snake is two fathoms long and ten cubits in circumference. This snake makes long, many-layered mats for Tapern. Some, ornamented with beautiful patterns, it hangs over a cross-beam, and it is under the shelter of these that it lives. Inside the snake are twenty or thirty female *Chinoi* of great beauty and also beautiful combs, head-dresses, etc.

Now there is a male *Chinoi* called the *Halak Gihmal*⁴ who lives on the back of the snake and looks after the clothes and ornaments which are stored inside it. If a male *Chinoi* asks to go into the snake, *Halak Gihmal* tells him to make trial of the mats first. Now there are seven of these mats, hanging over a beam above the snake, and these are always opening and closing. When the male *Chinoi* tries to pass along the passage under them, they close on him, so that, unless he passes very quickly, he gets caught. If he manages to get through the mats safely he is told to enter a tobacco-box⁵ of which the lid opens and closes rapidly. If he is lucky enough to make a safe entrance, and escape—he leaves by another way—he is allowed to choose one of the female *Chinoi*, who live in the snake, for himself.⁶

The following story comes from a Lanoh Negrito of Lenggong, Upper Perak:

Tapern has a white skin. He lives in a cave in the sky. Tabung (the dragonfly) tells him when human beings are committing offences and he then throws down a huge quartz crystal which goes into the earth, and the waters well up from the hole which it makes and drown the offenders.

Yara-meng is a female being who lives in the sky. She is white

¹ Chapter xix.

² *Vide* songs in Chapter xxi.

³ *Vide* Chapter xviii.

⁴ "The Weapon Shaman."

⁵ The kind which Malays call *chëlëpa*. This is generally watch-shaped.

⁶ Evans, *Studies in Religion*, pp. 147-151.

and very aged, just skin and bone. Her granddaughter, Jamoi, looks after her, and, when she has reached the extreme limits of old age, Jamoi makes as if to strike her from afar with some wild ginger (*beurn*¹) leaves. The sap, coming from the stalks of the leaves, falls upon Yara-meng, who feels cold when thus besprinkled and immediately becomes young again.²

Of the beliefs of two outlying groups of Negritos I have some details. One group is that of the Negritos of the Trang-Patalung hills in S. Peninsular Siam, the other the Bateg Negritos of Pahang, the information being mostly from the Bateg Hapen of Jeransang on the Benta-Kuantan road. Here are such beliefs about the deities and their surroundings as I was able to gather among the Bateg:

Teng and Bonsu, elder and younger brothers, live above the seven layers of the sky. Bonsu looks after fruits and flowers. His fruits fall from above, and his flowers also, and become fruits and flowers upon the earth. He arranges the fruit on a mat. Teng also looks after fruits and flowers. They are both black, like Negritos, and wear cords crossed on their breasts. If Bonsu were to come down to earth, the whole world would dissolve and become a sea. There is nobody in the seven layers of the sky.

Jawait lives below the clouds and makes thunder. He has a long beard and meets the souls of dead shamans. His wife, Lai-oid, lives under the earth. She makes *talain*.³ She wears beautiful clothes. There is also a dragon under the earth. When *talain* is feared, blood is drawn from the shin with a working-knife and the blade then thrust into the ground. Some blood is also thrown aloft. Agila wood is burnt, and the smoke taken in the hands and blown towards the sky. The *Chimloi-i* come from Bonsu. They look like Negritos, but can become birds or centipedes. They go to the shaman (*halak*).⁴

A Bateg man at Lata Lang, Cheka River, said:

Below the earth is a dragon who makes *talain*. If we laugh at, or play with, ants, *talain* comes.³

¹ *Tēpus* was the Malay word used for "wild ginger", but there are several species of which *beurn* (a Negrito name) is one.

² Evans, *Papers on the Ethnology*, pp. 23-24.

³ Thunderstorms accompanied by welling up of water from under the earth involving the destruction of the houses of those who have offended the deities. Such storms can be caused by those who tease, or laugh at, animals.

⁴ Evans, *Papers on the Ethnology*, pp. 17-18. The *Chimloi-i* are, of course, the same as the *Chinoi* of the Kintak Bong, etc.

The Trang-Patalung Negritos said that the ancestor-king is named Moltek.

He lives in the sky, "as high as thunder". Moltek makes fruits for the Negritos. He is very black. He lives in *met ketok*, the sun.

Four persons went with Moltek (who seems originally to have lived at a (?) legendary place called Tangkipeung) to the sky. They were all males and their names are Chok-bek, Chok-dam, Kalik and Hum. Moltek chews betel; Chok-bek is a "carpenter" and makes houses in which to sleep; Chok-dam fishes and comes back to food at midday; Kalik makes houses, while Hum sells vegetables(!).

There are two kinds of monkeys, one small, named *teiok*, the other large, the *baweich*. The small kind burnt the Negritos' hair and made it frizzy. Their hair was burnt at a place called Tangkipeung. The *teiok* were angry with the Negritos for digging up all the tubers in the jungle. The *baweich*—there were three of them—were on the side of the Negritos. The *baweich* went to the sea, but the *teiok* is still here (i.e. in the hills).

Kagi makes thunder. The Negritos are frightened of it, frightened that it may hit them on the head. When there is a thunderstorm they hide their eyes with cloths.¹

Both groups (the Bateg and the Trang-Patalung Negritos) show in their religion a connection with the other Negritos, though in the case of the Bateg there appear to be intrusive Sakai or Jakun elements. For instance, the name Bonsu (a Malay word (*bongsu*) meaning "youngest-born") is derived from Sakai sources, as the Sakai also speak of deities or heroes of that name.² The Bateg Bonsu, however, seems to have the attributes of a Negrito deity.

I shall have much more to say in a later chapter about the blood sacrifice that is made to avert the wrath of the deities who send thunder.

The legend of the Negritos' hair getting burnt during a fight between two species of monkeys is curious. I have already made slight reference to it above, also in this chapter. One old woman of the Chong (Trang) Negritos said that

her mother had told her that the Negritos had come originally from Langka when it was burnt. Now Langka is the ancient name for Ceylon and, according to the Ramayana, when Sita, the wife of

¹ Evans, *Papers on the Ethnology*, pp. 12-13.

² Evans, *Studies in Religion*, pp. 199, 247, 251.

Rama, was stolen by Ravana, the demon king of Ceylon, she was rescued by Rama, who attacked Ceylon, assisted by Hanuman, the monkey-god, and his swarms of monkey followers. It is sometimes stated by students of Indian mythology that these stories of monkey tribesmen are really references to the aboriginal races of India, whose aid Rama sought. Now the legend of how the Negritos obtained their curly hair is found in the Malay States as well, while in Peninsular Siam there is a reference to Langka. An interesting point seems to arise, therefore, as to whether a part of the Ramayana story has not been adopted by the Negritos. The Ramayana, with Hanuman, Sri Rama and Sita (Siti Dewi), is still acted in the shadow-show plays of the Siamese and the Malays of the north (Kedah, Kelantan, Patani, etc.).¹

To Vaughan Stevens, quoted by Skeat,² belongs the credit of first making this suggestion, and he has an account of the burning of the Negritos' hair and also an account of a battle between the demon king of the then straight-haired Negrito ancestors and a Siamese Raja Pram (or Phra Ram), supported by the *kěra* and *běrok* monkeys (the ape-kings Hanuman and Sugriwa of the Indian poem), to whose tails Pram tied fire-brands to set the jungle men's houses on fire.

I had made a similar suggestion that the Negritos might have borrowed from the Ramayana before I noticed this discovery of Vaughan Stevens's, and I subsequently published an apology for having claimed it for myself.³

During my recent (1935) visit to Malaya I obtained some information supplementary to what I have written above in regard to the Kintak Bong:

Fruits are eaten in heaven, there being fruit trees there. Yak Manoid gives fruit on earth. She steals a fruit from Tak Pern and throws it down, and the whole country becomes full of fruit trees of every kind. Among the fruits of heaven are the *kalcheng* (*buah tangkai padi* in Malay), the *tanggoi kabang* (*rambutan kabang* in Malay) and the *tanggoi* (*rambutan*). One may draw attention to the fact that the names of two of the heavenly beings appear here as those of fruits (*kalcheng* and *tanggoi*).

¹ Evans, *Papers on the Ethnology*, pp. 13-14.

² Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. II, pp. 219-220.

³ Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.*, *An Apology to the Shade of Vaughan Stevens*, 1931, Vol. xv, p. 41.

Further enquiries elicited the statement that *bagiaig* is the larger kind of *buah saga*,¹ a small, hard red seed formerly used as a weight by the Malays, and most important of all that Tak Pern is derived from a flower called *pern*, which the Malays call *bunga pupun*. I have not been able to identify this, but it is said to be greenish and sweetly scented and to grow on a tree which can attain some size.

Yak Tanggoi's house was formerly Gunong (Mt.) Baling (in S. Kedah).² The people who lived there were like Negritos, but when they went up to heaven their houses became the mountain. Yak Kampeh, formerly a Negrito, became the *ipoh* tree (*Antiaris toxicaria*). She lives up-country in Pahang.³

The *Halak Gihmal*, mentioned above, is named Tak Taseg.

Tak Piagok dreamt that Yak Tanggoi wanted a comb and made one for her. That was the beginning of combs.⁴

Tak Pern and Tak Bajiaig were elder and younger brothers; they married two sisters, Jalang and Jamoi, of whom Jalang was said to be the younger.⁵ They were the daughters of Ag-ag, the crow. Klang (the hawk) was their younger brother.⁶

Skeat's Kedah (Kensieu) informants said that the heavens are in three layers. The highest, inhabited by the greater personages of Negrito mythology, is filled with fruit trees that bear fruit all the year round. The second tier also contains fruit trees, and is protected against pillagers by a gigantic baboon which pelts would-be thieves with hard, prickly fruits. The third layer contains low and brooding clouds which bring sickness to mankind.⁷

¹ The Malay name of the fruit.

² Schebesta noted previously that Tak Piagok's house, on his death, became a mountain near Baling. Tak Piagok was Yak Tanggoi's husband. Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 217.

³ *Vide* folk-tale, p. 241.

⁴ *Vide supra*, p. 133, for a different story.

⁵ I feel rather doubtful about this statement.

⁶ *Vide* folk-tale, p. 240.

⁷ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. II, p. 207.

CHAPTER XV

THE NEGRITO DEITIES (*continued*)

IN this continuation of the previous chapter I make an attempt to handle Schebesta's information with regard to the Negrito deities, relying chiefly on his paper the *Orang Hidop*,¹ which appears to be his most scientific account of them, but, before doing so, I wish to say something further with regard to the name of the chief deity of the Kintak Bong.

In the last chapter I referred to the difficulty that I experienced in recording correctly the name of this being. Skeat calls him Ta' Pönn, Vaughan Stevens Tappern and I, hitherto, Tapern. Schebesta says: "At that time I was not far enough advanced in learning the language² to hear the words aright. What I heard as Taprn and Tapun is in truth Ta-Pedn (I write it here Ta Pedn)."³ This spelling he maintains throughout his work.

On visiting the Kintak Bong in 1935 I resolved to make a further attempt to get to the bottom of the trouble. By analogy the name of their chief deity should certainly be Tak⁴-something; for the other chief personages of the heavens are all Tak (grandfathers) or Yak (grandmothers). Some considerable amount of questioning elicited that the name should be Tak Pern (Grandfather Pern), which spelling I now adopt, unless quoting from what I have written previously or similarly quoting Schebesta. On trying out the various versions of the name with the Kintak Bong I could not find anything better than Pern, which pronunciation they said was correct. When I suggested Pedn my informant remarked in Malay, "*Ta' tērķēna*"—"it does not hit it", meaning that it was not correct. I have noted, too, in my *Studies in Religion* (p. 147) that I heard the

¹ *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, Bd. xxiv, Heft 3-4, pp. 210-233; Bd. xxv, Heft 1-2, pp. 5-35.

² Apparently Schebesta claims to speak one or more Negrito dialects. I shall have something more to say with regard to this later.

³ *Orang Hidop*, p. 211.

⁴ The final *k* is like that in Malay, a glottal check. I write it as *k*, as that is the usage in romanized Malay.

chief deity among the Kintak Bong alluded to as Tak ('Ta') Tapern, while Schebesta (*Orang Hidop*, p. 226) says that the *Chinói* call Tak Pern "Tata Ta Pedn", *tata* meaning "grandfather". I made enquiry about this in 1935 and found that "ancestor" is the correct translation.

Schebesta starts his paper by saying something of the work of previous authors with regard to Negrito religion, mine being dismissed with brevity: "Recently Mr. I. H. Evans has also written about the religious beliefs of the Semang." He does, however, do me the unusual honour of quoting me in two places later on in his paper.

He remarks the "creative phantasy of individuals" among the Negritos¹ and says that a singer will give a song once and then, on being asked to re-sing it, vary it considerably.

His account is rather difficult to deal with, for I have tried, so far perhaps not very successfully, to keep references to Negrito thunder beliefs, and to their shamanism, till later chapters, confining myself in the first place to the study of the deities. This is not easy, however, because the subject of thunder is intimately bound up with the deities and that of the shaman, chiefly through the *Chinói*, closely connected with them. In Schebesta's paper all these subjects are dealt with, though he has a separate paper on shamanism in which part of the material in the present one recurs.

Apart from his preliminary remarks, Schebesta very usefully gives his information group by group.

The Jehai (Schebesta's Djhai)

This is the best summary that I have been able to make of Schebesta's material with regard to the Negrito deities as known to this group.

Karei is tall and shines with fire, which comes from him. He sits upright in heaven upon a *galogn* (a beam) and a beautiful mat is spread out before his chest. Offerings of mirrors are

¹ Perhaps differences in statements may be sometimes due not so much to creative phantasy of individuals as to there being several current versions of any one story.

made to him through the *halak* (shaman). The mirror flies to Karei and falls upon the mat and Karei laughs with pleasure and tells the *halak* how to heal the sick man upon whose behalf the offering is made. Karei's wife is Manoid. She lives in the earth. They meet from time to time. Lightning is the communication of Karei with Manoid.

Karei is both thunder and the person who makes the thunder. He sometimes walks on earth, but is not seen. He is feared on account of the punishments he sends for sins. His wrath can be averted by a blood offering.

Djamoi (my Jamoi) and Djalan (my Jalang) were once human beings and great *halak*. They left the earth out of fear of the tiger and climbed up to heaven.

The Immortals can be divided into two classes. To the first belong Karei and Manoid and their children, Ta Pedn, Begrag and Takel. The last is a female. Ta Pedn and Takel are unmarried. All except Manoid and Takel dwell in the firmament, Manoid and Takel in the earth. Karei, though not the creator, is the greatest. He has a plantation of fruit trees. When Karei plays with his children it thunders in the distance. Djamoi and Djalan¹ are the grandchildren of Karei and Manoid. Djamoi intercedes for men on earth if Karei sends violent thunder, as also does Pedn, calling men his grandchildren. Karei is considered evil because he demands blood for offences committed and sends punishments if not placated.

The *Cenoi* (my *Chinoi*) are servants of Karei. Karei punishes sins with death by lightning, by a falling tree, by a tiger, by certain illnesses.

Ta Pedn is said to be the creator, not Karei. Ta Pedn, as remarked above, makes petition for people who have sinned.

All the Immortals live on fruit. They pick it and suck out the juice and let the skins and stones fall to the earth, and these become fruit trees for human beings.

There are three *galogn* (beams) in the heavens, the *galogn Ta Pedn*, the *galogn cibe*, and the *galogn penlau*.² Ta Pedn,

¹ For remarks about the sex of these individuals among the Jehai *vide* p. 153.

² The beam of Tak Pern, the beam of the rising sun and the beam of daylight. *Vide* footnote 7, p. 164.

Djamoi and Djalan live on these *galogn*. Karei has his habitation below in a cave.

The Negritos of Grik (whom Schebesta calls Sabubn)

According to the Grik Negritos Karei, here Kaiei (my Kari), is not the father of Ta Pedn, but his elder brother. Kaiei is immortal and can change himself into a tree, a stone, or anything else. Other Immortals are Ta Pedn, Kapign (= Karpegn among the Jehai), Manoid, Takel and Djalan. Schebesta next quotes *in extenso* my legend of Mts. Këndërong and Kërunai which I have given in the previous chapter, remarking that the conception that Djamoi and Djalan are women will be met with again among the Kintak Bong. The Jehai, says Schebesta, believe them to be a married couple and tell a story that they went up to heaven from Gunong Këndërong, as Kaiei and Ta Pedn did in the Grik Negrito legend, but he remarks that the Negritos were never clear about personality among the Immortals, though "Kaiei always stands in the foreground of the religious views of the Sabubn, and Ta Pedn seems to be more in the background than among the Djahai".

As among the Jehai, Kaiei sends thunder and lightning for a punishment.

The Kintak Bong (Schebesta's Kenta)

It would appear that Schebesta's account of the Kintak deities is derived entirely from the Kintak Bong, not the Kintak Nakil.¹ Unfortunately, for reasons which I shall give immediately, it seems to me to be worthless, or almost so, owing to an unfortunate mistake on his part, though one made in perfectly good faith. Schebesta, having been used to the two deities (Karei and Tak Pern) among the Jehai and Grik Negritos, apparently went to the Kintak Bong and Kensieu and fathered them on to these two groups, and the Kintak Bong at any rate were too polite to contradict him, and accepting, more or less,

¹ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 257. Referring to the Kintak Nakil he says: "Unfortunately I had no opportunity of studying them closely, as I only came across them in passing."

his premises, did their best to furnish him with information. A horrid muddle therefore ensued. Subsequently he seems to have found out his mistake, at any rate partially, but not to have made the necessary corrections.

He notes, after giving his description of the deities, that a Kintak Bong informant named Hitam always spoke of Ta Pedn, whilst another (Hempĕlabn) spoke of Kaei as the same person, but in the sacred language Hitam said that Kaei was Ta Pedn, while Ta Pedn was called Kenandje. Under pressure from Hempĕlabn, however, Hitam said that Kaei was Kenandje and Pedn was always Pedn. Later, however, among the Kensieu, he met an individual named Djelai (Jelai) and spoke to him of Kaei and of how Kaei lived in the east and Ta Pedn in the west. To this the downright Jelai replied, "They have deceived you. Kaei is Ta Pedn, they are one and the same. Over there on the Perak River they say Kaei, but we Kensieu say Ta Pedn; it is all the same." Schebesta then reminded him that he (Jelai) had always talked of Kaei, and not of Ta Pedn, and to this Jelai promptly replied, "Simply because you were already familiar with it (him)."

Schebesta repeats this talk with Jelai in his book and says that he "remembered that old Timon (a Kensieu) always talked of Ta Pedn when I mentioned Karei and the same thing had occurred with the *hala* Hitam among the Kĕnta".¹ Why on earth, then, did he not revise his Kintak Bong (Kĕnta) information?

Later, in his paper on the *Orang Hidop*, while summarizing Negrito beliefs about the thunder god, he seems to attempt to let himself down lightly. He remarks that among the Sabubn² Karei and Pedn are brothers (which is correct) and also among the Kintak (which is not), but there already seems to be some doubt about the matter among the latter, whether there are really two people, or whether it is just one person with two names. Referring also to his conversation with Jelai he says:

¹ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 250.

² I have, as I have pointed out previously, been unable to trace this as a tribal name. He refers to the Negritos of Grik, often called *Menik Hangat*.



Photo: by author, 1935

KINTAK BONG NEGRITO MAN OF KUPANG, S. KEDAH,
WITH BAMBOO FLAGEOLET

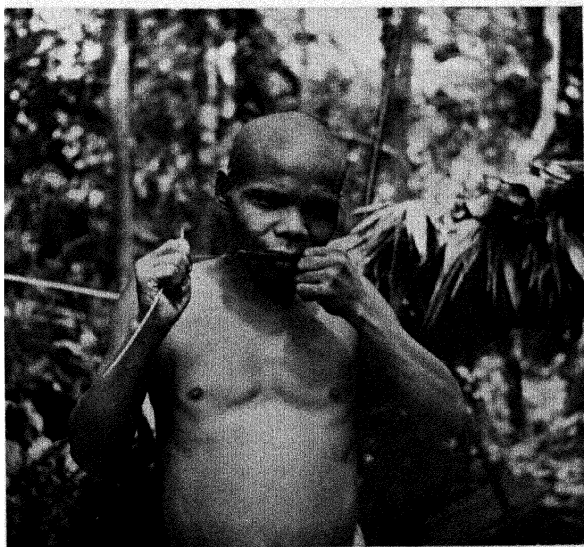


Photo: by author, 1935'

LANOH NEGRITO MAN OF THE LENGGONG NEIGHBOURHOOD,
UPPER PERAK, WITH NATIVE JEWS' HARP WITH PORCUPINE
QUILL HANDLE WHICH CAN BE USED AS A NOSE-QUILL

"Certainly no one deceived me."¹ That is correct; he deceived himself.

Avoiding all mention of the more important deities owing to this unfortunate confusion, there are still some details about the minor beings which may be mentioned here:

Ta Piago (Tak Piagok) was the first *hala* (*halak*) and ancestor of the Kěnta (Kintak Bong). Taseg, also called Gimal,² the father of Djalan and Djamoi, once lived in a cave in the limestone-marble mountain at Baling in Kedah. According to this version Tanggoi was their mother. But, as he says, the whole affair becomes more confused when we hear that Djalan, Djamoi and Kělang are the children of Agag, the crow.³

Elsewhere in the same paper Schebesta says: "Among the Kěnta I got on the track of a *lingua sacra* in which the religious songs were produced. It is no secret language in the real sense of the word, although it is only understood by the *hala*. The others only know a word here and there."⁴ Presumably he claims to be the first to discover this *Chinoi*-talk. That is the impression that he gives. The use of special words in connection with the songs at shamanistic séances had been noted by me long previously: "The female *Chinoi* use different words from the ordinary Kintak Bong dialect, and the males sometimes copy them."⁵

The Kensieu (Schebesta's Kensiu)

As I have recorded above, Schebesta's best Kensieu informant denounced the idea that Kaei and Ta Pedn were two persons. Schebesta first quotes Skeat on the religious views of the Kensieu of Siong to the effect that Ta Pönn (= Ta Pedn), the creator of the world, has the appearance of a Malay raja and that there is

¹ *Orang Hidop*, p. 29. He also says, speaking of the Kensieu, "I introduced the familiar word Kaei" (p. 6).

² For confirmation of this *vide* evidence obtained by me in 1935, p. 149, *supra*. I spell the name Gihmal.

³ *Vide Orang Hidop*, p. 226.

⁴ *Orang Hidop*, p. 228.

⁵ Evans, *Studies in Religion*, p. 150 and also p. 161. Schebesta had a copy of this book placed in his hands when he first arrived in Malaya and also a copy of that number of the *J.F.M.S.M.* in which the material first appeared. It is possible, too, that a more or less untranslatable love-charm given by Skeat has words in it of this class. *Pagan Races*, Vol. II, pp. 232-233. Skeat has also noted unusual words used in the songs. *Vide* also p. 121 *supra*.

no one above him. He is said to be the husband of the moon and to live with Ag-ag, the crow, who, again, is the wife of the sun. Ta Pedn looks like a human being; but he is as white as wool. He is said to have four children. The chirping of the kind of cicada that the Malays call *riang-riang* is the voice of the children of Ta Pedn. Takell is the mother of Ta Pedn. She lives in the centre of the earth. Ta Pedn's father is Kuka. Ta Pedn has an enemy who lives in the west. His name is Kakuh. Kakuh is black as coal and that is why the eastern sky is light, the western dark. In the heaven in which Kakuh lives there is also seated a giant ape as doorkeeper, who keeps away all those who want to penetrate heaven to get at the growing fruit. At the end of the world the booty will fall to the ape.¹

To this Schebesta adds that Kakuh is a bird (*Berenicornis comatus*, the White-Chested Hornbill), thought by the Kensieu to be a wicked bird. For which reason Ta Pedn does not like him and cuts his head off. The spirit of a dead person becomes a *kakuh*.

According to Schebesta's chief informant, Jelai, Ta Pedn has a younger brother Kalcegn.² The latter lives at a place above Pedn, and this place is called Uwi and is the realm of darkness. Kalcegn holds the liana to which the sun is attached, which he swings in a circle. Pedn is afraid that Kalcegn may let go of the liana. The sun, if it fell, would destroy everything and a great water would appear. Kalcegn is a *halak*.

Pedn and the *Cenoi* (*Chinoi*) live below the sun where everything is light, while above everything is dark. Pedn has existed from the beginning. He has no father and no mother and his wife is Manoid. In the beginning they both lived above. How Pedn and Manoid came down to earth and how they got children, following Schebesta's account, I relate in another chapter.³

¹ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. II, pp. 210-211. Schebesta's synopsis is, I find, somewhat incomplete. Tak Pern's four children, two male, two female, are named Rayadd and Harau (males) and Rahh-rah and Brua' (females). It was the Negritos of Teliang, apparently in one of the east coast states, as he refers to them as Pangan who gave Skeat the story of the ape, but they said it was as big as Gunong Baling, in Kedah. Shamans it appears sometimes tried to steal the fruit.

² Is this the same as, or a male form of, Kalcheng? *Vide* p. 142.

³ Chapter XVI, p. 160.

Later Pedn left the earth and went up to heaven, whilst Manoid withdrew into the earth.

Ta Pedn is white, also Manoid. Capogn (or Kakuh) is black. Pedn is in heaven with his grandchildren. Pedn made man out of fruit; and animals by changing men into beasts. All the inhabitants of heaven, except his younger brother, were his creations.

The Menrik of Kelantan

Schebesta says that this group stands closest to the Jehai in language. They appear to know nothing of Ta Pedn, but speak of Karei, his wife Takel and their son Hanei, the tiger. Karei's name was originally Rindjen, and he is also called Puteu. Karei is very big and has very long limbs. He can alter his shape when he wishes and become small. He is black. Once Karei, who was then called Rindjen, met his wife and son in the shape of a *siamang* gibbon.¹ He lit a fire and they warmed themselves at it. He warmed himself thoroughly at it, front and back, and then went up to heaven. From that time he was called Karei. His wife went into the earth and lives there, while Hanei went into the forest and became a tiger. Karei becomes old and young again, like the moon, but cannot die. A few *halak* have even tried, without success, to kill Karei. When Karei lets his voice be heard it thunders.

The Trang-Patalung Negritos

(Schebesta's Moni(k) Tonga and Mos)

These people, according to Schebesta, know a being called Kagei. He is like a *moni* (Negrito) and lives alone. They fear Kagei because he sends lightning.²

The Bateg of Pahang

The highest being is Keto (Ketok). They know neither Ta Pedn nor Karei. Keto is a Negrito, tall and with a black skin. His

¹ The Malay name of *Symphalangus syndactylus*.

² Cf. *supra*, p. 147.

body is covered with long hair and he has a long beard. He has two eyes, the sun, *med keto*,¹ and the moon.

Keto lives above. He is good. Only the *hala* (here *puteu*) can meet him. Keto has created Taogn and Tegn, two brothers who, in their turn, created trees and stones.² He makes rain and sunshine, night and day.³

¹ That is the eye of *ketok*, or among other Negritos, the eye of day. Ketok is here a being.

² Cf. with my material, p. 146.

³ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 276.

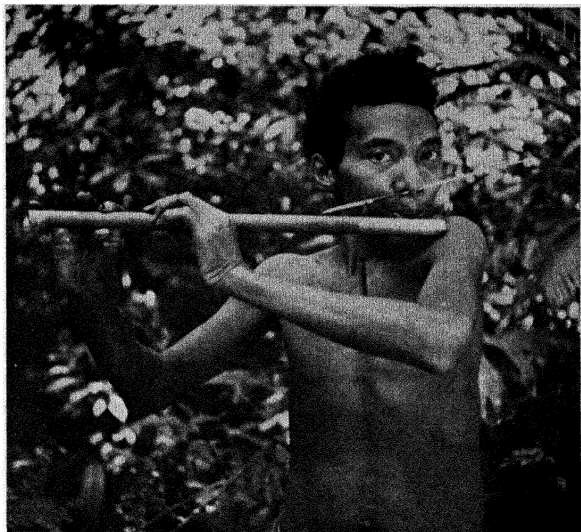


Photo: by author, 1935

ANOH NEGRITO OF THE LENGGONG NEIGHBOURHOOD
UPPER PERAK, WITH TRANSVERSE BAMBOO FLUTE

Note nose-quill with native Jews' harp hanging from it.

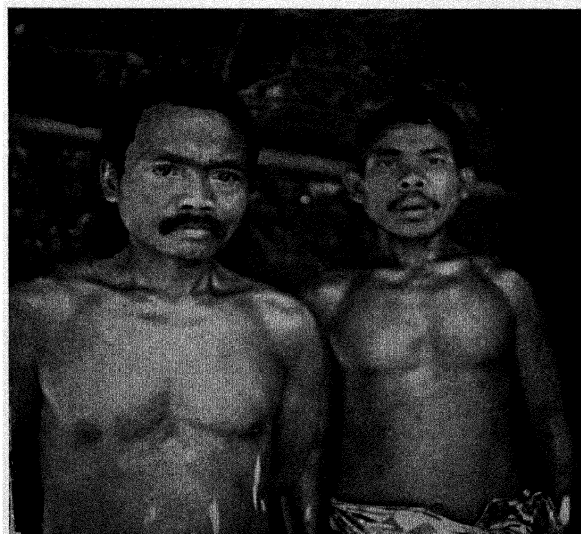


Photo: by author, 1935

TWO JEHAU BELUM NEGRITO MEN, MET IN S. KEDAH,
BUT FROM UPPER PERAK

They appear to have much non-Negrto blood, presumably Sakai.

Library

CHAPTER XVI

THE CREATION OF THE WORLD, THE ORIGIN OF THE NEGRITOS, THE SUN, THE MOON, THE RAINBOW, RAIN

THE Menik Kaïen and Kintak Bong believe that the earth was brought up from below by Taheum (the dung-beetle) in the form of a kind of powder.¹ This Kawap, the bear, stamped down with his paws, for, if he had not done so, the earth would have gone on rising till it almost reached the sky.²

A recent (1935) informant among the Kintak Bong told me that Tak Pern stopped Taheum when the earth reached mid-way to heaven.

Another version from the Kintak Bong, collected by Schebesta, subsequent to mine, is as follows:

In the beginning was a great water. Out of this Tahobn, the dung-beetle, brought forth the earth in a small pack. This pack grew higher and higher. Everything would have become mountains if the bear (Kawab) had not come and trampled down the hills. Thus the flat lands were made. Kaei³ sat above and saw how the earth had come into being. He climbed down to it and created the *Rankel*⁴ and then ascended to heaven again.⁵

Another story obtained by Schebesta is that Kaei (*sic*) and Manoid made the first two children out of clay. They were male and female and married each other, but they got children through the woman's picking a flower in which was a stone, which became a girl, and a *palas* shoot which also contained a stone.

¹ As dung-beetles bring up powdery earth from below at the present day when they draw pieces of dung under the surface of the soil.

² Evans, *Studies in Religion*, p. 154.

³ This obviously should be Tak Pern, in view of what has been said in the last chapter.

⁴ *Vide* Chapter XVIII, pp. 186-187, 189.

⁵ Schebesta, *Orang Hidop*, p. 228.

This became a boy. The two grew up and had children in the ordinary way.¹

The Kensieu told Schebesta that at first only Pedn and Manoid his wife existed. The sun was already there, but not the earth. Then Tahobn, the dung-beetle, made the earth by pulling it out of the mud. The sun dried it and made it firm. When Pedn and Manoid saw the earth they descended to it. When the earth came into being trees grew out of it, but there were no animals or birds. Pedn and Manoid got two children in the following way. Manoid dreamt of a child and begged Pedn for one. Pedn went out to get some fruit and spread out a cloth for the fruit to fall on it, and, when the fruit fell, it became a child which began to scream. It was a boy. Manoid dreamt again, this time about a female child and begged her husband for it, so Pedn did as before and the fruit which fell into the cloth became a girl. The boy was Capai (identified in a story that Schebesta gives as the *kakuh*-bird) and the girl was called Pa'ig (identified in the same story with *baul*, the tortoise). Both were *Cenoi-halak*. As there were no other people, they married each other and had children.² Two of these were Encogcn and Kadjegn, both "grandchildren" of Ta Pedn. When Encogcn came to a rock he heard the rushing of water. He shot an arrow into the rock so that water gushed forth. He became famous through this deed.³

Later Pedn left the earth and went up to heaven, whilst Manoid withdrew into the earth. When Pedn left the earth he ordered that various *meni'* (people) were to become animals, and his orders were carried out. All animals were once *meni'*. It seems that Pedn left the earth because he was angry with the people for marrying their near relatives. Possibly the turning of the people into animals was a punishment for their evil conduct. Schebesta's myth, as given, is, as he himself says, not at all clear.⁴

¹ Schebesta, *Orang Hidop*, p. 230.

² *Vide infra*, p. 232, for a legend of a somewhat similar nature about Yak Kampeh and Tak Piagok; and for a Bornean legend of the wholesale marrying of brothers and sisters *vide Studies in Religion*, p. 84.

³ Cf. with a Lanoh story, pp. 238-239.

⁴ Schebesta, *Orang Hidop*, p. 7.

A Kintak Bong informant told me recently (1935) that all the animals were once men, but Tak Pern had changed the people into animals because they did not pay the blood sacrifice.

The following legend was obtained from a Negrito that I met at Ijok, Selama, Perak, in 1913. He was probably a Lanoh from Lenggong, but of that I am not certain:

Once upon a time the king of the *mawas*¹ monkeys, Raja Mawas, fought with the king of the *siamang*² monkeys, Raja Siamang, in the country where our ancestors lived. Our ancestors ran away from the place, being frightened by the war, and hid themselves in a plain covered by *alang* grass. The Raja Mawas beat the Raja Siamang, and the latter, with his people, ran away and hid in the same plain as our ancestors. The Raja Mawas came and set fire to the grass, and the Raja Siamang and his followers fled and crossed the Perak River. Our ancestors did not run away, having hidden themselves in porcupine burrows, in order to escape the fire. In spite of this, the fire reached them, and singed their hair, and this is the reason why we, their descendants, have curly hair to the present day.

After the war was over the king of the *bërok* monkeys,³ Raja Bërok, became judge between the *siamang* and the *mawas*, and he gave judgment that the *siamang* should stop on the south bank of the Perak River and the *mawas* on the north; and thus they do till the present day, though before they had both lived on the north bank.⁴

The ancestors of the Malays, when the war arose, ran away downstream carrying a rice spoon with them; and that is why the Malays use a spoon in cooking their rice.

Our ancestors ran away up-stream carrying a pointed stick; and that is the reason why we still use a stick for digging tubers in the jungle.⁵

I have already, in a former chapter,⁶ noted a similar legend among the Trang-Patalung Negritos of S. Peninsular Siam.

¹ The *mawas* is here probably *Hylobates* sp.

² The *siamang* is *Symphalangus syndactylus*.

³ *Macacus nemestrinus*.

⁴ The Perak River, in its upper reaches, runs directly from north to south. It would, therefore, be better to substitute west for south and east for north in the story, but I leave it as it was told.

⁵ Evans, *Studies in Religion*, p. 146. Both Skeat and Vaughan Stevens have versions of this story. *Vide Pagan Races*, Vol. II, pp. 219-220.

⁶ P. 147.

I may state here, however, that the *baweich*, there mentioned as being friendly to the Negritos, is the *běrok* (Malay) *Macacus nemestrinus*. This (*baweich*) is the ordinary Negrito name for the animal, as can be seen on looking up "monkey" in the comparative vocabulary in *Pagan Races*.¹

Schebesta, too, has versions of the story:

He says that the Kintak Bong (his Kěnta) believe that they originally came from the west near Gunong Jerei on the Kedah coast and that they were originally one tribe with the Kensieu.

One of their legends of origin is that in the beginning the people looked like Malays and "lived on the Gunong Běrapī (Rice Mountain)² near the coast". "From the land of Benua, i.e. Siam",³ came the king of the *běrok* monkeys, who waged war on the *siamang* apes. The king of the *běrok* monkeys lit a fire and the *siamang* and all the men fled to the upper reaches of the Perak River. This occasion seems to have been that of the invention of fire, for, when the wife of the king of the *běrok* monkeys was in childbirth, the king of the *běrok* split a coconut for her, so that she might drink its contents, but fire leaped out of it and with this fire he set alight the long grass, and all the people fled before the fire. Part of the people had their hair singed by the flames and these fled to the interior and became Negritos. Others, who fled downstream, became the Malays.⁴

Schebesta also has a short version of the same legend in which the *siamang* and *mawas* figure, but not the *běrok*. The scene of the contest is said to have been the Ulu Ple (Pleh?) near Grik, Upper Perak. He suggests that the dark *siamang* apes really represent the Negritos driven inland by a fairer race,⁵ but the Perak River does actually, I believe, form a boundary between the two species of gibbon.

¹ Vol. II, p. 659, M 134.

² But the name means Fire Mountain, i.e. volcano. There is no volcano in the Peninsula, but the name will be found elsewhere, p. 203. The Kensieu have a story that they once lived on an island in the west. *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 256

³ *Benua*, however, means country. *Benua Siam* is Siam. It is the same word as *vanua* in Polynesian, e.g. Vanua Levu, one of the Fiji group.

⁴ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, pp. 216-217. The ancestors of the Jehai, he says, took the bow when they fled, and that is why the other tribes do not use it. This must be a modern addition to the story.

⁵ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 216.

The Sun

The Menik Kaien tell the following story with regard to the way in which the sun appeared in the sky :

There were once two persons, male and female, named Ag-ag¹ and Klang. The former has now become the Crow, the latter the Hawk. They lived in a house, and they had a son who was called Tanong, the Dragon-fly.

One day Tanong was flitting backwards and forwards under the house, playing like a child, and, as he did so, the house was carried up into the air, and rose towards the sky. Presently Tanong's mother looked out of the door to see what her son was doing, and becoming dizzy on finding that the house had risen far above the earth, she fell from the doorway screaming like a Hawk, and, while in mid-air, became transformed into a bird of that kind. Soon the father also came to the door and he too fell out, and became the Crow.

Tanong went up to the sky with the house. The house became the sun and Tanong lives with Tapern and looks after it.²

I have also two other stories, one Schebesta's, the other mine, with regard, in part, to Ag-ag and Klang.³ They differ in many ways from that above and, though the rising of the house to the sky is mentioned, it is not stated that the house became the sun. I have also referred to Ag-ag and Klang previously.⁴

According to my Menik Kaien informant, the sun, when it sets, falls into a tunnel-like cave which extends under the earth, and passes out through the far end of it each morning to appear again in the east.⁵

A Lanoh Negrito of Lenggong told me that the sun goes under the earth when it sets, Yak Pudaу guards the place where it rises.⁶

Skeat, without mentioning from where he obtained the information, says that the sun, when it sets, falls into a hole which, in some legends, is hell. It goes down below a range of

¹ The Kensieu told Skeat that Ag-ag, the Crow, was the husband of the sun (female). *Pagan Races*, Vol. II, p. 202.

² Evans, *Studies in Religion*, pp. 154-155.

³ *Vide* pp. 240, 243.

⁴ P. 156.

⁵ Evans, *Studies in Religion*, pp. 154-155.

⁶ Evans, *Papers on the Ethnology*, p. 24.

mountains on the western edge of the world, which is flat, and there gives light to the Senoi (? Sakai).¹

Schebesta obtained a story from the Kintak Bong that *Halak* Dalogn holds in his hands the "*tankei djalan manau*"² at the end of which the sun hangs, and that he lets the sun circle round.³

He also has a legend, from the same group, that every evening the sun is swallowed by a large bird, the *hengagn*,⁴ from which it emerges, at the lower end, on the following morning. The bird reaches from east to west and lives under the earth.⁵

As I have noted previously, a Jehai informant told Schebesta of three beams (*galogn*⁶) in the sky: *Galogn Ta Pedn*, *Galogn Cibe*, *Galogn Penlau*. "Ta Pedn, Djamoi and Djalan live on these *galogn*."⁷

The *Galogn Cibe* and the *Galogn Penlau* are, I believe, both connected with the sun, the first being the same as my *Balan Chibeh* (bridge of the rising sun) which occurs in one of the shaman's chants: "Father, father, I have climbed the bridge of the rising sun." It is a Chemam, as spirit of the "middle air", who is speaking. The sun appears to pass along a bridge after coming out of the passage under the earth.⁸

Schebesta, also speaking of the Kintak Bong, says, "a *galogn* (kind of beam) goes through the entire world and on it the sun walks".⁹

I have recorded a story, not at all clear, but seemingly having

¹ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. II, p. 202.

² This Malay expression seems to signify "the stalk of the rattan road". *Manau* is a species of rattan.

³ Schebesta, *Orang Hidop*, p. 230.

⁴ Probably the Malay *enggang*, hornbill.

⁵ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 237.

⁶ Malay *galang*.

⁷ Schebesta, *Orang Hidop*, p. 213. I have an old, but yet unpublished, note from the Kintak Bong that *penlau* is the period when it is just becoming light in the morning, *pudau* when the sun is up a little, *chibeh* when it is more up ("seven o'clock") and *charah* (=Malay *chérâh*) when it is still higher ("8 o'clock").

⁸ Evans, *Studies in Religion*, p. 155. From a Menik Kaïen informant.

⁹ Schebesta, *Orang Hidop* and also *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 218.

something to do with the sun, from a Lanoh Negrito of Leng-gong. This is that

near the place where the sun rises there is a *kěpayang* (*hod*) tree.¹ From close to the base of this tree there stretches a bridge (*galong*)² which extends towards a fire—"the original fire"—called *Yamput*. For some reason, the tree went (or goes) to the other side of the fire, avoiding the bridge and going round. The tree becomes a *Chinoi* at night. Yara-meng came out of its roots and was at first a snake.³

An interesting diagram of the heavens, of the earth beneath, and of the underworld was drawn for me by a Kintak Bong informant in this year (1935). The diagram will be found elsewhere.⁴ In it are shown the paths of the sun and moon running parallel. Both emerge from a hole in the east, which is guarded on the north by a cow and on the south by her cow-calf, and disappear into a hole in the west which is guarded by a bull.⁵ Tak Pern looks after the eastern oxen and Yak Manoid after the bull in the west. The two paths appear to be rattans, the sun's path being the *gělong med ketok*, and the moon's the *gělong kichek*.⁶

The Eclipse of the Moon, and the Moon

As among all primitive, and many barbaric, peoples the Negritos are much disturbed by the lunar eclipse:

From the Menik Kaïen I have recorded that

the eclipse of the moon is caused by the sun (male), who is jealous of the moon (female), because she has many children (the stars).⁷

¹ *Kěpayang* is the Malay name of the tree, *hod* the Negrito name. According to Ridley the *kěpayang* is *Pangium edule*.

² Probably the same as the bridge of the rising sun referred to above.

³ Evans, *Papers on the Ethnology*, p. 24.

⁴ Appendix III.

⁵ The ox, unless the wild ox (*Bos gaurus*) is not known to the Negritos except as an animal introduced by outsiders (Malays, etc.). Can this reference be due to ancient Hindu influence upon Negrito religion?

⁶ *Gělong* is a Malay word meaning, according to Wilkinson's Dictionary, a passage through the bar of a river, a double or multiple loop of rattan. These two paths are, therefore, the loops of the sun (eye of day) and the moon respectively. Schebesta has noted above the *galogn*, which he says are beams, and also that the sun is attached to a rattan. My Lenggong informant also talked about a beam (*galong*). There is a Malay word *galang* which also means beam. Is there perhaps confusion in the minds of the Negritos between *gělong* and *galang*, which makes them talk of both beams and rattans?

⁷ Negritos (probably Lanoh) met at Ijok told me that the moon's children were the stars.

He, therefore, sends the *Gahaiyup*, a kind of large butterfly, or moth, to attack her. The lunar eclipse is thus called "butterfly swallow" (*Gahaiyup hilud*). The *Gahaiyup* comes from the place where the sun goes down (*met ketok menlis*). The ideas of the Ijok people (probably mostly Lanoh) were exactly similar, as also those of the Jehai of Temengor, who call the eclipse *kenod bulan*, and frighten the butterfly away by making music with bamboo stampers. The Negritos of Grik, however, seem to think that the eclipse (*bulan pud*) is caused by a gigantic snake, while the Negritos of the Cheka River, Pahang, have an identical belief and call the eclipse "snake swallow" (*jekob hilug*).¹

Schebesta says that the Kintak (he should say Kintak Bong) maintain that the moon is human, and that it is sometimes said to be an old man, sometimes a child. During an eclipse they help the moon to frighten away the dragon that is devouring it, by singing, shouting and making a clatter. The dragon is really the sun, which is the enemy of the moon because the moon stole the sun's children, as is also believed among the Jehai.²

The Jehai also told Schebesta that during the eclipse of the moon it was swallowed by a dragon.³ The methods employed to aid the moon to escape are similar to those employed by the Kintak Bong. This group, as also the Grik Negritos, believe that every evening the sun is swallowed by a large frog (*chankei*).⁴ Schebesta also records that the Negritos of the Trang-Patalung hills say that "in the moon the moon's grandmother sits and looks out". An eclipse of the moon throws the people into great panic, and they try to help the moon by shouting and making a din.⁵

I got still another version of the eclipse story during my short

¹ Evans, *Studies in Religion*, p. 155.

² Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 237.

³ He also says that the Jehai regard the sun as feminine and the moon as masculine. Originally both had children like themselves. The moon hid his children under his arm and told the sun that he had eaten them. He persuaded the sun to eat hers, which she did. He did this to help mankind, because the heat of the sun's children was not to be endured. The sun pursued the moon because of this cheat, which she discovered when the moon again produced her children—the stars. *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 107.

⁴ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, pp. 194-195.

⁵ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 271.

visit to the Kintak Bong during this year, 1935. They said that *pudau*¹ is *Chinoi*-talk for the moon:

The moon (the elder sister) hides her children (the stars) in her topknot² and tells her younger sister (the sun) that she has swallowed them. The sun really swallows hers and then voids their bones. If she did not, mankind could not stand the heat of her children. That is why the sun pursues the moon and hides her under her armpit until, pleased at hearing the noise made by the people below, she lets her go again.³

Skeat's Kensieu informants said that the moon is the wife of Tā Pönn (Tak Pern).⁴

The Rainbow

The rainbow, according to the Ijok Negritos,⁵ is a fishing-line. They say that somewhere far away there lives a king of the dragons, who, when he requires fish, sends a servant to the river to fish for him, and, as the king's servant lifts his rod from the water, his line, with its two-coloured thread, is seen in the sky as the rainbow.

The Kintak Bong and Menik Kaen, on the other hand, say that the rainbow is two snakes called *Huyak*, which come to drink.⁶

A legend about these two snakes was produced for me by the Kintak Bong during my recent (1935) visit to Malaya:

There are two *Huyak*,⁷ brothers. Their names are Tak Tahi and Tak Suwau, Tak Tahi being the elder. They were once Negritos. Rice arose from the youngest child of Tak Suwau. He cut open the youngest child's stomach and took the blood

¹ *Vide* Yak Puda, p. 163.

² Kintak Bong women have a topknot of hair.

³ For a somewhat similar story from the Sakai *vide* *Studies in Religion*, p. 207.

⁴ *Pagan Races*, Vol. II, p. 202.

⁵ From a Negrito met at Ijok, very likely a Lanoh from Lenggong.

⁶ Evans, *Studies in Religion*, p. 155.

⁷ Skeat (*Pagan Races*, Vol. II, p. 224) also mentions the rainbow snake *Ikub Hwēā*, which Vaughan Stevens calls *Huyā* or *Hoyā*: "the great world-snake of which the rainbow is the visible portion". It seems likely that Skeat got the name from the Kensieu and Stevens from the Kintak Bong. Schebesta, writing of the Jehai, mentions *Hurā*, the rainbow snake, which sometimes scatters the water of its bath and causes "hot rain", which must be avoided (*Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 107). The Kensieu also told Skeat (*Pagan Races*, Vol. II, p. 203) that the *Hurā* tries, in the guise of a serpent, to embrace her mother-in-law, the moon, but the moon eludes her. The stars are the moon's children.

and strewed it about. This became rice. Formerly the Malays had no rice, only the Negritos had rice. The Malays ate wild tubers. Yak (grandmother) Ketutor¹ (the turtle-dove) was the youngest child. Its heart became the turtle-dove (*ketutor*). When the padi was ripe the *ketutor* came and ate it and then went to a (Malay) raja's house and said to the raja that he (the raja) ate tubers, while she (the bird) ate padi. The bird left a dropping on the raja's threshold² which contained a grain of padi (unhusked rice) and a grain of rice (husked rice). The raja saw the grains and had the padi grain planted. In six days it sprang up and gave much padi. The raja's people took the padi and pounded it to make rice, like the other sample left by the bird. That is how the Malays learnt about rice.

The ears of the child became the *sireh*-vine, its backbone sugar-cane, its head a coconut, its fingers and toes string-beans, its topknot³ onions, its brains lime (for chewing with tobacco, etc.), its eyes areca nut, its forearms cucumbers, its stomach a gourd and its spleen tobacco.

The two other children of Tak Suwau were Badeh Nai, the elder, a male, and Badeh Napeg,⁴ the younger, a female. Badeh Nai became a white pig and Badeh Napeg a black pig.

Tak Suwau turned the sun round so that it rose in the east, instead of the west, as formerly. He also turned round Gunong Baling (near Baling, S. Kedah). When he had turned the sky round, he went into the earth.

Tak Tahi was stupid and did nothing. He became the white-striped squirrel, *waid hmbal*, which the Malays call *tupai nandong*. Both brothers went into the earth together and come up together, forming the rainbow. Tak Suwau is below, as he went deeper into the earth. In the six months when the padi is growing⁵ they are always coming up to look at it. After that they are not often seen.⁶

¹ *Tėkukor* in Malay.

² Probably in contempt of him.

³ The Kintak Bong women leave a topknot of hair on their heads. It is to be presumed that the child was a female.

⁴ *Napeg* means pig.

⁵ The rainy season.

⁶ According to Skeat's Kensieu informants spots where the rainbow touches the earth are feverish (*Pagan Races*, Vol. II, p. 203).

Rain

Rain, according to the Kintak Bong, is caused by a stone flower, called *Jampun*, which grows in the sky. There is water in the flower, and when it turns downwards the water falls from it as rain. A *Chinoi*, Liren, guards the flower.¹

Further details about the *Jampun* were obtained by me in 1935. I was told that the *emyob* (a kind of cricket living in burrows in the earth which the Malays call *sěsorok*) used to look after the flower. The *emyob*, as all other animals, was once a Negrito. Chemam looks after the *Jampun* now.

¹ Evans, *Studies in Religion*, p. 155.

CHAPTER XVII

THUNDER, LIGHTNING, TABUS AND PUNISHMENT TALES

THE fear of thunder and lightning, punishment for sins committed and tabus broken and only to be avoided by a blood sacrifice, has a very prominent place in Negrito religious ideas and in their daily life, and has been noted both by Vaughan Stevens and Skeat.¹

I have added a good deal of information on this subject to what was known previously, and Schebesta has, also, recorded much from various groups.

In his paper on the *Orang Hidop* (the Immortals) he has observed, too, that, as I had done previously, these beliefs of punishment by lightning for the infraction of certain tabus are found among the Sakai as well as among the Negritos. Though the thunder beliefs have been developed to, or remain at, a maximum among the Negritos, it must be pointed out, however, as Schebesta has not done, that they are confined neither to the Negritos nor the Sakai, but are found, to a minor degree, not only among the Malays, but outside the Malay Peninsula—in Borneo, for instance.

Certain actions are thought to be displeasing to the Powers Above, and where these tabued actions are performed it is believed that a great storm, with thunder and lightning, will arise, that water will well up from under the earth and that the offenders will be struck by lightning, or swallowed up in the liquescent earth and their houses become petrified. Examples

¹ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. II, pp. 204–206. He (Skeat) saw the blood-throwing ceremony enacted by eastern Negritos (locality not specified) and was told that it was performed in order to avert storms due to the infraction of the mother-in-law tabu. The explanation was that the spirits of the wicked either go above to become storm spirits, or into the earth to become water spirits, and that these are pacified by the sacrifice. Vaughan Stevens describes the ceremony and says that Ple (fruit impersonated?) uses the blood to create red fruits such as the *rambutan* (Malay), *Nephellium lappaeum*, which are eaten by mankind.

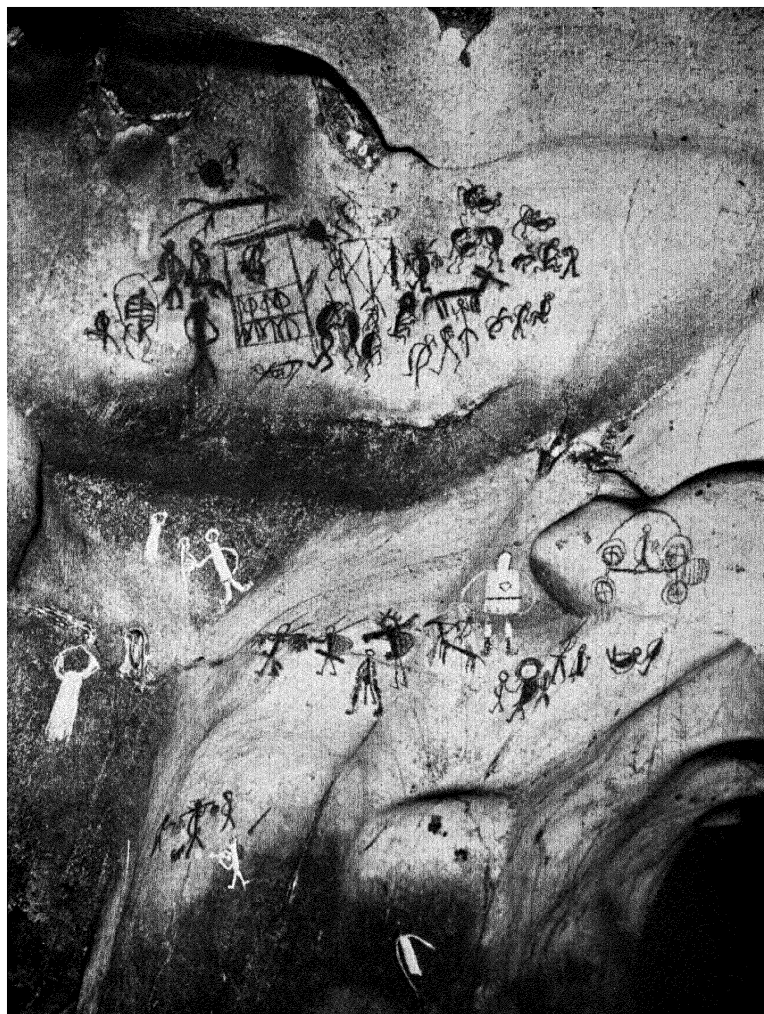


Photo: taken for F.M.S. Mus. Journ. by Messrs. Uchida, Taiping. Reproduced in Vol. XII, 1927

LANOH NEGRITO CAVE DRAWINGS NEAR LENGGONG, UPPER PERAK

Note party returning from the jungle with blow pipes, quivers, back-baskets and objects slung from a pole, also motor-car with driver, steering wheel, radiator, all four wheels and hood. A figure, in white appears to hold a gun or pistol.

of such punishment stories among the Sakai, the Jakun, the Malays and among the Orang Dusun of British North Borneo will be found in my *Studies in Religion*.¹

The Malays, of Pahang, however, appear to have the idea that, during a drought, they can make use of the Powers Above by irritating them to a slight extent by doing unusual actions, and thus obtaining much-needed rain for their crops. I have published a record of these beliefs in a translation made by me of a Malay MS., written at my request by 'Che Wan Lela.²

In view of the occurrence of these beliefs both among the Malays, a people of superior culture, and also outside the Peninsula, I do not think that Schebesta's contention that they were peculiar in the first place to the Negritos and were subsequently borrowed by the Sakai can be maintained, though borrowing by the Sakai from the Negritos is just possible. It would appear that the Negritos took beliefs that were widely current in the Malayan region and, perhaps, developed, or changed, them somewhat to suit themselves.

Below I give my own accounts of thunder beliefs among the Negritos, recorded, prior to Schebesta's work, in my *Studies in Religion*, together with a few supplementary notes from *Papers on the Ethnology* and a little material obtained recently (1935).

As I have noted above, thunder and lightning being, according to Negrito ideas, caused by the Powers Above, are much feared.

Tökeh, my Menik Kaien informant, said that the Menik Kaien and Kintak Bong draw blood from the outer side of the right leg near the shin-bone when a bad thunderstorm comes on and throw it up towards the sky saying "*Loim³ mahom pek keping!*" (i.e. "Throw the blood aloft"). Mëmpëlam (Schebesta's Hempëlabn) supplemented my information with regard to the blood offering made by the Kintak Bong when a bad storm arises, stating that before the blood is thrown upward, as described above, a little is poured downwards to the earth for

¹ Evans, *Studies in Religion*, pp. 81-82, 87-88, 199-207, 271-272. *Vide* also Wan Lela, *J.F.M.S.M.* 1923, Vol. XII, pp. 32-34. The Pahang Malays, it may be noted, make a hair sacrifice when a storm has been created by inadvertence. *Vide* also my *Papers on the Ethnology*, pp. 102-103.

² Wan Lela, *J.F.M.S.M.* 1923, Vol. XII, pp. 32-34.

³ This probably should be "*loi*". *Vide Pagan Races*, Vol. II, p. 737, T 106.

the "Grandmothers", the person who makes the offering saying, "*Un Yak Kalcheng, Yak Manoid, tembun ajer nteng chuchok Chapor, Chalog chigiog nteng Tapern pi-weg kائي pek kid beteu!*" That is, I think, fairly correctly translated as follows: "Yak Kalcheng, Yak Manoid, come up *and* give advice to the ears of your grandchildren, Chapor *and* Chalog, to relate to the ears of Tapern that he should make go back the thunder to the roots of the waters."

The Jehai told me that, cutting the leg in the same manner, they take a few drops of blood from the wound on the blade of a knife and, putting them into the palm of the left hand, throw them up into the air saying, "*Haroid! Saidth!*" (Throw it away! Sleep!(?)). A man of the group (Menik Hangat) that lives in the neighbourhood of Grik informed me that his people also perform the blood-throwing ceremony when frightened by thunder, saying as they do so, "*Daiah hog di-baling*",¹ which seems to mean, "Take up the blood (*darah* in Malay) that is thrown."

Some Negritos of Lenggong, Upper Perak, to whom I once showed a stone axe-head that I had purchased from a Malay, said that it was a thunder-stone, and this belief about ancient stone implements is common to the Malays as well.

A Negrito met at Ijok, group unknown, gave an account of the origin of thunder and lightning which differs from that of the Menik Kaïen and Kintak Bong which I have recorded in a previous chapter. He said that thunder is caused by the spirits that live under the earth, who, when they are preparing their food and cooking it, make noises which are heard on earth as thunder. An explanation of lightning, obtained from people of the same camp, scarcely seems to tally with that for thunder; this is that lightning is caused by the children who live under the earth, who, when they play at tops, flourish the cords that they use for spinning them, and these appear above the earth as lightning.²

Among the Jehai certain actions are tabu, being thought to

¹ *Di-baling* is Malay and means "thrown".

² Skeat obtained a somewhat similar story from the Negritos of Siong, S. Kedah (the Kensieu). *Vide Pagan Races*, Vol. II, p. 206. Lightning is the flashing of the top cords of dead medicinemen.

cause thunderstorms which may involve the death by lightning, or drowning, of others as well as the transgressors. For instance, it is tabu for anyone to kill a millipede, to shoot a certain species of owl with the blowpipe, or to flash a looking-glass, or other shining object, about in the open; and, for the same reason, it is forbidden for a man to have intercourse with his wife during the daytime.¹ An attempt is sometimes made to drive away a threatening storm by blowing through the teeth with a hissing sound—"Hish".

Such disastrous storms, which are accompanied by floods of rain, by the welling up of water from under the earth, and sometimes by petrifications,¹ are called *henweh* by the Kintak Bong and Menik Kaïen, and they think that such acts as copying the notes of certain birds are particularly displeasing to the Powers Above, and thus likely to bring down their wrath in this manner. The following story, which I got from Tōkeh, my Menik Kaïen informant, illustrates these ideas very well:

Some Negrito children once copied the note of a *sagwong* bird,² and there came thunder and lightning and a great flood, and all the Negritos were drowned with the exception of one *halak* (magician), who managed to make his escape. For this reason the notes of the *sagwong* and the *chorh* must not be copied till the present day.³ Yak Lepeh, Yak Manoid and Yak Takel made the waters rise from under the earth.

Tōkeh stated that legendary sites of several old Negrito encampments, which are said to have been overwhelmed in this manner, are still pointed out in the neighbourhood of Ijok. For fear of *henweh* it is also forbidden for a man and woman to have sexual intercourse in the camp—an act which particularly enrages Tapern (Tak Pern). They must retire to the jungle for the purpose. As far as I could find out, no such prohibition is

¹ For similar beliefs among the Sakai and the Malays *vide* my *Studies in Religion*, pp. 109-206, 271-272. The Kintak Bong told me (in 1935) that it was forbidden to flash a mirror in the sun, because the flashes shine on Tak Pern's face, and he becomes angry.

² Said to be the bird known to the Malays as *burong sa'kawan*, *Anthracoceros malayanus*.

³ Tōkeh told me at a later date that the notes of the *kēmastadu* (Pied Long-tailed Flycatcher) and the *sang-id* (the Black-naped Flycatcher) must not be imitated for fear of *henweh*.

found among the Negritos of Grik, though, for a similar reason, sexual intercourse is not indulged in during the daytime.¹

Coming now to my material recorded in my *Papers on the Ethnology* and in numbers of the *Journal of the Federated Malay States Museums* of later date than that publication:

I have already given, in a previous chapter, an account of the thunder beliefs of two outlying groups of Negritos, those of the Bateg of Pahang and those of the Negritos of the Trang-Patalung hills.² From a Lanoh Negrito of Lenggong I have recorded that the deity causes the welling up of water by throwing down a quartz crystal. Such acts as laughing at a cat or dog are thought by the Lanoh to be extremely displeasing to the Powers Above and, as a punishment, bad thunderstorms with floods of rain are sent, which when thus produced are called *h'moin*.³ These are followed by phenomena called *henwoie*,⁴ which comprise the welling up of water and the engulfing of the offender's camp in the earth. Tajuk ("snake") looks after the waters under the earth, and Pandak,⁵ my informant, said with regard to this snake, "If we don't pay him, he kills us", this being with regard to the blood-throwing ceremony for averting *henwoie*. According to Pandak, it is Yara-meng⁶ who takes the blood that is thrown upwards.

An enormous green grasshopper, of the kind which the Malays call *bělalang kochong*, makes thunder with its wings.⁷

Schebesta also notes, at some length, that ancient stone implements are considered to be thunderbolts among the Perak Valley Negritos. He gives a description of a blood sacrifice at which he was present among the Jehai and says that the blood is offered to Karei and his wife Manoid, the former above, the latter below, the earth. Manoid has only a small part, a few drops being shed on the ground for her.

¹ Just as among the Jehai. Evans, *Studies in Religion*, pp. 151-154.

² Pp. 146-147.

³ Equivalent to the Malay *chélau*, which is explained later in the chapter.

⁴ Equivalent to *kělëboran* (Malay) which follows upon *chélau*. The same, of course, as the Kintak Bong *henweh*.

⁵ The name by which he is known to the Malays. His Negrito name is Sadeuh. He is alive and I was with him recently (1935).

⁶ *Vide* pp. 145-146.

⁷ Evans, *Papers on the Ethnology*, pp. 24-25.

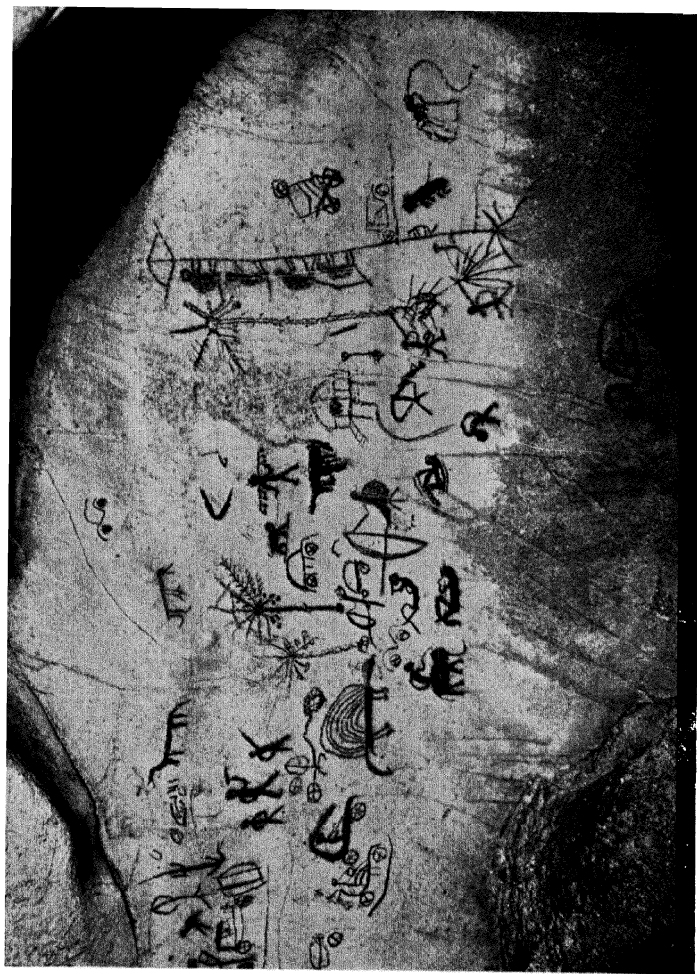


Photo: taken for F.M.S. Mus. Journ. by Messrs. Uchida, Taiping. Reproduced in Vol. XII, 1927
LANOH NEGRITO CAVE DRAWINGS NEAR LENGGONG, UPPER PERAK
Monkeys, motor-cars, a bow and arrow, coconut trees, man with trained monkey and coconuts, etc. are depicted.

In his description of the blood-throwing ceremony he says that a woman named Tebus scratched open her shin with a sharp bamboo stick until the blood welled out, holding in her left hand a bamboo filled with water. She poured a little blood mixed with water on the ground and then, rising, began to throw it high into the air, once in the direction from which the thunder had come and then in all directions, crying, "Go! Go!". The first offering is for Manoid and that thrown up for Karei. Schebesta was told that the women draw blood first, but that the men also do so if the thunder does not stop.

Schebesta notes, too, the beliefs about teasing, or laughing at, animals and concerning children playing noisily, or loose talk. Such things are *lawaid Karei*, sins against Karei and, therefore, liable to bring on a punishment storm. So also are marriages among near relatives ("including the second degree"), too great intimacy among half-grown children of opposite sexes, the sleeping of father and daughter or mother and son too close together, disrespectful methods of address between relatives, the exhibition of demonstrative joy at a reunion, drawing water from a stream with a rusty implement, or laughing at one's face in a mirror (especially in sunlight). He says, however, that it is no sin to make fun of a human being, as a human being can defend himself (or herself). The jungle leech and the *tëbuan* (the Malay name for a kind of hornet) are companions, or servants, of Karei and must, under no circumstances, be tortured "and, in some cases not even killed".¹

It is also tabu, as I have noted in another place,² for the father-in-law to approach the daughter-in-law, or speak the one to the other. Such an action is at once followed by the illness *éemam*³—pain in the neighbourhood of the kidneys—of which death is the result. In such a case only the immediate assistance of the *hala* (shaman) can bring help.

A spear or a bamboo must not be thrown early in the morning,

¹ Skeat (*Pagan Races*, Vol. II, p. 223) says that (in Kedah, I think) leeches must not be burnt in the fire or tigers will smell the blood and come. It is also tabu to burn jungle leeches in the fire among the Sakai for fear of bringing on a punishment storm. *Vide my Studies in Religion*, pp. 199, 201.

² P. 183.

³ *Vide* note on *éemam* at the end of this chapter.

or the offender will become ill with *pacog*, which is a stabbing pain in the breast caused by a splinter of a thunderbolt sticking in it. A spear may, however, be used in defence against wild animals.

Karei punishes certain sins at once by killing the offender by making a tree fall upon him or by sending a tiger to tear him to pieces.

Karei is called bad because he is hard-hearted in punishing sins. Schebesta notes that, though it was said that the women made the blood sacrifice first, he, in fact, noted that several men had done so at the same time, perhaps because they were conscious of having committed sins. Failure to make the blood sacrifice immediately may be followed by *henweh*, the meaning of which I have explained above.¹

Schebesta also describes a very similar blood-throwing ceremony that he saw among the Grik Negritos, whom he terms Sabubn. This he says they call *hog daia*.² First a woman came out of her hut and called, "*Kaiei sod*", telling Kaiei (or the thunder) to stop, but as this adjuration was not successful she threw aloft a blood offering, of mixed blood and water, saying, "*O, Kaiei ikn ta dos*" ("O, Kaiei, I have no fault now"). According to the account that Schebesta got from this group, Kaiei has no use for the blood, but his anger at the sins committed is simply appeased on seeing it. The following acts are tabu, as causing storms: teasing or laughing at captive animals, killing hornets, leeches and certain birds (the *sangid* and the *chuch*). The above-mentioned animals are the companions and followers of Kaiei.

Other thunder tabus are that water must not be drawn from the river in a pot, but in a bamboo, and that matrimonial intercourse must not take place during the daytime. A murderer³ (if there is one) must be killed if a thunderstorm comes on which cannot be stopped by a blood sacrifice. His body must be slit open and his blood thrown up to the sky.

Cemam is the punishment for parents lying close to their

¹ Schebesta, *Orang Hidop*, pp. 216-221.

² "Take up the blood". *Vide supra*, p. 172.

³ Rare, I should imagine.

children of opposite sex. Loose customs as to marriage are, Schebesta remarks, somewhat prevalent among this group.¹

Schebesta's description of punishment beliefs among the Kintak Bong is very similar to that for the other groups. The women throw blood first and the men only if the women's offerings fail to prove effective. The first part of the mixture of blood and water is poured on the ground for Manoid. One formula used in the blood-throwing ceremony, according to Schebesta's version, is that first addressed to Manoid: "You there, grandmother Manoid, ascend and inform your grandchildren Kaei and Ta Pedn I am paying my debt."² After this the performer proclaims to Kaei (Tak Pern) that he is paying his debt. Schebesta quotes, too, the formula (from my *Studies in Religion*) that I have given above, but remarks that Kalcegn (my Kalcheng) and Manoid are not two persons, as I suppose, but one, Kalcheng being Manoid's name in the *Chinoi* "language". While I undoubtedly did consider them to be two persons, I do not think that I anywhere, with regard to that particular invocation, indicated that this was the case. Both names were given to me in the invocation and I wrote both down. Furthermore, I find that Mëmpëlam gave me the names of Yak Kalcheng, Yak Manoid and Yak Takel as guarding the roots of the pillar which supports the heavens. Again it was a case of taking down the names as I was told them. I am always very careful not to make suggestions. I went further into this matter recently (1935) and a Kintak Bong man—Mëmpëlam was ill and I did not see him—told me that Yak Lepeh, Yak Kalcheng, Yak Manoid and Yak Teh-hi are all names for one person, the first two being "*Chinoi*-talk". Schebesta is, therefore, correct in what he says, but I think it quite possible

¹ Schebesta, *Orang Hidop*, pp. 223-225. He also writes that he (Kaiei) was angry with his grandchildren, the human race; the cause of his annoyance was the *hmoidn Kaiei*, which expression is identical with the *lawaid Karei* of the Djahai and means: "sin against Kaiei." It is obvious, however, that *hmoidn Kaiei* means "Kaiei's wasps"! For the translation of *hmoidn*, vide *Pagan Races*, Vol. II, p. 751, W 25.

² This is very much like my version, given above, but somewhat shorter. I have already stated, on evidence given, that I believe that the Kintak Bong spoke of Kaei as a person only to Schebesta because he brought the idea with him from the Jehai.

that this may merely be a case of confusion in the minds of the Negritos themselves, different versions coming from different informants, as so frequently happens.

I may also remark here that Schebesta who, from often-repeated statements about learning Negrito dialects, apparently claims to be able to speak them, has changed "roots" (*kid*) in my version to "mouth" as he prints it, which is certainly not the meaning of the word. This can easily be checked in the vocabularies in *Pagan Races* (Vol. II, p. 515, A 118). It means, as a rule, *quite* the other end of the body.

Schebesta remarks that here Kaei means only thunder and that Ta Pedn is asked to banish it. He goes on to state, however, that next to Kaei (which he apparently again personifies) lies the dragon or snake Tanogn.¹ He is made watchman by Kaei and as soon as he (Tanogn) becomes aware that somebody has committed a sin he begins to roar and his roaring is the thunder. He hurls water from the *Kubagn*² *lawaid*.³

Schebesta next says:

A sin against the laws of Kaei⁴ is called *telaïdn*. If you stay any time in a camp of the Kenta,⁵ you repeatedly hear the cry *telaïdn*. Now this, now that is *telaïdn*. The word is often used to children. The fault that one receives from a *telaïdn* is called *dos* (from the Malay word *dosa*).⁶

This statement clearly shows that there is a difference between *telaïdn* and *dos*. The sin arises out of the *telaïdn*,⁷ but Schebesta frequently translated *telaïdn* as sin. *Telaïdn*, however, seems to have exactly the same meaning as the Malay word *chêlau*. In Malay *mêmbuat chêlau* (to make *chêlau*) is to do some unusual and/or tabued act which causes a disastrous punishment-storm and, because such an act is offensive to the Powers Above, it is a sin. Here is a description of *chêlau* which was written down

¹ Apparently the same as my Tanong—the dragonfly. *Vide supra*, p. 163.

² Evidently the Malay *kubang*, "wallow". This place appears to be the same as the *Sapegn*, p. 187.

³ *Vide infra*, p. 181.

⁴ Tak Pern.

⁵ Kintak Bong. He was not with the Kintak.

⁶ A sin. Schebesta, *Orang Hidop*, pp. 231–232.

⁷ I.e. You have committed a sin (*dos*) because you have done such and such an action which is *telaïdn*.

in Malay for me by 'Che Wan Lela, a Malay of Kuala Lipis, Pahang. This MS. I translated, and my translation was published in the *Journal of the Federated Malay States Museums*:¹

By *chélau* is meant something which is rarely done, and, when it is done, it becomes a cause of amusement to numbers of people, and, when they are amused, there comes down rain and a hurricane with thunder and lightning until water comes up from inside the earth and a subsidence occurs at the place where the *chélau* has been made.

Wan Lela gives the following acts as making *chélau* according to Pahang Malay ideas—teasing animals which are not ordinarily played with and being amused at them and laughing loudly; making a mock marriage between two animals such as a dog and a cat, or a *běrok*-monkey and a *kěra*-monkey;² poking a weaver-bird's nest with a punt pole and cheering, or blowing through a tube of damar-gum, the nest entrance of a small kind of harmless bee which the Malays call *kělulut*. He then describes the sacrifice by the offender of a piece of his hair, or, if the offender is not known, of a fowl, or, if that is unobtainable, of men's blood drawn from the hands or feet.

I have, as a matter of fact, already alluded (p. 146) to the use of the word *telaidn*, my *talain*, among the Bateg Negritos of Pahang in the sense of storm made by the Powers Above to punish offenders. The offender is said, therefore, to make the storm by doing the unusual, or tabued, action, or to do a storm-making action, and the Powers make a punishment-storm to avenge themselves on the person who has committed a sin (*dos*) by doing the said action. To exclaim "*telaidn*", therefore, appears to be merely a warning equivalent to saying, "Punishment-storm, if you do this!" or, perhaps better, "Storm-making action that you are doing!"³ The Malays use a similar warning "*Nanti chélau!*", if I remember rightly, i.e. "Wait a bit and

¹ Vol. XII (1923), pp. 32-34.

² The Pig-tailed and the Crab-eating Macaques respectively.

³ Among the Sakai the word *terlaik* (*terlaidn*) is also used. *Vide Studies in Religion*, p. 200, where I speak of *terlain dok*ⁿ, "*běrok* storms", presumably because such storms can be caused by teasing a *běrok*-monkey. The phrase may, however, mean "house storm", for one word for house is almost indistinguishable from that for the monkey. *Vide Pagan Races*, Vol. II, p. 658, M 129 and p. 635, H 153.

you will raise a storm!". This is sometimes said in jest, when somebody dresses unusually smartly.

Among the actions which Schebesta says are regarded as storm-causing among the Kintak Bong are the following: killing a kind of bird called *kasa*, which is regarded as Kaei's (Tak Pern's) companion, speaking while this bird is calling, or killing the mousedeer. The *tanogn* (my *tanong*) also must not be killed, and Schebesta says that it is the same as the *tabugn* of the Jehai, that being a kind of hornet that the Malays call *tëbuan*. The *tanong*, however, is the dragonfly. I have pointed this out before¹ and I have verified my statement recently. The *ikob talugn* (Malay, *ular talong*²), a species of snake, must not be derided, and the Pig-tailed Macaque, the Crab-eating Macaque, the *ai* and *tanoh* (two species of gibbons) and the *basign*-monkey (*Presbytes*) must be respected. In addition water must not be drawn in a blackened pot, dogs watched while copulating, combs worn during a thunderstorm or for seven days after a death, birds' eggs played with or sexual intercourse be indulged in during the daytime in the camp. The last is a great cause of offence.

A sin for which the blood sacrifice is said not to be made is when parents-in-law have any kind of intercourse with their children-in-law. Then the *sagwong*-bird screams near the camp and a medicine against the *cemam* illness is immediately prepared. Other sins are if parents sleep with their children of opposite sex or if a bull-roarer is used in the jungle. In the latter case a tiger appears, because he thinks that he has heard the call of a companion.³

The Kensieu, according to Schebesta, say that thunder is caused by Capon, the grandson of Pedn, by beating and knocking on the *galogn* (beam) while all the grandchildren of Pedn, who are with him in heaven, play like this on the *galogn*. Pedn himself does not join in making the thunder. "The lightning

¹ P. 163, *supra*. I confirmed my information in 1935. The local (Patani) Malay word for the dragonfly is *dedayong*. It is called *patong* in Province Wellesley. It appears probable also that Schebesta is wrong about *tabugn* meaning hornet among the Jehai for I find that *tabogn* is given as dragonfly in Vol. II of *Pagan Races*, p. 551, B 481, while the Negrito words for hornet given (H 135, p. 634) bear no relation to *tabogn*.

² If *talong* is a mistake for *tedong*, it is the cobra.

³ Schebesta, *Orang Hidop*, pp. 232-233.

is *menang* (shine, shining) of Capon.”¹ There must be no hesitation about making the blood sacrifice when thunder is heard, for fear of *henwa*.

Schebesta gives two long and detailed descriptions of blood throwing among the Kensieu. The accounts of these ceremonies, however, together with their accompanying invocations, are practically only supplementary to what has been recorded above, so I do not propose to utilize this material to any great extent.

Manoid, as previously, has the first offering poured on the earth for her benefit and she is requested to ask Ta Pedn and his grandchildren to stop the thunder. Ta Pedn himself receives the blood thrown aloft. He cooks it and puts it into the fruit inflorescences and fruit trees, out of which much fruit grows. The last is an important point that has not hitherto been mentioned.

Schebesta remarks that “just as the Djahai (Jehai) say *lawaid Karei*, the Kensiu say *lawaid telaidn*”. This clear statement of Schebesta’s should finally dispose of his translation of *telaidn* as sin. For if *lawaid Karei* means sin against Karei (or sin against thunder), *lawaid telaidn* cannot mean “sin against sin”. In other words the correct interpretation is “disastrous-storm-producing sin”—accepting, of course, Schebesta’s translation of *lawaid* as sin.

The prohibitions with regard to teasing animals, and so on, are, says Schebesta, much the same among the Kensieu as among the Kintak Bong. The *běrok*- and *kěra*-monkeys² must not be teased when in captivity, nor must the *saguoch*-bird be killed. *Henweh*, it is also believed, would befall the camp of offenders who neglected the blood offering.

Other groups from whom Schebesta gives thunder and punishment beliefs are the Djahai (Jehai) of Jarum, in the “Patani States”, S. Peninsular Siam (who are more akin to the Kensieu, he says, than to the Perak Jehai), the Menrik of Kelantan, the Trang-Patalung Negritos of Peninsular Siam and the Bateg Negritos of Pahang.³ The beliefs of these tribes,

¹ *Menang*, however, appears to mean “thread” or “cord” (the Malay *běnan*). It has been noted previously that lightning is believed to be the flashing of top cords (p. 172), but *vide* also p. 225 for the meaning of *menang*.

² *Macacus nemestrinus* and *M. cynomolgus*.

³ Schebesta, *Orang Hidop*, pp. 9-13.

except, perhaps, those of the two last, are very similar to those recorded above. I have said something about my own work among these two previously.

Schebesta gives the Jarum Jehai invocation to Takel, which is to the effect that she shall tell Ta Pedn that the fault is small and that the thunder should stop. Ta Pedn, it is said, "receives the blood, rubs it with his hands and lays it on his breast and it becomes a *cebook*¹-stone". He breathes on the magical stone, as shamans usually do, and then lays it aside. The fruits for men are made out of these stones.²

The offences entailing thunderstorms and the methods of making the blood offering are similar to those of other groups.

Here Schebesta mentions that hailstones sometimes fall in this district and that, when they do, the Negritos hastily collect some and swallow them. They then throw single hailstones aloft for Ta Pedn, who catches them and makes them into fruit inflorescences, so that there is an excellent fruit crop.

Of the Menrik Schebesta says that they do not appear to know Ta Pedn, only Karei. Thunder is Karei's voice, while the lightning is a rope hurled by him, by the light of which he sees everything. In this way he becomes aware of sins and begins to roar (thunder). Some sins are punished by illnesses, others by a tiger destroying the offender, while others can be atoned for by the blood sacrifice. The tiger (*ab*) is Karei's son and is called Hanei. He is also Karei's executioner, and if anybody is killed by a tiger it is a sign that he or she was a wicked person. If, after a death by a tiger, thunder is heard, all the people must make the blood sacrifice.

The jungle leech, the water leech, the Pig-tailed and Crab-eating Macaque monkeys and the centipede must not be mocked. The woodpecker is a sacred bird that must not be killed, because he helped mankind by creating fire. The hornet,³ pro-

¹ More will be said about this magical stone—a quartz crystal—in the chapters dealing with the shaman.

² Schebesta relates (*Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 258) that the *halak* does not make the blood offering. He holds a *chebuch* (quartz crystal) up to heaven and blows on it.

³ But is this the hornet? I have pointed out above that it is, apparently, the dragonfly.

tected among other Negrito groups by order of the thunder god, is not here respected.

Karei punishes the near approach of parents-in-law and children-in-law (of opposite sexes) with *ćemam* or *patis sob* ("a sort of kidney trouble").¹

Of the Trang-Patalung Negritos (his Monik Mos and Tonga) Schebesta records that Kagei is feared and the people stuff their ears when he sends thunder and lightning. They make the blood sacrifice, throwing the blood to heaven.²

The Bateg of Pahang say that Keto (Ketok) sends the thunder. The following actions are forbidden: laughing at a *kaka*-monkey, a tortoise, a Pig-tailed Macaque, a fowl, a jungle leech, drawing water in a pot or a woman sitting near her father-in-law or a man near his mother-in-law.

The blood sacrifice is carried out as among other groups and is called *aloi mēhum*, throwing blood. Keto (Ketok) is said to drink the blood.³ Thunder is his voice.⁴

Schebesta, after discussing the Bateg thunder beliefs, passes to the beliefs of the Negrito-Sakai (his Ple and my Pleh) and then to those of the Sakai proper. These subjects are outside the scope of this book, except for purposes of comparison by reference.

Before bringing this chapter to a close I will refer shortly to Schebesta's work with regard to *ćemam*. He states, as I have noted above, that among the Jehai some tabued actions are followed by "the illness *ćemam*"—pain in the neighbourhood of the kidneys—of which death is the result. He also speaks of *ćemam* as being a punishment among the Grik Negritos, the Kintak Bong⁵ and the Menrik. Now, at any rate as far as the Kintak Bong are concerned, I found out in 1935 that Chemam is a personage of the heavens. One story (a new one to me) is that Chemam—who makes the thunder "like spinning a top"

¹ This obviously means "pains in the chest". *Vide sob sueh* (tortoise breast), *Papers on the Ethnology*, p. 30 and also *Pagan Races*, Vol. II, p. 708, S 185 and p. 544, B 380.

² *Vide supra*, p. 147. I did not obtain evidence of the blood sacrifice.

³ Schebesta, *Orang Hidop*, pp. 14-18.

⁴ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 276.

⁵ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 223.

with what was once a top, but is now a stone with a cord attached to it—shoots thunderbolts at offenders, and that these enter their chests¹ and kill them. *Dia panah pēlaka turun masok dada* is how the matter was explained to me in Malay. It would appear, therefore, that the “illness *cemam*” is really the illness sent by Chemam, Chemam’s illness if preferred.

Chemam, who looks like a gibbon (*mawah*), makes thunder with his mouth, according to another Kintak Bong (1935) version, but when he gives sickness he looks like a Malay.²

¹ *Vide* remarks about *sob*, *supra*, p. 183, footnote 1.

² *Vide* also p. 143, *supra*, and p. 196, *infra*. On the latter page a Chemam—there may be more than one perhaps—is mentioned as a spirit of the “middle air” who comes to the shaman.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE PILLAR THAT SUPPORTS THE HEAVENS

THE first evidence with regard to beliefs in a stone pillar supporting the heavens was obtained by me a good many years ago and published in the *Journal of the Federated Malay States Museums*, being subsequently reproduced in my *Studies in Religion*. I give it here, requoted from the latter work:

The stone pillar, which, according to the Menik Kaien and Kintak Bong, supports the sky is called the *Batu Herem*.¹ I was told that this is to be seen near Jinerih² in Kedah, and from it to the edge of the world, in whatever direction, the distances are the same. The *Batu Herem* pierces the sky, and supports it, and the portion which projects above the sky is loose, and balanced on the lower part at an angle. This loose part is above Tapern's heaven, and is in a dark region named *Ligoi*. Four cords run from the top of it to the four quarters of the world, and the ends of them, which are weighted with stones called *Tang-al*, hang below the surface of the earth. The two *Tang-al* at the ends of the eastern and western cords are longer than those which are attached to the northern and southern. The loose piece of the *Batu Herem* is called *Lambong*. Měmpělām told me that Yak Kalcheng, Yak Manoid³ and Yak Lepeh guard the roots of the *Batu Herem* beneath the earth. The *Chinoi*⁴ are said to play in the dark region which surrounds the *Lambong*. Tapern (Tak Pern) and Bajiaig go every morning to see the *Chinoi* fight and play above the *Lambong*.⁵

A model of the *Batu Herem* was made for me by the Kintak Bong in 1921 and has, since then, been on exhibition in the Perak Museum at Taiping. The illustration of the *Batu Herem* model which will be found in this book was first reproduced in the *Journal of the Federated Malay States Museums* in 1922.

¹ The *Herem* stone. I do not know the meaning of *Herem*, Schebesta's *Ribn*. That *Herem* is a correct spelling can be proved by the line in which "*Chem-le-chem*" rhymes with "*sudak Herem*", p. 193.

² Spelt Jeneri on the map of Kedah.

³ *Vide pp.* 172, 173, 177-178, *supra*.

⁴ *Vide p.* 142, *supra*.

⁵ Evans, *Studies in Religion*, p. 156.

It may be remarked here, before dealing with Schebesta's additional material with regard to the *Batu Herem*, that he must have seen the model in Taiping before he started his researches, while, to my knowledge, he was provided with all the literature in which the *Batu Herem* was mentioned, yet nowhere does he give any indication that his information is other than entirely new.

Schebesta's work with regard to the *Batu Herem*, sometimes called *Batu 'Rem*, and by him *Batu Ribn*, is to be found both in his book *Among the Forest Dwarfs of Malaya* (pp. 217-219) and in his paper on the *Orang Hidop*. From these two sources I have collated the following material:

The Kintak Bong made models of the Batu Ribn for Schebesta and told him that

there used to be a tree trunk rising high from the Batu Ribn, a mighty rock on the Pergau¹ River which is the centre of the earth. Kaei² assisted by his younger brother Ta Pedn³ set up a *Rankel* here, a kind of turning disc. From the disc six creepers hang down in different directions to the ground. At the ends of the creepers hang great umbels of flowers and fruit. Above the *Rankel* lives Begjag, a younger brother of Kaei.⁴ He is the master of *Ligoi*, the place of the wind. Below the *Rankel* a *galogn* goes through the entire world and on it the sun walks. This is also the residence of Kaei and Ta Pedn. Kaei lives in the East and his wife Djalan has her mat spread out next to him, and sits on the end of it.⁵

The disc (*Rankel*), with the six lianas hanging from it, revolves in such a way that from time to time a liana with its umbel of fruit comes to rest over the Negrito land. Thus the six fruit seasons⁶ come into being. Formerly the *Rankel* rested on a high tree-trunk (*tankei*)⁷ that rose up from the *Batu Ribn*. The trunk is no longer in existence. The *Rankel* is held by a *hala*, called Dalogn; if he let it fall, not only all humans, but also all inhabitants of heaven would perish.⁸

¹ In Kelantan.

² I have stated my doubts about Kaei as an impersonation of thunder among the Kintak Bong previously, though *kaei*, of course, means thunder. Schebesta appears to have imputed *Kaei* as a personage from the Jehai and fathered him on to the Kintak Bong.

³ It should be Pern and Bajiaig, I think.

⁴ I.e. of Tak Pern.

⁵ Schebesta, *Orang Hidop*, p. 229.

⁶ But there are usually only two fruit seasons in Malaya, so I do not understand the reference.

⁷ Presumably the Malay *tangkai*, stalk.

⁸ Schebesta, *Orang Hidop*.

A further story from the Kintak Bong was that

where the tree-trunk *Rankel* stood, under the *Batu Ribn* (therefore in the centre), is the *Sapegn*, the place of the *telaidn*, the place to which the blood of the sacrifice, poured out on to the earth, flows, the blood dedicated to Manoid. The blood thrown up into the air goes into the umbels of the *Rankel*, out of which the red fruit for man is made.¹

Sapegn is the place where the blood and water of the blood sacrifice collect, and it also appears to be the subterranean lake from which Manoid would let the waves rush out if the blood sacrifice were refused.²

As noted above, Schebesta states that the *Batu Rem* is in Kelantan. It is, he says, a tall limestone hill situated at the confluence of the Tadoh and Pergau Rivers. He publishes a photograph of it in his book³ and says that, among many others, it contains two limestone caves called "Gua Paiong and Gua Badek",⁴ one above the other. These caves are regarded as holy places by the Malays.

The *Batu Ribn* (or '*Rem*') is, Schebesta tells us, the abode of various supernatural beings, the *Chinoi*, the *halak*, the *halak*-tiger. According to one Jehai legend the Negritos had once laughed at a *këra*-monkey as he was dancing. This made Karei angry and he thundered and hurled a thunderbolt, which was the little *Batu Ribn*. A *halak* picked this up and rubbed it in his hands and it grew larger and larger. The *halak* threw the stone away and ran towards the sunrise. In some unexplained manner many Negritos were shut up in the stone, probably those who had laughed at the monkey. The *halak* returned and found that the rock had grown enormous. He tried to bore into it to release the persons imprisoned inside, but was unable to do so. A man named Dagodn lent the *halak* his adze to try to release the people, but the adze merely became blunted; so the *halak*

¹ Schebesta, *Orang Hidop*, p. 226.

² Schebesta, *Orang Hidop*, p. 233.

³ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, plate facing p. 137.

⁴ Pretty evidently the "Umbrella Cave" and the "Rhinceros Cave". The word *badek*, as written by him, is a possibility—it means a kind of dagger in Malay, but Gua Badak is a very common name for caves, perhaps given because they were once haunted by rhinoceroses.

returned to heaven in despair. The *kěra*-monkey is still to be seen on the rock and the people are still imprisoned in it.¹

This story, however, does not at all seem to indicate that this mountain was the centre of the world and the support of the heavens.

A Kintak Bong legend, given by Schebesta, relates how a *halak*, named Chogn, once set out with his bow and arrow. As he was passing the *Batu 'Rem*, he heard a strange noise and shot an arrow into it, and at once water flowed out. This is how men first obtained water.²

According to the Kintak Bong, says Schebesta, the *Batu 'Rem* "is the centre of the world". A Kintak Bong story relates that the stone arose from a "*pano*" (séance hut) built by "Ta Piago" and "Ya Kapij" (=Yak Tanggoi).³

It will be seen that while my Menik Kaien informant stated that the *Batu 'Rem* was at Jinerih, in Kedah, Schebesta's, a Kintak Bong,⁴ said that it was on the Pergau River in Kelantan. When recently (1935) I asked a Kintak Bong elder where it was he said he thought that it was "at the end of Patani". If it really is in Kelantan, therefore, it would seem as if the more distant tribes are uncertain about its precise location. Possibly two, or more, limestone mountains may have the same story attached to them. It is just possible, too, that the passage in Schebesta's *Orang Hidop*, which reads as follows, may throw a little light on the matter: "Hempělabn told me on one occasion that for Ta Piago, who is the first ancestor of the Kenta (Kintak Bong) and a great *hala*, *Batu Ribn* lay quite near to the Mountain Jerei. The hills lie several hundred kilometres apart now."⁵ One may remark that Jinerih is not so far from Gunong Jerei, both being in Kedah.

Another rather curious difference between my account and Schebesta's is with regard to the number of cords hanging from the *Batu 'Rem*. I was told that there were four, the number that

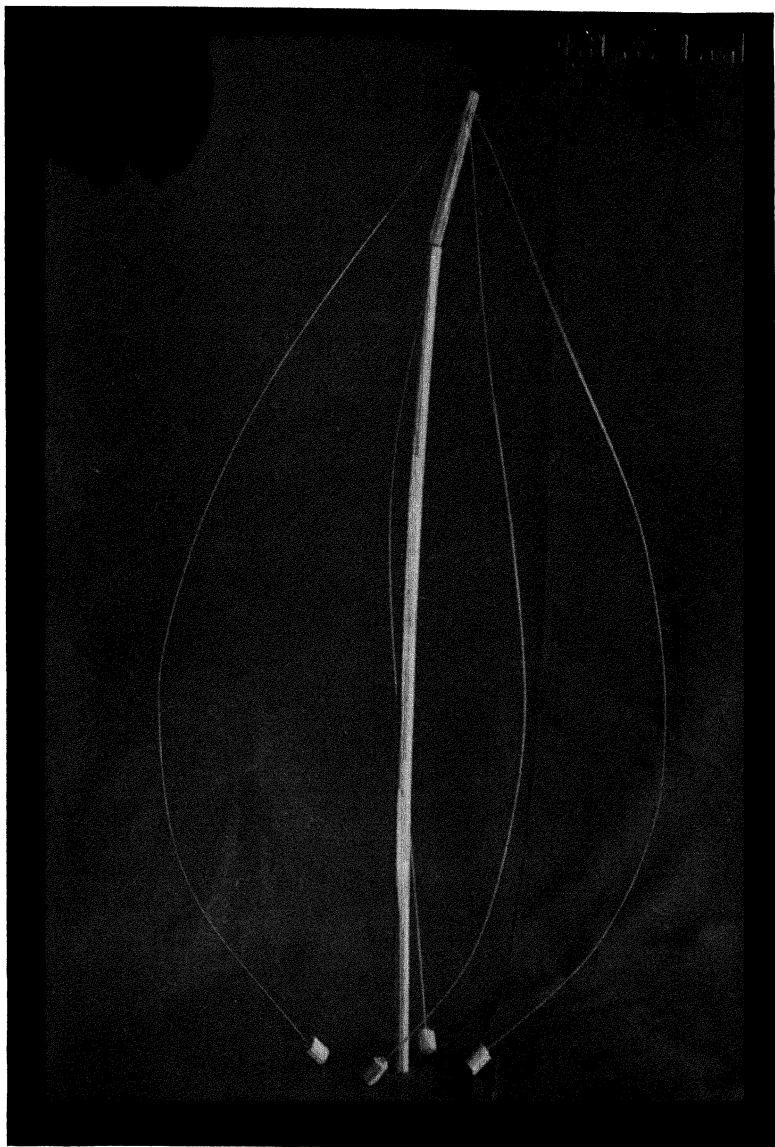
¹ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, pp. 163-164.

² Cf. a folk-story of mine, p. 239, *infra*.

³ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 217.

⁴ He says that Měmpělam (his Hempělabn), who made him a model, so informed him. *Orang Hidop*, p. 225.

⁵ Schebesta, *Orang Hidop*, p. 13.



From Jour. F.M.S. Mus., Vol. ix, 1922

**MODEL OF THE BATU HEREM, THE STONE
THAT SUPPORTS THE HEAVENS**

The loose piece, balanced at the top, is the *lambong*. The
objects at the ends of the cords are the *tang-al*.

my model has. Schebesta says there are supposed to be six and, as he also had a model made, I presume that was the number with which it was provided. A similar model made for me in 1935 had seven! The loose part of the *Batu 'Rem*, which Schebesta's informant called the *Rankel*, appears to be the same as my *Lambong*.¹

One may perhaps remark here that the *Batu 'Rem* figures fairly prominently in the chants of the *halak* (shaman) when under the inspiration of the *Chinoi*, to which further reference is made in the next chapter. I have already noted that the *Chinoi* fight and play above the *Lambong* of the *'Rem*.

¹ It must be noted that there is also a mention of the *Rankel*, p. 159, *supra*.

CHAPTER XIX

THE SHAMAN

As among many primitive peoples, the shaman plays an important part among the Negritos in their religious and cultural life, as being both their doctor to cure disease by the supernatural powers that he is reputed to possess and the medium through whom they are in communication with the greater and lesser supernatural beings.

As far as I know, I was the first European to be present at a shaman's séance among the Negritos and to describe the curious type of hut used for the purpose. Schebesta, too, subsequently did a good deal of work on this subject, the best account of which appears in his paper *Das Hala- oder Medizinmannwesen bei den Semang auf Malakka*,¹ of which I wrote a summary and critique some years ago.² It is to this paper that I refer in dealing with Schebesta's material.

First of all I will say something further with regard to the *Chinoi* (Schebesta's *Cenoi*), the little beings of the heavens and of flowers. These beings are both male and female. According to a Negrito of Lenggong, Upper Perak,

there are many *Chinoi* of different kinds and of the same kind. They look like children and are "about two and a half feet high". There are Hornbill *Chinoi* and Vulture *Chinoi*. A *Chinoi* takes up its abode in the body of a bird, and, when it wishes, it comes out again. The kind of banana that the Malays call *pisang toman* has *Chinoi*, so too has the tapioca plant. *Chinoi* originate in a small species of wild ginger, called *beurn*. A cavity forms in the stem of the plant, and this is filled with water. The water gives rise to a small stone, the stem of the plant swells and cracks, and the stone becomes a *Chinoi*.

The *Chinoi* are used by the *bélian* (shaman who can become a wer-tiger) in his séances, and, according to Pandak, they enter his body.³

¹ *Jahrbuch* of St Gabriel's College, Vienna, 1926.

² Evans, *Schebesta on the Sacerdo-Therapy of the Semangs*, *J.R.A.I.* 1930, Vol. LX, pp. 115-125.

³ Evans, *Papers on the Ethnology*, p. 25.

Another Lenggong informant, however, at a later date, said that when the shaman enters the "medicine hut" only the shaman's own familiar spirit enters his body; the others that come to him sit on his knee or on his shoulder.¹ This shaman's spirit, however, may be a tiger spirit.²

The stone generated in a *beurn* plant, to which I have alluded above, is a quartz crystal. I did not know this at the time I got the information, but followed up certain work of Schebesta's about the same subject subsequently. Such stones are used by the *halak* for divination, as Schebesta found out, and I shall have more to say regarding this discovery of his later. I was told by a Lenggong Negrito, subsequent to my having seen Schebesta's paper, that he used such a stone as medicine, administering water in which it had been steeped to sick persons. I shall return to this subject of quartz crystals later, giving Schebesta's interesting information as well as a little, later-acquired, material of my own. Further details about the *Chinoi*, too, are given in this and the succeeding chapter.

I now quote, for purposes of making my account of the *halak*'s (shaman's) performance as clear as possible, what has already appeared in my *Studies in Religion* (pp. 158-167):

The name for the shaman among the Kintak Bong and Menik Kaien is *halak*, a term which is in general use also among the Sakai. Tōkeh, the Menik Kaien, told me that there was no *halak* in the settlement³ near the Damak River (Ulu Selama) at which I stayed in 1918, but a local Malay told me subsequently that Tōkeh was one himself. Whether what the Malay said was true or not, I do not know, but Tōkeh got up a magical performance for me, in which he took no active part himself, to show me how such things were conducted. A very small "medicine-hut" (*panoh*) was built⁴ by sticking palm-leaves into a circle of holes which had been previously made with a pointed stick. The *panoh* was supported by a slight wooden prop, the lower end of which was driven into the earth so as to lean at the same angle as the walls of the hut. The leaves were bound

¹ Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* 1927, Vol. XII, p. 102.

² *Vide* pp. 195, 201, *infra*.

³ I should have said camp.

⁴ By the women.

together not far below their tops and the support included with them. A slight opening was left at the base of the hut in one place, through which a man could just crawl into the interior. The performance took place at night, and when the "*halak*" had ensconced himself in the hut—which was only just big enough to hold him—a number of other Negritos came and squatted round it, and the occupant started a chant, each line of which was taken up and repeated by the chorus outside. I noted that the names of Tapern, Jalang and Jamoi were constantly mentioned, as was also the *Batu Herem*. The chants, of which there were a good many, were short, and between them there was a silence of a minute or two, broken sometimes by the hut being shaken from the inside, followed by a noise as if the "*halak*" were striking the palm-leaf walls with the flat of his hand. These signs, I understand, indicated the presence of the *halak*'s familiar spirit, though in this case, as Tōkeh explained, it was only acting for my benefit. On the next day I got him to give me the meaning of some of the chants, these being as follows:

1. "*Wai chentol!*" This means "Open buds!" and refers to the flowers affixed to Jalang's hair comb. Negrito women decorate their bamboo combs with sweet-smelling herbs and flowers. The allusion is, I understand, to these, and not to the patterns engraved on the combs. (Both a pattern and a flower are commonly termed *bunga* in Malay, in which language, of course, I communicated with the Negritos.)

2. "*Umeh, umeh batu!*" This is said to mean, "Clean, clean the stone!" It is addressed, I was told, to the stone-spirit, the stone referred to being the *Batu Herem*.

3. "*Wai, halak, mawai!*" "Open, *halak*, open!"

4. "*Tenang lohr punyon Herem!*" I was told that this means, "Come down to the tongue of the *Batu Herem*!" The tongue of the *Herem* appears to be the end on which the detached portion rests.

5. "*Tenwug kejuh selangin!*" "The (bead) string across (the chest of) the beautiful young bachelor!" A *tenwug manik* is a string of beads worn across the breast, while *kejuh* seems to mean "a young male" and *selangin*, "beautiful".

6. "*Chem-le-chem, sudak Herem!*" This was said to mean, "stabbing and thrusting, sharp *Herem!*" The Malay words used to translate *chem-le-chem* were *tikam mēnikam*.

As far as I could gather, however, the words which are chanted are varied according to the taste of the *halak*. There were references in those that I heard to rolling-up the mats (*leb gampil*) of Tapern, to the winding and unwinding of the cord round the thunder-stone (*menang sini jon*, Cord wind pull(?)), to the place where the sun sets, to the *Chinoi*, and to Jamoi.

Tōkeh told me that the office of *halak* descends from father to son, the familiar spirit being, of course, inherited. Fireflies, *kedlud*, were, he said, the familiars of *halak* (*pengkah halak*).

At Lubok Tapah, Ulu Selama, in 1921, through the good offices of the headman of the Kintak Bong, I again induced a *halak*, this time a man named Piseng,¹ to give a magical performance. The *panoh* was built by women one afternoon, and the séance took place the same night. Měmpělām, the headman, sat beside me the whole time and gave me the words of the songs as they were sung, and I immediately took them down to the best of my ability. With Měmpělām, Piseng and other Negritos, I afterwards corrected what I had written and obtained Malay translations from them of the different fragments. Probably some mistakes still remain, especially in the English versions, as it is extremely hard to get the Negritos to give word for word translations, and even when they attempt to give the general sense of a phrase or sentence they are not unusually incorrect. Still, I have taken a considerable amount of trouble to insure accuracy, and I think that any mistakes that remain are, probably, not serious.

During a séance the *halak* is controlled by many spirits, nearly all *Chinoi*. These speak through him in the snatches of songs which he sings. I have indicated the sexes of the *Chinoi* who are supposed to be speaking, and, in some cases, have given their names and occupations.

Měmpělām told me that the appearance of the *halak* becomes changed when he is in the *panoh*. According to Tōkeh (1921), his face shines.

¹ "Banana"; *pisang* in Malay.

I cannot add much to what I have already written with regard to the actual performance. The singing of the women and children, who squatted outside the *panoh*, and took up the chants given out by the *halak*, was both musical and sweet. The antics of the *halak*, while hidden from sight within the *panoh*, are worth alluding to. Sounds of grunting, whistling, growling, shouting, singing, chest-beating and slapping with the hands on the walling proceeded from the inside before he began his chants under the inspiration of the *Chinoi*.

The following are the songs together with attempted word-for-word and free translations:

<i>Junkeh</i>	'Rem,	<i>tabek</i> ¹	<i>laweh!</i>	<i>yek</i>	<i>gantong</i>	<i>chebelhat</i> .
Head of a	<i>Herem</i> ,	salutations	head!	I	hang	a moment.
cross-beam						

<i>Sakan</i>	<i>gantong</i>	<i>dadak</i>	'Rem.
Big	hang	breast	<i>Herem</i> .

"Salutations to your head! I will hang yet a moment on the cross-timber of the *Batu Herem*. Swollen I hang on the breast of the *Herem*." The word *sakan* is said to be peculiar to the *Chinoi* "language". It is a female *Chinoi* who is speaking.

<i>Yam</i>	<i>bedlat</i>	<i>keping</i>	<i>Tapern</i> .
I	go	above	Tapern.
<i>Jagat</i> ²	<i>pengweurng</i> ³	<i>Yak</i>	<i>Tanggoi</i> .
Giddy	house (hut)	grandmother	Rambutan.
<i>Dahar</i>	<i>menulang</i> ⁴	<i>keh</i> ,	<i>menulang</i>
Where	headdress	my,	headdress
			flowers?

"I go above Tapern's (house); giddy at the house of Yak Tanggoi. Where is my headdress, headdress of flowers?" It is a female *Chinoi* who is speaking.

¹ *Tabek* is a Malay term of salutation. In the sense of "I ask your pardon" it is frequently used when somebody is about to do an action which may be considered rude. The *Chinoi* asks for pardon for hanging above the head of its "father", the *halak*. The head is, of course, the most sacred part of the body.

² Tökeh (1921) says that *jagat* means "loving"—the Malay "*sayang*".

³ Tökeh (1921) says that *pengweurng* is a *Chinoi* word. In ordinary speech a hut is *haik*.

⁴ Cf. the Malay *bulang ulu*, "the head-cloth of a raja", *ménulang* "to enwrap".

Tabek kuie,¹ eh! yek, yek gantong sa'bentai.²
 Salutations head, father! I, I hang a moment.

"Salutations to your head, father! I, I shall hang yet a moment."
 It is a male *Chinoi* who is speaking.

Eh, tongkah dai³ keling-tek.
 Father, come up from under earth.

"Father, I ask your leave to come up from under the earth." It
 is a male *Chinoi* who is speaking.

Tagoh liwon langkah chenib yek.
 Old man wander bachelor(?) road(?) affairs(?) news(?) I.

The sense is, I believe, "I, an old man, wish to go in search of
 my affairs". It is the *halak's* tiger-spirit who is speaking.

Lohmon piyudau⁴ maloh menulang?
 What(?) hold magical where(?) headdress?
 performance

"How shall we hold a magical performance if I have no head-
 dress?" It is a female *Chinoi* who is speaking.

Lel, keh gantong lamun H'rem.
 Spinning, I hang end Herem.

"Spinning, I hang from the end of the *Herem*." It is a female
Chinoi who is speaking.

Tulis galun,⁵ lel, keh gantong lamun H'rem.
 Plaiting girdle, spinning, I hang end Herem.

Halak, leloi, tabek laweh!
Halak, throw up, salutations head!

"Plaiting a girdle, spinning, I hang at the end of the *Herem*.
 Salutations to your head! *halak*, I am throwing up my head-
 dress!" It is a female *Chinoi* who is speaking.

¹ *Kuie* is the ordinary word for head, *laweh* is probably *Chinoi*-talk.

² The Negrito form of the Malay *sa'bentar*.

³ The Negrito form of the Malay word *dari*. The letter *r* is a shibboleth to the Kintak Bong.

⁴ Equivalent to the Malay *bërsewang*, "to hold a spiritualistic performance accompanied by singing".

⁵ *Vide* remarks with regard to *galun*, *infra*, p. 200, and also the form *kalun* on the same page.

Pau wer-chet,¹ tabek laweh, eh, yek gantong!
 Open(?) come down(?) salutations head, father, I hang!

"When it opens, I come down. Salutations to your head, father, I hang!" It is a male *Chinnoi* who is speaking. The reference to "opening" is, I believe, to a hole in the end of the *Batu Herem*, which opens and shuts.

Lel, lel bayang-baju pantai Sengak.
 Spinning, spinning sunset glow shore Sengak River.

"Spinning, spinning in the sunset glow on the shore of the Sengak River." It is the tiger-spirit of the *halak* which is speaking.

Eh, eh, lungkan balan chibeh.
 Father, father, climb bridge rising sun.

"Father, father, I have climbed the bridge of the rising sun." It is a *Chemam*,² a spirit of the "middle air", who is speaking. The sun appears to pass along a bridge after coming out of the passage under the earth.

Bedlad besangit on-on, on-on.
 Go(?) Open(?) door(?) come out, come out.

I am very uncertain about the whole of the above line. I find that, in another place, Měmpělām gave "go" for the meaning of *bedlad*; here, however, he translated it "open". The meanings given for the other words are also suspect. A possible free translation is, "I go from the door, and come out, come out".³ It is a *Chemam*⁴ who is speaking.

Bitul, yek kelel, lel, lel!
 Go straight, I spin, spin, spin!
Yek bitul, yek kelel, lel, lel!
 I go straight, I spin, spin, spin!

"I go straight, I spin, spin, spin! I go straight, I spin, spin, spin!" It is the tiger-spirit of the *halak* who is speaking.

¹ Tōkeh (1921) would translate *pau* "noise like clapping", *wer*, "turning", *chet*, "arrive". For *ched* or *chet* vide *Pagan Races*, Vol. II, p. 517, A 145.

² Vide p. 143, *supra*.

³ Tōkeh (1921) says that it should read *bedlad* (go) *besangit* (buzzing) *un-un* (that that) *un-un* (that that), "I go buzzing, there, there".

⁴ Vide pp. 183-184, *supra*.

<i>Lohmon</i>	<i>pidēh,</i>	<i>guruh,</i> ¹	<i>baleh</i>	<i>Chinoi?</i>
Why	call,	interpreter,	maiden	<i>Chinoi?</i>

“Why do you call me, a maiden *Chinoi*, O interpreter?” It is a female *Chinoi* who is speaking. The females use words not found in the everyday language of the Kintak Bong Negritos, and the males sometimes copy them.

<i>Miwoh</i>	<i>mutau</i> ²	<i>yek,</i>	<i>baleh.</i>
Laugh loudly	hill-top	I,	virgin.

“I, a virgin, laugh loudly on the hill-tops.” It is the *Chinoi Kawang* (Argus pheasant *Chinoi*) who is speaking. She is female.

<i>Baleh,</i>	<i>lareh</i>	<i>tupar</i>	<i>lindong.</i>
Virgin,	moon	fly	fluttering.

“I, a virgin, fly fluttering by moonlight.”³ The same *Chinoi* is speaking. *Lareh* is the *Chinoi* word for moon.

Deh, deh, deh.

This has no meaning according to Měmpělām. Said by one of the *Ĵaman*, wer-tigers, who live with the Yak (grandmothers) at the base of the *Batu Herem*. There are many *Ĵaman*. This one, I was informed, is sitting at the Rice Stone near the *Batu Herem* towards where the sun falls.

<i>Amboi,</i>	<i>amboi,</i>	<i>ayah</i>	<i>kami.</i>
Oh,	oh,	father	ours.

This line is in Malay. It is a *Ĵaman* who is speaking.

<i>Malok</i> ⁴	<i>menulang</i>	<i>yek?</i>
What (where)	headdress	mine?

This either means “With what shall I bind my head?” or

¹ A variant of the Malay (or Indian) word *guru*, “teacher”.

² Tōkeh (1921), however, would translate *mutau* as “moving the head up and down”.

³ Tōkeh (1921) gives *lareh*, “owl”, *tepar* (*sic*), “branch”, *lindong*, “hide”. There is a Malay word *lindong* which has the same meaning. I do not think Tōkeh is, at any rate, right with regard to *tupar* as I find the word in *Pagan Races* with the meaning of “fly”. *Vide* Vol. II, p. 609, F 203.

⁴ *Vide Pagan Races*, Vol. II, p. 755, W 77.

"Where is my headdress?" I think that the latter is probably correct. It is a female *Chinoi* who is speaking.

Dordoi wai haiyah,¹ eh loie. Tabek laweh, arah
 Sit open *běrtam*, father mine. Salutations head, pass
menulang.
 headdress.

"I sit opening *běrtam*-palms, O father mine. Salutations to your head, on my headdress passing you." It is a male *Běrtam*-palm *Chinoi* who is speaking. He asks his father (the *halak*) to pardon him for throwing a headdress in front of him.

Malok menulang, guruk? Babeh Tapern magiseh.
 Where headdress, interpreter? Newly Tapern go round.
 What married

"Where is my headdress, interpreter? I, newly married, go round Tapern." It is a male *Chinoi* who is speaking.

Jinung reng chenerkem² un, eh loie!
 Carve slit comb that, father mine!

"Carve and slit a comb for me, O father mine!" It is a male (!) *Chinoi* who is speaking.

Pau wer-chet kejuh barau.³
 From inside(?) come down(?) young male *barau*.

The sense is, "From inside comes down a young male *barau*". It is a *Barau*-bird *Chinoi* who is speaking.

Bum⁴ Chinoi Tapern magiseh. Yek chub pek keping.
 We *Chinoi* Tapern go round. I go above.

"We *Chinoi* go round Tapern. I go above." It is a male *Chinoi* who is speaking.

¹ Tökeh (1921) does not agree with Měmpělām's translations of *dordoi* and *haiyah*. He says that the latter is the bamboo zither that the Malays call *gëndang Batak*. I could get no translation of the former. It should probably be *haiak*, "*běrtam* thatch", or "hut". *Vide* footnote, p. 194.

² This is not the ordinary word for comb.

³ The *barau* is the Yellow-crowned Bulbul (*Trachycomus ochrocephalus*).

⁴ For the true meaning of *bum* *vide* list of identified Negrito words, p. 307.

<i>Lohmon</i>	<i>pideh,</i>	<i>guruk,</i>	<i>baleh,</i>	<i>kijing.</i>
What	call	interpreter,	virgin,	hear,
<i>Chelchem</i>	<i>bulin</i>	<i>Chelchem</i>	<i>terjun</i>	<i>papan taseg?</i>
<i>Chelchem</i>	'back to	<i>Chelchem</i>	plunge down	plank lake?

“Why do you call me, a virgin, O interpreter, going from *Chelchem* and back to *Chelchem*, to plunge down to earth?” It is a male (!) *Chinoi* who is speaking. *Chelchem*, Měmpēlam told me, is a place below Tapern’s house which opens and shuts.

Sa'bidang¹ yek tulis gampil Yak Jalang, yek deng.
 One sheet I plait mat Grandmother Jalang, I see.

“I will plait a mat for Yak Jalang, I see (i.e. in a little while).”
It is a male *Chinoi* who is speaking.

<i>Un,</i>	<i>un</i>	<i>deh</i>	<i>bidang,</i>	<i>kadeng</i>	<i>deh!</i>
There,	there	it	sheet,	see	it!

"There, there it is, the mat, see it!" It is a male *Chinoi* who is speaking.

<i>Bedlat</i>	<i>menulang,</i>	<i>tabek</i>	<i>larweh,</i>	<i>kadeng</i>	<i>deh!</i>
Going	headdress,	salutations	head,	see	it!
	<i>Chinoi</i>	<i>mak</i>	<i>sinlin!</i>		
	<i>Chinoi</i>	will	replace!		

“My headdress is going past you, salutations to your head, see it! This *Chinoi*, your slave, will replace it!” A female *Chinoi* is speaking.

<i>Ha</i>	<i>menulang</i>	<i>keh</i>	<i>yah</i>	<i>baleh?</i>
Where	headdress	mine	your(?)	maiden?

“Where is my headdress, the headdress of your maiden?” It is a female *Chinoi* who is speaking.

<i>Eh,</i>	<i>rampas</i>	<i>ingat</i> ²	<i>sunting</i> ²	<i>Chinoi,</i>	<i>palah</i>	<i>nilam</i> ! ²
Father,	take	remembrance	hair ornaments	<i>Chinoi,</i>	shoots	indigo!

“O father, do not forget hair ornaments for the *Chinoi*, shoots of the indigo plant!” A male *Chinoi* is speaking.

¹ A Malay numeral coefficient, *sa'bidang tikar*, "one mat".

² Malay words.

<i>Kalun</i>	<i>yek</i>	<i>babeh</i>	<i>penangkan</i>	<i>gihmal</i> . ¹
Waist-cord	I	married woman	shoulder-cloth	skirt.

"I, a married woman, wear a waist-cord, shoulder-cloth and skirt."

<i>Ibeh</i>	<i>jinoring</i>	<i>galun</i> .
Turn	enter	rattan loop.

"Turn and enter the rattan loop." *Galun*, I was told, means rattan, but the ordinary Negrito word for this is *awi*. Probably the truth is that *galun* is equivalent to the Malay word *gělong*, a rattan loop. Reading *galun* as equivalent to *gělong* makes good sense, as it is a rattan skipping-rope² to which reference is here made.

<i>Oi</i>	<i>minyun</i> ,	<i>yam</i>	<i>bulang</i>	<i>menulang</i>	<i>bacham</i> .
I(?)	shaking up and down,	I	wreathe	headdress	ferns.

"I shaking *the bridge* up and down, I wreathe my head with a headdress of ferns." It is the *Chinoi Sagar*, a female, who is speaking. She lives at the far end of the *Balam Bacham*. She says that, while making the bridge of the dead, the *Balam Bacham*, spring up and down, she wreathes her head with the *Bacham* plants which grow near it. [The last two chants seem to be connected. *Vide* the last footnote with reference to the skipping-rope under the *Balam Bacham*.]

<i>Yek</i> ,	<i>yek</i>	<i>ensol</i> ,	<i>yek</i>	<i>tenbon</i>	<i>sigalak</i> ³	<i>galong</i> . ⁴
I,	I	ashamed	I	leap	every	cross-beam.

"I, I am ashamed as I leap on every cross-beam." It is a *Chinoi Ai* who is speaking. The *ai* is a species of leaf-monkey which is called *Presbytes neglecta keatii*.⁵

¹ According to Tökeh (1921), *gihmal* means "weapons".

² The Negritos seem to be fond of skipping with two persons turning the rope and one jumping, and I saw them thus amusing themselves on several occasions. Skipping is now known among Malay school-children, but those Malays that I have consulted, so far, consider that it is a recently introduced game. I do not know whether it is native to the Negritos, but they are, of course, in close contact with the Malays and would copy anything which pleased them. Reference to skipping in chants connected with religion looks, however, rather as if the pastime were native. Tökeh (1921) says that there is a *nibeh manau*, a skipping rope of *rotan manau*, under the *Balam Bacham* (p. 257). He also says that to skip with the rope held crosswise against the sun is tabu.

³ The Malay *sěgala*, "all", "every".

⁴ The Malay *galang*, "a cross-beam", "a roller". ⁵ *Vide* also p. 136.



Photo: by author, 1935

**TWO NEGRITOS MAKING FIRE WITH A RATTAN SAW
AND A PIECE OF WOOD**

Picture taken near Siong, S. Kedah.

Un, un, eh keh, sa'bidang un, eh loie,¹ sa'bidang!
That, that, father mine, one sheet, that, father mine, one sheet!

"That, that one sheet is for you, my father; that one sheet, my father!" It is the *Chinoi Tikar* who is speaking. Some details about this mat-weaving snake will be found on p. 145.

At the end of the performance, when the *halak* was supposed to be becoming conscious of his surroundings again, he said, "*Betud amed² penet³ dikeh*", "Very long is my tiredness".

I got a few further details in connection with the *halak* from the Kintak Bong in 1935. I was told that the *halak* gets his familiar spirit in a dream. It may be a tiger-spirit, a fruit-tree spirit, or a spirit of some other kind. All sorts of *Chinoi* of trees come to the *halak*.

The *Jaman*, mentioned above, who live at the *Batu Herem*, are tigers, but, when they travel, can become men.

Lasak (*alias* Chaayah) of the Kensieu, like other *halak*, can become a tiger in the *panoh*. [I visited the Kensieu, who mostly did not know me previously, in the company of some Kintak Bong friends of mine in 1935. I asked the people of the camp if they had a *halak*, and they said that they had not. Lasak, however, as the Kintak Bong told me subsequently, was actually sitting next to me when I asked the question! The Kintak Bong had told me about him previous to our visit.]

¹ The meanings of *loie* and *leloi*, the former to be found several times in these songs, the latter once, have caused me much trouble. Unfortunately I forgot to investigate the matter during my 1935 visit to Malaya. I do not believe that *loie* means "my", as the Negritos translated it, nor do I believe that *leloi* means "throw up". I am of opinion that *leloi* is an adjective referring to the preceding word *halak* (p. 195) and that *loie* is the same adjective with regard to the word that precedes it, *eh*, "father". I have not been able to find the word in the comparative vocabularies in *Pagan Races*, but in some attempts at Negrito sentences in a paper of mine on Negritos met at Ijok (*J.F.M.S.M.* Vol. v, p. 186) I find "very beautiful" given as *bët lëloie*. It is possible, therefore, that *eh loie* means "excellent", or "beautiful", father, and *halak lelloi* "excellent magician".

² Equivalent to the Malay word *amat*.

³ Equivalent to the Malay word *pēnat*.

CHAPTER XX

THE SHAMAN (*continued*)

IN the last chapter I gave material chiefly taken direct from my *Studies in Religion*. In the present one I give further details from my *Papers on the Ethnology* with a few items of information obtained recently, followed by a synopsis of Schebesta's work.

The shaman, according to the Bateg Negritos of Jeransang, Pahang, performs in the dark and holds a sprout of the *salak*¹-palm in his hands. Long, but very fine, cords are attached to his finger-nails, toe-nails and breast. These stretch to heaven to Bonsu. When the magical performance is over, the threads go back to Bonsu, who let them down to the shaman in the first place. This account is from an old Negrito of Jeransang and varies somewhat from that of Lom, of Lata Lang,² which is given below.

The shaman sits on a mat. He holds *salak*-palm (*bëkod*) leaves³ in his hands to take hold of a fine cord (? cords) which comes down from heaven. The cord is sharp and would cut his hand if he did not use the leaves. Jawait⁴ lets down the cord when he hears people holding a séance. He lives in the "eye of heaven" and tells the shaman to climb the cord to him. He has a big beard which sometimes appears white, sometimes green. He is, too, sometimes young, sometimes old.⁵

It occurred to me, when in touch with the Kintak Bong in 1935, that, though I had had constant references to persons (or spirits) going up to heaven, or coming down, I had little information as to how these ascents, or descents, were made. I, therefore, questioned my Negrito friends about the point and

¹ The Malay name of the palm, *Zalacca edulis*. *Bëkod* is that given to it by the Bateg.

² On the Cheka River, Pahang.

³ This may be a custom borrowed from the Sakai. The Sakai shaman uses a switch of leaves.

⁴ Bonsu, according to my other informant.

⁵ Evans, *Papers on the Ethnology*, pp. 20-21.

obtained some interesting results by doing so. They are as follows:

The *Chinoi* and the *halak* have threads attached to finger-nails and toe-nails. They go to the tops of high mountains (to get to heaven), because of the strong winds above (which would hinder their going straight up). There are four mountains, one in each of the four quarters, one where the sun rises, one where it falls. When they get to the mountain tops, doors open into heaven. In heaven there are all sorts of fruits. The mountain where the sun rises is Berapi;¹ that where it falls Mertajam. The north mountain is Boyah and the south Jerai. To get to the mountains they throw their threads to the mountain tops and follow them through the air.

A few remarks seem to be necessary with regard to this material. Apparently the threads of the *Chinoi* and of the *halak* are retractile, and when affixed to the places to which these beings want to go they follow on the threads, which contract as they do so.²

One may remark that two, at any rate, of the mountains mentioned, Jerai (Kedah Peak) and Mertajam, really exist, though their positions can hardly be said to agree well with those given in the account, Mertajam being about west from Ulu Selama, Perak, in the Kintak Bong territory and south-west of Kupang, the present location of the group in Kedah, while Jerai is more or less west-north-west of Selama and north-north-west of Kupang.

It will be seen from the above accounts that there is a certain similarity of belief with regard to these magical threads between the Bateg and the Kintak Bong.

Schebesta has re-recorded much material gained previously and his work in this respect is extremely valuable for checking results, but it would have been better if he had given some indication that such material was not new, which he has altogether omitted to do, with the exception of a casual reference or two to Vaughan Stevens's investigations. He has, too, added

¹ The name Gunong Berapi means "fire mountain" in Malay, that is, "volcano". There are none such in the Malay Peninsula. *Vide supra*, p. 162. It may be only in the sense of the sun's rising there that fire mountain is meant.

² One is reminded of certain kinds of spiders.

some interesting details that are new and stressed certain points which I have neglected, in particular the use of the *panoh* by the shaman when a sick person is to be treated and that the *halak* learns from the *Chinoi* the nature of the patient's illness and the remedy to be applied. The *halak* is said to go into a trance.

Of the points which are not new may be mentioned the existence of the *halak*, the *Chinoi* beliefs and the connection between the *halak* and the *Chinoi*, and, in regard to the *Chinoi* themselves, that they are servants of the deity, that they are male and female, that they have a special "*Chinoi-talk*" used chiefly by the females, that they are of many kinds and live in many places, that they are small and that there are flower *Chinoi*. Some other material that is also not new is the belief of the Bateg Negritos that the deity looks after fruits in heaven, the shaking or beating of the walls of the *panoh* before the *halak* begins a new chant, the coming of the tiger-spirit of the *halak* and other tiger-spirits, the *Jaman*, probably the same as the *Bidog* of Schebesta, especially so as I was told that some of them live at the *Batu 'Rem* (Schebesta's *Batu Ribn*).¹

The following new material is important: That the *Chinoi* are transparent, that they are called nephews of the divinity, that, like the divinity, they do not eat, but live by sucking the juice of the heavenly fruits, that the *halak* is only in full possession of the *Chinoi-talk* while in the *panoh*, that he has an assistant called *serlantes*, that only he and the *halak* understand the *Chinoi-talk* perfectly, and that the grammar of this accords (as one might expect) with the common speech. Further new information is that the *halak* himself becomes a *Chinoi*² and that questions are put to him in the *panoh*. He must not then be addressed by his own name but by that of the *Chinoi* then present, with whose voice he speaks. Lastly the tiger-spirit, whom Schebesta calls *Bidog*, assumes the character of an old man, though it may be noted here that in one of the chants

¹ Evans, *Schebesta on the Sacerdo-Therapy of the Semangs*, *J.R.A.I.* Vol. LX, p. 117, where references will be found.

² But *vide* a reference, previous to Schebesta's work, in my *Studies in Religion*, p. 187, to a *halak*, named To' Taseg, who became a *Chinoi*. He is mentioned in this book on p. 233. To' Taseg may be the same individual as Tak Taseg mentioned on p. 149. To' is the Malay equivalent of *tak* (grandfather).

recorded in the last chapter the tiger-spirit of the *halak* refers to himself as an old man.¹

To proceed now to some criticisms: Schebesta gives the names of four of the *Bidog*, which came into the *panoh* at a séance at which he was present, as being the *Bidog Mantei* (Malay, *tegileng*²), the *Bidog Taa* (Malay, *lakak*), the *Bidog Pas*, who lives near Tanggoi, and the *Bidog Bab* (Malay, *bewa*). Now I take it that the Malay explanation of *Bidog Mantei* should read *tenggiling*, the scaly anteater, while with regard to *Bidog Taa* I find that, though Wilkinson's Malay dictionary mentions an unidentified tree named *laka*, in one of my folk-stories³ *taak* is the Negrito name of the *langkap* (Malay) palm (*Arenga obtusifolia*). It is possible that *laka* is a dialect form of *langkap*. Again, in regard to *Bidog Pas*, I find that in another folk-story⁴ a *halak* named Pas was the ancestor of the muntjac, *pas* being the Negrito name for the animal. In the case of the last-named *Bidog*, the *Bidog Bab*, Schebesta gives the Malay equivalent as *bewa*, presumably his spelling of *biawak* or *biyawak* (official spellings), the monitor lizard. I cannot see, therefore, any connection between the Anteater *Bidog* (old man), the *Langkap Bidog*, the Monitor Lizard *Bidog*, the Muntjac *Bidog*, etc., and tiger-spirits. There may be one, but Schebesta does not point it out.⁵

With regard to the *halak* Schebesta has much material both new and old. He says that the *Chinoi* and the *halak* are equivalents, one of the other. "The Kensiu ancestors were Capong and Paig (the *kakuh*-bird and the tortoise). Karei⁶ made them arise from fruits. Manoid, the wife of Ta Pedn, wanted children, and Pedn stretched out a piece of cloth on to which he

¹ *Bidog* means "old man" (*Pagan Races*, Vol. II, p. 673, O 15). In 1935 a Lanoh Negrito that I know strolled up to the car in which I was sitting, looked inside and, seeing me, said to his friends, "*Bidog*", meaning, I suppose, "The old man again". "We were not amused", as we do not think ourselves old.

² *Sic.*

³ P. 234.

⁴ P. 236.

⁵ Schebesta says (*Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 228) that, at a *panoh* performance among the Kintak Bong, when the *Bidog* (here seemingly the tiger-spirit) was present, excitement grew. Various questions were asked, these being answered in the *Chinoi*-talk. There was a good deal of jesting conversation.

⁶ This allusion to Karei as a person is extraordinary. Schebesta is speaking of the Kensieu.

let fall a fruit. Out of this came a child. He repeated the act a second time.”¹ The Kenta (Kintak Bong) say that Pedn drew the first ancestors from the earth, but these ancestors were not men but *halak*. They made the first men. The woman plucked a flower which became a stone and this gave rise to a girl. She then picked a *tapos*-leaf, and this became a boy.¹ These were the first human beings.

Many *Chinoi* and *halak* are known by their respective names. They live with Ta Pedn in the sky. They make thunder by swinging cords, while one *halak*, Dologn or Kalcegn, feared by Karei (!) himself, dwells in darkness above the sun and “holds the liana to the end of which the sun is attached and with which he makes it turn”. If he were to let go of this the earth would perish by fire. The python who has gone into the sky to bathe himself (the rainbow) is also a *halak*, as is the dragon Tanogn, who according to the Kintak Bong lives near Pedn and makes the noise of thunder when anybody has sinned. The *tiltoltapa* and the *chemioi*, called the bird-soul by Vaughan Stevens, the *salu* bird, which takes care of big children, and the *wo*, which takes care of smaller ones, are also *halak*.²

The *halak* in human form are classified into great and little by all the Negritos. The Kintak (Bong) and the Kensieu have special names for the two classes, *puteu* and *snahud*, which Stevens has quoted without knowing their meanings. *Snahud* comes from the verb *sahud*, to call up.³ The *puteu* knows how to diagnose from what a patient is suffering and to treat his complaint; the *snahud* can only diagnose. Neither the Kensieu nor the Kintak (Bong) now have any *puteu*, though the former say that, in old times, they had ten or fifteen.

The *halak* is a doctor, but is also competent to deal with the diseases sent by Pedn in punishment for sins, and it is rather his intervention than medicine that is efficacious.

The *halak* cures diseases by means of a magical quartz crystal called *chebuch*, *serudjau* in *Chinoi*-talk, which only a *halak* can possess. This can either be obtained by the *halak* from the

¹ Cf. a folk-story of mine from the Kintak Bong, p. 232.

² *Vide* p. 249.

³ The Malay word *sahut*, “to answer”, one imagines.



Photo: specially taken for the author

GROUP OF LANOH NEGRITO CHILDREN, LENGGONG, UPPER PERAK

The first and second from the left are girls and also the third from the right. Note hut on left.

Chinoi, or he can make it. The *Chinoi* who live in the crystal are at the orders of the *halak*. He sees the disease of a patient by looking into the crystal and he can also see it in a tiger which is prowling near the camp. The *halak* keeps the crystal in his chest and brings it up, when required, by striking himself there with the fist turned sideways.

Anybody may find a *chebuch* in the jungle, but it has a tendency to vanish on the searcher's approach, and, if a *halak* is unwilling that a man should find one, he will be unable to do so.

In making a *chebuch*, a *halak* takes a leaf-stalk of the *lebak* and blows out the water collected in its hollow into one hand, which he then covers with the other. He blows into the crack between the palms and the water becomes a *chebuch*. The best substitute for a *chebuch* is a *batu karei* (thunder-stone).¹ Puchoh (Puchok), the *halak* of the Sabubn,² had one.

To cure a patient the *halak* blows on the *chebuch*, which he holds in his hands, over the sick person's head, and the evil is expelled from the patient's body by virtue of the breath.

The *halak* is intermediary between man and the divinity. He prays to the divinity without audible prayer, seating himself, bending his head, and looking before him into space.

The *halak* sometimes makes offerings to the divinity when he requires help in curing an illness. According to the Jehai he blows upon a mirror, or other glittering object, and the mirror goes up and places itself on a mat which is spread in front of Karei as he sits on the *galogn* (beam) at the summit of the sky. Karei laughs with pleasure on seeing the mirror and comes down to help the *halak*. Among the Menri of Kelantan the *halak* jumps into the air while singing and throws a mirror, or a necklace, to Karei; or sends it to him by blowing on it with force.

The Menri (Menrik) say that the *halak* possesses the power of the divinity and from him receives the *chebuch* and instructions as to the formulae to be used.

The *halak* also assumes the principal role at merry-makings, while when others offer the blood sacrifice during a storm he

¹ Presumably a prehistoric axehead.

² *Vide* p. 26.

dispenses with it. He is regarded as very child of the divinity, fulfilling the functions of doctor and priest.

According to the Menri, in the beginning there were three *halak*—Rinden, who, after his ascension to the sky, was called Karei, Takel, his wife, and Hanei, their son. Karei went into the sky, Takel into the earth, while Hanei went to the jungle and became a tiger. Hanei is Karei's policeman, and when a Menri is taken by a tiger it is because he has committed a sin, *lawaid ab*. When a sin has been committed and thunder growls, the blood sacrifice is offered.

Hanei is the father of the *halak* and Karei of Hanei. The Menri also call Karei *Puteu*. The little *halak* is called *muna*; the great *halak puteu*. The great *halak* is in communication with Karei, the little *halak* only with Hanei.

The Negritos have a widespread belief that the *halak* can change himself into a tiger, both during life and after death. The great *halak* is the same personality as Hanei, son of Karei; that is why he can change himself into a tiger. When a great *halak* dies, if he does not go straight to Karei, he becomes a beneficent tiger, who assists the tribe in procuring game. Such a tiger may, however, be dangerous to strangers.

As the *halak*-tiger (*bidog*¹) can change himself into a man, so the *halak*-man can change himself into a tiger. The supernatural nature of the *halak* is manifest on his death, for the Menri leave his body exposed and flee for fear of the tiger in which he becomes re-incarnate, unless he presents himself before Karei. If he does so, Karei gives him a dwelling, perhaps on the moon, but the little *halak* goes to *Chepegn*, the place to which ordinary mortals go after death.

The Kenta (Kintak Bong) bury the *puteu* with the head projecting from the grave and believe that his soul goes to the east, instead of to the west, proceeding to the *Galogn Manau*. At the extremity of this *galogn* lives a serpent *Kemai Lintegn*² which has the power of swelling itself. Before the *halak* can appear before Karei, and be promoted to be a great *halak*, he must pass by the side of the snake, but, if he fails to do so, he

¹ But see my notes on *bidog* earlier in this chapter.

² Perhaps the same as the Mat Chinoi. *Vide* p. 145.

perishes and goes to a place under the *Rankel* where the dead *Chinoi* are.

The Kensieu say that, after a short stay in the grave, a *halak* goes up to Pedn, who knocks him down with a blow on to a mat. But Pedn hears the *halak* call him father, and repents, and lets the *halak* stop with him. The Kensieu bury the *halak* in the ordinary manner, except that for three days and nights they watch the grave and bring provisions there.

Schebesta concludes the section by saying that, in spite of the exceptional rank of the *halak*, to-day the Negritos pay no special honour to him and that, like other members of the tribe, he has his personal occupations. He is paid for curing diseases and that is all. Schebesta remarks, however, that he has never met a big *halak* (*puteu*). He says, further, that the office of *halak* is transmitted from father to son, though it may be to a younger son who has the necessary qualities. Sorcery (black magic) is little practised or developed among the Negritos, though it exists.

In reviewing the description of the *halak*, his work and attributes, I will, as in the former section, first point out what material is old and then what is new. A story of children coming from fruits, which were thrown down into a cloth, has been recorded,¹ but the actors were not the same as in Schebesta's version. The names of many (heavenly) *halak* and *Chinoi* have been noted already, but Schebesta has added to their numbers. The making of lightning (not thunder) by the swinging of cords—the flourishing of the cords of peg-tops—has been mentioned. The existence of a bridge over which the sun passes has also been recorded. The following information is also not new: That there is a rainbow snake, that there are birds called *tiltoltapah*, *chimioi*, *sulor* and *wah* possessing curious powers;² that a blood sacrifice is offered when a storm arises; that the *halak* (or *bélian*) can change himself into a tiger, that the *halak* is sometimes not buried or his body disposed of in an unusual manner, and that the *halak*-ship descends from father to son.

The information with regard to the making of the *chebuch* and its use, offerings to the divinity, the big and little *halak*, the

¹ P. 232.

² *Vide* p. 249.

reincarnation and ascent of the *halak* and the relations between him, the deity and Hanei is new and important.

With regard to Tanogn, obviously the same as my Tanong, I have made some remarks previously.¹

The story of the formation of a *Chinoi* stone in the stem of a wild ginger has been noted in the last chapter, but I was unaware at the time that I obtained the information that the stone was a crystal. I have, however, confirmed Schebesta's statements more recently among the Negritos of Lenggong, Upper Perak, and some notes on this subject and that of other magical stones, which appeared originally in the *Journal of the Federated Malay States Museums*,² are given in a later chapter. These include also some remarks with regard to ancient stone implements to which, I presume, Schebesta refers in mentioning "*batu karei* (the thunder-stone), which is found from time to time in the interior of the country".³

It may also be remarked here that it has already been noted that a *Chinoi* can be a *halak*.⁴ That Negrito deities and sub-deities are regarded as *halak* has also been placed on record.⁵

The material that appears above is contained in my paper entitled *Schebesta on the Sacerdo-Therapy of the Semangs*⁶ and much of it is here reproduced, practically word for word. In the paper itself I have given full references to earlier work and I do not propose, therefore, to overburden this volume with further footnotes. Suffice it to say that such references are to the work of Vaughan Stevens, to that of Skeat and, with regard to my own contributions, to my *Studies in Religion* and *Papers on the Ethnology*, all the material in the former and almost all that quoted in the latter having appeared originally in the *Journal of the Federated Malay States Museums* at a date anterior to the publication of Schebesta's paper.

¹ P. 163.

² Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* 1927, Vol. XII, Part 4, pp. 102-103.

³ The Malay belief about stone implements is that they are thunderbolts. *Vide* also ch. XVII, pp. 172, 174, for such ideas among the Negritos.

⁴ The *Halak* Gihmal.

⁵ *Studies in Religion*, pp. 150, 186, 191, 192.

⁶ Evans, *J.R.A.I.* Vol. LX, pp. 115-125.

A few pieces of information, obtained by me from the Kintak Bong in 1935, may as well be added here, as confirmatory of Schebesta's work or supplementary thereto. One is that sins can be paid for by sending up, through the *halak*, a mirror or ring to Tak Pern,¹ all being well if the gift is accepted. Another is that Tak Pern gives the *halak* the crystal (*batu jintes*²), but that the *halak* can also make one by blowing spittle into a kind of wild ginger stem. If a man who is not a *halak* dreams that he meets Tak Pern, this makes him a *halak*, and Tak Pern gives him a *batu jintes* in his body, which he can bring up when necessary. The *halak*, I was told, can make himself small when he so desires.

I have hitherto been so much engaged with Schebesta's and my work with regard to the shaman that I have not yet dealt with that of Skeat, which takes precedence of both of ours. Neither Schebesta nor I have treated of the method by which a shaman becomes a tiger, nor of the *halak*'s "sendings". Skeat has some interesting material with regard to both subjects and to the shaman in general.

Speaking, apparently, of the medicineman in general, Skeat says that he will not eat goat or buffalo flesh and but rarely that of fowls. The oldest and "best" of the shamans receive a special form of "burial",

the body being deposited in a rude tree-shelter built among the branches, together with a modicum of food and water, a jungle knife, etc. This method of tree-burial is believed to enable them to enter Paradise (which is not the Paradise of their lay fellow-tribesmen), by flying over the demon that scares the latter. They are moreover believed to proceed, in trances, to the Fruit Paradise and bring back fruit with them; they can drive out devils; they alone know the love-charms which never fail; and they are able to slay men at a distance by means of their "sendings", which are more feared by the Malays than any magic of their own.

Above all, they can turn themselves into tigers during their lifetime, and after death their souls not infrequently enter into wild

¹ Schebesta records such offerings being made among the Kensieu and Menrik.

² Schebesta spells this word *gentes*. The Kintak Bong told me (in 1935) that a *halak* can make a *batu jintes* by blowing spittle into a *beurn* plant.

beasts, such as the elephant, tiger and rhinoceros, and there abide until their animal embodiment dies, when they duly proceed to their own Paradise.¹

Skeat obtained a good deal of information about the shaman who can become a wer-tiger from a Negrito named Pandak of Ulu Aring, Kelantan. He found out that Pandak himself was credited with being able to change himself into a tiger only after the man had left. Here is Pandak's account of how the transformation is effected:

The shaman when he becomes a tiger feasts upon the bodies of his victims, alive or dead, but always buries the heads. When a shaman wishes to become a tiger

he takes a handful of incense (benzoin) and says, "I am going to walk" (*"Yē chōp"*), and sets off into the hilly parts of the forest, often two or three valleys distant from his shelter of leaves. There he kindles the incense and dipping his right hand into the smoke (to collect the fumes in it), he holds it just above the level of his right shoulder funnel-wise, and blows the smoke through the funnel thus formed. This process he repeats a second time in front of the left shoulder, and again just in front of his face,—at the same time invoking the spirits of the mountains to grant his wishes. He then recommences, and collecting more smoke in his fist, blows it through as before—this time, however, close to the ground. He next squats on his haunches and leans forward on his hands, turning his head quickly from left to right.

Presently² his skin changes, fur grows and a tail appears. Thus he remains for some seven to twelve days, during which time he raids neighbouring cattle-pens³ till his craving is appeased, when he returns to the spot that he started from, squats down as before, and turns himself back by means of saying simply, "I am going home" (*"Yē wet"*). Throughout the period of his absence, however prolonged, his wife, sitting at home, must keep the fire always burning and from time to time burn incense. Otherwise he would disappear entirely. On regaining his human form he is usually extremely sick and vomits up the still undigested bones that he has swallowed in his tiger shape.⁴

¹ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. II, pp. 226–227.

² I tell the tale in his own words, says Skeat.

³ Belonging to Malays, one presumes. The Negritos do not keep cattle.

⁴ I remember a Sakai of the Sungkai River, Perak, telling me that a wer-tiger, on reverting to human shape, threw up the bones and feathers of chickens that he had eaten.

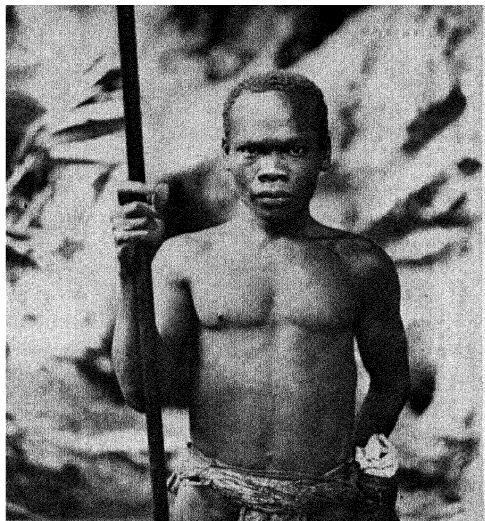


Photo: by author

LANOH NEGRITO OF THE LENGGONG NEIGHBOURHOOD,
UPPER PERAK
Note blowpipe.



Photo: by author

LANOH NEGRITOS OF THE LENGGONG NEIGHBOURHOOD,
UPPER PERAK

They are walking along an irrigation ditch made by the Malays
for supplying water to the rice fields.

The wer-tiger cannot be shot, as he immediately vanishes before a shot can be fired.¹

Of "sendings", or rather "pointings" (*tuju*²), Skeat says that among the Kedah Negritos the ordinary *tuju* is a mere slip or sliver of bamboo about two inches long. "This is laid upon the right palm, and commanded to go and kill its intended victim. It thereupon flies through the air, and on reaching its victim pierces him to the heart." A *tuju* with a nick in it is far more deadly than one without, for it twists itself, the Negritos said, round its victim's heart-strings.

Another method is to light a taper made of wax from a deserted bees' nest and burn a little incense. The *tuju* is then "commanded to proceed directly, turning neither to the right hand nor to the left, until it reaches its destined victim".³

I can add a little further information to Skeat's remarks about the corpses of shamans being exposed in tree-shelters and Schebesta's later evidence concerning the burial of the shaman by the Kintak Bong with the head protruding from the grave, and the desertion of the body, unburied, by the Menrik.⁴ A Lanoh informant told me that while the corpses of ordinary persons were buried lying on their backs, with their heads pointing to where the sun goes down, that of a *bélian* must not be buried. It must be placed on a platform in the hut in which the death took place.⁵

An old, but yet unpublished, note that I obtained from the Kintak Bong is to the effect that the *halak* draws the disease out of a patient's body with his hand and, having so caught it, puts it into a short bamboo receptacle (*tēlak*).

It may be well also, for purposes of comparison, to give, in abbreviated form, Schebesta's description of the building of the *panoh* among the Kintak Bong. The specimen that he saw was built by a woman, eleven *bértam* palm-leaves being planted in a circle. The leaves were tied together at the top, as high as she could reach. She lined the hut within with the same kind of

¹ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. II, pp. 227-229.

² A Malay word.

³ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. II, p. 233.

⁴ *Vide supra*, p. 208.

⁵ Evans, *Papers on the Ethnology*, p. 26.

leaves, points towards the ground. The single leaves were plaited together, so that persons outside could not see the interior of the hut. A small entry was left at ground level.

The *halak* and his *serlantes*¹ (assistant), wearing wreaths, ensconced themselves in the hut while the women and children were decorating themselves, the former with combs with pendant "scented grasses", wreaths of flowers, headbands of "rattan fibre" and foliage stuck into their girdles. This was done to please the *Chinoi*.

When the voices of the *halak* and his assistant were heard from within the *panoh*, the women and children hurried up and squatted in a semicircle around it. They repeated the verses that the *halak* and his assistant gave out in a strange key, rather as children sing. "Each new song was marked by a new melody, all simple but very moving." Schebesta then gives (in Negrito and with a translation) a song of which he says: "This is the song sung by the *Chinoi* women as, leaving the flowers, they rise to heaven with flute playing and clapping of hands. When, in the morning, the sun rises on high and its warming rays open the flowers, they emerge." Then there follows a description of how the *Chinoi* enter the *panoh* and how the *halak* and his assistant themselves become *Chinoi*.²

Though disease is cured, through the *halak*, by supernatural means, more ordinary remedies appear also to be used; it may be, of course, on the prescription of the *halak*, who has obtained his diagnosis and advice from the *Chinoi*. I have no material in this regard, but Schebesta states that, among the Kintak Bong, a medicine made from the *běkot*,³ the stems of which are pounded when green and boiled in water, is used for coughs and hoarseness. A decoction of the bark of four kinds of tree is a remedy for constipation, while medicines made from the roots of *awei taji manu*⁴ and the roots and stems of *langod*

¹ The Kintak Bong, in 1935, gave me an alternative title for *serlantes*. This was *karid*.

² Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, pp. 224-225. I retain Schebesta's spelling of *Chinoi* in the quotation. Sometimes he writes it *Ceno*.

³ The *běkot*, said by Schebesta to be called *salah* in Malay, is the *salak*-palm, which is *Zalacca eaulis*.

⁴ Schebesta says that the Malay equivalent of *awei taji manu* is *hlusok*

koh,¹ boiled in water, are prescribed for fever. The decoction of the latter is very bitter and is said to produce immediate sweating. The Kintak Bong, according to Schebesta, know, and use, various kinds of aphrodisiacs and means of producing abortion. For internal pains the abdomen is massaged with hot cloths. For toothache the sap of a tree, named *tenkurl*, that has long leaves, is smeared on the cheek, or, if the tooth is hollow, placed in the cavity. It is said to stop pain immediately.²

Skeat has little about treatment by means of medicine, but he has a most interesting description of the employment of magical remedies in the case of a woman who was suffering from unendurable pains in the limbs which had caused her to rush, weeping and shrieking, into the jungle. This seizure took place when Skeat was with the Negritos of Siong in Kedah—the Kensieu—and the headman of the group was the practitioner who treated the patient. He dug up the stump of a sapling a few yards behind the back of the woman, who had seated herself with her legs outstretched in front of her. Having uprooted the stump, he rubbed some of the earth from the hole so made upon her back and stomach. The stem of the stump was “pinched in”, and this was said to be a sign of the “late presence of the demon of which it had been the embodiment”. The headman then dug up the crossed roots of a creeper³ and this, too, was declared to be the abode of a dangerous spirit. Soil taken from the excavation was used in a similar manner to that from the

ayam. *Awei taji manuk*, as it should be written, means cock's spur creeper. In Malay, *taji* is the artificial spur used on fighting cocks. *Manuk* is a word for “fowl” that is widespread in the aboriginal dialects of the Peninsula and also in Borneo, Java, Sumatra and Nias, as well as among the wild peoples of Indo-China. It is not used in Malay as spoken in the Peninsula (*Pagan Races*, Vol. II, p. 613, F 257). *Hlusok* is probably a misspelling of *susoh*, *susoh ayam* meaning the *natural* spur of a cock. The two names of the plant are, therefore, almost identical and I am told by a Malay that *susoh ayam* is a Malayan raspberry that has spines like “the spurs of a cock”.

¹ *Langod koh* is, according to Schebesta, *yadam (jadam) utan*, wild *jadam*, and *jadam* is aloes. Note that *bekot* and *langod* are mentioned in the spell given on p. 227.

² Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, pp. 228–229.

³ For somewhat similar ideas about the causation of sickness among the Sakai *vide* Evans, *Studies in Religion*, p. 219.

first hole. The patient had by this time begun to recover and the headman informed Skeat

that the cleared ground where she happened to be sitting had been the site of a previous encampment, and that he had thus been exorcising these two evil spirits from the spot where she used formerly to bathe (the inference being that they had attacked her while bathing). The roots being extracted, the Pélina [the headman] proceeded to perform the peculiar rite known to the Malays as "sembor sirih",¹ and to conclude the ceremony two of the audience picked up a couple of dead and fallen saplings and hurled them forcibly into the surrounding jungle, in order (as they explained) that the evil spirits might go with them.²

Before bringing this chapter to a close, mention may be made of some interesting material collected by Mlle. Jeanne Cuisinier and recorded in her *Danses Magiques de Kelantan*, this being with regard to two shamanistic dances that were said to be derived from the Negritos, although now Malayized. One is the *bélian* dance; the other the *gebiah*. The *bélian*, as already noted briefly, is in the Malay Peninsula a magician who, it is supposed, can become a tiger, or at any rate has a tiger familiar. The belief in the existence of such persons is not confined to the Negritos, but is found also among the Sakai and the Malays, the latter often crediting the Korinchis of Sumatra, or some of them, with this power of becoming tigers. It would not necessarily follow, therefore, that a *bélian* dance was of Negrito origin, but Mlle. Cuisinier seems to advance strong evidence for this being the case in regard to the two dances from Kelantan. One of her two performers of the *bélian* dance, a man from Pahang, was admittedly of mixed Malay-Negrito descent, while the second, though presented to her as a true Malay, "*accusait des caractères physiques attestant une indiscutable origine semang*".³ Certainly some features of the performance, apart from the *lupa* (trance) in which the chief practitioner is controlled by the ancestral tiger-spirit, seem to have some Negrito (or sometimes Sakai?) resemblances. Among these are the use of a head-

¹ To eject saliva coloured with chewed betel-leaf, etc., from the mouth on to some part of the body in which pain is felt.

² Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. II, pp. 229-231.

³ Cuisinier, *Danses Magiques de Kelantan*, p. 38.

wreath,¹ the double bandoliers worn crossed on the chest,² bead ornaments, the use of *chalong* and *chalun*³ leaves and quartz crystals. Mlle. Cuisinier remarks, too, the employment of Negrito tunes and of the word *halak*.

The origin of the *gebiah*—the name of the dance is of Arabic derivation—appears to be a little less certain. Its object is also to call the tiger-spirit. The chief performer is a woman, instead of a man, as in the *bélian* dance. In the case of both dances there is an interpreter who questions the chief performer during the trance and makes known the answers to the audience. In the *gebiah* dance the tiger-spirit is invoked under the style of To' Pergau.

¹ Pp. 194–195 for references to headdresses (wreaths) of the *Chinoi*. Such things are commonly worn by the Negritos, both men and women.

² P. 135, *supra*.

³ *Chalun* may be the same as my *changelun*, p. 233 *infra*.

CHAPTER XXI

VARIOUS FOLK-LORE BELIEFS AND CUSTOMS

IN this chapter I have attempted to gather together those more indefinite beliefs and customs many of which cannot well find their place under the heading of religion. Most of my own material of this nature has appeared previously in one or other of my books and is here merely re-arranged. A few pieces of such folk-lore have already been given here and there in other connections, as, for instance, the divination ceremony before a camp is made.

I have mentioned elsewhere the close connection thought to exist between the Negritos and certain kinds of birds. All birds, it would seem, are not beneficent, and one species of hawk, according to the Lanoh of Lenggong, Upper Perak, is thought to have an evil spirit which is especially dangerous to young children. The hawk's shadow seems chiefly to be feared, and I was told that on one occasion the people had moved from their former camp to a new location because of the constant presence of hawks, which caused the children to be sickly.¹

The Kintak Bong believe that the coming of smallpox, which they have much reason to dread, is announced by the note of a certain insect, a kind of cicada, I think, which they call *imong*. Once when I was with them in the Ulu Selama, Perak, they were perturbed because there had been an outbreak of the disease in a Malay village not far away and they had heard the note of this insect.²

The Kintak Bong say that if the species of hornbill which they call *kawan malik*, but the Malays *burong mati sa'kawan* (*Annorhinus galleritus*), is heard at night a tiger is coming. The note of the *kuwangkweit*³ (a kind of goatsucker), if heard after dark, has a similar signification.

¹ Evans, *Papers on the Ethnology*, p. 26.

² Evans, *Studies in Religion*, p. 184.

³ The Malay name of the bird.

If a squirrel falls from a tree near a sleeping-bench in a shelter, it is a sign that somebody will die.¹

Among the Negritos of the Trang-Patalung hills, S. Peninsular Siam, the flesh of the buffalo, ox, pig and the domestic fowl were said to be tabu. They told me that if they ate any of these they would die.²

I have recorded, too, that the Menik Kaïen and the Kintak Bong have a prejudice, perhaps scarcely a tabu, against eating certain kinds of food as, for instance, the flesh of buffaloes and fowls and the eggs of hens, but there appear also to be some quasi-tabus connected with the eating of fish and flesh. Thus Tōkeh informed me that it is not allowable to reduplicate the names of animals that are being eaten—I could not get a very clear explanation of the matter—and to refer to a fish called *betok* as *betok balok* (? ivory *betok*). If anybody does so, he or she will suffer from severe intestinal disturbance.³

A Kintak Bong informant told me recently (1935) that the ancestors of the Malays were pigs,⁴ while those of the Kintak Bong were buffaloes. For this reason the Malays do not eat pork and the Kintak Bong do not eat buffalo meat.

To mention Malays (*Hemik*), blood, jungle leeches and the private parts of a man or woman is tabu (*enlak*) when fishing with *tuba* (*Derris elliptica*) poison. Pregnant women must not accompany the fishing party. If these tabus are not observed, the Kintak Bong state, the poison will have no effect upon the fish.⁵

When swearing an oath the Kintak Bong say, "If I lie, may a tiger seize me, or may a rotten tree strike me".⁶ [The Kintak Bong told me recently (1935) that persons who die a violent death—taken by a tiger, killed by a falling tree, or murdered—do not reach the *Mapik* tree in paradise. Presumably this is because such deaths are in punishment for "sins".]

¹ Evans, *Studies in Religion*, pp. 184–185.

² Evans, *Papers on the Ethnology*, p. 14.

³ Evans, *Studies in Religion*, p. 182.

⁴ *Vide* a folk-tale, p. 237. A Malay who was with me, who is a fairly good Mohammedan, exclaimed "Wretches!" when he heard the Negritos say this.

⁵ Evans, *Studies in Religion*, p. 185.

⁶ Evans, *Studies in Religion*, p. 168.

Dreams, among the Kintak Bong and Menik Kaïen, as among many other primitive peoples, are considered important, and I have mentioned elsewhere that the Negrito hunter decorates his dart-quiver with such magical patterns as he dreams will help him in the chase by making the animals tame. I have referred to a man's becoming a *halak* on dreaming that he meets Tak Pern and also that he gets his familiar spirit in a dream. A dream that a *bërok*-monkey (the Malay name of the Pig-tailed Macaque) is attacking the sleeper indicates that a Malay will come to the camp and cause trouble. One of holding a winnowing-tray means that a soft turtle (*Trionyx*) will be caught the next day, while to dream of finding a half coconut shell indicates that a tortoise of the kind that the Malays call *kura-kura* will be captured. A dream of a tree's falling towards the east indicates that the dreamer will be taken by a tiger should he go into the jungle on the next day, and Tökeh, my informant, stayed at home for a day, during a visit that I paid to the Kintak Bong, for that reason.

If a man dreams that he is distributing tobacco, he will shoot a monkey with his blowpipe, while should a married man have a dream that he is wearing a ring, or bracelet, of *suasa* (an alloy of copper and gold admired by the Malays) his wife will present him with a female child, but, if the ring or bracelet is of silver, the child will be a boy. If, however, he dreams that the ring or bracelet gets broken, the child will die. It is possible that these beliefs about dreams of rings and bracelets may have been adopted from the local Malays, for they have similar ideas. To have an ill-omened dream is called *pahadempak*.¹

Among the Menik Kaïen, according to Tökeh, the sixteenth day of the month is tabu,² and anyone who does work on it will meet with some misfortune, such as being struck by a falling tree, bitten by a snake, stung by a scorpion, or eaten by a tiger. Tabued days are called *hai*³ *biak mambeh-ud*, "day not lucky".

¹ Evans, *Studies in Religion*, pp. 167-168.

² The tabu is no longer observed according to Tökeh (1921), probably because the Menik Kaïen are practically extinct. For the reason for its origin *vide* the Menik Kaïen folk-story, p. 238.

³ *Hai* is obviously the same as the Malay word *hari*. The letter *r* is a shibboleth to some Negrito groups.

An old man, Tōkeh said, keeps count of the days of the month up to the sixteenth. I believe that this tabu is not in force among the Kintak Bong.

The Grik Negritos told me that at the season when the jungle fruits are ripe rejoicings and feasting go on for one or two nights, the spirit of the sun (*hantu mad-yis*) and the wood spirits (*hantu nihuk*) being prayed to in songs, while the fruit trees are asked not to send sickness, nor to make the people fall when climbing. After the rejoicing, there is a three days' tabu period, when work is not allowable.¹

I have already mentioned Schebesta's discovery of the use of rock crystals by the *halak* for purposes of divination, I having previously come very near to finding this out myself, but my information falling just short of it and only describing the formation of a stone in the *beurn* plant.

Subsequently, on information about these crystals gathered from Schebesta's writings, I made some enquiries concerning the use of magical stones in the Lenggong neighbourhood. As a result of these I recorded the following information:

Puchok showed me two talismans that he carried in his loin-cloth. One of these was a quartz crystal (*batu jentes* in the dialect of the Lenggong Negritos) 6 cm. in length. It is stones of this kind, he told me, that are supposed to be generated in the species of wild ginger which the Lenggong Negritos call *beurn*, that give rise to *Chinoi*, as in Pandak's account.² Puchok declared that he found his specimen, which I purchased from him, in the middle of a *beurn* plant, the shoots of the plant being drawn together over it. Water in which the quartz crystal had been immersed was, he said, given to sick persons to drink.

His other talisman was a black, circular and flattened stone, whose diameter was about 5 cm. and thickness about 1 cm. He told me that he had found this attached to a runner of the tuberous plant which Malays call *ubi liang* and the Lenggong Negritos *lar-ng*. He pointed out a flattened place on the side of the stone, saying that this was where it adhered to the plant. There is no doubt that he believed in its magical properties and he told me that, if he had it with him when searching for tubers, he must find some, even if it was difficult to do so.

¹ Evans, *Studies in Religion*, pp. 170-171.

² *Vide* p. 190, *supra*.

Another man subsequently produced an almost exactly similar stone, also from his waist-cloth. Thus encouraged, yet another Negrito showed me a dull, yellowish, egg-shaped, non-translucent pebble of quartz, which its owner said he had found on a hill under a *chënduai* plant. The *chënduai* grows on mountains¹ and is supposed to bring its owner the love of women. Oil in which this stone has been dipped is smeared on a woman to gain her affection. A fourth talisman was a shapeless piece of quartz crystal, seemingly a little water-worn, which was in the possession of the man who had shown me the second tuber stone. He said that he had obtained it from the body of a snake. Though one may question the accuracy of the Negritos' information as to where these objects were found, yet there can be no doubt that they thoroughly believe in their powers and keep them close to their persons. My conversation with Puchok having turned upon the origin of the *Chinoi*, all these objects were immediately produced by him and by the men who were working at excavating.² There was no chance of their having brought them in order to tell me a "fairy story" and sell them to me.

Some questions with regard to stone implements, addressed to Puchok, produced the statement that they were *pengkah Kareh*, "because they were shaped like an adze blade". When questioned, however, as to what was their ordinary word for the Malay adze, he replied, "*béliok*"—the Malay *béliong*. He also said something, which he could not explain properly, about *pengkah Kareh* going backwards and forwards on Kareh's (the Thunder Spirit's) orders. Tōkeh, of the Menik Kaian, told me formerly (*Studies in Religion*, p. 160) that fireflies were *pengkah halak*, the familiars of magicians, and it would seem likely that *pengkah* means either familiar or messenger.³

I now deal with certain musical performances at which I was present among the Kintak Bong, the extract with regard to them being taken from my *Studies in Religion*, pp. 171-174:

Musical performances, in which the singing is accompanied with bamboo stampers, are frequently held by the Kintak Bong. These are, I believe, at least partly, performed with a religious intention, since Tōkeh said that the people sang to the spirits of the banana and gourd plants. [Information obtained from the Kintak Bong in 1935 was to the effect that the songs about

¹ At least I have been told so.

² The information was obtained from Negritos employed by Dr. P. V. van Stein Callenfels and myself in excavating a cave in the Lenggong neighbourhood.

³ Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* 1927, Vol. XII, pp. 102-103.

fruit trees lead to big crops of fruit.] A performance of this kind was organized for my benefit and took place, as is usual, at night. The following are the names of some of the songs that were sung:

<i>Bah</i> ¹ <i>taŋgoi</i>	The <i>rambutan</i> fruit song.
<i>Bah tepas</i> ²	The <i>tepas</i> ² fruit song.
<i>Bah changeh</i>	The song of the <i>arang-para</i> fruit.
<i>Bah sempak</i>	The song of the wild <i>durian</i> (<i>durian burong</i>).
<i>Bah limus</i>	The song of the horse-mango.
<i>Bah kabang</i>	The song of the <i>rambutan kabang</i> .
<i>Bah penig</i>	The song of the <i>durian kampong</i> fruit (the cultivated <i>durian</i>).

While I was at Lubok Tapah, Ulu Selama, Perak, in 1921, the Kintak Bong, at my request, gave a musical performance. The singing was accompanied by a pair of bamboo stampers, struck on a log by one of the women, and by two pairs of "castanets", pieces of wood or bamboo—such as the Malays call *chérachap*—which were beaten, one piece against another, by two of the youths. Singing is called *peningloin*.

As in the case of the performance given by the *halak*, I took down the somewhat fragmentary songs on the spot, being aided in this by Měmpělām, and attempted translations of them afterwards:

<i>Eh,</i>	<i>minyun</i>	<i>charah</i> ³	<i>nampak</i>	<i>berenching</i> .
Father,	shake up and down	sunrise	see	fiery.

"Father, I shake up and down where the sunrise is seen all fiery." It is a Sunrise *Chinoi* who is supposed to be speaking.

<i>Minyun,</i>	<i>yak</i>	<i>yah,</i>	<i>keh,</i>	<i>keh</i>
Shaking up and down,	grandmother	mine,	I,	I
<i>minyun.</i>	<i>Senujak</i>	<i>ha-nial.</i>		
shake up and down.	Throw up	to above.		

"I shake it up and down, grandmother mine, I, your servant, shake it up and down. Throw it upwards." I am not sure that this translation is correct. Měmpělām told me that it was a male

¹ *Bah* = fruit.

² Perhaps a mistake for *tepus*. The secondary names are the Malay names of the fruits mentioned.

³ Malay words. *Charah* is evidently the same as *chérach*, "daylight".

Chinoi, named Menlus, who was speaking. He plays the Jews' harp to Yak Kalcheng. In the present instance, I understand, he is supposed to be hanging from the end of Yak Kalcheng's fan, fanning her by springing up and down.

<i>Yak</i>	<i>keh,</i>	<i>minyun</i>	<i>lel</i>	<i>gantong.</i>
Grandmother	mine,	shake up and down	spin	hang.

"Grandmother mine, I shake up and down and spin as I hang." The same *Chinoi* is supposed to be speaking.

<i>Yek,</i>	<i>Puyau,</i>	<i>menang</i>	<i>cherengbung</i>	<i>belang</i>
I,	Basket,	thread	plunge down	to
<i>batu</i>	<i>dadak</i>	<i>charah</i>	<i>kēdah</i>	<i>Tanggoi.</i>
stone	breast	sunrise	girl	Tanggoi.

"I, Basket, go, plunge down [and stick] the thread to the stone at the breast(?) of sunrise, at the house of Tanggoi's girl." It is the *Chinoi Puyau*,¹ the Basket *Chinoi*, who is supposed to be speaking. Ehyim is the name of the child of Tanggoi to whom reference is made. She lives near where the sun rises and plaits herself a nest.

<i>Jerjun jeurn(?)</i>	<i>klawong.</i>	<i>Lel,</i>	<i>lel,</i>
Carry on your hands	<i>kěnuwak.</i> ²	Spinning,	spinning,
<i>jerjun</i>	<i>klawong.</i>	<i>Asal</i>	<i>kebeurk</i> ³
carry on your hands	<i>kěnuwak.</i>	Origin	fruits
			<i>kěnuwak.</i>

"Carry on your hands the *kěnuwak* fruit. Spinning, spinning,⁴ carrying on your hands the *kěnuwak*. Origin of fruits is the *kěnuwak*." I did not ascertain the name of the *Chinoi* who is supposed to be speaking.

<i>Minyun,</i>	<i>menawu</i>	<i>tapag,</i>	<i>ngabag.</i>
Shake up and down,	bending down	leaf pinnae,	chant magical chants.

"Shaking up and down, bending down the leaf pinnae of the

¹ I retain the original translation, as the name was given to me by the Negritos. It appears however that *puyau* is really *Pandanus*, a material from which baskets are made. *Vide Pagan Races*, Vol. II, p. 677, P 27.

² The Malay name of a kind of jungle fruit. Unidentified.

³ *Kebeurk* is equivalent to the Malay numeral coefficient *biji*, which is applied to round objects, such as fruits.

⁴ In the sense of turning round and round—not weaving.

palm, I chant magical chants." It is the *Chinoi Buyok*, the *Pandanus*¹ *Chinoi*, who is supposed to be speaking. *Ngabag* is said to be a *Chinoi* word.

Eh, gantong, jon perungsi, eh, gantong!
 Father, suspend, spin turn, father, suspend!

"Father, suspend, spin and turn (the comb), father, suspend it!" It is the *Chinoi Buyok* who is supposed to be speaking.

Sibeh² menang³ bedlad keping galong lel
 Attach thread go above cross-bar (bridge) spin
jutkat keping chanang⁴ yoh bēlang⁵ Langyau.
 bring down above plate mine near Langyau.

No satisfactory translation of this was obtained, but it may mean something like this:

"I Langyau, attaching the thread, go above the bridge and, spinning, bring it down(?) above my plate." *Chanang* is said to be *Chinoi*-talk. [It will be noticed that references to threads occur in this song, that which comes next and in that of the Basket *Chinoi* (above). These are now much more understandable in view of my recently gained (1935) information as to the manner in which the *halak* and the *Chinoi* are believed to ascend and descend on their way to and from the sky. This is by means of shooting out long threads from their finger-nails and toe-nails to the places to which they want to go and then following up these retractile(?) filaments.]

Yamun deng un, yek deng kasau⁶ Tapern
 I(?) see there, I see rafter Tapern (Tak Pern).

Luntem un yek chek menang bēlang batu.⁶
 Jam there I come thread near stone.

A satisfactory translation of this was not obtained. The general

¹ The species of *Pandanus* which the Malays call *mēngkuang*. *Vide Pagan Races*, Vol. II, p. 677, P 27, and cf. p. 224, footnote 1. It is probable that the two names *buyok* and *puyau* are those of the two kinds of *Pandanus* that the Malays term *mēngkuang* and *pandan* respectively.

² The Malay word *sangkut*, to attach, was given as the equivalent of *sibeh*.

³ Obviously the same as the Malay word *bēnang*, thread.

⁴ Cf., perhaps, the Malay word *chēnang*, a kind of shallow gong.

⁵ Malays, in speaking, often use the word *dēkat* (near) instead of *kēpada* (to).

⁶ Malay words.

sense, according to Měmpělām, is, "I want to fix the thread to the stone". An attempted literal translation is, "I see there, I see, the rafters of Tapern's (Tak Pern's) house. I come to fasten (jam) there the thread to (near) the stone." Probably the same *Chinoi* is supposed to be speaking. [In partial explanation *vide* the note in square brackets on the previous page.]

<i>Yek</i>	<i>chetol</i>	<i>beraleh</i> ¹	<i>chintol</i>	<i>lubag</i>	<i>pengeseh</i>
I	thrust	place	bud ornaments	<i>lēbak</i>	around
		<i>kelingrong</i> ²	<i>Tapern.</i>		
		mortar	Tapern (Tak Pern).		

"I will thrust in and place round bud ornaments of the *lēbak*³ plant around the mortar of Tapern" (Tak Pern). It is the *Chinoi Behwak*, the *Tēpus*-plant *Chinoi*, a female, who is supposed to be speaking. She makes wreaths.

<i>Ledsaid</i>	<i>bayang</i> ⁴	<i>charah</i>	<i>ketel</i>	<i>balan</i>	<i>nukau</i>	<i>mak</i>	<i>bulang.</i>
Scarlet	spirit	sunrise	go	bridge	house	want	headdress.

"Red appears the spirit of sunrise and goes to the bridge where there is a house in search of a headdress." It is the *Chinoi Galong*, the Bridge *Chinoi*, a female, who is supposed to be speaking.

<i>Eh,</i>	<i>tantig</i>	<i>klawong</i>	<i>penlohr</i> ⁵	<i>bēring!</i>
Father,	bring	<i>kēnuwak</i>	pierce	fruit(?)!

"Father, bring *kēnuwak* (Mal.) fruits and pierce them (as charms)!"

<i>Weung</i>	<i>ramen,</i>	<i>dedeh,</i>	<i>weung!</i>
Winnow	body,	sieve,	winnow!

"I move my body like a winnowing-tray, I sift, I winnow!"⁶ It is a female *Chinoi*, a Flower *Chinoi*, who is supposed to be speaking.

¹ *Bēraleh* in Malay means "to move", "to change position".

² According to Tōkeh (1921) *kelingrong* is the ground under a house, as in a Malay dwelling, which is raised on piles. The mortar for pounding rice is often stored in such a place.

³ I believe this to be a species of wild ginger.

⁴ Equivalent to the Malay *mambang*. Cf. Malay *bayang*, "shadow".

⁵ Used, I was told, of piercing the nasal septum. This was said not to be a Kintak Bong custom, though found among the Jehai and Lanoh.

⁶ A somewhat indecent line which caused laughter.

<i>Eh,</i>	<i>minyun</i>	<i>balan</i>	<i>chibeh</i>	<i>pinkoh</i>	<i>lawad</i> ¹
Father,	shake up and down	bridge	sunrise	mimic	song
	<i>juih</i> ²	<i>kaleh.</i>			
	bird	lifting wings.			

"I shake up and down on the bridge of sunrise, mimicking the song of a bird, lifting up its wings." It is a female *Chinoi*, a *Chinoi Tang-al*, who is speaking. She lives near the *tang-al* of the *Batu Herem*.

I have mentioned (p. 34) the *chenduai* flower, a celebrated specific for obtaining the love of women. The following material is also from my *Studies in Religion*, pp. 168-169:

My informant Tōkeh, in 1918, gave me a spell which he told me was to be said over oil containing *chenduai* flowers, but in 1921 he denied this and said, repeating it correctly, that it was merely an old spell. I was unable to get any translation of the formula, and, as far as I could make out, its language is archaic.³ The spell is as follows, and a list of some of the word meanings is given below it:

Lod lod bēkot
Jed lod ed ek
Kilhek langod
S'leman kentan
Balok wag hīlag
Hertik kedong sayong
Sog mohr takob
Beb-tob teheu bim
S'naian bleuk kom
Chom pales suk

<i>Bēkot</i>	flower	<i>Mohr</i>	nose
<i>Ed</i>	skin	<i>Takob</i>	tuber
<i>Ek</i>	stomach	<i>Beb-tob</i>	knock
<i>Kilhek</i>	flower of a certain kind	<i>Teheu</i>	water
<i>S'leman</i>	Solomon	<i>Bim</i>	come
<i>Balok</i>	ivory	<i>S'naian</i>	time
<i>Hertik</i>	tail	<i>Bleuk</i>	thigh
<i>Kedong</i>	rat	<i>Kom</i>	frog
<i>Sog</i>	hair	<i>Suk</i>	hair

¹ The Malay equivalent is *suwara*, "voice", I was told.

² Said to be a *Chinoi* word for "bird".

³ Skeat also found that it was difficult to get the Negritos to translate their magic formulae into Malay owing to the use of archaic phrases or words. *Vide Pagan Races*, Vol. II, pp. 232-233. The meaning given for *bēkot* is suspect. Perhaps the word should be *bēkod*, the *salak*-palm, but there is a very similar word which means "hot".

Schebesta, too, has something to say about the *chenduai*, which he calls *chenwei*. He was told that the female blossom grows on the ground, while the male flower grows from a tree. "To be of any use both must be found together. The stalk which is about fifteen centimetres long is very thin, the flower white. I never saw the flower among the Semang (Negritos) but only heard descriptions of it. It is said to be extraordinarily rare."¹ As a matter of fact it is not at all uncommon to find small racemes of dried flowers of what is said to be the *chenduai* plant in the hands of the Negritos, especially of those of Lenggong, and I have even seen specimens of what was apparently the same plant which had been obtained from the Sakai-Jakun of the Ulu Langat in Selangor. A raceme that I purchased at Lenggong was sent to Kew and was there identified as *Salomonina aphylla* (Griff.). Tufts of the same or a related species were found by Museums' collectors growing on Gunong Kerbau, Perak.² Skeat notes the use of *chenduai* among the Sakai-Jakun of Selangor, but not, I think, among the Negritos.³ I have also evidence of its use among the Sakai⁴ and it is well known by report to the Malays.

Schebesta, while with the Jehai, was told about certain tribes of fairy-like beings. These were the *Bëokn*, very tiny creatures, and the *Timpagn*, who hop about on only one leg, the *Saiap*, who fly like birds, and the *Kemer* who grow together in pairs, back to back.⁵ The names of the second and third groups are obviously Malay, *Timpagn* being the Malay word *timpang*, "lame" or "limping", and *saiap* meaning winged. The last name, *Kemer*, is most likely the Malay *këmbar*, "twins". Another, probably legendary, tribe, mentioned to Schebesta by the Kensieu was the *Jatehe*, said to live on a rocky island in the sea.⁶

Singing for the purpose of keeping away evil spirits is known among the Negritos, for when Schebesta, on one occasion, was

¹ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 99.

² Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* Vol. v, No. 2, p. 73.

³ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. II, p. 289.

⁴ Evans, *Studies in Religion*, p. 250.

⁵ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 162.

⁶ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 256.

camping in a deserted Malay village, and close to the old graveyard belonging to it, one of his Jehai men sang throughout the night because he was afraid of the ghosts of the dead Malays.¹

Skeat has a curious scrap of folk-lore concerning persons entering the jungle. He says that "a certain way of provoking the aggressiveness of the tiger-folk is to follow after any member of the tribe who has started on a shooting expedition in the jungle with his blowpipe, no matter whether with the object of accompanying or recalling him".² This item of information probably came from the Kensieu of Kedah, though Skeat does not say so clearly. He mentions material obtained by him from the "Semang", i.e. the western Negritos.

¹ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 119.

² Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. II, p. 223.

CHAPTER XXII

FOLK-TALES

WITH regard to folk-tales a number have been published in my two books, while Schebesta has a few in his. As these are, therefore, all easy of reference I do not reprint any of them *in extenso*, but give them in a somewhat shortened form. Two tales are new, obtained by me from the Kintak Bong in 1935; these I give at full length, as well as two from the Lenggong Negritos which have appeared, so far, only in the *Journal of the Federated Malay States Museums*.¹ The two first stories are those from Lenggong:

Yak (Grandmother) Ku-ung lived at sunrise where the Perak River had its source. There was a dragon at the source of the river, which then flowed past the Gua Badak, through the Gua Kajang, and entered the sea at Tasek, where the sun then fell. Yak Ku-ung told her two grandsons, one of whom was named I-ok, to work seven days, seven seasons, seven years, and cut the dragon in two. This they did. Now the dragon at the source of the river bore the *Batu 'Rem* on its back and when they had cut through the dragon, the sea retreated, the river changed its course, the earth melted, and the grandsons were carried away by the water. At last, after the seven days, the seven seasons, the seven years, the water retreated and the grandsons came to rest and returned to their grandmother. After that the country became as it is now and Yak Tanggoi (Grandmother Rambutan) and others appeared on the earth. When Yak Tanggoi died and went to the sky—her *pengweurng*² is the *Batu Wong* ("Child's Stone") at Kupang in Kedah—all the inhabitants of the country, except a woman who was gravid, went to the *Batu 'Rem* and, entering it, became *Chinoi*. The woman was Yak Genggong, and she could not follow the others because of her condition. In time she gave birth to a son and,

¹ Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* 1927, Vol. XII, pp. 103-104.

² Apparently the *Chinoi* word for house, *vide supra*, p. 194.

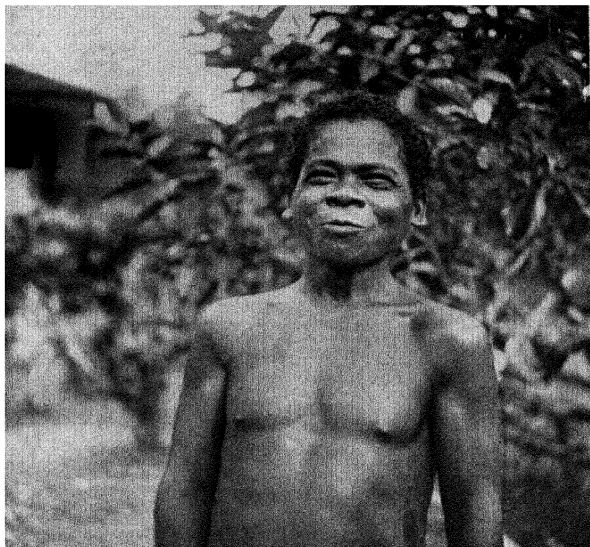


Photo: by author, 1935

A KENSIEU BATUK NEGRITO MAN.
PICTURE TAKEN IN S. KEDAH



Photo: by author, 1935

A KENSIEU NEGRITO MAN, S. KEDAH

when he was grown, he dreamt that he met his father (*Chinoi* Băg-i-ăg), who told him that if he wished the country to become populous his mother must make seven mats. So his mother made headdresses (*měnulang*) of *chingchong* fibre and the mats and hung them above the place where her son slept. Then his father came at night and took the mats and headdresses and told his son that he must marry his mother. And that is the way that the country became populous. [This story demands several explanatory notes. The Gua Badak and the Gua Kajang are both near Lenggong and in the valley of the Perak River. The Gua Badak (Rhinoceros Cave) is a light cave, the Gua Kajang, which one may translate "The Awninged Cave", is a tunnel-like cave piercing a limestone hill.¹ The *Batu 'Rem* has, of course, been mentioned already. The story of how Yak Tanggoi died is told in my *Religion and Folklore*, pp. 185-186, and a shortened version of it is given here, as well as a new one recorded in 1935. I am not sure whether the *Chinoi* Bag-i-ag and Bajaig, the younger brother of Tak Pern, among the Kintak Bong, are one and the same person, but it would appear not unlikely.²]

Chinoi Mampes and the Ghosts

Chinoi Mampes went from Selama (Perak) to the Pleh (the Negrito-Sakai in the mountains across the Perak River) to trade. He took with him beads, benzoin, bows and blowpipes. On his way back night came on and he slept under a fallen tree-trunk, wrapping himself in a white sheet. Then many ghosts, male and female, big and little, came in search of eatables—soft-shelled turtles and other things. They all passed over the tree-trunk under which Mampes lay, except one old woman who could not walk fast. She climbed the tree-trunk with the aid of a stick and looking below saw the white of the sheet. So she whispered, "Who is it?" and she got down and began to feel about Mampes's body to see if she could find a ticklish place, but Mampes did not move. If he had done so, she would have called her companions and they would have suffocated

¹ One would imagine that a stream flowed through it at one time and also very likely washed the sides of the Gua Badak, which is some distance away.

² Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* 1927, Vol. XII, pp. 103-104.

him by crowding upon him and have pulled his tongue out of his mouth.¹ When the old woman's finger entered Mampes's mouth, however, he bit it and held her fast till daylight, or she would have killed him. Then he released her and she vanished.

Of stories in my two books are the following:

1. Yak Kampeh and Piagok. Told by Měmpělām, Headman of the Kintak Bong.

2. Tak Chemempes. Told by Měmpělām.

3. Mampes. Told by Měmpělām.

4. Wild Pigs. Told by Měmpělām.

5. A Menik Kaïen Legend. Told by Měmpělām.

These are in my *Studies in Religion*, pp. 185-195.

6. Tak Kiem, Yak Gadong and Jati. Told by a Lanoh Negrito of Lenggong, Pandak *alias* Sadeuh.

7. Yak Taneg. Told by Pandak *alias* Sadeuh.

These tales will be found in my *Papers on the Ethnology*, pp. 26-28.

The two new (1935) stories are placed last. The first is a version of the legend of Ag-ag, the Crow, which has been given in a previous chapter,² the second is another version of the story of Yak Kampeh and Piagok with some omissions and also some important additions.

Story No. 1. Yak (Grandmother) Kampeh lived with her son, Piagok, in the Selama District (of Perak).

She dreamt that she had a son named Kebeurk Yihuk (tree fruit). She saw a fruit on a tree next day and Piagok climbed into the tree and threw the fruit down. A sound of crying was heard from the fruit and a child was in it.

Piagok dreamt that he met a woman. Next day he really met her.³ He made combs for her as presents. He sent his mother to her camp. That night he went to her camp and slept with the woman, whose name was Yak Tanggoi (Grandmother Rambutan).

The next day he went with Hmoit, Yak Tanggoi's younger

¹ Spirits seem to be credited with killing humans in this way. *Vide* also pp. 239, 265.

² P. 163.

³ With regard to dreams coming true, or being the truth, *vide* p. 274.

brother, to hunt. Hmoit he tied to his back above his back-basket, because Hmoit's waist was so small that he could not walk.¹ His sister released him on his return.

Piagok went to hunt and shot a pig with his bow. That night he had an unlucky dream. The next morning he and Yak Tanggoi exchanged leaves of the *changlun*, agreeing that if their leaves withered they also would be dead.

Piagok went on a journey, and when he looked at Yak Tanggoi's leaf, it had shrivelled.

Yak Tanggoi had been murdered by five women, by drowning, while Piagok was away.

Piagok returned and found Yak Tanggoi's body. He killed the five women by pouring boiling water on them. Then there came *henweh*² and the house turned to stone, but Piagok carried Yak Tanggoi's body to the sky.

To' Taseg, a cousin of Piagok, whose wife was Yak Hnileh,³ came to Piagok's house which had become a stone.³ To' Taseg was a *halak* (wizard) and knew about Piagok. He came to Piagok's house which had become a stone and, transforming himself into a *Chinoi*, entered it with his wife, she going first because he stopped to burn incense.

Yak Tanggoi came to life in the sky. When a *halak* performs in a *panoh* ("medicine hut"), Piagok, Yak Tanggoi and Yak Hnileh come to him. They have become *Chinoi*.

Story No. 2. That of Tak Chemempes, who seems to have been a thoroughly unpleasant character:

Tak Chemempes turned himself into a rhinoceros. A companion of his shot at him with a bow and arrow. Tak Chemempes caught the arrow under his front leg and pretended to be dead. The man went home and called the people, who made shelters near the "dead" rhinoceros (to feast on it). Tak Chemempes asked five children, who were playing near, if everybody had come. The children said, "Yes". The children told their

¹ He appears to have given rise to wasps. *Vide infra*, p. 241. The name means "wasp". *Vide also Pagan Races*, Vol. II, p. 751, W 25.

² Water welling up from under the ground. A disaster caused by an impious act. *Henweh*, as here, is sometimes accompanied by petrification of the offender's house.

³ Cf. my later-collected story, p. 241. To' (Malay) is equivalent to Tak.

fathers what the rhinoceros had asked them. The fathers said, "Don't speak *minchah*".¹ Then the rhinoceros got up, became a man, and killed all the people except one man who was only lamed. Tak Chemempes asked if there was anybody left, and when the lame man answered, "Yes", killed him too.

Tak Chemempes then made some working-knives, but made them of tin. He sold the knives to the people and then went away and became the cabbage of a *taak*-palm.² The people who had bought the knives came to the *taak*-palm. They tried to take the cabbage of the palm, but the knives would not cut. One man then used a small iron knife, and cut it through, when it rolled into the river and became a soft-shelled turtle. After much trouble the turtle was caught and brought ashore, when it immediately dug itself into the ground and became an elephant's-head tuber. The people dug it up, roasted it and ate it, and half of them died of stomach trouble.

Then Tak Chemempes became a tall tree, full of bees' nests. The remaining people tried to take the nests one night. One man went up with a vessel to take the honey. The bees became a man who cut the climber's throat and let his blood down in the vessel, calling out that there was lots of honey and getting another man to come up to help. He cut his throat too, and another's and another's, until cockcrow and daylight, when Tak Chemempes vanished. Eight men had thus died, and the remaining seven saw their bodies under the tree.

Then Tak Chemempes became a crocodile and laid eggs on the shore of the river. A man found the eggs and took them home and cooked and ate them with his people. At night the crocodile came to the camp and ate all the people except a man and his wife who were awake and escaped.³

Next Tak Chemempes became a lizard in a tree near a Negrito camp, and whenever he saw anything nice cooking he came down the tree and became a man, and got a share by telling the people that he was a traveller. Finally he ran away from the camp with a girl.

¹ Words which will cause stomach trouble when the flesh is eaten. The fathers naturally did not believe the children.

² The Negrito name for the *langkap* palm (*Arenga obtusifolia*).

³ Probably they had not eaten the eggs.

After this he found some people fishing and the people told him how a man, named Tak Taihi, robbed them of their fish, promising him that, if he could punish Tak Taihi, they would collect fish for him. So Tak Chemempes made bindings to go round his knees and elbows and, when Tak Taihi came, and asked what the bindings were for, Tak Chemempes said that they were to cure pains in the joints. So, when Tak Taihi asked for them, saying that he also had pains, Tak Chemempes managed to get him thoroughly trussed and then beat him to death. Then the people gave him their fish.¹

Next Tak Chemempes bored a hole in a tree buttress, making it large enough for his foot to pass through it easily. He stopped and concealed this hole with mud and, by challenging his companions to kick a hole in a tree buttress, and by winning the challenge, got possession of all their fish.

A few days afterwards his companions stole the girl that Tak Chemempes had brought with him. Eventually he discovered who the thieves were, but could not find the girl. He said to them, "If you want to become like I am, go and get some bamboos". He made knives out of the bamboos and said to the men, "If you want to become Mohammedans (i.e. to be circumcised) go and sit above the waterfall." When they were there, Tak Chemempes went to their wives and told them that, if he was attacked by an evil spirit when he circumcised their husbands, they were to blow turmeric over him, which he gave them. Then he went to circumcise the husbands and cut off all their genitals and kicked them down into the river below, until all the thirty of them had been killed. When he went back, the wives asked where their husbands were and he replied that they would, perhaps, be coming home the next day, or the day after. That night he pretended to have an epileptic fit, and when the women came to blow the medicine on him, he killed them all.

Next day he started on a journey and there was a high wind. He heard a sound of whistling made by two trees whose trunks crossed and were pushed together by the wind. He climbed up

¹ There is a legend about the mousedeer and a party of animals who were fishing of a somewhat similar nature. This is found among the Mohammedans of British North Borneo and elsewhere. *Vide my Studies in Religion*, pp. 119-123.

and put his hand between the trunks to take whatever made the noise and his hand was thus caught between the trunks and he was held there until he died.

Story No. 3. Mampes and his wife went from Selama to Perak¹ for a month. When they returned Mampes found that all his companions had been eaten by two tigers.

He told his wife to climb a tree and went to the deserted huts, where he found the two tigers. The tigers wanted to fight with him, but he told them to wait until he had removed a thorn from his foot. When he had done so, he killed the male tiger with an arrow. Next he killed the female tiger in the same way. Then he went back to his wife.

After this Mampes went to his father's camp, gave him the news, and lived there for about three months. One day he told two companions to make a swing and he sat in it and swung.

Now Tak Nin,² a very clever man, who pretended to be dumb, had two wives, Yak Lunggyait and Penantun, but Tak Nin was really Mampes, for Mampes had made a double of himself, though of a different appearance.

One day Tak Nin and his two wives, both *halak*, went to the jungle. They came across a bear up a tree, and Yak Lunggyait strung Tak Nin's bow and gave it to him, motioning him to shoot. The bear was killed.

After two days they went out again and Tak Nin shot an elephant and, when his companions arrived, Tak Nin took the elephant's tusks.

Now Tak Nin had a brother-in-law, younger than himself. This man was a *halak* and his name was Pas and he was the ancestor of the muntjac,³ which his name means, for all the animals were once men. Tak Nin told him to speak to his (Tak Nin's) mother-in-law⁴ and ask her what he should do with the ivory. Pas got to his mother's camp at night and told her about the elephant. The next day Tak Nin's father-in-law and Pas

¹ The Perak River Valley is here meant.

² Tak Nin's footprints, I was told, can still be seen at Ayer Tuna, Sidim, S. Kedah.

³ Or barking-deer, *Cervulus muntjac*.

⁴ Tak Nin would be prohibited, by Negrito custom, from speaking to her himself.

went to Tak Nin's hut. The father-in-law took the tusks home with him and, after ten days, a thief, named Keh, came at night and stole them. The next morning the father-in-law, Tak Kemis, met Keh, and Keh put down the tusks and ran away up some rocks, complaining. Tak Kemis shot him with his bow, and he died. This Keh was the ancestor of the goat-antelopes.¹

Tak Kemis took the ivory home again, but one night six thieves came, and one of them, Chighchag, broke his thigh in jumping from the shelf where the ivory was kept. Tak Kemis found him the next day and killed him.

Story No. 4. The wild pigs were once Malays, who used to change themselves into pigs and go off into the jungle.

There were once two Kintak Bong men, brothers. The elder was stupid, but the younger was a *halak*. They came across some wild pigs in the jungle and the elder brother hit a pig with an arrow. The pigs ran home and became men again, and the man who had been hit complained to his wife of the pain.

The younger brother went to the village and saw the sick man, and the elder brother followed and called out that that was where his arrow was, but the younger brother told him not to say anything. Then the "pigs" came and fought with them. The elder brother went home, but the younger remained and cured the sick man.

When the younger brother went home, he told the elder brother not to go to the village or the "pigs" would kill him, but the elder brother paid no attention and went to the village and asked for rice. They gave him rice, and then killed him as he was eating it.

The next morning the younger brother went to the village and found his elder brother's body there. So he took the tail of a grass-lizard and thrust it into his elder brother's nostrils and his elder brother sneezed and came to life again. Then they went home.

The elder brother went off one day to fish and did not return. His younger brother searched for him and eventually found him at a water spirits' camp, but the elder brother refused to return and the younger brother left him there.

¹ His followers became goat-antelopes (serows).

Story No. 5. There was once a man who had a son. Both were *halak*. The son had a wife. One day he went out to shoot with his blowpipe. His wife began to roast a *bangkong*¹-fruit on the fire. The *bangkong*-fruit exploded—now to roast a *bangkong*-fruit on the fire is tabu, and, if anyone does so, a tiger will come and eat the offender when the fruit explodes. On the fruit exploding the father-in-law became startled, began to shake, turned into a tiger,² and ate up his daughter-in-law.

When the son came home he saw what his father had done and the two fought together. The son was beaten, because the father became very tall during the fight, and, though he, too, became very tall, he could not attain such a height as his father. Then the father said that he (the son) could not fight with him (the father) any more, and that the hut should become a cave in a hill. So the hut became a cave and is still to be seen near Batu Kurau.³

Now Tang-ong, the father of Tak Pern, came to the cave and the two men,⁴ now called Heneng Ai,⁵ emerged from the cave up to their shoulders. Then Tang-ong asked what had happened and the father told him how he and his son had fought, and asked him to tell the Menik Kaïen that they were to keep the sixteenth day of the month, the day on which they had fought, as tabu whenever they went near the hill.

Story No. 6. There was once an old couple whose names were Tak (Grandfather) Kiem and Yak (Grandmother) Gadong. They had eyelashes but no eyeballs. They were having connection under the impression that it was still night, though it was really daylight, because their grandson, Jati, had told them that it was dark. When it was about midday, the grandson told his grand-

¹ A kind of wild jackfruit. *Bangkong* is the Malay name for it.

² Magicians among both the Negritos and the Sakai are frequently credited with the power of turning themselves into tigers. This death by a tiger was, no doubt, a punishment for breaking the tabu.

³ In Larut, Perak. Tökeh, however, said subsequently that Mëmpëlam, the narrator of the tale, was wrong, and he ought to have known as he was a Menik Kaïen and the story is a Menik Kaïen legend. He said that the place is in the Ulu Selama, Perak.

⁴ The father and son.

⁵ *Heneng Ai* is also the Negrito name of the cave. It means "the hole of the leaf-monkeys". The particular species of leaf-monkey is *Presbytes obscurus keatii*.

parents that it was day. Then the grandson caught his grandmother by the leg and carried her down into the water, and, when she became cold, her eyes could see, and she wept. Then she sprang, to a mountain top and became a *Chinoi*. The grandfather became a tiger. The grandson told his grandfather not to speak like an ox, a barking-deer, or any other animal, but like a tiger, "Aung". The tiger-grandfather looks after this country (the Lenggong neighbourhood in Upper Perak), which we call *Kemoin*,¹ and makes springs of water by shooting arrows into the rocks.

Story No. 7. Yak (Grandmother) Taneg was ill and died. Before she died she told her children to go and dig tubers in the hollow. Her five children went to the place where the tubers were, a daughter taking a young child with her. When they got there, they met Yak Taneg's ghost in the hollow. The children said—"We five children have come here", and Yak Taneg told them to make a fire and roast the tubers without cleaning them. Now the youngest of Yak Taneg's five children was a *bélian*,² and he told the others not to go far from the fire, but to sit close together, because Yak Taneg wanted to take away their tongues and kill them.³ Yak Taneg was still sitting in the hollow and, when she was given the tubers, which had not been cleaned, she took the charcoal from them and smeared it all over her body. Then she came out of the hollow and chased her children, but the son who was a *bélian*⁴ hit her with a *palas*⁵-shoot, and she went away. Then the children wept because the *bélian* said that their mother was dead. So they went home, and the *bélian* told them to make a "medicine hut", and that night, after he had called his *Chinoi* to him, he invoked his mother to come down into the hut to see the decorations that were in it, doing this because he wished her to become a *Chinoi* and not remain a ghost. When his mother came down from above and plunged into the hut, the *Chinoi* of the *bélian* caught hold of her and one

¹ "Tiger."

² Magician who can become a tiger.

³ *Vide* the tale of Tak Chemempes, *supra*, where the ghosts would have torn out his tongue to kill him.

⁴ Shaman, magician.

⁵ The Malay name of a kind of palm, *Licuala peltata*, which has, I believe, some magical use.

of them blew sap of the *sělaseh*¹-plant over her; whereupon she became a *Chinoi*, and the *bélian* took her to the sky.

I now give the two stories that I got from the Kintak Bong in 1935. The first, as I have remarked above, is another version of the legend of Ag-ag, the Crow, and the house which became the sun,² though the sun is not here mentioned. It tells, however, how the two chief male deities of the Kintak Bong got their wives. The second story is, as mentioned previously, another version of the legend of Yak Kampeh and Tak Piagok with many details to be found in that given above omitted, but with some important material added:

How Jalang and Jamoi Went to Heaven

A version of the story of Ag-ag, the Crow

Tak Pern and Tak Bajaig were brothers. They married Jalang and Jamoi, sisters. Klang was their younger brother. Their mother was Ag-ag.²

Jaleh and Chimioi³ came to Ag-ag's house and asked for rice and Jalang and Jamoi gave it to them in a leaf. They asked for it in a plate, and they ate it, Jaleh with his thigh pressing Jalang's and Chimioi with his thigh pressing Jamoi's.⁴ Jaleh went down below the house and swung in a swing. Chimioi stopped above with his head on Jamoi's lap while she searched for lice.⁵ Jamoi called to Jaleh not to swing so hard, or he would startle Jalang who was asleep; but he went on swinging. Now Tak Pern and Tak Bajaig wanted Jalang and Jamoi and they had told Jaleh and Chimioi to go to the house, and, when the house rocked, Tak Pern drew it up to heaven. Chimioi complained of Klang's noisiness and threw him out, and he became a hawk. When Ag-ag returned home she found that there was no house.

¹ A fragrant herb, *Ocimum basilicum*. *Sělaseh* is the Malay name of the plant.

² Both the mother and the father seem to have been named Ag-ag (crow).

³ *Vide* p. 249. Chimioi seems to be the name of a magical (or shaman) bird.

⁴ They would all be sitting crosslegged, one presumes.

⁵ A method of love-making among primitive peoples in S.E. Asia and employed among the Dusuns of B.N. Borneo.

Tak Piagok and Yak Tanggoi

Yak Kabang, Yak Hnileh and Yak Tanggoi were sisters. Hmoit was their younger brother. Yak Kabang is the *rambutan kabang*, Yak Tanggoi the *rambutan*, while Hmoit, who had a tiny waist, is the wasp. Yak Tanggoi married Tak Piagok. The three sisters and their brother lived in a hut which became Gunong Baling (a limestone-marble mountain in S. Kedah). Some women sprinkled cold water on Yak Tanggoi when she was pregnant to kill her, because they wanted Tak Piagok for themselves. When Tak Piagok came home and saw that his wife was dead, he called all the people together and poured hot water with *ipoh*-poison in it on them, and they all ran away. His wife became the *rambutan* fruit¹ and he went to heaven. Yak Kampeh, his mother, asked him where she should live and he told her to go to Ulu Pahang (up-country in Pahang). Yak Kampeh took Hmoit to Ulu Pahang and also other poisonous animals. The *halak*, in his dreams, asks Yak Kampeh for her blood to pay for sins. He pricks her from far off, being afraid of the wasps. The sins for which he pays are *chemes teiok makab*, those which are punished by a tiger seizing the offender. Yak Kampeh is the *ipoh*-tree. The husband of Yak Hnileh was Tak Taseg,² who is the same as the Halak Gihmal.³

Schebesta has not provided us with any great number of folk-stories, nor are two of them very clear, but they are, nevertheless, interesting. One is a variant of my story of Tak Chemempes, another of my story of Ag-ag and the house that became the sun. This presents features found in my first and second stories, but again there are variations.

Two interesting statements are attached to the Tak Chemempes story. One is that it was he who first invented the rattan saw method of producing fire, and indeed fire itself; the other that, apparently, it was he who first discovered the use of iron and so became the first blacksmith. Schebesta spells the name Ta Chemampes, but I have used my spelling in his story.

¹ The *rambutan* is the Malay name of a cultivated (more or less) fruit, *rambutan kabang* is a jungle variety or species. The name Hmoit means wasp. *Vide Pagan Races*, Vol. II, p. 751, W 25.

² *Vide p.* 145.

³ *Vide p.* 145.

Tak Chemempes lived with the bears (the Negritos). He became a *mark*¹-plant. A bear cut down the tree, which became a *las* tuber. A bear dug up the tuber, which rolled into the river and became a tortoise. The bear-man caught the tortoise and it became a rhinoceros, which he shot with an arrow from his bow. All the bears (men) came to feast on the rhinoceros, which then arose and killed them all. This tale is from the Kintak Bong.

A paragraph previous to this story appears to be an attempted explanation, not at all clear, of the connection between the Kintak Bong and bears. It is said that the bear men (Negritos) had many huts and that a married couple went out one day into the forest. The man was killed by a tiger. When the woman returned and told her people about her husband they all went off to Malaya (*sic!*). The Malays offered them a place under their houses, and when the bear-men became bears, the Malays saw this and killed them.²

Another short legend, obtained by Schebesta from the Kintak Bong, is also not at all clear:

The tiger ("of course still a man") was travelling in company with other men (probably Negritos). They came to a great sheet of water and the men crossed it by spanning it with a rope made of *temtobn*.³ A thorn grew on the bank. "The human tortoises⁴ came to the water, caught hold of the thorn in their mouths and swung themselves across." When they were across, the tiger-man came and looked for a ford, but not finding one, he asked a tortoise who was swinging himself over, how he was to get across. The tortoise told him that he must "seize the thorn in his mouth and swallow so that the thorn came out as in his own case (his tail)". The tiger did so "and the thorn stuck out behind. Thus he became a real tiger and went into the forest."⁵

Schebesta also has a short version of the story of the origin

¹ Pretty obviously my *taak*, which I believe to be the right spelling. *Vide supra*, p. 234, and also p. 205, where Schebesta's use of the word *taa* is recorded.

² Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, pp. 238-239.

³ The black fungus rhizomorph, a talisman against hot rain, from which bracelets, necklaces and women's skirts are made.

⁴ This is the first mention of tortoises.

⁵ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 238.

of the Negritos that I have given previously. This he obtained from the Jehai of Perak. I give a slightly shortened version.

The Raja Bërok (king of the *bërok*¹-monkeys) kindled the grass with a brand stolen from Karei. The people ran away. Those that went downstream on rafts are the ancestors of the Malays. Those that delayed and got their hair singed took to the mountains and forests and became Negritos.²

Here is Schebesta's variant of my story of Ag-ag, the Crow. It is not stated, it will be noted, that the house became the sun. The story, as my two versions, is from the Kintak Bong.

Agag was busy in the fields while Djalan and Djamoi were swinging the youngest child, Klang, in the house. Kaei³ and Begiag came and made the house float upwards. When the mother saw the house high in the air she called out, "Agag", and became a crow.³ Kaei told the two girls to kill the child in the hammock with their hands. When they refused to do so he threw it out himself. The child became a bird and screamed like the *këlang*-bird (fish-eagle). Agag and her children are supposed to have been Malays, Kaei and Begiag Negritos.⁴ A further and interesting story comes from the Menrik. I give it in slightly abbreviated form:

When the Menrik first met the Malays they found among them a red flower.⁵ They gathered in a circle to warm themselves at this. Later, the Malays kindled fire and set the tall grass alight. The Menrik, who had no fire, fled into the forest. A stag came to the fire and took a brand to his home. This he placed high in his hut when he went to work in his clearing, being

¹ The Malay name of *Macacus nemestrinus*.

² Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 89.

³ The result as pointed out previously of Schebesta's going to the Kintak Bong and talking of Kaei. It should be Tak Pern.

⁴ Schebesta, *Orang Hidop*, pp. 226-227.

⁵ Schebesta gives the name of this flower as "*gantogn*: Malay *gantang*," and I am uncertain as to what he intends to signify. If *gantang* is the correct word in Malay, it would mean a flower like a *gantang* measure. On the other hand there is a Malay word *gantong*, "to hang", which agrees better with the Negrito version. Probably the Negrito word should read *gantagn*. The probability that *gantagn* and *gantang* are correct is heightened by the fact that the red flower of *Rafflesia* is sometimes called *bunga gantang*—the flower as big as a *gantang* measure—by the Malays. Another Malay name for *Rafflesia* is *bunga pamah*.

afraid that it would be stolen. The woodpecker stole the fire and gave it to the Menrik, telling them what it was. The stag, having followed the bird, as the woodpecker had warned the Menrik that he was doing, came to take back his fire. The Menrik, as instructed by the woodpecker, stabbed the stag with two hardwood spears, wounding him in the head. And these spears, remaining in his head, became his horns, for, until then, he had had none. So, in this manner, the stag gained his horns, but lost his fire to the Negritos.¹

¹ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, pp. 274-275.

CHAPTER XXIII

BIRTH, NAMING, MARRIAGE, RELATIONSHIP TABUS, ETC.

As among most primitive peoples, there are among the Negritos certain tabus applicable to women who are pregnant or have recently given birth. With regard to the Kintak Bong and Menik Kaien, for instance, I was told that expectant women must not go out during "hot rain" (i.e. rain when the sun is shining), which is much feared, nor must they fetch water late in the afternoon or evening, nor go to the hills alone. If the last prohibition is broken, the offender will be taken by a tiger.¹

With regard to birth, Skeat says that among the Kedah Negritos the mother was usually placed in a sitting position and treated preferably with the root of a creeper called *chenlai*, found on the highest mountains. If this could not be obtained leaves of the *lengkuas*² or of *Citronella* were used. The afterbirth and appurtenances were buried in the leaf-shelter close to the family hearth.³

Schebesta records that among the Kintak Bong (his Kenta-Bogn) of the Perak Kedah boundary, the birth takes place in the hut, as also among the Jehai of Upper Perak and Kelantan. On the sixth day after giving birth the mother can return to her normal work. The umbilical cord is cut with a sharpened rib of a palm leaf,⁴ and the placenta is buried where the birth took place. The mother is given a decoction to drink by the midwife, apparently to prevent her conceiving again too rapidly. The midwife, who is paid, and whose office is handed down from generation to generation, names the child on the second day. If there are two midwives, each gives a name.⁵

¹ Evans, *Studies in Religion*, p. 175.

² A Malay name. A wild ginger.

³ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. II, pp. 2-3.

⁴ The palm is that which the Malays call *chuchoh* and the Negritos *chimchobn*, according to Schebesta. Perhaps *Calamus castaneus* Griff.

⁵ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, pp. 232-233.

Some evidence with regard chiefly to the rearing of children, collected by Schebesta from the Jehai, may be added here. He says that a mother feeds her child at the breast for more than two years, though, according to the Negritos, her milk is not abundant. The child of a dead woman is suckled by others. Women, though deliveries are easy, do not like to have more than three to four children owing to the difficulty of feeding them, and a woman whose child has died prefers not to have another too soon in case it should die, like the first. In such cases an interval of about three years (which, according to what follows, seems to be about the normal period between births) is allowed to elapse before the next baby becomes due. A young wife generally has a child every three years. Schebesta notes that he met a couple of similar twins on one occasion. He says, too, that the Jehai claimed that they knew of herbs that were of use as aphrodisiacs and contraceptives, but stated that they did not use them themselves, but were continually asked for them by the Malays.¹

Of the Menrik Schebesta notes that birth takes place in the living hut. The navel-cord is cut with a bamboo sliver, placed in a bag, and tied round the child's wrist, being thought to protect its health.² Among the Bateg of Pahang birth takes place in a new shelter, specially built outside the camp.³

The Jehai told Schebesta that the confinement takes place in the living hut, a back-rest being made for the patient by driving a few sticks slantwise into the ground. The men of the camp go away during the event, the husband remaining near in case of emergencies. The woman is assisted by the midwife and by her female relatives, there being midwives in every camp.⁴

Among the Kintak Bong and Menik Kaien, my informant said that, for ten days after delivery, a woman may not step into water, nor may she eat salt, fish and flesh. The flesh of the bamboo rat (a favourite delicacy) is especially forbidden, as if she ate it, her child's face would become like the rodent's. The

¹ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 102.

² Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 273.

³ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 276.

⁴ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 101.

Jehai said that their women do not eat the cabbages of palms, flesh, fish and tubers for four days after giving birth to a child.¹

Schebesta records the following prohibitions among the Jehai with regard to pregnant women. They must not eat the flesh of the squirrel, the monitor lizard, the *wawah* gibbon and the Argus pheasant, also that of all animals shot with the blowpipe. Large fish, too, were prohibited articles of diet. One man added to the list the *mënturun*² (the binturong, not the wild cat as stated by Schebesta: *mënturun* is the Malay name of the animal).

It is a very general custom among the Negritos to name their children after a tree, plant, stream or place near which they are born. I have found this custom among such widely separated groups as the Negritos of the Trang-Patalung hills in Peninsular Siam and the Bateg of the Cheka River, Pahang. Skeat and Vaughan Stevens have both noticed it and, earliest of all, Anderson.³ Schebesta and I are at one with them in this matter.

Among the Negritos of the Trang-Patalung hills I found a man named after a kind of bamboo, another after a species of tree and a third after a smooth piece of land at the foot of a mountain. Of the women, two were named after trees and one had been given the name of a stream.⁴ Six Negrito men of the Cheka River, Pahang, were named after streams, while out of eleven Jehai names five are those of rivers, two names of rapids, one that of a piece of land and two those of trees or plants.

The Lenggong Negritos, too, though they make use of some Malay names, such as Pandak, Ngah and Lima, also follow ancient custom to a large extent; thus we have such names as Kemangi (the Malay name of a kind of scented shrub), Kenering (born near the Kenering River), S'lak (leaf), Hipai (coconut), Awin (bamboo), Nehuk (wood), Panggil (born near the Panggil River). These people sometimes translate their names into Malay for purposes of intercourse with outsiders. Thus, Mr. Leaf, called S'lak by his own people, is known as Daun, Mr. Coconut (Hipai) is called Nyior and Mr. Wood (Nehuk) Kayu.⁵

¹ Evans, *Studies in Religion*, pp. 174-175.

² Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 101.

³ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. II, pp. 3-4.

⁴ Evans, *Papers on the Ethnology*, p. 4.

⁵ Evans, *Studies in Religion*, pp. 179-180.

I added a footnote to this passage, in which I said that "it is possible some of the Negritos who are called by Malay names may also be known by native names among their own people. I found out afterwards that my friend Pandak, son of Dahabok, whom I have known for many years, has the native name of Sadeuh."¹

Schebesta says that, among the Jehai, if the midwife is away from camp when the child is born, it is not named until her return. A child is named after a tree, plant, stream or mountain near which it is born.² Schebesta also mentions that the Negritos dislike using personal pronouns and names, but this dislike is common to the Malays, the use of such pronouns especially being considered rude; that of the name is better. Instead of the pronoun the Malays substitute terms of relationship in accordance with age or rank, addressing superiors as grandfather, mother, elder brother, elder sister, etc., and inferiors as younger brother or younger sister.

We next come to the interesting, but difficult, subject of the "bird soul", one of the few matters on which I have been able to obtain partial confirmation of Vaughan Stevens's work.³ Schebesta (later) has done something to support me:

The Kintak Bong believe that a bird called by them *til-tol-tapah*, and by the Malays *kangkang katup*, both names being given as descriptive of the sound of its call, announces, when heard, the impending arrival of a child. This bird, which seems to like the neighbourhood of clear upland streams in places where there is little jungle, is, I now know, a cuckoo (*Cuculus concratus*). Tōkeh, my Menik Kaïen informant, spoke of it as being the shadow of all Negrito women, and also referred to it as being the midwife's soul. It is perhaps worth noting that in the Malayan region, as elsewhere, shadow and soul are very closely connected, if not sometimes confused.⁴

Among the Lanoh the call of a bird called *bakau* (the same I believe as the *til-tol-tapah* of the Kintak Bong) denotes that

¹ He is alive (1935).

² Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 102.

³ *Vide Pagan Races*, Vol. II, pp. 4-6, for Vaughan Stevens's account of the bird soul.

⁴ Evans, *Studies in Religion*, p. 169.

a child will be born.¹ Schebesta, writing of the Kintak Bong, says that the *til-tol-tapah* (his *tiltoltapa*) is thought to form the foetus in the mother's womb, but it can only do this because it is a *halak* (*hala*), a medicineman.²

The Bateg Negritos of the Cheka River, Pahang, also believe that a certain kind of bird is intimately connected with the birth of children. This bird is called *biau*, and when a woman is pregnant and hears its cry, she knows that the soul of her child has arrived. The Cheka Negritos told me that their souls were actually birds of this kind and that when anybody dies the soul leaves the body in bird form. Furthermore, when a *biau* is heard they say that a friend is coming and start calling out the names of people that they know until the bird is silent. The last name mentioned before the bird ceases crying is that of the visitor who will arrive. If a *biau* bird is caught a great thunderstorm will arise. The *biau* is said to be green, to have a long beak and to feed on fruit and insects. The bee-eater (*Nyctiornis amicta*) would seem to answer the description well, though I am not sure that it eats fruit: if not, this statement may merely be due to incorrect observation on the part of the Negritos.³

Among the western Negritos certain other birds appear to be connected in some way with the soul, and perhaps I had better make mention of them here. Thus the *chimioi*⁴ (*Melanochlora flavicristata*) is the bird-soul (or representative) among the Kintak Bong of young bachelors up to the time of marriage, a bird called *sulor* that of unmarried girls, the *wah* that of small children, the *tu-tuag* that of men who are clever at finding fresh-water turtles and the *hong-yau* of males who are expert at making scoops for catching fish. These birds visit the camps of friends to give warning of approaching visits of their owners. The information is from my Menik Kaïen informant, Tōkeh.⁵

According to a Lanoh, the call of a species of woodpecker, *hilai*, denotes that friends are coming.⁶

¹ Evans, *Papers on the Ethnology*, p. 26.

² Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 232.

³ Evans, *Studies in Religion*, p. 170. It is possible, however, that the bird may be a woodpecker of some kind.

⁴ Cf. *chimioi*, p. 209, *supra*. Also p. 250.

⁵ Evans, *Studies in Religion*, p. 169-170.

⁶ Evans, *Papers on the Ethnology*, p. 26.

Schebesta says that among the Kintak Bong the *chimioi* bird *hala* (*halak*) attaches itself to the young men up to the time of marriage and keeps everything clean round them. The *sulo* (my *sulor*) has older children under its protection and the *wa* the newly-born.¹ This information was, of course, obtained later than that from the Kintak Bong that I have given above.

Negrito marriage appears to be a very simple affair without anything that can really be called a ceremony. Among the Malays, who are, of course, agriculturists, marriage tends rather to take place after the harvest, partly, I presume, because at that season there is plenty to eat and it is, therefore, a natural time for rejoicing and feasting when the kindly fruits of the earth have been safely gathered in, and also partly because agricultural work is over for a time and the people can enjoy their leisure.

Something of the same sort happens among the Negritos, but (apart from a little dry rice, or other, planting) the "harvest season" of rejoicing for them is when the jungle fruits, especially the *durian*, are ripe. So it is at the time when their hearts are lightest and food most plentiful that Negrito marriages mostly are celebrated. Thus the Bateg of the Cheka River told me that among them marriages took place at the *durian*-fruit season. They also said that, with the exception of a feast, there is no marriage ceremony. Marriage within the group is forbidden—probably the group is little more than a family party. It is allowable, but not common, for a man to have more than one wife.²

The Jehai, of Upper Perak, stated that it was allowable, but not usual, for a man to have more than two wives. A bachelor takes a wife from another camp of the tribe and brings her home with him, but the couple visit the girl's people after a while and stop with them for some time, and other visits are paid subsequently. The Jehai appear to have little or no marriage ceremony, and the same seems to hold good for the Kintak Bong and Menik Kaien. Tökeh, the Menik Kaien, said that a man's relatives usually search for a wife for him, and it appears that an engagement may take place before the girl is of marriageable

¹ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 232.

² Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* Vol. v, No. 4, pp. 203-204.

age. I came across an instance where a girl, already engaged, would, I was told, not be ready for marriage for another two rice seasons.

Měmpělām, of the Kintak Bong, said that a man who wishes to marry a girl generally speaks to her father or elder brother. A bachelor, who can find no girl in his camp whom he is entitled to marry, goes to other camps in search of a bride.

Tōkeh told me that a man must not marry the wife of his deceased brother and that marriage between first cousins, and of course between nearer relations, was prohibited.

This statement about cousin-marriages was qualified by Měmpělām, at any rate with regard to the Kintak Bong. He said that if the man is son of an elder brother or sister the couple may marry, if not, they may not.¹

By the Negritos of the Trang-Patalung hills I was told that "when a man becomes engaged to a girl he continually presents her with dainties, such as monkeys that he has shot with his blowpipe. The man (nowadays) gives a tical (a Siamese silver coin) to the girl's mother and father as a bride price."²

Mother-in-law avoidance is very strictly insisted upon among the Negritos. Skeat has mentioned this avoidance, but has not stressed it. He says that the Kedah Negritos told him that a thunderbolt would fall if a man were in the least degree too familiar with his mother-in-law and for that reason (if for no other!) the contingency never arises. The people assured him that they were "more distant and circumspect in their dealings with their mothers-in-law" than were the Malays.³

Among the Bateg Negritos of the Cheka River, Pahang, I was told that "a man may not mention the name of his mother-in-law, nor a woman that of her father-in-law. Both mother-in-law and father-in-law may, however, be spoken to, but with respect".

Negritos met at Ijok, Selama, Perak, in 1913, a mixed group of Menik Kaïen, Lanoh, etc., seemed to be much more strict. I was informed that mother-in-law and father-in-law must be addressed through an intermediary by son-in-law and daughter-

¹ Evans, *Studies in Religion*, pp. 175-176.

² Evans, *Papers on the Ethnology*, p. 14.

³ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. II, pp. 204-205.

in-law respectively. A man, however, may speak to his father-in-law and a woman to her mother-in-law. A man must not mention the name of his mother-in-law, nor a woman that of her father-in-law. Among the Jehai, too, the son-in-law may not name or speak to his mother-in-law. Kintak Bong and Menik Kaien men are similarly restricted with regard to speaking to their mothers-in-law.

A woman may not address, or pass in front of, her father-in-law; she may not speak to him, and her shadow must not fall on him. One day, at Lubok Tapah, when I was giving some tobacco to the Negritos, I called one of the women, Semeh, to come into my tent and take her share. She replied that she could not do so, as her father-in-law was sitting inside, and, in order to reach me, she would have to pass in front of him. The father-in-law then got up and changed his position in the tent, so that the woman could approach me without breaking the tabu.¹

A very similar incident occurred recently (1935) when I was in touch with the Kintak Bong.

Schebesta has a considerable amount of material with regard to Negrito marriage:

Of the Jehai he records that "love matches do occur, but all are not such, though by agreement". The man, after he has come to an agreement with the girl, makes presents to her father—a few jungle knives, a piece of cloth, a tinder box. The pair, though known to one another before marriage, usually belong to different camps. They go off into the jungle for a few days, putting up a shelter in which to live. When they return, they are considered married. If the girl leaves the man, the marriage presents are returned.² Schebesta considers that the average age for marriage is, in the case of girls, from fifteen to sixteen, though sometimes earlier, and, in the case of men, from eighteen to twenty.³ Cohabitation takes place in the hut, but at night only. Such action in the daytime is a sin against Karei.⁴

Among the Kintak Bong gifts of \$10, a pot and a working knife

¹ Evans, *Studies in Religion*, p. 181.

² Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 98.

³ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 100.

⁴ I have referred to such matters previously, p. 174, 176.

are made by the suitor, through his mother, to the girl's father. A cloth is given to the prospective mother-in-law, who hands it to the girl. When the girl's hand has been solicited, her mother is considered to be the suitor's mother-in-law, even though nothing may eventually come of the proposal, and the two are then subject "to all the proscriptions which apply to such a relationship". Even sexual connection before marriage has the same effect.¹

The bridal pair eat together, but there is no other ceremony than this. Consummation of the marriage in the camp the same day is forbidden. Constancy, both before and after marriage, is not the invariable rule, while orphan girls give themselves to men for presents, but such conduct is "regarded as theft and punished as such". Widows (including divorced women, I suspect) are not unknown to give themselves similar freedom in love affairs. Adultery is said to be punished by a fine of \$10 or a flogging, carried out by the oldest member of the family.²

In addition to the prohibition of the marriage of cousins³ and nearer relatives, Schebesta states that a man may not marry the midwife of his camp.⁴ A case is mentioned in which a man had married the sister of his former wife.⁵

Of the Kensieu Schebesta says that monogamy is the rule, though one man was said to be living with four women. Polygamy seems to have been common formerly. The bride price is here a pot, a working-knife and a cloth, given to the girl's father.⁶

The Jehai apparently accuse the Negritos of Bersiak, Upper

¹ This statement presents us with a nice little problem. Would not a man who had had relations with a girl without her mother's knowledge "give himself away" very badly if he suddenly began to treat the old lady as his mother-in-law. One would imagine that he might be afraid not to owing to the supernatural penalties involved. Schebesta says, too, that illicit connection is punishable (*vide infra*).

² I do not believe that such a large fine would ever be paid, or could be. Probably the mention of such a sum is by way of expressing disapprobation.

³ But *vide* my remarks on cousin marriage among the Kintak Bong, p. 251, *supra*.

⁴ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, pp. 233-234.

⁵ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 71.

⁶ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 256.

Perak, who belong to Schebesta's so-called Sabubn group, of moral laxity and say that the women have several husbands.¹

Schebesta states that polygamy is allowed, but not common, among the Menrik of Kelantan, while it is forbidden to the Bateg of Pahang.²

Though I know divorce to be common, I have written little with regard to it. I have merely noted that it seems to be not infrequent among the Kintak Bong, rarer among the Grik Negritos.³

Schebesta, speaking of the Kintak Bong, writes that one man had had seven wives. Some had died; some had run away, and his seventh was taken away from him because "he could not pay the price of her purchase".⁴

Children, when a separation takes place, stay with the mother. If the man is responsible for a divorce the wedding presents are not returned. They are if it is the woman who leaves the man.⁵

Polygamy seems to be practised by the Negritos on the Trang side of the Trang-Patalung Range, Schebesta's Tonga, and, according to him, separations are known. Two women had had several husbands.⁶

Children, both among the Kintak Bong and the Jehai, are exceedingly well treated, but stepchildren often do not fare well at the hands of a stepmother.⁷

Among the Jehai it is customary for the son-in-law, after marriage, to stay for about two years near his father-in-law and work for him. After this he returns to his father's camp to live, but visits his father-in-law at intervals. This evidence of Schebesta's bears out that, recorded above, which I got from the Jehai many years previous to his visit.

A Kintak Bong woman may possess property. If she dies it goes to her children, if she has any. If she has not, it passes to her brothers and sisters, not to her husband.⁸

¹ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 109.

² Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, pp. 273, 276. His statement about the Bateg is at variance to what I was told. *Vide supra*, p. 250.

³ Evans, *Studies in Religion*, p. 176.

⁴ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 215.

⁵ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 234.

⁶ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 271.

⁷ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 214.

⁸ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 234.

In some general notes on the Negritos, in a summary at the end of his book, Schebesta states that adultery was at one time always punished with death.¹ In another place, writing of the Bateg, he says that the adulterer is not killed, as he is among the Menrik.²

¹ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 280.

² Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 276. I very much doubt whether anything of the kind is done nowadays, or even was done, though it is possible with regard to times past.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE AFTERWORLD

WHEN Skeat asked Kelantan Negritos about the fate of the soul after death, he was told that those of the old and wise proceed to a Paradise in the west, where there are all kinds of fruit trees. To reach this the souls have to pass over a tree-trunk bridge, guarded by a gigantic figure with a single nostril, huge eye-sockets without eyeballs, two immense tusks in each jaw, exceedingly curly hair, and enormously long finger-nails crossed upon its breast. Many souls, frightened of this monster, fall into the boiling lake beneath the bridge and swim there, for three years, trying desperately to escape, after which the Chief of the Heaven of Fruit Trees, if he thinks fit, lets down his big toe to which they cling and pull themselves out. The bodies of the old and wise (*bĕlian*, for instance) are exposed in trees, so that they may be able to fly over the head of the demon guardian.

According to the western Negritos (presumably the Kensieu of Kedah) the souls of shamans (*bĕlian*) proceed to the Island of Fruit Trees, while those of ordinary Negritos go a long way across the sea to a Land of Screw-pines and Thatch-palms, where there is a hole into which the sun falls at night. Those who have committed any evil deed, however, though they start on the same road, are compelled to turn aside, northwards across the sea, to a land which has two months of day and a month of night alternately. Skeat suggests that this was a slip on the part of his informant for "a month of day and two months of night".

Vaughan Stevens's account of the afterworld, next quoted by Skeat, speaks of sunset (*met katok blis*), the *Chinoi*, who are servants of the deity, and of Champa and Chalog.¹

¹ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. II, pp. 207-209. For further mention of the two last-named personages *vide* p. 142.

The following account of the Negrito afterworld is taken from my *Studies in Religion*, pp. 156-158 and 178-179:

The souls of the dead, according to Tökeh, my Menik Kaien informant, leave their bodies through the big toes and go to the edge of the sea where the sun goes down, but for seven days they are able to return to their old homes. At the end of that time¹ those of the good are escorted by Mampes to the island which is called *Belet*.² They pass to this over a green switch-backed bridge named the *Balan Bacham*, which spans a sea. *Bacham* is, I was told, a fern which the Malays call *paku ular* (*Blechnum orientale*³). This plant grows at the farther end of the bridge, and with it the ghosts wreath their heads before entering *Belet*.

A female *Chinoi*, the *Chinoi Sagar*, lives at the *Belet* end of the bridge, and wreathes her head with the *bacham* plant. When the sun rises the bridge lies true; but, when it falls, the end of the bridge on which the *Chinoi Sagar* lives is raised.

Mampes, the guardian of the *Balan Bacham*, is like a gigantic Negrito. He walks with speed and eats the burial offerings (*penitok*) which are placed in the graves for the spirits of the dead to carry with them on their last journey. When the souls of the good have crossed the *Balan Bacham*, on each side of which grow flowers, and entered *Belet*, they come to the *Mapik*-tree, where they meet those of people who have died previously. They cannot wear the flowers of this tree until they have had all the bones of their limbs broken by the companions who have preceded them, and had their eyes turned backwards in their heads, so that the pupils face inwards. When this has been done they become real ghosts (*kemoit*)⁴ and are entitled to pluck the flowers of the *Mapik*-tree and to eat its fruits, for it bears everything desirable, one branch beautiful flowers, a second rice, a third durian fruits, a fourth rambutan fruits, and so on; furthermore, at the base of its trunk are numbers of breasts from

¹ I believe on the evening of the seventh day.

² *Belet* appears to lie rather in the west-north-west, or in the north-west, than due west.

³ *Vide* Wilkinson's dictionary under *paku*.

⁴ Tökeh (1921) said that women become brave after death; men cowardly.

which flows milk, and to these the ghosts of little children set their lips.

The spirits of the wicked, however, are set apart in another place, which is in sight of the abode of the good. They call to the spirits in *Belet* to help them to reach the *Mapik*-tree; but the latter take no notice.

The above account comes from the Menik Kaïen (and Kintak Bong) only. From the members of certain other groups I got very little information¹ with regard to their ideas of an existence after death.

Some Negritos of Grik told me that the souls of the dead went to the west, but whether their state was happy, or the reverse, they said that they did not know. A Jehai man, too, said that the souls of the dead went to the edge of the sea, and both divisions seem to be afraid that the souls (or ghosts) may linger near their homes. Indirect evidence of a belief in a future existence is afforded by the custom of placing food in, or on, newly made graves, which is found both among the Bateg of the Cheka River and the Jehai.²

This information, contained in my *Studies in Religion*, can now be supplemented by other work of mine.

One account obtained from Pandak (or Sadeuh), a Lanoh Negrito of Lenggong, Upper Perak, says that the souls of the dying leave the bodies either by the big toe or by the top of the head, but a different version, from another man of the same group, is that they come out of the whole body and have the appearance of human beings, but are white. The ghosts, according to the latter informant, go to Paradise by themselves, though sometimes the spirits of their fathers come and take them away. Pandak told me that Paradise (*Laud*), of which Yak (Grandmother) Chin is in charge, is situated near the place where the sun falls, and that there are many flowers there. The *Mapik*-tree, which grows in Paradise, has red *tanjong*³ flowers on one side of it and *Hibiscus* flowers on the other. The spirits

¹ No doubt I was not sufficiently in their confidence and so they professed agnosticism, as is their custom when they do not wish to disclose their beliefs.

² Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* 1916, Vol. vi, p. 207.

³ A Malay name, but possibly the Negritos may use it too. *Amomum xanthophlebium*, according to Wilkinson's Malay-English dictionary.

of the dead go to *Laud* on the seventh night after death, but, before they go, feed themselves by rubbing banana ashes on their throats.¹ They do not feed by the mouth like human beings.

When a death occurs in a camp it is immediately deserted, but the people may return to the same neighbourhood after the elapse of two months.²

The following account, also obtained in the Lenggong neighbourhood, differs in some respects from that given to me by Pandak,³ quoted above. The present material comes from Puchok ("shoot", "sprout").

The spirit of a dead person flies, after seven days, to the *Tanjong*⁴-tree, which is known to the Kintak Bong as the *Mapik*-tree. It shakes the tree till its red flowers fall and make the sky red in the evening. They fall into the sea; for the *Tanjong*-tree stands on an island and near the shore. The spirit then flies to the *Nipah*⁵-palm on the other side of the island and meets the friends who have died before. There is a strait between the island and the mainland. The *Tanjong*-tree is about a chain (*sic!*)⁶ distant from the *Nipah*.

I was told that butterflies are the souls of foreigners (Malays and other non-Negritos, excluding Sakai).⁷

Among the Kintak Bong and Menik Kaïen, also among the Negritos who frequent Ijok, mostly Lanoh from Lenggong, when a death occurs in a camp its inhabitants at once remove to another site, since they are afraid that the soul of the dead person may return, though sometimes, I understand, they erect their new shelters not far from the old spot. The two first-named, the Negritos of Grik, and probably the Ijok people as well, live in fear of the ghost for seven days, during which period

¹ *Vide* the story of Yak Taneg, p. 239.

² Evans, *Papers on the Ethnology*, p. 26.

³ The name by which he is known to the Malays.

⁴ *Amomum xanthophlebium* according to Wilkinson's Malay-English dictionary. The Negritos of Lenggong appear to use a Malay name for the tree.

⁵ The Malay name of the palm, *Nipa fruticans*.

⁶ No doubt the Negritos have picked up the term (*rantai*) from Malays who have been with survey parties.

⁷ Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* 1927, Vol. XII, pp. 101-102.

it is at liberty. At the end of that time, according to the Kintak Bong and Menik Kaien, Mampes, the guardian of the *Balan Bacham*, comes and takes it away. He, as I have stated above, eats the burial offerings (*penitok*) which the ghosts carry with them.

Tōkeh, the Menik Kaien, told me that when a woman dies the other females in the camp are prohibited from wearing flowers and other ornaments for seven days—until her soul has gone to *Belet*.

On the expiration of seven days after a death—on the seventh night, I believe—a singing performance (*peningloin*) takes place. In this Mampes is called to come and take away the ghost of the dead person.

According to my Kintak Bong informant, Měmpělām, the ghosts of the newly dead, before they undertake the journey to *Belet*, are sometimes heard near the new camp to which the survivors have moved. They say, “*Yah, yah, yah*”, and, “*Yebok, yebok, yebok*”. When they say, “*Yah, yah, yah*”, they mean that they are going away, and when they say “*Yebok, yebok, yebok*”, they want water.

No articles of iron must be placed on, or in, graves, or a tiger will come and eat the body. Iron is credited with smelling musty, and thus attracting tigers. Brass pots, too, must not be put with the corpse for the same reason. Food is placed in the grave near the head of the dead person.

When burying a corpse the Kintak Bong and Menik Kaien say:

		<i>Chub-deh</i> ¹	<i>kasing</i> ;
	Go		first;
	<i>Yek</i>		<i>tekoh</i> .
	I		afterwards.
	<i>Yinket</i>	<i>eg</i>	<i>ujan</i> ² ;
	Do not	give	rain;
<i>Yinket</i>	<i>eg</i>	<i>ibud</i>	(Malay <i>ribut</i>);
Do not	give		storms;
<i>Yinket</i>	<i>eg</i>	<i>kilad</i> ³	<i>kaii</i> .
Do not	give	lightning	thunder.

¹ The Malay equivalent of *chub-deh* was given as *pergi-lah*.

² *Ujan* is a Malay word.

³ *Kilad* = Malay *kilat*.



From Journ. F.M.S. Mus., Vol. XII, 1929

NEGRITO CEREMONIAL PLATFORM, NEAR LENGGONG, UPPER PERAK

This was constructed for the singing performance on the seventh night after a death. The people's huts, built for the ceremony, are round about

Some Grik Negritos, whom I met in 1918, told me that, under similar circumstances, they said:

Chub kikuie;

Go first;

Ik nungyeup.

I afterwards.

With regard to two phrases said to be used at burials, which I got on a former occasion from Negritos of Grik and of Temengor (the latter Jehai), there seems to be some doubt. Sapi, a Grik Negrito, who gave me one of them, had left the district, so I could not question him again. His formula was "*Du! Du! Yak!*" which he said meant, "Go! Go! Hear!" One of the Grik men whom I met in 1918, however, said that it should be, "*Dut, dut, yak!*"¹ ("Fill in, fill in (i.e. bury), grandmother!") while the Jehai phrase, "*Bai! Dun! Dun! Di-prak!*" he said should be, "*Bai!*² *Dut! Dut! Di-prak!*" ("Dig! Fill in! Leave!").³

The following note by myself, extracted from the *Journal of the Federated Malay States Museums*, 1929, Vol. XII, p. 179, is of interest with regard to remarks above concerning the singing performance which sends the soul on its journey to the after-world:

Having heard that a large number of Negritos had assembled near the Gua Badak (rhinoceros cave), between Lenggong and Sumpitan (Upper Perak), for the purpose of celebrating certain funeral rites, and that these were to be carried out during the next two or three days, I immediately journeyed to Lenggong, but unfortunately found on arrival that the funeral singing performance, which is usually celebrated, I believe, on the seventh evening after death and burial, had taken place on the previous night. I was able, however, to secure a photograph of the platform on which the mourners had assembled to chant the songs which are sung when the soul of a dead person is passing to the other world. This can be seen in the accompanying illustration, and it is surrounded by the huts built by the Negritos

¹ *Yak* certainly is "grandmother".

² *Vide Pagan Races*, Vol. II, p. 580, D 107, for confirmation that *bai* means "dig".

³ But *dun* appears to be correct and does mean "bury". *Vide Pagan Races*, Vol. II, p. 550, B 462.

while camped for the funeral. The camp was deserted directly the ceremony had taken place.

The funeral had been that of To'Singha's wife, an aged and crippled woman with whom I had been acquainted, her husband being the (then) headman of this Negrito group. As the Negritos had moved, I had some difficulty in getting into touch with them, but eventually found some of the younger men. I tried to get them to accompany me to the grave, but they professed themselves ignorant of its location, saying that To'Singha and some of the older men had buried the body far away in the hills. I am somewhat doubtful whether their ignorance was feigned or genuine.

Some material with regard to the afterworld beliefs of the Bateg Negritos of Pahang appears in my *Papers on the Ethnology*, p. 18, and is as follows:

The spirit of a dead person leaves the body by the head, back or breast. The ghost is like "one of us". It journeys to where the sun sets and then goes up.

The above account was obtained at Jeransang. The following information is from Lom, a young Negrito of Lata Lang (up the Cheka River):

When a man dies, his spirit goes up to the sky in the west. When the spirit is going up, the relatives and friends hold a magical singing performance. Jawait meets the spirit and tells it to play at tops and wrestle (Malay, *běrsilat*). He invites it to eat fruit. The spirit gets the juice of the *pěrah*¹-tree and tattoos its face with this.² It takes flowers and puts them on its head. Afterwards it becomes a bird, a *chekob* (? Argus pheasant), a *tekem* (a species of hornbill), a *chowhut* (?) or a *chib-chib* (?).

The *badan pakon*³ (a bird which the Perak (or Patani) Malays call *kangkang katup*, from its note) is also the soul of a dead man. It calls the durian-fruit flowers to appear.

From the Negritos in the Trang-Patalung hills of Peninsular

¹ The Malay name of the tree.

² The Cheka Negritos both tattoo and paint their faces. Tatooing is usually done with soot of some kind, the face-painting with the gummy juice of some tree, which often removes the skin underneath, resulting in a temporary scar. I suspect that face-painting may be meant in this case, though the Malay word *cholek* ("to prick") was used to describe the operation.

³ This bird is the same as the *tıl-tıl-tapah* of the Kintak Bong. It is a cuckoo, *Cuculus concratus*.

Siam, too, a little information was obtained about the after-world:

When a person dies, the Negritos shift their camp. The souls of the dead pass to the west and go up to the sky. The soul climbs up a *nipáh*-palm and jumps from the top of it across a stream (? the sea). *Kot-büt* is the name of the dark region in the sky to which the spirits find their way. They go round the heavens calling to their friends, those who have passed up before. They meet them and beckon to them, but their friends run away. They then go to look for some women and find them. The spirit of a dead person (*kemoit*) is at first very small, like a thread, but it gets larger when it goes to the sky. The *kemoit* glows with light, like a firefly. The ghost's face looks like that of a clown¹ in the (Siamese play called) *mendora*. The spirits in *Kot-büt* are said to be happy. They do not eat, but they wear clothes.²

Let us now turn to Schebesta's work on the same subject:

Of the Kintak Bong he tells us that the kingdom of the dead lies in the west and is called *Talogn*. The dead man first crosses the *Galong Beled* (my *Belet*), the *Beled* bridge, at the near end of which sits Mampes, a powerful Negrito, and guardian of the place of the dead. He shows the souls the way to the *Galogn Mapi* (my *Mapik*), which lies on the seashore. On the soul's arrival there all its joints are dislocated, so that it may look like those of the other dead, and it is washed with turmeric water.

In the kingdom of the dead there is a great tree, *Mapi*, which has green flowers on one side, yellow on the other. The green are for the dead, the yellow for the living. A *hala* may enter the kingdom of the dead, but, if he does, he lives up the *Mapi*-tree, not at its foot with the other spirits.

After a death, the camp is speedily moved, often to a distance of several miles, this being for fear of the dead person's spirit, which is called *kemoid*. It is liable to enter the huts and kill people because it regards them as relatives. It is white and cannot speak, but can be seen. The dead eat only the shadows of things. They sleep in the daytime and wander at night in search of food.

¹ He wears a comical mask.

² Evans, *Papers on the Ethnology*, p. 13.

On the seventh day after death a feast is held and jungle-knives are clashed together to frighten away the *kemoid*. On the fourteenth and twenty-first days the feast is repeated. No bead ornaments or combs must be worn for seven days after a death.¹

Of the Kensieu Schebesta says that they believe that the soul emerges from the head, but, as it does not know its way directly to the place of the dead in the west, it goes eastward first to the *Galogn Menlad*. The *Menlad* is like a seesaw, and when the soul reaches its end it is hurled upwards to Ta Pedn (Tak Pern). Ta Pedn then gives it a push which sends it flying to the *Galogn Mapi*, by which it then reaches the place of the dead, which lies in the sea towards the west. The souls that are already there dislocate all the joints of the new arrival, so that it may look like them, and question it about its family. If it cannot give information, it is sent back, and it is on this account that the Kensieu believe that the soul returns to the grave on the fourth, seventh and fortieth days. At the grave it eats the *penito*, the gifts placed there.

The souls of the dead are small and play round the *Mapi*-tree. The *hala* is buried in the same way as ordinary people, but does not stop in the grave. He rises again and goes to Pedn, who, on his arrival, knocks him down, as he does the souls of others, and he falls upon a mat. But Pedn relents when the *hala* calls him father and lets the *hala* live with him.²

I have given Schebesta's useful account of a Jehai burial in the succeeding chapter, but he also has some important material from this group with regard to the soul and the afterworld.

He writes that the soul of a dead person, *yurl*, goes to the place by the setting sun where all *yurl* meet. Here it lives as on earth, and the spirit of a man's wife is the wife of the same man there. At night the *yurl* become like birds and like to revisit their graves, and it is for this reason that graves are avoided by the living. The *yurl* of a bachelor is particularly evilly disposed and will kill anyone, being angry because he died without having a wife and, therefore, has no wife in the afterworld. At night the *yurl* fly from tree to tree near camps, uttering a cry

¹ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, pp. 235-236.

² Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, pp. 255-256.

that sounds like “*yuy, yuy, yuy*”. The camp fires are immediately put out by the living when this cry is heard, or the *yurl* would fly to the light and kill the people by tearing out their tongues.¹ *Yurl* wish to take their relatives with them. When a death occurs, the camp is immediately shifted and, if possible, a stream is placed between the new camp and the old site, because a *yurl* cannot cross water. Schebesta was not able to identify the animal that produces the *yurl*'s cry, but says that the Jehai call it *yog*. It has, it is said, wings like a butterfly and a short tail and is known to the local Malays as *bēla bēlum*.²

Yegn, the ancestor of the Jehai, who call themselves his grandchildren, fled on a raft from the fire made by the *bērok-monkey*³ to a place named *Chehoi*, beyond that to which the *yurl* go. Here he lives with his wife and two of his grandchildren and never dies, growing old and then young again. There is no night in *Chehoi* and there are no dangerous animals and no diseases.⁴

The Bateg of Pahang told Schebesta that the kingdom of the dead is called *Lembes*. It is in the west and near the sea. The souls feed on fruits there.⁵

¹ I have mentioned elsewhere (pp. 232, 239) this method by which the ghosts of the dead are supposed to kill the living.

² I think it must be some species of *Cicada*. Wilkinson, in his dictionary, under *bēlum*, however, gives *bēlak bēlum* as “stick insect”. *Bēlah bēlum*, meaning “Have you split it yet?” is more likely than Schebesta's version, though that too has a meaning. The name *bēlah bēlum* is probably derived from the sounds made by the insect.

³ *Vide* pp. 161-162, 243.

⁴ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, pp. 105, 106, 107.

⁵ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 276.

CHAPTER XXV

DEATH AND BURIAL

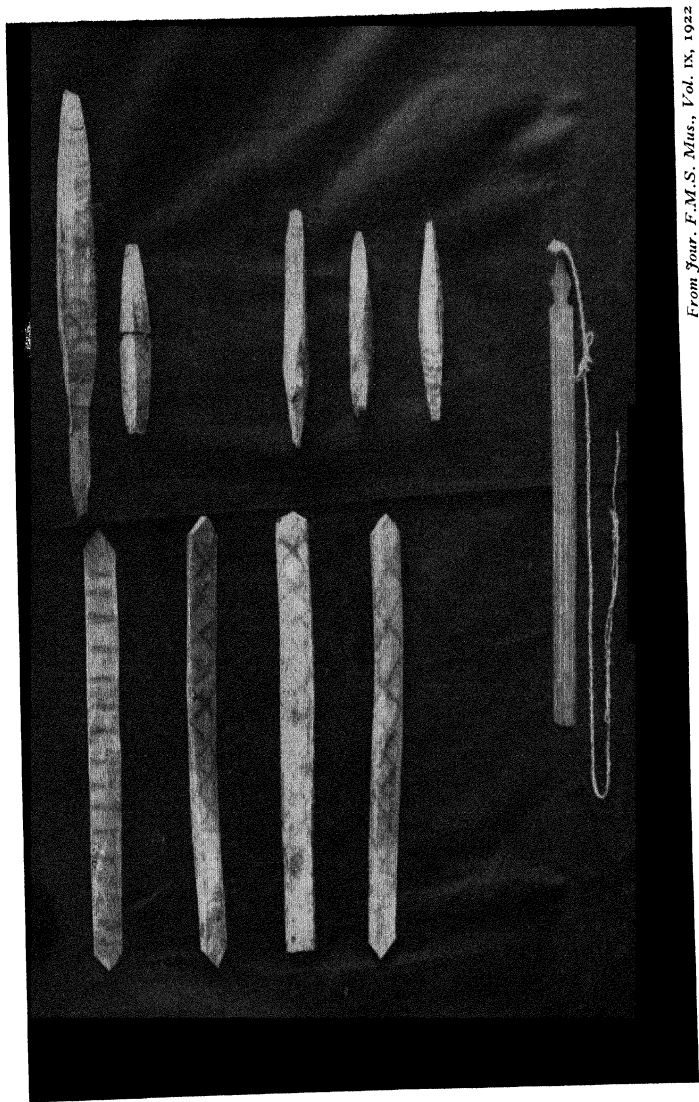
WE now come to the customs connected with burial and to burial itself. I have never been privileged to be present at a Negrito burial, no deaths having occurred when I have been with them; so I have to report at second hand. I have, however, seen a Negrito grave among the Bateg of Pahang. My evidence, obtained previous to his, can be checked in part by that of Schebesta, who was, incidentally, present at a burial among the Jehai. The details below are taken from my *Studies in Religion*, pp. 176-177:

The following account of burial customs was obtained from Tōkeh in 1918, and was said to hold good for the Kintak Bong and Menik Kaien, but I did not see either a burial or a grave.

A corpse is buried in a side-chamber dug in the right-hand wall of the excavation.¹ It lies on its right side with the legs drawn up. The orientation of the grave is such that the head of the corpse points towards the north-west (roughly in the direction of *Belet*). A woman's grave is dug to a depth of her height from her feet to her breasts; that of a man to a depth of his measurement from feet to eyebrows. Burial offerings (*penitok*) of food and tobacco are placed in the grave in front of the corpse's throat, and, if the body is that of a male, two little wooden objects (*tangkel*²), decorated with patterns rudely drawn with charcoal, are planted against the body; one of these, the *tangkel dawit*, or left-hand talisman, is, I understood, always placed at the left of the body near the shoulder; the other, the larger, which is called *tangkel dateng*, or right-hand talisman, on the right of the body and near the part of it in which the disease

¹ When the spectator is facing the foot of the grave. Cf. the description of a Negrito grave in *Pagan Races*, Vol. II, pp. 91-92.

² I obtained models of these from Tōkeh, and also of the ghost talismans mentioned below. They are illustrated. *Tangkel* is, no doubt, the Malay word *tangkal*, meaning "talisman".



From Jour. F.M.S. Mus., Vol. IX, 1922

OBJECTS CONNECTED WITH BURIAL AMONG THE KINTAK BONG

The four objects on the left are "ghost talismans", *tangkal kemoit*. The article with a string is a toy bull-roarer. The first two objects on the right are a *tangkal dateng* and a *tangkal dawit* respectively, while the other three are tiger talismans, *tangkal tetok*.

from which the man died made itself manifest. I was also told that three little pieces of wood, striped with yellow and red, are sometimes set on top of the grave, one at the head, one at the foot, and one in the middle. These objects, of which I obtained models, are shaped very much like the tipcats with which English schoolboys play a game. They are tiger talismans (*tangel teiok*), which keep these animals away from graves.

A shelter is, it appears, built over a grave, and into the thatch of this, on its under side, are pushed four pieces of white wood, each about a foot long by seven-eighths of an inch broad, and an eighth of an inch in depth. They are rudely decorated with patterns in charcoal, one side of each being marked with transverse bars, and the other with rude cross-hatching: two of them are placed at one end of the shelter; and two at the other. These objects are called *tangel kemoit*—ghost talismans. Their purpose is to prevent the return of the souls of the dead to their homes, though Tōkeh told me that they were powerless to restrain those of the wicked. Presumably, therefore, they act as notices to the ghosts of the good, telling them that they must not visit their surviving relatives.

The bull-roarer, of which I obtained a specimen at Lubok Tapah, is used as a toy by Kintak Bong children, but Měmpĕlam told me that it was the ghosts' Jews'-harp.¹

A later description of a burial, got from Měmpĕlam, agrees with that of Tōkeh. The head of the corpse is said to point to *Belet*, that is, about north-west, with the face looking towards the setting sun. The body lies on its side with the knees drawn up.²

A few days previous to a visit that I paid to the Bateg Negritos of Jeransang, Pahang, in 1925, a Negrito had died and I was able to visit the grave. The encampment where the Negritos were living at the time of my arrival was not more than a couple of hundred yards from the place where the man had died. He had been buried in his own shelter, and the others had deserted

¹ The Negrito—also the Malay—Jews' harp is usually made of bamboo, *vide*, pp. 114–115.

² Evans, *Studies in Religion*, p. 179. The statement that the corpse is buried on its side with feet drawn up was confirmed by the Kintak Bong when I was in touch with them in 1935.

the camp. This shelter, by the addition of palm leaves, had been turned into a beehive-like structure, so that it was impossible to get a glimpse of the inside. I was told that the corpse had been buried, but the grave must have been shallow, as a distinct and unpleasant odour could be detected, though not very strongly.

My old instructor in Negrito lore refused to go near the grave until bribed to do so with a dollar.

A well-marked path led from the grave to the new encampment, and certain objects, set beside the track, conclusively proved that the Negritos are frightened of the dead man's spirit. Apart from this I was told that in the singing performance at the end of seven days, when the soul is supposed to be passing to the other world, it is instructed not to loiter near the houses of the survivors. The objects intended to prevent the spirit visiting the camp of his relations were a sapling felled across the path and four "tigers" made of palm leaves. The "tigers" were placed in pairs. They were single leaves, the petioles of which had been planted in the ground so that the under sides were directed towards the grave. The leaflets had then been drawn downwards and plaited, or knotted, together. Close to the pair of "tigers" furthest from the grave was a model wind-break (hut), under the shelter of which was a little cooked rice in a coconut-shell, this being food for the ghost. I was told that a working-knife, an adze, mats and "clothes" are placed in the grave with the corpse, but the blade of the knife should have a broken tang, and the mat and adze should be worn out, for the ghost considers a broken knife good, a new one useless. This is, of course, an instance of "dead" articles for the use of a dead man.

The corpse is said to be buried with its face towards the setting sun. As far as I could ascertain, the usual custom, when a man dies, is for the Negritos to move camp to a little distance immediately, and then again—further off—after the singing performance which assists his migration to a better world.

Playing on musical instruments is forbidden during the period between a death and the soul's departure from the earth. A Malay who accompanied me suggested that he would like to

hear the Negritos play one of their stringed instruments, but he was told that they could not do so, as they were still in the tabued period.¹

The older observers have also something to record about Negrito burials and burial customs. Skeat (very unusually) is incorrect when he states that the Negritos have little fear of the ghosts of the dead. I think that I have already said enough to show that they are in considerable dread of them. He considers that the ancient custom of the Negritos was to expose the bodies of the dead in trees, not to bury them as nowadays.²

Kelantan Negritos told Skeat that the bodies of their medicine-men (*b'lian*) were deposited in trees in order that they might be able to fly over the head of the fearful figure which blocks the narrow way to Paradise. He adds that the ghosts of these eastern Negritos, "like the Sakai, are entreated at death to think of their departed ancestors alone and forget their living friends". Somewhat similar pleas to the dead are, however, as I have shown above, not confined to the eastern Negritos.

Skeat visited a grave near Siong, in Kedah (almost certainly, therefore, that of a Kensieu) and, indeed, obtained the human remains that it contained.

He says that a couple of stout bamboo poles, which had formed the bier, lay crossed above the grave, which was partially defended by a low fence of prickly palm leaves and branches. The grave was that of a male. On opening it, it was found to measure about three feet in depth by five feet in length. The skeleton lay upon its right side in a huddled position "with the head and knees turned towards the right and legs doubled back, so as to bring them within the limits of the grave". Skeat comments here, in a footnote, upon the similarity between this burial position and that of the Andamanese.

Three coconut-shells, which had held rice, were found, one just behind the head; the other two at either side of the body. At the feet was a coconut-shell, still partially full of water. The

¹ Evans, *Papers on the Ethnology*, pp. 19-20.

² Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. II, p. 89. From what Schebesta records, however, p. 276, *infra*, Skeat is right in so far as the Kensieu are concerned, the group with whom Skeat had to do in Kedah.

body, of which only the skeleton was left, rested on a mat over a rough flooring, or platform, of sticks, probably part of the bier. It had apparently been wrapped in a red cloth, of which some pieces remained.

A row of short stakes had been driven diagonally into one side of the grave pit, the lower ends meeting the side of the pit about half way down, a foot (30 cm.) above the body, and the upper ones reaching to the upper edge of the opposite side of the pit. The roofing of the grave thus formed had been covered with palm leaves (*běrtam*) laid longitudinally, and the whole arrangement formed a sort of screen which would keep the earth from falling on the body when the grave was covered in.

Skeat has also, on the authority of L. Wray, something to say about graves in the Piah Valley, Perak, but, on the descriptions given and also partly on the locality, these appear to have been those of Negrito-Sakai (Pleh) and not of Negritos proper.

Vaughan Stevens's seemingly very mixed material is quoted at length by Skeat and is, therefore, easy of reference. I do not propose dealing with it here, beyond remarking that Stevens does mention the *penitok*, which he spells *peneetor*.¹

Annandale records that the only grave that he had an opportunity of inspecting among the Negritos of Grik had been dug in the Malay manner,

that is to say, a chamber had been constructed for the reception of the body in the side of a fairly deep trench. Though the body was that of a woman, a wooden grave-post of the type associated in the Malay cemeteries with male sepulture had been fixed in the ground at the head. The corpse had been fully clothed and lay on one side in a rather cramped position, both knees being drawn towards the chin.

There was no trace of any household objects being buried with the body. Camps are deserted when a death occurs for fear of the spirit of the deceased.²

Of the Jehai he remarks that they are careless in disposing of the bodies of the dead and that the Temengor Malays

¹ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. II, pp. 91-92.

² Annandale, *Fasciculi Malayenses*, *Anthropology*, Part I, p. 20.

complained of having to bury corpses left exposed near the village. He says also that sometimes the body is cast into the river or, if buried, it is only covered with a very thin layer of soil.¹

Writing of a grave seen on the borders of Rahman, in the "Patani States" of S. Peninsular Siam, Annandale and Robinson describe it as consisting "of a shallow hole of roughly circular shape. Apparently the earth had not been filled in over the body, but a covering of palm leaves had been supported on posts above it."

Another grave, near Tanjong Luar, that of a child, was also a shallow pit. "It had been covered over with sticks, above which were a few inches of earth."

In two instances bodies were found in caves; one had been eaten by porcupines, but the other was in perfect condition, the skin having dried over the bones.²

Schebesta was present in a Jehai camp when a child died and thus had an opportunity of seeing something of the funeral. The spot chosen for the burial was a small clearing and the grave was dug with an adze, the soil being shovelled out with the hands. Two men, relatives of the deceased, worked in turns and a side niche was excavated to hold the body, which was measured with a stick. The excavation appears to have been shallow for, on Schebesta's protesting that the grave was not deep enough, the Negritos said that the soil was too hard to dig deep.

Next, the body was unwrapped from the cloth in which it had been swathed and washed with water from a bamboo container, a little water being poured into the mouth, as a drink. After this it was wrapped in the cloth and a mat, leaving only the face visible. While this was going on, one of the men lined the burial niche with "bamboo mats".³ The men next engaged in a dialogue which Schebesta could not follow and then one of

¹ Annandale, *Fasciculi Malayenses, Anthropology*, Part 1, p. 28.

² Annandale and Robinson, *Fasciculi Malayenses, Anthropology*, Part 1, pp. 7-8.

³ I suspect that these were bamboos chopped longitudinally, slit along one side and opened out into sheets, a material frequently employed by Negritos and Malays for flooring, walling, etc., but plaited sheets of bamboo strips are also used for wallings, etc.

them sprinkled a little incense on a bamboo torch. This he took with him into the grave and while filling it with smoke said:

*Sigoi, ka kemunin kelegn kudn,
Ya chub de pai, dja sedap de pai,
Ya de pai sumpign tanyong lawod,
Na wa pentis de pai bëblab, maken kendede. Senig de pai.*

This Schebesta translates: "The *kemunin*¹ incense is burning in the grave. Thou art now departed. Thou art now in peace on the seashore, in the place of the setting sun, where no tigers are and no sickness and no suffering. Now thou windest red blossoms in thy hair, *tanyong*² blossoms from the seashore. Oh, that no other may fall ill! Who would wish to make thee angry?"

Though this may give the idea conveyed by the words, surely it is an overtranslation. Schebesta says: "I was able to follow clearly the sense of the words."³ I shall return to this matter in a later chapter.

Next are given some Jehai beliefs with regard to the spirits of the dead. The *yurl* (spirit of the deceased) goes out at death through the head, for which reason the body is laid with the head towards the setting sun, where the land of the dead is. There, in peace, it winds red flowers in its hair, but it is not completely happy and so likes to return to the encampment to fetch its relatives, making them ill, and killing them, in order to become united with them. For this reason the survivors implore the soul to leave them in peace and desert their camp,⁴ sometimes wandering for miles. It is thought best, too, to put a stream between the survivors and the grave.⁵

Schebesta next describes the placing of the body in the grave by the father of the child.

The limbs were stretched to their full length and the arms pressed close against the body. "The head was bowed a little to the right." After this the closing of the grave was begun. The side chamber was protected by stakes, and sheet bamboo, to afford further protection, placed between the stakes and the side of the grave and secured to

¹ Evidently the Malay *kēmēnyian*, incense.

² Evidently the *Tanjong* (Malay) tree. *Vide supra*, p. 259.

³ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, pp. 142-143.

⁴ *Vide* pp. 259, 263, *supra*.

⁵ Apparently the ghost cannot cross water. *Vide* p. 265, *supra*.



Photo: by author. From Jour. F.M.S. Mus., Vol. VI, 1916

NEGRITOS OF GRIK, UPPER PERAK

The boy is not of pure blood (note less curly hair), his father having been a Negrito-Sakai of the hills.

them. Next the grave was filled in by hand and water poured over it from a coconut shell. More water was placed at the head of the grave.

After this a shelter was constructed over the grave and "fires were lighted on both sides". When this had been done Schebesta, unfortunately, was asked to leave by the Negritos, which he did. Their reason for this request, given subsequently, was that they wanted to weep. He supplements his own experiences, however, by further evidence that he collected. He states that the relatives weep silently by the grave, but "at evening a loud death wail begins in the camp". A death is mourned for five days.

A person is, as a rule, buried where he, or she, dies. If the Negritos have a clearing, the body is carried as far as may be from the camp and "buried somewhere in the bush, if possible at the other side of a stream".

The Jehai told Schebesta that they did not bury anything with the body, except the cloth used as a wrapping, as was the case at the burial at which he was present. Water is poured into the mouth of the corpse and sprinkled on the grave, while a coconut-shell containing water is placed on the grave, so that the spirit shall not suffer from thirst on its journey.

A shelter is always erected over the grave "rising from the foot to the head", and under this are placed the personal belongings of the deceased, with the exception of those made of iron.¹ At both sides and at the foot of the grave fires are lighted, as is done with shelters in the camp. After a death occurs, the death wail lasts for two days. Whereas after the burial only the members of the family weep at the graveside, all in the camp take part in the lament, the women wailing aloud, while the men weep in silence.

Mourning persists as long as the "moon lasts under which the deceased person passed away". During this time singing and dancing are tabu. On the final day a feast, for which preparations are made, is held in the new camp. This feast concludes with a song and dance.

The Jehai believe in a dream soul (*ampo*), which is identical with the ghost (*yurl*). After death the *ampo* becomes a *yurl*.

¹ Vide a similar custom, p. 260, *supra*.

In dreams the *ampo* leaves the body, and what happens in a dream is a reality. Thus, if a man dreams that he has killed a pig, he will actually do so.¹

Speaking of the Kintak Bong, Schebesta says that their burial ceremonies differ from those of the Jehai. The body is wrapped in a cloth and "borne out on men's shoulders". The grave is dug outside the camp to a depth of about a metre with digging-sticks and the corpse deposited in a side niche with legs drawn up and head "bent to one side towards the west". The side niche is screened with leaves and bamboos before the earth is thrown in. Bamboo canes are placed lengthways over the grave "and held in position by two others laid diagonally across, which, in their turn, are fixed in forked sticks driven into the ground". This protects the grave against wild animals.

While the women are building a shelter over the grave the men light a fire at both ends. Food is placed on the grave and, in the case of children, in it, because it is thought that children's souls need more food, as they make their last journey more slowly than those of adults. At either end of the grave are placed two sticks marked with charcoal and driven into the ground. These *tangkêl* are said to be a protection against tigers.

Another kind of talisman, the *soed kemoid*,² also a marked stick, is stuck into the hut roof in the camp to keep away the spirit of the dead which flies in terror on seeing it.

Two of these *soed* are placed in the girdle of the corpse, so that the spirit may prove its identity. Without these it would not be admitted into the afterworld, as it would not be recognized by the keeper of the spirits, a *bidog*, and would have to return to life and rise again. Such beliefs, Schebesta says, are unknown among the Jehai.³

Schebesta, who does not seem to have seen a Kintak Bong burial, gives three pictures in connection with it. These face p. 185 in his book and have a reference to p. 235, where Kintak

¹ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, pp. 141-146. With reference to dreams coming true *vide* p. 232.

² The same as my *tangkêl kemoit*.

³ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 235. A picture of what is said to be a *halak*'s grave is given on the plate facing p. 145 with a reference to p. 229. There is there no reference to the illustration, though burial of the *halak* among the Kintak Bong is mentioned.

Bong burial ceremonies are described. When I was in touch with the Kintak Bong recently (1935) they told me that Schebesta had had the ceremonies and customs with regard to burial enacted, and these photographs are, no doubt, the result of this.

The Kintak Bong also told me something else that did not please me at all, this being that Schebesta had told them that I was his *younger brother*. This I immediately denied with an oath, saying that if Schebesta had said that he was a liar and that he was not even of the same nationality as myself. If the Kintak Bong spoke the truth, and I have no reason to think that they did not, Schebesta was not only trading on my reputation with them, but also deliberately trying to put me into a position of inferiority to himself, the younger brother standing, according to eastern ideas, in a much subordinate position to that of the elder. This attempt to exalt himself and lower me in the eyes of the Kintak Bong was particularly mean, if true, as his first introduction to the group was through me, though he nowhere says so.

I happened to be stationed in Kuala Lumpur, acting as Director of Museums, Federated Malay States, when Schebesta arrived in Malaya. I gave him all the help and advice that I could and copies of all the literature (my own writings) that I had concerning the Negritos, and, though I could not go with him to Perak, gave directions that a reliable Malay should be sent from the Perak Museum to search for Měmpělām (his Hempělābn) and bring him down to Taiping to meet Schebesta.¹ This was done. Had I known, however, that Father Schebesta would indulge in the "ruthless desecration of a grave"²—his own words—for which he was deserted by the Negritos, he would have received no help from me at all and most certainly I should not have vouched for him to any of the Negritos.³

¹ He describes a meeting with Měmpělām on p. 207 of his book. Nothing is said about his having first known him in Taiping.

² Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, pp. 246-248. He refers to his "ruthless desecration of a grave" and thanks God that some of the Negritos had not found out about it. Rather a peculiar thing for which to thank God. He was lucky not to get into serious trouble.

³ It is curious that Schebesta should accuse others of that which he himself did. He, at first, experienced some difficulties with Negritos in Upper Perak and wrote (*Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 28): "How had the idea of decapitation

But to leave this subject: Schebesta does not seem to have much to say about Kensieu burials, though he removed a body from a grave. The grave had caved in. He does, however, remark that the Kensieu are not afraid of graves or of the dead, though new graves are avoided for the first seven days.¹ This, in so far as the Kensieu are concerned, agrees with what Skeat says.² Bodies are buried, Schebesta states, with the heads pointing to the east.³ He also gives a picture of a Kensieu grave,⁴ with a small hut, thatched, and with what appears to be a sleeping-bench made of saplings.

Of the Menri of Kelantan he says that the souls of the dead go to a place called *Chepegn*. Here two *halak* Semregn and Buna admit the souls by opening a kind of trapdoor. At night the souls of the dead like to return to the living and attack single persons, or two together, and kill them by dislocating their limbs. Sometimes a man's shadow battles with a spirit, in which case the man is usually beaten. A *halak* is not buried when he dies, the body being left exposed and the camp immediately deserted from fear of the tiger into which the *halak* is metamorphosed.⁵

The grave of an ordinary person is avoided, at any rate during the first seven days after burial, and it is even feared afterwards.⁶

come into their heads? Finally my suspicions fell upon my predecessors in Semang investigation who had reached this area. I knew that they had regarded the collection of skulls as the chief object of their travels."

I do not know to whom Schebesta refers; it may be to Grubauer. Certainly the accusation cannot touch me. I found the Lenggong Lanoh particularly "difficult", possibly owing to Grubauer's skeleton collecting, when I first encountered them, and it took me long to gain their confidence. Schebesta has now "upset" the Kensieu (I saw signs of this in 1935) and news of his doings has no doubt travelled to other groups, making things troublesome for later investigators.

¹ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, pp. 245-246.

² *Supra*, p. 269.

³ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 255.

⁴ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, plate facing p. 216. Perhaps the construction was made for Schebesta.

⁵ *Vide* also description of the disposal of the magician's body among the Lanoh at the end of Chapter xx.

⁶ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 274.

CHAPTER XXVI

LINGUISTICS

CLAIMING neither to be a philologist nor an expert in physical anthropology, I approach the last two chapters of this book with a certain amount of trepidation. For general linguistic material I have to depend largely on the work of Blagden in the second volume of *Pagan Races*, who, with the somewhat unsatisfactory and scanty material at his disposal, made such a magnificent showing with his analysis of the linguistics of the pagan peoples of Malaya and composed the most valuable comparative vocabularies, which must be of the greatest use to every worker among our Malayan jungle tribes.

I have, as yet, said practically nothing about the language spoken by the Negritos, though many words of their dialects will be found in what I have written, as well as attempted texts and translations of magical formulae, the chants of the *halak*, etc.

First of all, one may remark that the Negritos (like the Sakai) now speak as their mother-tongue dialects of a language belonging to the Mon-Annam linguistic group. Such cannot, of course, have been their original speech.

As the Andamanese are the most isolated Negritos, it is to them, presumably, that one should turn to find out what the original Negrito language was. Blagden has, however, pointed out that, though our Negrito dialects do contain certain words which he can refer neither to a Mon-Annam nor to a Malayan source, yet, on comparing them with Andamanese dialects, he has been able to find nothing that can be considered more than doubtfully related to them. Moreover, he appears to believe that no origin of these words ever will be discovered among either the Mon-Annam or the Malayan languages. Among such words are: *jěbeg* (bad), *chog*, *sěneng* (bag), *lěbeh* (bamboo), *bōo* (big), *kāwōd* (bird), *herpai* (coconut), *kěto'* (day), *kām* (frog), *chas* (hand), *patéau* (lizard, big), *nāpeg* (pig), *jěkob* (snake),

wayd (squirrel), *tākob* (yam).¹ Of these, selected from a much longer list, a number will be found mentioned in previous chapters.

Let us now turn to other non-Mon-Annam elements that can be isolated from the dialects of the Negritos. These are clearly of Malay or Malayan origin. As Blagden points out, Malay, being the *lingua franca* of the country, and the Malays the dominant native people, the wild tribes have had to use Malay as a medium of communication with outsiders for trade or other purposes. Hence, as the country became safer for the pagans, and they were no longer hunted like wild animals, they began more and more to learn Malay and gradually Malay words crept into common use among them, such adoption becoming accelerated with the passing of time.

There are, however, certain other words that are Malayan, or Malayo-Polynesian, in origin, but do not belong to the Malay language as spoken in the Peninsula. Of these Blagden writes²: "In a certain, more limited, number of instances there is not the slightest doubt that, though of Malayan affinity, they cannot have come into the aboriginal dialects³ through Malay at all."

From the list of these words I have selected the following as being found in, but not necessarily only in, Negrito dialects:

dead	<i>kēbus</i>	rain	<i>lēsem</i>
fowl	<i>manuk</i>	rattan	<i>awe</i>
fruit	<i>bāh</i>	ripe	<i>taseg</i>
monkey	<i>baseng</i>	salt	<i>siā</i>
(<i>lotong</i>)		spear	<i>bulus</i>
old	<i>bakes</i>	weak	<i>lēmes</i>

In connection with his complete list, Blagden remarks:

These words which are Malayan, but not Malay, do not appear to be referable to any one of the existing languages of the Archipelago; while their affinities are mainly with the Sumatran languages, especially Achinese, they sometimes differ from these and come closer to the dialects of Borneo, and even occasionally to more distant branches of the family, such as Javanese, Madurese and the mixed Malayan dialects of southern Indo-China, of which Cham is the

¹ Blagden, *Pagan Races*, Vol. II, pp. 462-463.

² Blagden, *Pagan Races*, Vol. II, p. 436.

³ Not only Negrito dialects.

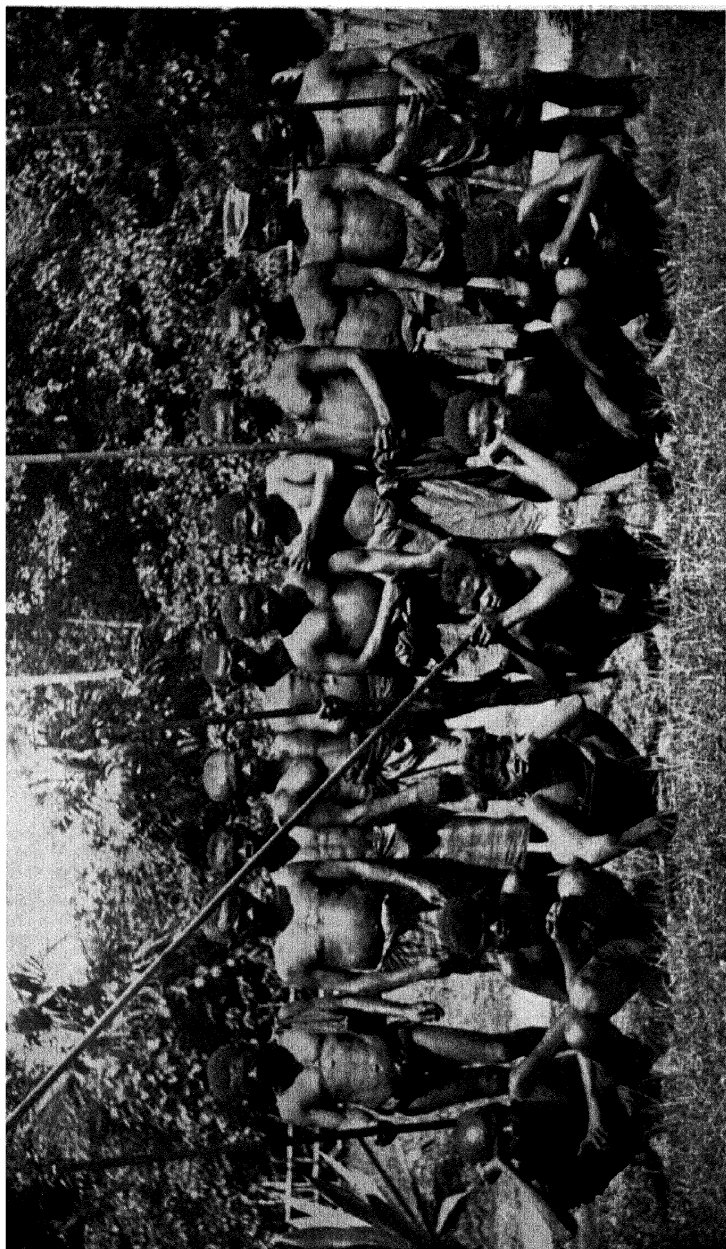


Photo: by author

NEGrito MEN AND YOUTHS OF WENG, S. KEDAH (KENSIEU OR KENSIEU BATUK)

typical representative. Accordingly, I think that they must be regarded as relics of a group of Malayan dialects locally differentiated in the Peninsula itself, for I do not think that their existence in the aboriginal dialects can be accounted for by any theory of borrowing from casual strangers coming from three or four different islands. . . . They (the Malayan words) point, in my opinion, to the presence in the Peninsula, long before the Malay conquest, of primitive Malayan tribes (of whose existence there is other evidence); and as these Malayan words are found in all three language-groups, Semang, Sakai and Jakun (though less in the purer dialects of the second group than in the other two), it seems a reasonable inference that these early Malayan tribes for the most part occupied the coast-line, and that their influence diminished towards the interior of the Peninsula.¹

Now I have pointed out previously that the Negritos were at one time found on, or not far from, the coasts of Perak and Kedah, and Blagden hints at this above.

I examined the full list of Malayan words that Blagden gives, and, with the aid of the comparative vocabularies, picked out those found in Negrito dialects, as stated above. I then further examined them, as found in the comparative vocabularies, to see to what languages they were related. I discovered that, out of the eleven words that I have given above, six had Bornean connections, the forms of the words from Borneo often being nearer to those of the Peninsula than those from elsewhere, while for three words only Bornean equivalents are noted. These are *kēbus*, *lēsem* and *bakes*. In 1932 I excavated the site of an ancient village at Kuala Selinsing, on the coast of Perak.² The inhabitants seem to have lived in huts raised on posts, while they buried their dead in canoes. The indications were that they were traders in beads made of glass and gem-stones,³ the latter being mostly non-local. They were, at any rate to some extent, makers of these objects. They were not Mohammedans (pig bones present) and, from the finding of a cornelian seal with an inscription in an Indian, possibly Pallava, character it would appear likely that they were Hindus. I noted that the use of *Trochus* and *Tridacna* shells for bracelets seemed to connect

¹ Blagden, *Pagan Races*, Vol. II, pp. 437-438.

² Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* 1932, Vol. xv, pp. 89-133, Pls. XXII-XLI, map and six plans and sections.

³ Agate, cornelian, rock crystal, amethyst, etc.

them with modern Borneo. Their culture appeared to be one that had been widespread, including the Philippines, Borneo, parts of India and perhaps Burma, dating probably from the sixth to the tenth century A.D., but sometimes extending to a somewhat later date.

The human remains from the excavations were submitted to Dr. Harrower for examination and, while my paper was in the press, I was able to add the following footnote to it, based on material kindly supplied by him:

Since this paper has been sent to the press, Dr. J. Gordon Harrower, Professor of Anatomy, King Edward VII Medical College, Singapore, has forwarded me a most interesting report on the human remains found in the Kuala Selinsing graves. He distinguishes both Proto-Malayan (perhaps Dyak) and also Negrito elements among them. This is extremely interesting in view of the seeming Bornean type of some of the objects found. With regard to the Negritos, it is known that they reached the coastal districts of Perak, Province Wellesley and Kedah within historic times. One presumes that they were hangers-on of the more advanced people at Kuala Selinsing, who may well have taken wives from among them. Dr. Harrower's report will be published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Malayan Branch*.¹

These researches, therefore, seem, in a most remarkable way, to confirm Blagden's conclusions with regard to Malayan, but not Malay, settlements on the coast, the inhabitants of which were in touch with the Negritos.

Having dealt with those elements in the Negrito dialects which cannot be assigned to any other language, those that are of Malay origin and those that are Malayan, but not Malay, we will now turn to the subject of the Mon-Annam basis of the language.

Blagden points out "that a great part of the constituents of the Sakai and Semang (Negrito) dialects agree closely with the Mon-Khmer languages both in the monosyllabic character of their root-words and the method of composition by prefixes and infixes". He also draws attention to the fact that, when the Malay and Malayan elements are excluded, the words common

¹ Now published, *J.R.A.S., M.B.*, 1933, Vol. XI, Part II, pp. 190-210 and five plates. There is also a note by me appended to the article.

to both Sakai and Negrito dialects are, in the main, either monosyllabic, or capable of being reduced to monosyllabic roots. Among the Negritos, for instance, from the root *chi*’, “to eat”, comes the verbal formation *ma-chi*’ and the substantive *inchi*, this being quite in accordance with Mon-Khmer methods.

Blagden then shows that not only is there grammatical correspondence between the Negrito (and Sakai) dialects and the Mon-Annam languages, but that the number of words which are common is very considerable, including not only a long list of the principal parts of the human body, but a large number of words in every-day use, among both the Negritos and the Sakai, such as those for sun, moon, darkness, rain, water, fire, earth, stone, forest, tree, wood, flower, fruit, leaf, thorn, rattan, banana, centipede, fly, louse, mosquito, spider, leech, fish, bird, egg, rat, tiger, elephant, etc. These and “a number of adjectives and verbs (as well as some other parts of speech) have one or more identifiable equivalents in the Mon-Annam languages; though most of them also have synonyms which have not, as yet, been traced to their source”.¹

Then again there are culture-words of Mon-Annam origin, interesting as showing to what stage of culture the Peninsular pagans attained independently of Malay influence. Naturally they do not indicate any very high stage of development. Blagden’s list contains, among other words referable to the Negritos, those for bathe, blowpipe, boil, bow, cook, dance, ghost, house, ivory, mat, paddle, to plant, rice (in the husk), rice (husked), rice (boiled), salt. There are also somewhat doubtful identifications of the words for boat, chopper, fiddle, to plait. Blagden rightly remarks that such culture-words must not be stressed too much; that a word for ivory, for instance, by no means implies that it was necessarily an article of merchandise, and so on.²

From the culture-words Blagden passes to the consideration of whether the relationship of the Mon-Annam languages to the dialects of the wild people of the Peninsula has been “one of mere external influence”, or whether they “can be classified as

¹ Blagden, *Pagan Races*, Vol. II, pp. 446-449.

² Blagden, *Pagan Races*, Vol. II, pp. 449-452.

true members of the family". He points out that Schmidt has come to the conclusion that the dialects of the Negritos and Sakai correspond so closely in phonology, structure, syntax and in a considerable proportion of their vocabulary with the Mon-Khmer languages that they must be accepted as "essentially members of one family of speech".¹

He considers, however, that not only are the dialects to be included in the Mon-Khmer family, but that two Mon-Khmer strata can be recognized in them, just as there are two Malayan strata, one of which is Malay proper. Blagden writes:

These dialects may well be distant relatives of the Mon-Khmer languages, separated from them in a remote prehistoric age and long afterwards again influenced by renewed direct contact with a Mon-Khmer population. There may be two distinct Mon-Khmer sources, just as there have been two of Malayan origin, entering into their composition. That this is really the case seems to be indicated by the diversity of the numeral systems which are found in the Peninsula.²

He then proceeds to add strength to his contention by a clever analysis of the Peninsular numeral systems and by a comparison of certain words in the Peninsular inner and outer dialects with typical Mon-Khmer examples.³ The "Negrito dialects", one may observe here, belong to Blagden's Group No. I of the outer groups, which seem to have been influenced more by the second, and more recent, Mon-Annam influence than do the inner groups (II and III), which comprise chiefly the dialects spoken by the Sakai proper. It seems to me that, granting that the Sakai have affinities with the "Indonesian" tribes of Indo-China, as I believe them to have, there is nothing very surprising in their speaking dialects of an ancient Mon-Khmer language, but all this is of little effect in lightening our darkness with regard to the original Negrito language or the questions of how, when and where the Negritos acquired their present Mon-Annam tongue.

Blagden says that with regard to the Negrito dialects the phonetic tendencies of that race "have exercised a modifying

¹ Blagden, *Pagan Races*, Vol. II, pp. 452-453.

² Blagden, *Pagan Races*, Vol. II, pp. 453-454.

³ Blagden, *Pagan Races*, Vol. II, pp. 455-460.

influence over the Mon-Annam elements which their dialects have absorbed, softening their consonantal hardness and moulding them into a more vocalic form".¹

I may remark here that not all the Negritos speak "Negrito dialects". By this I mean that certain groups which by blood appear to be pretty "pure" Negritos, and by culture typical Negritos, speak dialects of Sakai type. These groups are two of those that lie near to the Pleh, the half-breed Negrito-Sakai of the Upper Perak hills. Blagden has noted this with regard to their numerals in his map showing the distribution of the numeral systems,² the two groups in question being those of Kuala Kenering and Lenggong and of Grik,³ Upper Perak. The former I have termed Lanoh, while the Grik group is called Menik Semnam by the Kintak Bong.

As far as I know, no writer, except Schebesta, has yet claimed to speak even one of the Negrito dialects. My own contacts with the different groups with whom I have been in touch have been too short and at too great intervals, where I have paid more than one visit, for me to acquire a working knowledge of any dialect. At the same time I have picked up a fair number of words and can sometimes, at any rate, make out what the Negritos are talking about.

Of Schebesta's linguistic attainments it is only possible to judge by what he tells us himself and by what he has written. Of his first linguistic experiences among the Jehai he says: "It was my ambition to learn the Jahai language so well that I could use it in talking to anyone and record information about the views and customs of these strange dwarfs in their own tongue."⁴ Again we find: "Jahai had become, for me, the standard language by which I could fix my methods in learning the other native languages..."⁵ Speaking of the Bateg Negritos of Pahang, he says: "I was surprised to find that so far southward I could

¹ Blagden, *Pagan Races*, Vol. II, p. 461.

² Blagden, *Pagan Races*, Vol. II, p. 454.

³ Wilkinson has also noted that these two groups speak Sakai dialects, while, incidentally, the Jehai, even nearer to the Pleh, do not. He terms both groups Sakai Jeram, but that is only what the Malays call them. *Vide* his paper on the *Aboriginal Tribes*, p. 13.

⁴ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 92.

⁵ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 94.

make myself understood fairly well by means of the Jahai language."¹ Again: "With the help of Kěnta (Kintak Bong) and Jahai, I acquired a grip of the Kensi language."² He gives the impression, therefore, that he can speak at least three dialects.

Turning to his work one finds many Negrito words given here and there, certain formulae and descriptions, with translations, and two short texts in his paper on the *Orang Hidop*, for one of which, as he himself admits, he is unable to provide a satisfactory translation. He also has two short songs in his *Among the Forest Dwarfs*. In addition he has a paper on Jehai grammar, the material in which does not strike one as being much more than might be obtained by repeated questioning over a considerable period by an intelligent individual. This paper on grammar contains three short texts. Schebesta has not, as far as I know, published any dictionary, or even vocabulary (short or long) of any Negrito dialect. There is, therefore, little evidence on paper with regard to his linguistic abilities in the dialects of the Negritos. Furthermore, where I am able to check some of his translations of Negrito words, or phrases, either from personal knowledge or with the help of Blagden's comparative vocabularies, they are not by any means always correct.³ I have drawn attention to some such slips previously. If he did not claim to speak "Negrito" one would not be hard upon him for this. I am fully conscious of the difficulty

¹ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 275.

² Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 241. In his *Orang Hidop*, too, he writes, "I had repeatedly to learn a new dialect" (p. 20).

³ Nor is Schebesta's Malay (a known language with two official romanizations in use: one in the Malay Peninsula, the other in the Netherlands East Indies) free from error. If, therefore, mistakes can be detected in the few words that he gives in a known language, how many more may there not be in the much larger number given in an unknown one and, if his ear did not always catch Malay words correctly, did he not also sometimes record Negrito words incorrectly? Occasionally errors in Malay may be due to his using dialect forms, but surely where Malay words are added by way of explanation, he should have given accepted versions of them. Here are some examples: *lakak* for *langkap*, *serdadu* for *soldadu*, *besar* for *biasa* (a bad mistake that is repeated), *lekeh* for *lekir*, *bodok* for *bodoh*, *tungal* for *tunggal*, *kumang* for *kumbang*, *semaian* for *sembahyang*, *pungo* for *pongkok*, *puruh* for *puru*, *topei* for *tupai*; and there are others. Also what does *orang kopening* (repeated), said to mean European, stand for? Is it *orang kompani*? All these are in his *Among the Forest Dwarfs*.

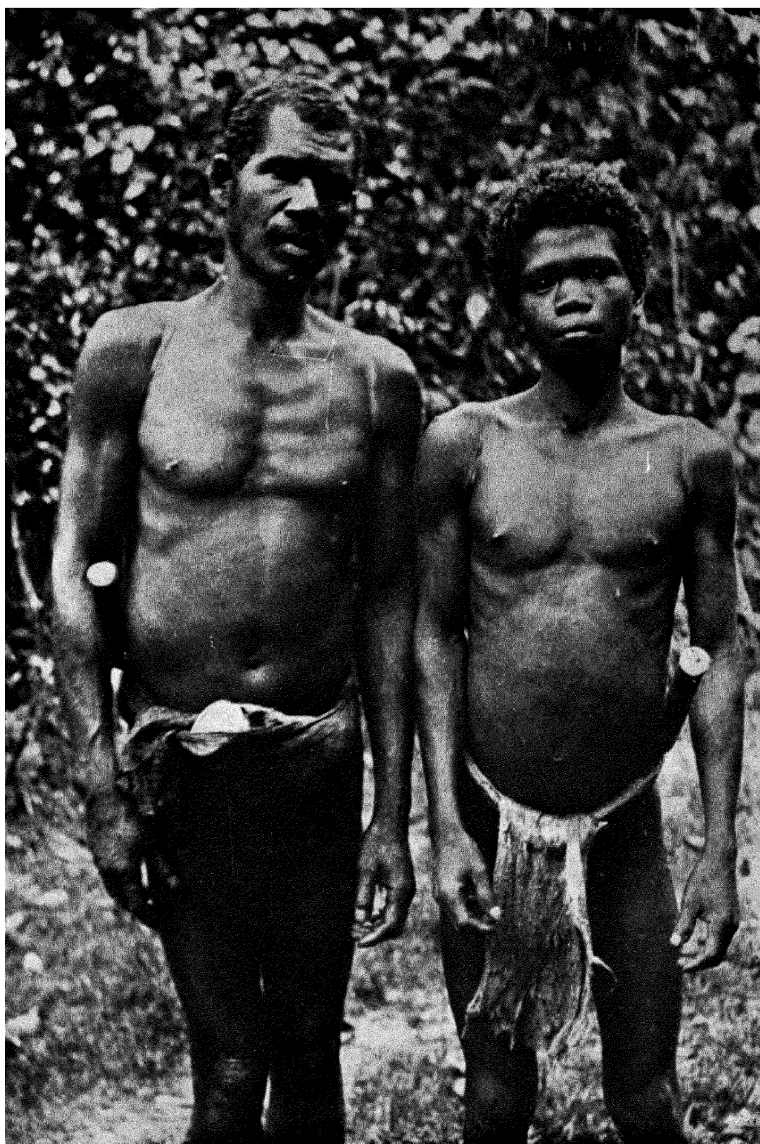


Photo: by author. From Jour. F.M.S. Mus., Vol. vi, 1916

JEHAI NEGRITOS OF TEMENGOR, UPPER PERAK

Note bark-cloth waist-cloth of the youth and primitive type of features.
The two protruding objects are the handles of working-knives.

of obtaining correct translations of either words or phrases from the people, and I do not suppose that I am guiltless of errors either in recording words or in translating them. Where, however, an author claims to speak native dialects he lays himself open to criticism if he makes mistakes and produces little evidence in proof of his assertion.

Schebesta's paper on Jehai (Jahai) grammar has been translated from the German original by Blagden and published in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*.¹ The script of the International Phonetic Association has been employed for the translation of Jehai words, these having been recorded originally in the *Anthropos* alphabet. I do not propose here to give anything more than an outline of the paper, which should not be particularly difficult of access to those who are interested further. The grammatical notes are well illustrated with examples in the dialect.

Schebesta says that the glottal stop occurs after *b*, *p*, *t*, *g*, *k* and *n* and the consonant in question then becomes hardly audible or is followed by an obscure nasal release, symbolized conventionally by *n*. The initial or final of a word may be either a consonant or a vowel, but a final glottal stop (after a vowel) is much commoner. He remarks that the accent falls on the last syllable of a word and that he believes that he has detected high and low tones in certain very similar words. Of these he gives a list.

Of numerals he says that the only true numeral is that for "one" (*nai*); otherwise Malay numerals are used. (This may be borne in mind in connection with my remarks regarding counting by the Trang-Patalung Negritos in a later part of this chapter.) A word which is sometimes rendered as "two" really means "younger brother". Expressions for "many", "much" and "how many" are found.

Next follows a list of the personal pronouns, which consist of a first singular, a first dual (inclusive, two forms), a first plural (inclusive) and a first plural (exclusive). There is a second singular, a second dual (exclusive, two forms) and a second

¹ 1928, Vol. iv, Part iv, pp. 803-826. *Grammatical Sketch of the Jahai Dialect*, etc.

plural. There is also a third singular, while the third dual and the third plural are the same as the second dual and the second plural. The same pronouns are used both for subject and object, but as object they follow the verb on which they depend. The accusative generally has no preposition, but occasionally is preceded by the same preposition as the dative. The possessive pronouns are made by postfixing the personal pronouns, sometimes preceded by a preposition.

Demonstratives are "this", "that" and "that yonder". They are linked to the pronoun or noun that they follow by means of *-t-*.

The relative, Schebesta says, is generally not expressed, "the relative clause being merely co-ordinated with the principal clause. He notes interrogatives for "who", "what", "how many" and "where". The usual interrogative particle is *ha*.

In regard to substantives the plural can only be distinguished from the singular by the context, or when a word meaning "many" is added, but some words denoting persons have plural formations. These are made by adding *r* after the initial consonant, by adding a two-letter prefix, or by both methods together. More rarely two other prefixes (two- or three-letter) are employed.

In two cases plurals are made by the introduction of a two-letter infix after the first syllable. It is noted, also, that a few words of relationship have special plurals—those for mother and father—"though these two plural forms are used by the Jahai to denote aunts and uncles, respectively, both in the singular number and in the plural...".

Many substantives, however, undergo a change after a numeral or the word for "many", an *n* being infixed after the first consonant. The *n* "is also sometimes accompanied by a modification of the vowels or the transposition of a consonant. It often appears, too, as a prefix, accompanied by an appropriate vowel. A couple of peculiar transformations are also noted.

Changes of form after numerals, as remarked above, are found, but are not usual. Sometimes either the singular or the special plural may be used after a numeral.

Gender is indicated by adding the words for "woman" or

"man" where it is necessary to express it, though separate words exist to indicate sex, both with regard to certain animals and in addressing a boy or girl.

"The nominative comes first, usually the subject is repeated by a pronoun." "The nominative can also be expressed by putting the preposition *ka* before the substantive, but in that case the predicate is put first and the subject follows." "Another form of nominative is preceded by the preposition *de*." Schebesta says that this is rare.

"The genitive is expressed by putting the determining word after the word to be determined."

The dative is formed by adding one of two prepositions, one being less common, or even without any preposition.

The commoner preposition used for the dative is also used for the locative and instrumental.

The accusative generally follows the verb without any preposition, but occasionally one is found, that most usually employed to form the dative.

"In answer to a question involving 'where' or 'where—to', the word of place is preceded by the preposition *ba*." "In answer to the question 'whence' the preposition *cad?n* is used."

With regard to adjectives, these follow their substantives. As predicates they are used without any prefix; as attributes they usually have the prefix *t-*, but exceptions occur in both cases. Schebesta also gives some information about the comparison of adjectives. The comparative degree, though it can be expressed, is generally avoided by means of a periphrasis. Thus, "This hut is bigger than that" becomes "This hut is big; that one is small." The superlative is made by using what appears to be a Negrito version of the Malay word *sangat*.

The verb is simple and its form does not alter. The above-mentioned pronouns, including the inclusive and exclusive forms, are used with it. A particle is, however, placed before the verb. Schebesta, speaking of specimen sentences that he gives, says:

The most striking thing in the above examples is the particle *ia* (in the 3rd person singular, *iaa*). Occasionally we find *ha*. Such particles usually precede the verb; if the latter has an auxiliary verb,

the *ia* or *ũa* must follow the auxiliary and come between it and the principal verb.

These particles usually express desire, will, or in general a future, but not always; sometimes they accompany the present. I am inclined to regard them as constituting the verb. In that case, without such a particle, the "verb" would have to be regarded as a predicate adjective....

The past tense is made by putting a word, meaning apparently "already", before the pronoun. In that case no particle is put before the verb. "The explanation of the particles is, however, by no means certain", says Schebesta.

The passive is made by the introduction of a preposition, but as this is sometimes done when the verb is active, it appears to be very often a matter of judging from the context. Thus, "The tiger eats me" becomes "The tiger eats *preposition* me", while "I beat *preposition* him" can mean either "I am beaten by him" or "I beat (to) him." This sentence is without a particle before the verb, but when the particle is added the meaning, seemingly, becomes unambiguous—"I beat him."

The prefix *pi* to some verbs seems to form a sort of causative.

Such phrases as "He has gone to Grik; when he comes back he will pay" and "If he steals I shall beat him" are rendered "He go to Grik, he return, pay" and "He steals, I beat him." "Have you eaten yet?" is rendered by "*Interrogative-particle* already thou eat?"

In the imperative usually the verb alone is used, but a particle, giving emphasis, is sometimes postfixed to it.

Under the heading of "Negative and Prohibitive" Schebesta notes three words, one of which is both a strong negative and a prohibitive, while two, one of which is usual with verbs, are prohibitives.

Adverbs are usually produced by the addition of the prefix *le* to adjectives, but the prefix is sometimes not used.

In verbs reduplication is commonly found, especially after the verbal particle *ia*. This appears to have no special significance.

A short reference may be made here, before bringing this chapter to a close, to the dialect spoken by the Trang-Patalung Negritos, whom Schebesta calls Tonga and Mos. They form the

most northerly group yet studied. Of the Tonga, at Chong, Schebesta says that their speech most resembles that of the Kensieu.¹ I have published a short vocabulary from these people² in which the number of Malay words is remarkable, including, as it does, those for banana, coat, dagger, duck, elephant, Indian corn, rice in the husk, rice, penis, lake, stone, sweat, wind, etc. This would appear to show that this group was once much more under Malay influence than it is to-day.

Another curious point was the apparent inability to count to any considerable number in Siamese, which they spoke, seemingly, with some degree of fluency. In their own language the breakdown was even worse. The six Negritos who attempted to count were given pieces of paper which they were told to lay down one by one, counting as they did so. The result was that in five cases *nai* was given as "one", and, in all cases *komam* was given as "two", but after that there was a breakdown, "three" being given respectively as *fobieh* (by two persons), *awah* (by three persons) and *uibem* (by one person). One Negrito did not attempt a higher number than three; one did not try higher than four. The results for numbers higher than two are, therefore, very doubtful. It is curious that *tigak* (obviously the Malay word for "three", *tiga*) was given by three Negritos as "four" and by one as "seven".³ One may remark here that *nai* for "one" is in accordance with that numeral as given by Blagden, while *komam*⁴ appears to bear no relationship to the usual word used for "two" which is *bie*.⁵ It seems likely, therefore, that *nai* is the only true numeral, as remarked by Schebesta. In the Malay States most of the Negritos can count to some extent in Malay, which language, of course, most of them speak quite fluently.

¹ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 270.

² Evans, *Papers on the Ethnology*, pp. 8-11. There is a misprint in it and "sweet" should read "sweat". Probably also under the heading of "rice" for "unhusked and uncooked" the reading should be "husked and uncooked".

³ Evans, *Papers on the Ethnology*, p. 12, where the counts are given in detail.

⁴ *Vide*, perhaps, M 46 of the comparative vocabulary in *Pagan Races*, where *kom* will be found with the meaning of "many".

⁵ Blagden, *Pagan Races*, Vol. II, p. 455.

CHAPTER XXVII

BODILY POWERS AND PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY

I HAVE already written about the general appearance of the Negritos, but the time has now come to say something a little more definite with regard to their physical anthropology. I have also added some material with regard to their bodily powers, a subject of which no mention has yet been made.

Much of the material in *Pagan Races* that is concerned with the bodily powers of the Negritos is that of Vaughan Stevens,¹ and this I do not propose to requote here. Skeat also has some information of his own, though not a great deal. Of their hearing he says that this appeared ordinarily acute and he noted that their ears were distinctly small. With regard to their feet he speaks of "the remarkable inward curve of the hallux". As to walking, he agrees with Vaughan Stevens's description of the gait of the pagan tribes in general, which, he writes, "applies perfectly to the Negritos".² There is certainly something peculiar in the method of walking of all the jungle people, which betrays them immediately to one who is accustomed to them, even when they are seen at a distance and wearing sufficiently orthodox Malay dress not to be conspicuous by their uncouth appearance. It is rather difficult to analyse this, but I think that it may be described as a high-stepping gait, as if avoiding obstacles in the path, a method of progression which is frequently forced upon them in the jungle by reason of their following tracks obstructed by roots, fallen boughs, etc., or even by their going where not the faintest tracks exist.

Schebesta has a good deal to say about Negrito methods of walking. He remarks that "even when heavily loaded he strides forward undeterred, as though unconscious of his burden".

¹ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. 1, pp. 49-50.

² Vaughan Stevens's description, with which Skeat agrees, does not seem to me very illuminating.

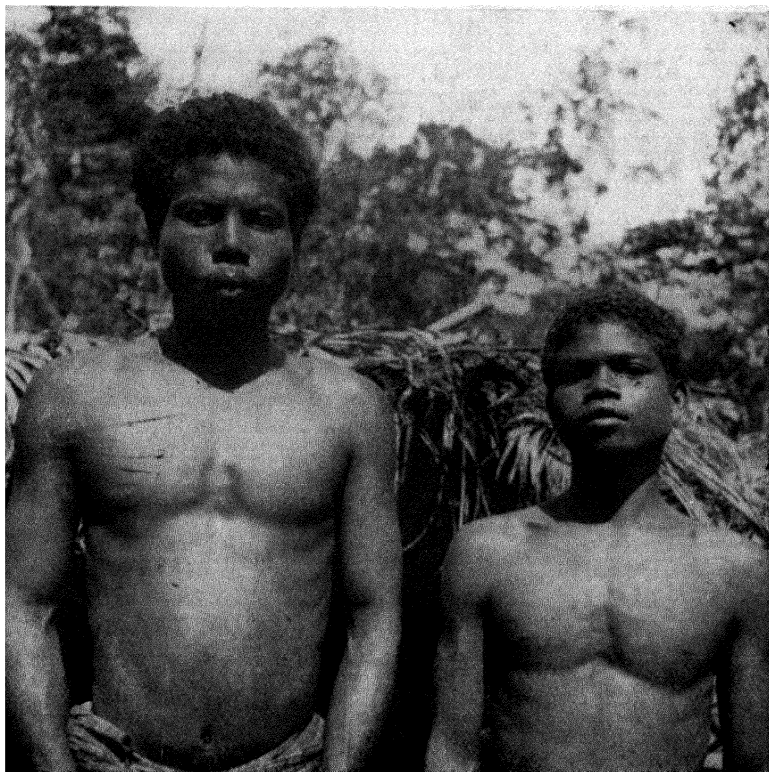


Photo: by author, 1935

TWO KINTAK NEGRITO MEN OF KROH, UPPER PERAK

Taken in S. Kedah.

Elsewhere he writes that the Negrito, when carrying a load in a back-basket, "walks in a stooping position to ease the pull on his shoulders". This increases his stride, while his arms hang free, he says. Stooping is usual with all persons carrying a load on their backs, especially, perhaps, where back-baskets with shoulder-straps are used, but this scarcely seems to agree with his description of Negritos striding forward, as though unconscious of their burdens, when heavily laden. In such a case bearers usually either trudge along or proceed at a jog-trot, though no doubt the shifting of the centre of gravity of the body forward does tend to increase the length of the step.

Schebesta also says that some Negritos, naturally, when not carrying loads, have a springy stride, while others have a "slouching gait, with the body stooping forward, knees bent, and arms swinging to and fro".¹

As to climbing, Skeat disputes a statement by Vaughan Stevens that Negrito powers of climbing are poor and says that some of them "can climb almost like monkeys". He saw two Kedah Negritos "run several yards up trees by putting the flat of the feet against the trunk and their arms round it".² I, too, have seen Negritos do this on coconut trees, when feeling particularly light-hearted. Schebesta terms this style of climbing (apparently in the Jehai dialect) *changwod*, saying that "foot and arm are advanced alternately". He also mentions two other methods of tree-climbing, *chinbodn*, in which the trunk of the tree is gripped at the sides with the soles of the feet and the climber propels himself in jerks, and *snriag*. In the latter method, he states, nooses round the feet are used, but he never saw it employed. The Negritos, he says, do not like climbing, and he never saw them climbing high trees.³

Schebesta also has some observations with regard to Negritos sitting and squatting. He writes that they prefer to sit, preferably with the back resting against something.⁴ I think that

¹ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 151.

² Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. I, p. 51.

³ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, pp. 151-152. *Vide* also a picture on the plate facing p. 128, where the first two methods of climbing are illustrated.

⁴ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 151.

this is probably correct, as sitting, often with the legs wide-spread, is certainly a common position.

Skeat records that Negrito eyesight appeared to be good and notes that, with one exception, that of an old man, the eyes of all the Negritos that he examined were of "a very rich deep brown" colour and that their eyes give the people a certain wild look, partly due to their natural restlessness, probably partly due also to the great width between them and the curious depression of the upper part of the nose.¹

Schebesta considers Negrito sight extraordinarily powerful, because they could see birds, fruit or edible plants in the jungle, where he could see nothing. I suspect, however, that this was partly due to the Negritos knowing for what they were looking, their eyes being, of course, accustomed to searching for such things.

Of Negrito powers of swimming he remarks that those who live on river banks are good swimmers and good divers.²

Even now we have no very great number of measurements of Negritos taken on the living body³ and but few skulls or skeletons have been obtained. Personally, I am averse from using anthropological measuring instruments for fear of frightening the people,⁴ unless I know them, and they know me, very well, and even then the gain of getting a small series of measurements seems scarcely commensurate with the risk of making the Negritos suspicious, and thus forfeiting a confidence which it is difficult to gain, and still more difficult to regain if once lost. An unfortunate experience in attempting to use measuring instruments at Lenggong, in 1913, has made me chary of employing such things. One of those head-hunting rumours which from time to time arise in the East had become current—the Government wanted heads to place under the piers of a new bridge that was being constructed. Unfortunately, I, with my measuring instruments, perhaps somewhat naturally, got the credit of being the collector of heads. With my callipers I was

¹ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. 1, p. 48.

² Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 152.

³ The greatest number have been taken by Schebesta. I shall refer to these later.

⁴ Much more so, therefore, from attempting to obtain skeletal material.

finding out which heads were most suitable for the purpose for which they were required, while my three-piece measuring rod, in its canvas case, was the sword with which the heads were to be removed.

The Negrito head shows a good deal of variation in the cephalic index, and this variation appears not to be limited to those tribes which live nearest to the Sakai (or half-breed Sakai) and where interbreeding (as among the Negritos of Lenggong, Kuala Kenering and Grik) is known to occur occasionally. Thus I noted that among six persons that I measured at Chong, in the Trang-Patalung hills of Peninsular Siam, the average cephalic index was 78·8, while it ranged, in individuals, from 76·3 to 81·1, both these indices being those of males.¹ At Lenggong, where, as remarked above, cross-breeding with the Pleh does sometimes take place, eight cephalic indices, all of adult males, ranged from 77·9 to 83·6 with an average of 79·3,² actually higher than that of the few measurements from Siam; but the series is small and, perhaps, not representative.

Skeat says that the measurements taken by Laidlaw and himself "give a mesaticephalic index as an average; for five men the average was 78·9, for three women 81·1". One man, however, had an index of 73·8 and another one of 74·4, as against 85 in a skull collected by Grubauer, equivalent to one of about 87 in the living person.³ I know all about the skull that Grubauer obtained, which he got through the agency of Dahabok, the father of my friend Pandak (*alias* Sadeuh), a Lenggong-Kuala Kenering Lanoh.⁴ His having procured it was at least a contributory cause to my troubles at Lenggong, when first starting work in that neighbourhood.

Skeat notes that Martin states that all the Negritos "measured by him were mesaticephalic, with a strong tendency to dolichocephaly".⁵

¹ Evans, *Papers on the Ethnology*, p. 4.

² Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* Vol. v, No. 1, p. 67.

³ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. 1, pp. 44-45.

⁴ Duckworth in *Pagan Races*, Vol. 1, p. 581. "The person to whom it belonged was a member of the tribe of Penghulu Dahabo(?) of Goyal (i.e. "Mount") Sapi, eight hours' walk from Kuala Kenering in Upper Perak." Dahabok, now long dead, also told me about the skull himself.

⁵ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. 1, p. 45.

Annandale's average cephalic indices for the Negritos are as follows: Negritos of Grik (twenty individuals) 77·7; Jehai (his *Jehehr*) 77·6. In the latter case nine individuals were measured. It may be remarked here that this author, wrongly in every way,¹ classed the Jehai as Sakai.²

With regard to height, Skeat gives the average of five adult males measured by Laidlaw (in the Ulu Lebih, Kelantan) and himself (at Jarom) as 1491 mm.; that for three women 1408 mm.³ Height measurements of seven adult male Lanoh Negritos of Lenggong, taken by myself, ranged from 1394 to 1583 mm., with an average of 1486 mm.⁴

Twenty male Negritos, measured by Annandale at Grik, had an average stature of 1528 mm.; nine Jehai of 1542 mm.⁵

Of a Negrito skeleton, obtained by Skeat in Kedah, Duckworth reports that the skull is ellipsoid and mesaticephalic with glabellar prominences very moderate in amount and the muscular ridges feebly developed. The zygomatic arch is slender. "The nasal profile is comparatively flat, but the nasal spine is large. Prognathism of the subnasal and dental type is well marked." He also notes that the palate is hypsiloid, the teeth large and blackened. The anterior surfaces of the upper incisors and canines had been filed, while chin prominence was slight and the ascending ramus of the mandible short. He considers that the skull represents an intermediate form between the dolichocephalic and brachycephalic types.

Generally speaking the characters of the skull are not such as to enable us to refer it to any well-recognized type without hesitation. Certain marks of inferiority, which may be regarded not as racial peculiarities, but as constituting retentions of conditions normal in infancy, should be noticed. These which occur in lower or primitive races, and are spoken of, with others, as "infantile features" are the rotund contour of the norma occipitalis, and the shortness of the ascending ramus of the mandible.

He draws attention also to the fact that "the conformation of the nose, and the type of prognathism, constitute resemblances

¹ Physically, culturally and linguistically.

² Table compiled by Duckworth in *Pagan Races*, Vol. I, p. 601.

³ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. I, pp. 43-44.

⁴ Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* Vol. V, No. 1, p. 67.

⁵ Duckworth in *Pagan Races*, Vol. I, p. 601.

to skulls met with not infrequently amongst the negro races, especially the races of Central Africa, rather than amongst Oceanic negroes."

Of the skeleton he remarks that the scapulae are small and relatively broad, the coracoid large with a very straight upper border, while the clavicles have a remarkable exaggeration of the normal curve (with concavity directed forward) of the outer part of the bone. "The crests of the ilia are not so much incurved anteriorly as in the European pelvis. The femurs are rather straight in the shaft, with distinct accessory adductor tubercles." . . . "The great length of the forearm, said to characterize the Andamanese, is absent in the Semang."¹ Skeat remarks, in this regard, that "the forearms of the Negritos that he saw appeared, with two exceptions, not to be so long relatively as those of the Andamanese. The exceptions were two Pangan (E. Negritos) at Jarum, whose arms were so long as to present a pithekind character."²

Lebzelter, who has published measurements of the human remains obtained by Schebesta,³ comprising three skeletons with their skulls, these being respectively those of a Jarum Jehai, a Kensieu and a Menrik, notes that two of the skulls are dolichocephalic, while one, the Menrik, is mesaticephalic. In his concluding remarks he says that he detects a strong Australoid element in his examples and, though there is a round-headed pygmy type among the Negritos, it is not present in the specimens examined. It would appear, therefore, that he considers that our present-day Negritos are of mixed stock. I think that this is highly probable. In a country through which so many waves of peoples have passed, it is natural that there should be some mixture, ancient or modern, though it is possible, of course, that the mixture may have taken place, to some extent, before the Negritos entered the Peninsula. Skeat has two pictures on the same plate (*Pagan Races*, Vol. I, plate opposite to p. 28) which seem to support the idea of the somewhat mixed origin of the

¹ Duckworth in *Pagan Races*, Vol. I, pp. 45-46.

² Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. I, p. 44.

³ Schebesta and Lebzelter, *Anthropos*, 1926, Band XXI, pp. 959-990 and Pls. I-IV.

Negritos rather strongly. Let the reader compare the seeming similarity of facial (and bodily) type among the Andamanese, there illustrated, with the diversity to be found in the group of our Lanoh Negritos depicted on the same page. The Andamanese, from their isolated position, have had, one imagines, a greater chance of remaining of pure stock.

Lebzelter, working on field material supplied by Schebesta, gives a summary of the conclusions to which he has come in their joint paper in *Anthropologie*.¹ These measurements of 171 individuals form the largest series yet obtained, and Lebzelter remarks that they may be taken as being a fair sample of an estimated Negrito population of about 2000. They come from, I think, all the groups visited by Schebesta.

Lebzelter distinguishes first of all—I do not keep his order—a “Kensieu type” which appears to be essentially Negrito. This is little, pygmoid, brachycephalic, with low convex forehead, low, broad face, thick lips, broad nose. This type represents the true South Asian pygmy element, of the same race as the Andamanese and the Negritos of the Philippines. Short athletic type, complexion dark chocolate, frizzled hair. Most of the Kenta (Kintak Bong), Kensiu, some Menri, Sabubn,² Jahai and Ple cross-breeds belong to this type.

The cross-breeds refer, of course, to the Ple (Pleh) only.

He also notes what he calls “the australoid or preaustraloid type”.³ Of this he says that

this type does not reveal itself when we take the measures alone. But where we can compare photographs with the measurement lists, this type is characterized as follows: It is slightly taller than the two⁴ afore-mentioned, mesocephalic, with short face and upper face, low broad funnel-shaped nose, and of short athletic type. Dark complexion, frizzled hair. Its characteristic feature is an australoid shield-shaped forehead or strong arcus superciliares. It is found occasionally in all groups.

I imagine that Lebzelter intends this last remark to refer to the Sakai as well, as he has a “premongoloid Sakai type” about which I do not quote his remarks.

¹ Schebesta and Lebzelter, *Anthropologie*, Prague, 1928, Vol. VI, Parts 3-4, *Anthropological Measurements of Semangs and Sakais in Malaya*, pp. 183-254.

² I have written about this name in a previous chapter, p. 26.

³ Note Duckworth's remarks on the presence of an australoid type among the Malayan cave-dwellers, Appendix I, p. 300.

⁴ The “Kensiu type” and the “Jahai type”. The latter I deal with next.

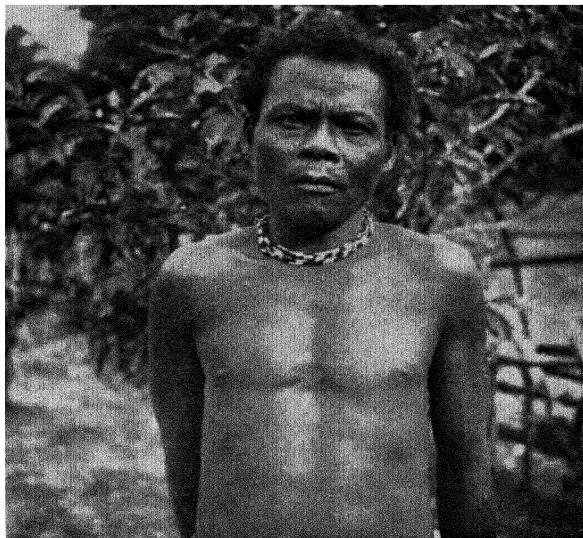


Photo: by author, 1935

KINTAK BONG NEGRITO OF KUPANG, S. KEDAH

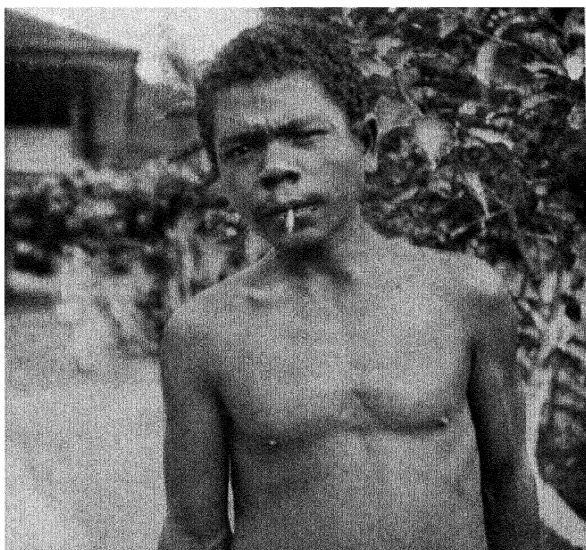


Photo: by author, 1935

KENSIEU NEGRITO MAN, S. KEDAH

A "Jahai type" is also distinguished. Of this he reports that it is pygmoid, dolichocephalic to mesocephalic, with narrow, comparatively high forehead, long narrow nose of button type, long narrow upper face, less developed lower face, lips thin to middle thickness. This type is met with in our material only among the Jahai and Sabubn. Complexion dark chocolate, black frizzled hair, slim respiratory habitus. This type represents a hitherto not defined race.

These two groups, be it noted, are the two western Negrito groups most in touch with the Pleh (Negrito-Sakai), and inter-marriage is not particularly uncommon. Cannot, therefore, this type be the result of crossing?

Of his "Menrik type" he says:

Its distinctive feature is spiral hair, dark complexion, height of body slightly greater than in the other Semang (Negritos). The facial index is mesoprosopic to euryprosopic. Index of the upper face mesen to euryen. Index of the nose in most cases mesorhinal. Mouth index usually below 30. Further investigation will have to show whether it represents a separate type.

Of the investigated tribes the Menri and Sabubn represent the populations of greatest mixture.¹

Schebesta, in the same joint paper (pp. 196-197), has some interesting remarks about Negrito physical appearance in general. He says that their pygmean stature is more observable when Negritos are in the open, but that their stature is not stunted and that they give the impression of being a well-developed, strong people, not degenerate. Hair is either woolly and frizzled or it is "fine spiral curled". Bodies are glabrous with pubic and axillary hair but slightly developed, the beard being likewise poor. The Negritos "are scentless, at any rate they do not have the smell of the African". (I am not sure that I agree with this. They seem to me to have a very distinct smell, apart from anything that may cling to them from the smoke of their fires.) The iris of the round eye, without Mongolian fold, has sometimes a reddish-brown tinge, and the Jakun, where in contact with the Negritos, speak of this peculiarity of theirs as a racial characteristic. Hands are fine, but feet coarse and broad, the big toe projecting sideways.

¹ Lebzelter, *Anthropologie*, Prague, 1928, Vol. vi, Parts 3-4, *Anthropological Measurements of Semangs and Sakais in Malaya*, pp. 199, 232, 233.

Schebesta distinguishes two types; one short-faced, short-headed with a round face ("either osseous or fleshy round"), fleshy lips, broad nose and with a long body that makes the extremities look shorter. The other type is long-faced, long-headed, narrow-fronted, narrow-lipped, with a narrower-looking nose. This type gives a slim impression. The body is shorter; the extremities, arms and legs longer.

Flat, straight and receding foreheads were noticed, and those that were heavily convex were also to be seen.

"Eye-tori are sometimes strongly developed", though by no means always. Prognathy is either moderate or not at all marked. Lophocephaly ("a gabled-roof shape of the skull") was observed.

Schebesta describes the most northerly Negritos, his Tonga, of the Trang-Patalung Range as being of pronounced Negrito type, with childish face, broad triangular nose, deeply depressed at its root, wide-open eyes, woolly hair that is closely curled, small stature and chocolate-brown skin.¹

Duckworth has described² a specimen of Negrito hair obtained by the Skeat Expedition in Kelantan. This is in the form of a ringlet which forms curls with diameters from 9 mm. to about 20 mm. The hair colour is black and its surface rough. Microscopic examination shows it to be densely pigmented, the pigment being uniformly distributed along the length of longitudinal sections. In transverse sections the pigment is seen to be in the form of fine granules aggregated chiefly about the periphery of the section and just within the well-marked cuticular border. There is also a core, formed of an aggregation of the granules in the centre of the section. This core is about $\frac{1}{100}$ mm. in diameter. In form "the sections vary from an oval or ellipse at the thicker or basal end, to almost a circle near the tip of the hair. The indices of four sections work out at 55.2, 58.9 (these are oval), 86.7, 86.9 (the latter sections are near the tip of the hair). The hair has thus negroid characters in respect of section."

¹ True, I think, in most cases, but the man figured, in two positions, on the plate facing p. 12 would not conform to this description in its entirety.

² *Pagan Races*, Vol. 1, pp. 584-585.

APPENDIX I

PREHISTORY AND THE NEGRITOS

VARIOUS excavations of rock-shelters and light caves have now been carried out in Malaya and we may claim to know something about the habits of the people who lived in them and also a little with regard to their physical anthropology. Their state of civilization was extremely low, exhibiting a sort of transition stage between a palaeolithic and a neolithic culture, with amygdaloid and other palaeoliths and also very crude neoliths, stones chipped, or otherwise, ground on either side, at one end only, to a more or less polished cutting edge. It must be emphasized here, however, that it is in no way claimed that the age of these cave deposits is at all comparable with those found in European caves. I use the terms palaeolith and neolith (failing any others more satisfactory) only as denoting types of implement; palaeolithic and neolithic as indicating cultures not periods.

The cave-dwellers consumed quantities of river molluscs, they were hunters, used ruddle for making a red paint (probably body paint) and rubbing stones, frequently heavily stained towards their ends, for working it up ready for use. Probably either water or fat was used as a medium. Pounding stones with grip indentations chipped, or ground, in them, often much bruised at the ends, are common and may have been employed for breaking bones to extract the marrow, as well as for knocking off the topmost whorls of the shells of river gasteropods before cooking them,¹ as the Malays do at the present day. Occasionally such pounders are also stained with ruddle towards their ends, but at the sides, showing that they have also been used for grinding, or rubbing up, this red paint.

Human remains are fairly common, often much mixed together, but there is some slight reason for thinking that the

¹ All the fluviatile gasteropod shells found in the caves have been so treated.

skulls, or parts of them, may have been sometimes stained with ruddle and also that bodies may have been buried, if buried they were, with knees retracted. Occasionally ashes are found overlying human remains. This may, or may not, be accidental. Pottery—cord-marked to imitate basketry—seems to have appeared at the end of the period.¹ Its use also extended to later times.

It was hoped that expert examination of the human remains from caves and rock-shelters would materially increase our information with regard to the early inhabitants of the Malay Peninsula, and that it might even throw some light on the Negritos and the comparative date of their arrival in Malaya. While it has, to some extent, helped in the former connection, results have been negative in the latter. Duckworth, to whom the material was submitted, finds that the Peninsular Negritos can be ruled out, as "the present individuals are evidently and indeed markedly dolichocephalic, while the Semang are brachycephalic".²

Further on he says:

Thus these cave-dwellers of Perak, whether tall or short, seem to fall naturally and definitely within the confines of a group of humanity spread over a large area of south-eastern Asia and traceable even into Australia. Variants within this group agree in the possession (common to all) of a very distinctively dolichocephalic cranium, large jaws with large teeth and limb bones of remarkable slenderness. This slender type has probably several subdivisions and its geographical range may extend westwards, perhaps as far as Egypt.³

This type Duckworth believes to be identical with that described by some writers as Dravidian and by others as Pre-Dravidian. He draws attention to the Nicobarese⁴ affinities in the remains studied.⁵

¹ An article on this culture will be found in my *Papers on the Ethnology*, pp. 143-157 and Pls. XXXIX-XLI.

² Duckworth, *J.R.A.S., M.B.* 1934, Vol. XII, Part II, p. 149. But is not the brachycephaly of the Negritos over stressed? This does not, however, invalidate the findings in general.

³ Duckworth, *J.R.A.S., M.B.*, 1934, Vol. XII, Part II, p. 151.

⁴ Like the Sakai, speakers of a Mon-Annam language.

⁵ The results of some recent rock-shelter excavations recently made in Perak have not yet been published, so what I have said above only holds good for published results.

Though Duckworth's paper may throw light on the Sakai problem, and on an underlying "Dravidian" element found, perhaps, both among the Negritos and Sakai, his findings do not enlighten us, except negatively, with regard to the entry of the Negritos into Malaya. They were then, it appears, not the people who lived in the rock-shelters and had the aforementioned palaeo-protoneolithic culture.¹

Of peoples of later date than the cave-dwellers—those who made the fine neoliths and those iron-using people who built graves of granite slabs—we know nothing, except by inference, outside their culture, so far. No human remains have yet been found associated with objects belonging to these cultures.² Even in the slab-built graves no skeletons have been discovered. Being in the open, under conditions not favourable to their preservation, they have perished entirely. Only at the far later settlement at Kuala Selinsing have skeletons been found and here, as has been noted in a previous chapter, a Negrito element appears to be present.

Turning now to the Andamanese as the nearest, the most isolated, and presumably the purest, relatives of our Negritos, there appears to be no evidence that they ever used any more complicated implements of stone than chips. Granted, however, that our Malayan Negritos did not naturally have stone implements, they must surely have adopted them, if, and when, they were in contact with the makers of such implements.

It may be noted that a skull of Negrito type has been found in a cave in Indo-China, this being from a cave at Minh-Cam. It is that of a child of nine years and has a cephalic index of 84.96.³

¹ See note 5 on previous page.

² Evans, *J.F.M.S.M.* 1932, Vol. xv, pp. 51-62, Pls. XXII-XLI, map and 5 plans, and Vol. xii (1927), pp. 111-119, Pls. XXXIII-XLIII.

³ Evans, *Papers on the Ethnology*, p. 153. Material from *Mémoires du Service Géologique de l'Indochine*, Vol. xii, fasc. 1, pp. 10 and 33-36. An important paper by J. Fromaget and E. Saurin in *Bulletin du Service Géologique de l'Indochine*, Vol. xxii, fasc. 3, has just come to hand. In this they record the finding of Negrito skeletons in the Annamite mountain chain in association with a "lower neolithic" culture similar to that found in the caves of British Malaya. Skeletons of Negritos, or of people of mixed Negrito stock were also obtained in association with an "upper neolithic" culture both in the aforesaid mountain chain and in the coastal regions and large valleys.

APPENDIX II

RELATIONSHIP TERMS

SCHEBESTA gives a list of relationship terms used among the Jehai, speakers of a "Negrito dialect". It is to be found in his book and also in one of his papers.¹ The list is as follows:

Great-grandparent, *dodn*
Grandfather, *ta*
Grandmother, *ia*
Father, *ai*
Mother, *bo*
Brothers and sisters, *mir-ber*
Older brothers or sisters, *pan*
Younger brothers or sisters, *ber*
Parents-in-law, *ken'ad'*
Brother-in-law, *lamin*
Grandchild, *kancho*
Uncle, elder brother of father or mother, *ai toi*
Uncle, younger brother of father or mother, *ai ba*
Aunt, elder sister of father or mother, *bo-toi*
Aunt, younger sister of father or mother, *mo*
Children-in-law, *mensau*

The relationship terms given below come from the Lanoh of Lenggong and Kuala Kenering, speakers of a "Sakai dialect". They were collected by me many years ago, but have not been published previously. The method employed in obtaining them was to take down a genealogical table from an informant and then to ask, "What do you call so-and-so?" mentioning the name of a person for whom a relationship term was required. Three males were thus questioned and, where no relationship terms are supplied, it is due to the fact that the necessary relations did not appear upon their genealogical tables.

¹ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, p. 114, and *Gesellschaft und Familie bei den Semang auf Malakka*, p. 248.

Here, then are the relationship terms:

Grandfather, *tak*
 Grandmother, *yak*
 Father, *dok*
 Mother, *nak*
 Father's brother (younger than father), *bah*
 Wife of above, *nyak ma*
 Son of father's younger brother, *peuk membeng*
 Elder sister, *kloh babok*
 Elder sister's husband, *chenoi*¹
 Younger sister, *peuk babok*
 Younger sister's husband, *mensau*
 Younger brother, *peuk ungkoin*
 Elder brother, *kloh ungkoin*
 Elder brother's wife, *menoi*
 Nephew, *kun kémun* or *kemun*
 Niece, *kun kemun* or *kemun*
 Wife, *kedol*
 Child, *kuon* (*kuon ungkoin* = male child)
 Grandchild, *kanchau*
 Nephew's (son of elder brother) wife, *ménsau* (?)
 Father-in-law, *belok*

Schebesta also says that, with regard to the Jehai, a child at the breast is termed *aneg*; one that can run about *kedn*, while *wogn* is the usual word for child, denoting no special age. *Kejuch* is a young man, *bale*² denotes the newly-married without children, *bakes* those who have more than three children, *marwogn*³ those with up to three children, while *chela* is used of those whose children are dead. *Kebet* is an old man and *balu*⁴ a widow.

He states that direct methods of address, either by names or personal pronouns, are not used, a relationship term being substituted, or one denoting the degree of seniority.⁵ Among Malays, too, direct address by name or pronoun is avoided as much as possible.

The following terms were collected by me among the Kintak Bong in 1935:

Old person (apparently either male or female), *bidog*; young male, *kiajuh*; young female, *kiadah*; small child, *aneg*; male child, *wong temkal*; female child, *wong mabeh*.

¹ Can this term have anything to do with the *Chinoi* of flowers, birds, etc.?

² *Baleh* or *menaleh* seems to mean "virgin" or "young" among most tribes. *Vide Pagan Races*, Vol. II, p. 617, G 28 and p. 764, Y 40. ³ Malay?

⁴ Malay.

⁵ Schebesta, *Among the Forest Dwarfs*, pp. 113-114.

APPENDIX III

KINTAK BONG CHART OF HEAVEN AND THE UNDERWORLD

THE annexed chart of "the heavens above, the earth beneath and the waters under the earth", to which I have referred previously,¹ was drawn for me by a Kintak Bong Negrito at Baling, S. Kedah, in 1935. It should not need a great deal of explanation, as I have indicated what all the objects depicted are in the reference notes at its foot. I would point out, however, the interesting diagrammatic representations of the cow and calf which guard the rising sun, the cow with horns and the calf without, and the bull (with horns) where the sun sets.

About two places above, *Keneluang* and *Panchak*, I could gather no information, except that they were where the *Chinoi* play. *Menlus*, "where the *Chinoi* play", also above, seems to have its own special *Chinoi*, *Chinoi Menlus*, who plays to Yak Kalcheng (= Yak Manoid) on a Jews'-harp.²

I have also noted previously³ that, according to this plan, the tracks of the sun and moon are along paths like rattan canes (*Gělong med ketok*, etc.). The *Galong Chibeh*,⁴ the "bridge of the rising sun", appears here as quite a separate thing, having nothing to do with the sun, as far as can be seen, except that it is in the east.

Yak Manoid's path from her "plank" in the lake, from which she makes the waters well up when sin is committed, may be noted. She uses this in reporting sins to Tak Pern and, as it is said to be like a thread, I imagine it is of the same nature as the threads projected by *halak* when going aloft.⁵

The *Batu Herem*, the stone pillar that supports the heavens, has a whole chapter⁶ to itself, so I need say nothing more about

¹ Chapter XVI, p. 165.

² Pp. 222-224. I find that Vaughan Stevens mentioned *Keneluang* long ago. He spelled the name *Kenaluong* and said the souls of innocuous animals went there. He states that it is an immense cavern near Paradise. *Vide Pagan Races*, Vol. II, p. 218.

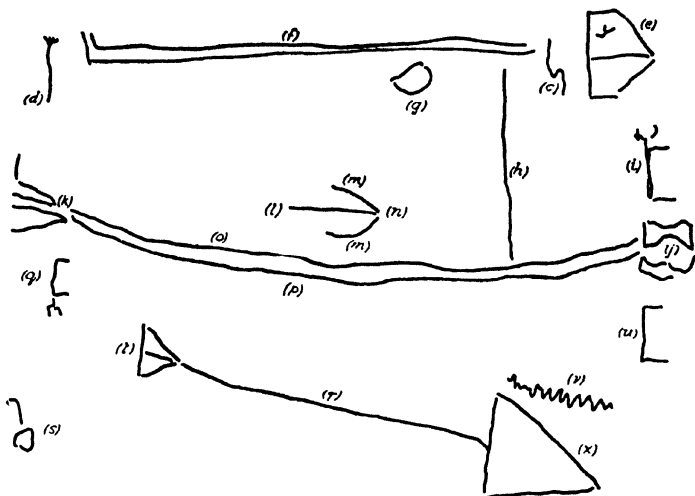
³ P. 165.

⁴ P. 164.

⁵ P. 203.

⁶ P. 185.

KINTAK BONG NEGRITO CHART OF HEAVEN AND THE UNDERWORLD



- 1a) Beked kernait (below) The heads of
corpses point to this.

- (b) Kenelung (above)
Where the Chinai play.
- (c) Where the thunder starts.
- (d) Where the thunder stops.
- (e) Chemam's house.
- (f) Thunder-path in the sky, like a thread.
- (g) Jampun.
- (h) Galang cibich (above)
Where the Chinai play and sleep.
- (i) Cow in the sky.
Tak Pern looks after this.
- (j) Hole from which the sun rises.
- (k) Where the sun goes down into a hole.
Merlis med telok.
- (l) Roof of Batu Herem in the earth.
- (m) Tangkal

- (n) Top of Batu Herem In the sky.
- (o) Sun's path (Gelong med ketok.)
- (p) Moon's path (Gelong Kichok.)
- (q) Bull in Yak Manoid's charge. It lives where the sun goes down, med ketok blis.
- (r) The road by which Manoid goes up to Tak Pern to report sins. It is like a thread.
- (s) Manlus (above) where the Chinoi play.
- (t) Yak Manoid's paper taseg in the earth. She lives on a piece of land like a plank in the middle of the lake (taseg)
- (u) Cow calf in the sky (above)
Tak Pern looks after this.
- (v) This is the headdress of Ehyim,
Yak Tanggoi's child.
- (x) Tak Pern's house in the sky.
- (y) Panchak (above) where the Chinoi play.

it here, beyond remarking that only two *tang-al* are shown in the drawing.

A reference to Ehyim will be found elsewhere,¹ as will also some details about *Jampun*,² the stone flower from which the rain comes. It is curious, considering the various other stories obtained, that the path of thunder should be said to be "like a thread", but there is, of course, a cord attached to the thunder-stone.

¹ P. 224.

² P. 169.

APPENDIX IV

LIST OF NEGRITO WORDS IDENTIFIED IN THE COMPARATIVE VOCABULARIES IN VOLUME II OF *PAGAN RACES*, WITH REFERENCES

- Ag-ag*, crow, C 277
Ai, leaf-monkey (*Presbytes neglecta keatii*), M 140
Aum, tiger, T 128
Awei, climbing plant, R 39
Bab, monitor lizard, L 120. 'The species that the Malays call *biawak pasir*'
Babeh, newly married, M 53
Babok, female, F 61
Bah, fruit, F 284. Schebesta's *bach*
Bai, dig, D 107
Baleh, virgin, M 52
Balok, ivory, H 126
Bangkong, wild fruit, B 51. This is a Malay word
Baseng, monkey, M 148
Bateyu, black gibbon (*Symphalangus syndactylus*), M 157
Baweich, monkey (*Macacus nemestrinus*), M 134
Bekau, flower, F 187
Bekot, hot, H 141
Bering, fruit, F 281
Beteu, water, W 30
Betud, long, L 130
Bidog, old man, O 15
Belian, medicineman who can become a wer-tiger, M 79
Bum, we = Malay *kawan*, companion. *Lataik bum* is equivalent to the Malay *rotan kawan*, R 36
Buyok, *Pandanus*, P 27
Chankei, toad, C 73.
Chas, hand, H 14
Chelchem, *Chelchem*, cf. perhaps *kelyeng*, inside, I 27
Chem, stab, C 296 (perhaps)
Chentol, bud, B 447
Chet, arrive, A 145
Chibeh, rising sun, D 33
Chinbeg, *Bertam*-palm (*Eugeissona tristis*), B 183
Chub, go, G 42
Dadak, breast, B 380. The Malay *dada*
Dahar, where, W 81
Deh, this, it, T 86
Deng, see, S 75
Dun, bury, B 462
Eg, give, G 29
Eh, father, F 45
Ek, stomach, B 161
Empak, dream, D 158
Ensol, ashamed, A 158
Gampil, mat, M 63
Gel, waist, W 3
Gob, person, non-aboriginal, M 28
Gul, swamp, H 113
Ha, what, where, W 77
Haiak, hut, H 152
Halak, medicineman, M 78
Helik or *Homik*, person (Malay or Siamese), M 23
Heneng, hole, H 107
Hertik, tail, T 3
Hilik, thorn, T 94¹
Hilud, swallow, to, S 526
H'moit, wasp, W 25
Huyak, rainbow snake, R 16

¹ *Helik kejok* (p. 79) should probably be translated "thorns of the *kejok*" (*rotan dahan*).

- Ibeh*, turn, T 250 (perhaps)
Ibud, storm, S 479
Jagat, giddy, H 46 (perhaps)
Jekob, snake, S 310
Kasing, before, B 145
Kawap, bear, B 103
Kawong, Argus pheasant, A 129
Kebeurk, fruit (numeral coefficient equivalent to *biji* in Malay), F 283
Kecek, moon, M 161
Kedlud, firefly, W 120
Kehep, centipede, C 66
Kejuh, young male, Y 4
Kemoin, tiger, T 133
Kemoit, ghost, G 18
Kenait, comb, C 215 A
Keping, above, A 5
Ketok, day, D 33
Kid, roots (really bottom, anus), A 118
Kijing, hear, H 60
Kilad, lightning, L 97. The Malay *kilat*.
Klang, hawk, E 4
Kom, frog, F 265
Kudn, grave, G 105
Kuie, head, H 46
Leglug, laugh, L 17
Lel, spin, T 251, T 267
Les, ant, A 104
Loyd, bow, B 353
Loim (or *Loi*), throw, T 106
Mabeh, female, F 62
Magiseh, go round, T 257
Mahom, blood, B 249
Makab, catch, C 48
Maloh, what, W 77
Mantei, anteater, A 113
Med, eye, E 83
Med ketok, sun, D 33
Med ketok blis, sunset, D 33
Menang, thread, T 96 A. The Malay *benang*
Menik or *Monik*, person (Negrito or Sakai only), M 24
Menlis (*blis*), go down, set, D 33, F 12
Minchah, stomach trouble, S 468
Mohr, nose, N 98
Napeg, pig, P 73
Ngabag, magical singing performance, to hold a, S 212
Nihuk, wood, T 211
Nteng, ear, E 6
Oi, I (?), I 3 (perhaps)
Pai, you, Y 32
Pas, muntjac, D 76¹
Patieu, monitor lizard, L 123
Penet, tired, T 149. The Malay *pēnat*
Penig, durian (cultivated), D 188
Peningloin, sing, S 211
Petis, sick, S 185
Pideh, call, C 9
Piseng, banana, B 49. The Malay *pisang*
Pisas, tear, to, T 32, perhaps
Puyau, basket, P 27 (*puyu*, *Pandanus*)
Sa'bentai, in a moment, I 10. The Malay *sa'bēntar*
Sagwong, hornbill, a species of (*Anthracoceros Malayanus*), B 225
Sayang, wild ginger (of the kind called *tēpus* in Malay), T 47
Sempak, durian (wild), D 189
Sob or *Sop*, breast, B 380
Sog, hair, H 1
Sok, hair, H 1
Taak, *Langkap* palm, L 8
Tabogn, dragonfly, B 481
Tak, grandfather, G 86
Takob, tuber, Y 2
Tanggoi, rambutan, R 22
Tapag, leaflets of palm, R 178
Tebul, bee (small kind of), B 136
Teiok, tiger, T 130
Tek, earth, E 12

¹ Vide pp. 205, 236.

<i>Tekem</i> , hornbill, a species of (<i>Rhinoplax</i>), H 133	<i>Tupar</i> , fly, F 203
<i>Tekoh</i> , afterwards, A 46	<i>Un</i> , that, there, T 51
<i>Tembun</i> , come up, climb, C 166	<i>Ungkoin</i> , male, M 15
<i>Temkal</i> , male, M 15	<i>Wai</i> , open, O 44
<i>Tenwug</i> , cross pattern, C 215	<i>Waid</i> , squirrel, S 417
<i>Til-tol-tapah</i> , a bird, D 181. It is a species of cuckoo, not the	<i>Weg</i> , return, R 83
Argus pheasant, as stated by	<i>Wong</i> , child, C 101
Vaughan Stevens	<i>Yak</i> , grandmother, G 87
	<i>Yam</i> , I, I 1
	<i>Yek</i> , I, I 1

This list is by no means exhaustive, but it contains such verifications as I have been able to find of many of the more unusual words.

APPENDIX V

ON A PAPER REGARDING THE PLEH-TEMIAR

A PAPER by Mr. H. D. Noone has appeared recently in the *Journal of the Federated Malay States Museums*, 1936 (Vol. XIX, Part I),¹ of which it may be well to take some notice here, not so much because the Pleh-Temiar are neighbours of the Negritos, as because of certain general suggestions put forward in it. Mr. Noone's paper purports only to be an introduction to the results of long study of this one group.

Mr. Noone starts by writing as follows:

The aboriginal races of the Malay Peninsula are known locally as "Sakai". An inclusive name for the various tribes is desirable, and "Sakai", having become fashionable, will serve the purpose best. Yet it is important to clear up many misapprehensions about the use of the term.

The first is one of scientific terminology. Unfortunately early investigators in the Peninsula, following Annandale, restricted the scope of the term "Sakai", applying it only to the wavy-haired Senoi tribes of the main range of the Peninsula. Dr. Rudolf Martin and Mr. I. H. N. Evans alone stood out against this practice, which has caused confusion locally, well-read people using the term in variance of vernacular usage. Pater Schebesta... has given sanction to this restricted use of "Sakai" which still persists in the literature of comparative anthropology. I propose to accept the popular local usage of "Sakai" as a general term, and to substitute Senoi for the wavy-haired people.

This whole matter is really one of convenience. I see no objection to the term Senoi being adopted for the wavy-haired people if Mr. Noone can persuade scientists to use it. It is perfectly possible to define groups of mixed origin, the result of interbreeding between Negritos and the wavy-haired people, by calling them Negrito-Senoi, instead of Negrito-Sakai, as I have done up till now; or to express a mixture between the wavy-

¹ *Report on the Settlements and Welfare of the Ple-Temiar Seno of the Perak-Kelantan Watershed.*

haired and straight-haired wild people by calling them Senoi-Jakun, instead of my Sakai-Jakun. I have not done this in the present book—the suggestion did not reach me in time for consideration—but that is no reason why it should not be done if it can be done, as I think it can, without causing much confusion in anthropological circles. On the other hand, for the reason that the word “Sakai” has become firmly established anthropologically to indicate the wavy-haired people, I think that it would be unwise, if Senoi is to replace it, to re-employ it officially to indicate all the pagans of the Peninsula, as Mr. Noone desires, merely because it is used in that sense locally by the Malays and by the less well-read European residents. To do this would, I consider, cause much trouble and inconvenience to anthropologists, who would constantly have to ascertain in what sense particular writers were using the term “Sakai”. It is, therefore, much better that, when it is intended to indicate all the jungle tribes of Malaya, Skeat and Blagden’s all-embracing term, “Pagan Races”, should be retained.

I am rather surprised to find Mr. Noone saying that, in company with Martin, I have stood out for the use of the name Senoi in preference to Sakai. What I have stood out for is the abolition of the confusing terms Semang and Pagan, indicating respectively the Eastern and Western Negritos of the Malay Peninsula, in favour of “Negritos”, which conveys a distinct picture of the people with whom one is dealing.¹ Schebesta supports me in this, as remarked previously, though he has not always adhered to the proposal which, indeed, he put forward as if it were something new.² It is true that I have used the name Senoi (equivalent to Menik and Menrik among the Negritos—“One of Ourselves”) for some of the Central Sakai groups,³ which Mr. Noone would call Semai Senoi, but I have not, so far, advocated its general use.⁴ In fact, Mr. Noone says,

¹ Evans, *Studies in Religion*, p. 143-144.

² Evans, *Man*, 1928, Nos. 39-40, p. 59, *Schebesta and the Negritos*.

³ Where I found that they acknowledged the term.

⁴ “The wavy-haired, long-headed pagans of the Peninsula must perforce be spoken of as Sakai, since we have no other term for them, but it is advisable, in so far as possible, not to employ the names given to the pagan tribes by the Malays, since the latter use them so loosely that Negritos are often called Sakai. . .” Evans, *Studies in Religion*, p. 144.

quite correctly (on p. 7 of his paper), that I employed the term frequently, but not consistently.

Coming now to some other points, Mr. Noone states, in somewhat involved manner, that classification of the pagan races is possible by race, language or mode of life. He rejects the first method on the grounds that none is of pure stock, only predominantly Negrito, or predominantly Proto-Malay, etc. (That there is always likely to be some admixture of one kind or another must be true in a country that has been so exposed, as the Malay Peninsula has, to so many movements of races and peoples.) Classification by language he also rejects as unsatisfactory, but approves of mode of life for this purpose. In spite, however, of what Mr. Noone has to say, I am persuaded that race—even if it is not very pure—is the only satisfactory basis of classification, and usually culture and, to a lesser extent, language follow the racial divisions. Again, too, needless trouble would be caused to the anthropologist in breaking with what has hitherto been customary.

The group with which Mr. Noone deals is one in race (except for some quantity of Negrito blood in the north and some signs of "older strata"), in language and largely in culture, but not in government. It borders on the Jehai and on the Lanoh and is by them called, as he remarks, Pleh—he writes it Ple, following Schebesta. It is the Northern Sakai group of Wilkinson and the "Po-Klo" of Annandale, who only met members of it in the Temengor neighbourhood—the name Po-Klo seems to have been given to them owing to a misunderstanding. Mr. Noone says that I regard them as a hybrid group because I have called those of Temengor Negrito-Sakai. Yes, so I do regard them as mixed in that neighbourhood as does, incidentally, Mr. Noone himself,¹ but he omits to state that I have said that they are comparatively pure further south and that I have written: "In the mountainous regions of Upper Perak, for instance, the inhabitants are of mixed Negrito-Sakai type, though their dialect and culture² are pure Sakai. As we go farther south,

¹ P. 29 of his paper.

² Perhaps this statement should be modified in so far that the Northern Pleh have borrowed the bow from the Negritos and, possibly, a certain method of decorating bamboo.

still in the mountains, the Negrito element becomes less and less until, in the neighbourhood of the Kerbau (or Korbu) River and around the headwaters of the Kinta, it has almost disappeared,"¹ Both the Kerbau and the Kinta are within the boundaries of the Temiar.

Mr. Noone also quarrels, to some extent, with Schebesta's work in regard to the group. He says that Schebesta calls the Northern Sakai Ple-Temiar, though there is no question of there being two tribes, Ple in Perak and Temiar in Kelantan. I have not noted that Schebesta ever said that there were, and Mr. Noone gives no references. Mr. Noone also remarks that Ple is the Negrito term for the Northern Sakai, of which both Schebesta and I are quite aware, while Temiar or Temer is the Semai (Central Sakai) name for them. This is all quite correct and the name Temiar, recorded as Tumior, Tummeor and Tembe, goes back as far as Vaughan Stevens's and Clifford's writings.² Even now we have not the designation, if any, other than Senoi ("one of us"), by which the Northern Sakai designate themselves, so I think, after all, that Northern Sakai (or Northern Senoi, if Mr. Noone prefers it) remains the best term, as indicating a group that is racially, culturally and linguistically fairly homogeneous, while similarly Central Sakai (or Central Senoi) remains the best name for the group next to them on the south.

There are many other points in Mr. Noone's paper that might be criticized, but they do not affect the material in this book either directly or indirectly.

¹ *Studies in Religion*, p. 135.

² Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. 1, p. 26. For mention of the word by myself, vide *Studies in Religion*, p. 262, where a story is recorded of how the people of the Mensud and Temir Rivers (Northern Sakai) used to seize and carry off Senoi of the Sungkai Valley (Central Sakai).

APPENDIX VI

A NOTE ON THE "NEGRITOS" OF THE TANOM RIVER, PAHANG

On page 28 of this book I have mentioned a group of supposed Negritos on the Tanom River, Pahang, as being unapproachable. Mr. T. R. Hubback of Bukit Betong, near Kuala Lipis, has, however, encountered these people and has very kindly sent me the following information, which, unfortunately, did not reach me in time for inclusion above. He says that "they are not pure Negritos, but a mixture. Some have very fuzzy hair indeed, but not many of them." Their shelters, built on the ground, are often placed in a circle. No ornaments were seen on the women. Though they use blowpipes, these are obtained from Sakai groups. The bow is not found among them. They plant nothing, existing largely on tubers. "They catch fish in primitive fashion, but do not appear to make traps for ground game. They climb trees and gather the unripe fruit and also rob any hornbills' nests that they can find with young in them."

Mr. Hubback adds that the people wander right over from the Tembeling River, Trengganu and Kelantan and do not stop very long anywhere. He thinks it likely that they are "the most primitive and animal-like humans in Malaya".

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