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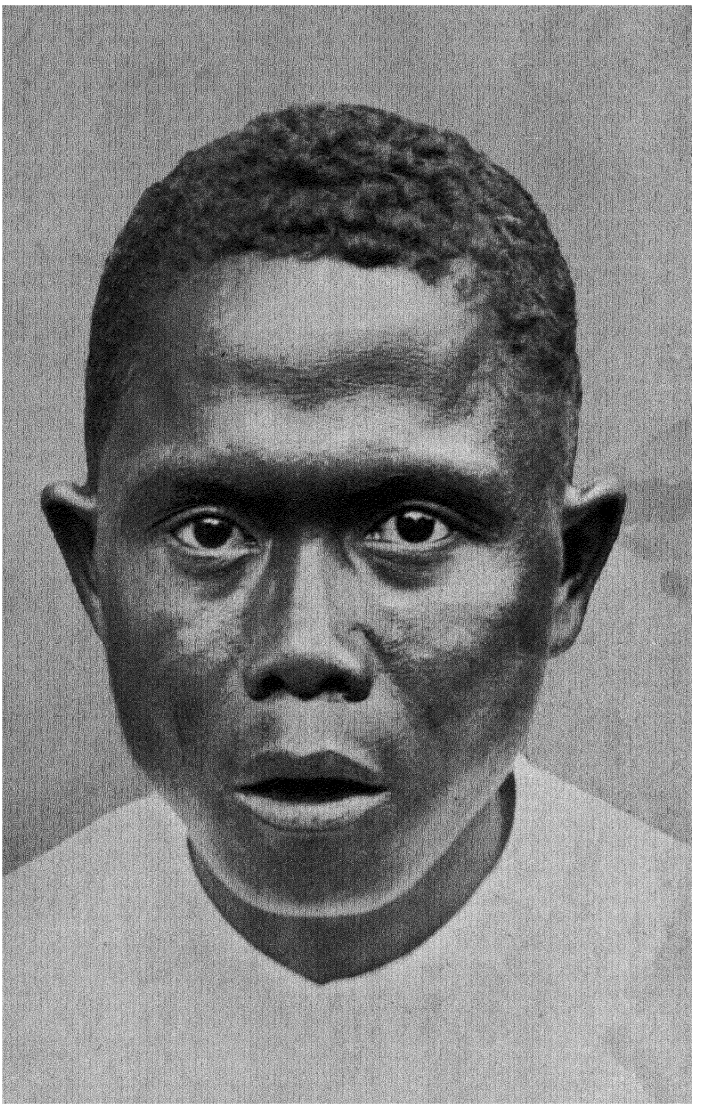
Studies in Religion, Folk-Lore, & Custom in British North Borneo and the Malay Peninsula

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MĚMPĚLAM (JAROM), A NEGRITO OF ULU SELAMA, PERAK

Studies in Religion, Folk-Lore, & Custom in British North Borneo and the Malay Peninsula

By Ivor H. N. Evans, M.A.

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PREFACE

THE following papers contain the results of investigations concerning religion and custom in Borneo and the Malay Peninsula, which I carried out at intervals during the years 1910 to 1921. Some of them have already appeared in almost their present state in *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, in *Man*, or in *The Journal of the Federated Malay States Museums*; in the case of others their material has been gathered up from more general notes in the last-named publication, or from several papers, and re-cast, while I have added a small amount of fresh material, the majority of which will be found in the sections dealing with Borneo.

The time has, I think, not yet arrived when it will be profitable for anyone to undertake a new work dealing with the wild tribes of the Malay Peninsula, and should it ever do so, such a book can be little more than a fresh and up-to-date edition of Skeat and Blagden's excellent *Pagan Races*; since, however much more research may be done in this field—and there is still plenty of virgin soil awaiting exploitation—it will be necessary to re-quote the whole of the evidence in their two volumes, with, perhaps, the exception of that of Vaughan-Stevens. I hope, therefore, that those of the present papers which deal with the pagans of the Malay Peninsula will be looked upon as being supplementary to that standard work, and, similarly, that those which treat of Malay beliefs and customs may be taken as small additions to Skeat's *Malay Magic*.

With regard to British North Borneo, my material may be read in conjunction with Ling Roth's compilation, *The Tribes of British North Borneo and Sarawak*.

The chief reason for the appearance of this volume is my wish to present to others in readily accessible form what I have been able to learn from my eastern friends about those subjects which interest me most.

My original papers, especially those on Borneo, contained a few statements, which, on further thought, or on further experience, I have modified in some degree, while all those which were printed in England suffered from the fact that my residence in the East prevented me from seeing proofs of them. Some, too, which appeared in *The Journal of the Federated Malay States Museums*, owing to various unavoidable circumstances, did not pass through my hands in the proof stage.

Apart from the slight changes indicated above, the chief emendations that I have made in my material are with regard to the spellings of native words and names[1] and the removal of some Malay terms from the Bornean folk-tales. Faults, no doubt, still remain, but I must ask my readers, should they discover any, to be as lenient as they can, since a good deal of my work, especially that relating to Borneo, is of a pioneering nature, forming a rough track, which later-comers will, I hope, develop into a fair highway.

A point to which I should like to draw attention, and one which is liable to be a source of error, is that, except in dealing with the Malays of the Peninsula and with the Jakun, I have been compelled to converse with my various informants in the *lingua franca* of the region (Malay), and in Borneo, where the length of my total residence was not sufficient to enable me to learn both this and a native language, the *lingua franca*, especially in up-country villages, is not always very freely current.

In the Malay Peninsula this difficulty does not present itself

[1] Chiefly in the Bornean Papers.

to the same extent, since nowadays the majority of the aborigines, whether Jakun, Sakai or Semang, speak Malay fairly fluently.

I have frequently been asked by friends in the Peninsula whether I "speak Sakai." I do not, and unless a European were to reside with a Sakai tribe for a considerable time, it is almost impossible that he should, and then he would only acquire a single dialect, which might, or might not, be understood in the next valley according to the part of the country in which he was. Up to the present I have never had an opportunity of being in touch with any one tribe for more than a month, often a good deal less, hence, I cannot "speak Sakai" or a single Sakai dialect.

My best thanks are due to the Government of the Federated Malay States for allowing me to make what use I like of my papers which have appeared under its aegis, and to the Royal Anthropological Institute for a similar permission with regard to those which have been printed in *Man* or in the Institute's *Journal*, while the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society has extended a similar courtesy to me with regard to an article which forms an appendix to the present volume.

I. H. N. E.

TAIPING, FEDERATED MALAY STATES.
January 30th, 1923.

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PART I

PAPERS ON BRITISH NORTH BORNEO

(i) *Some Customs and Beliefs of the "Orang Dusun."*
(ii) *Folk-tales of the Tuaran and Tempassuk Districts.*
(iii) *North Bornean Markets.*

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

THE present collection of Dusun, Bajau, and Illanun stories was made in the years 1910 and 1911, during parts of which I was stationed in the two adjoining districts of Tuaran and Tempassuk; while the material contained in the first paper, that on customs and beliefs of the "Orang Dusun," was collected partly at the same time as the folk-stories, partly on a short visit which I paid to the Tempassuk District in 1915. The Tempassuk is inhabited by three different peoples, the Dusuns, Bajaus and Illanuns, and it is chiefly from the first of these that the tales have been collected; for, since both the Bajaus and Illanuns are Mohamedans, their folk-lore is not nearly so extensive as that of their Dusun neighbours, who are pagans. The Mohamedans, roughly speaking, form the coastal and estuarine population, while the Dusuns, with the exception of those of a few large villages on the plains, which border on the Bajau zone, are confined to the foot-hills and mountainous portions of the area. The Tuaran District is also divided between Bajaus and Dusuns, but here Illanuns are wanting.

It would seem that the Dusuns are the original inhabitants of the country, and that the Bajaus and Illanuns, both Proto-Malayan peoples, are later arrivals who have driven the first-named inland. This is known to be a fact in the case of the Illanuns, who are a piratical tribe of Mindanao in the Philippines; of whom small roving parties have settled in Borneo.

The origin of the Bajaus[1] is, I believe, unknown, but they are widely spread along the coasts of North Borneo. However, as far as the Tempassuk is concerned, tradition asserts that they first came in trading boats from the direction of Kudat, and eventually fought the Dusuns and formed settlements in the country.

It is often said by Europeans resident in North Borneo, without, I think, sufficient evidence, that the Dusuns have a large admixture of Chinese blood. What the Dusuns would seem to be is a primitive Indonesian people, with some strain of Mongolian (not modern Chinese) blood. The up-country Dusun is generally short, sturdy, and light in colour, with a face which is often broad and flat, showing great development of the angle of the lower jaw. The nose is broad, and its bridge and root depressed. The head is long as compared with that of the Bajau.

"Orang Dusun," which, literally translated, means "people of the orchards," is a name which was originally used by the Malays to denote large sections of the Indonesian population of British North Borneo, which they considered to be of similar habits and culture. The term is loose, but useful, and has consequently been adopted by Europeans, and, for this reason, I also retain it.

In those parts of the country which I know, it cannot be said that the Dusuns have any tribal organization, the village community being the unit. In the Tempassuk District the Dusuns style themselves *Tindal*, while I believe that the up-country Tuaran natives do the same. Around Tuaran Settlement, however, they seem to call themselves *Song*[2] (or *Suong*) *Latud* (people of the country; *i.e.* the developed country as opposed to the jungle). These Tuaran villagers differ somewhat in their customs from the Tempassuk natives. It must be understood that in these papers I deal only with the Tem-

[1] In the Tempassuk they call themselves "*Sama*." Some of them claim to have originally come from Johore. If this is true they are probably of the same race as the Jakun and the Orang Laut of the Malay Peninsula. The Bajaus of the East Coast of Borneo are still sea-nomads, or partly so.

[2] This word seems to have the same meaning as the Malay *isi*, "contents."

passuk District and with the villages immediately surrounding the Government post at Tuaran. I have never visited the upland villages of the Tuaran Valley, though I have met many of their inhabitants. The villagers of the hinterland of the coast between the mouth of the Tuaran River and Jesselton are absolutely unknown to me.

(i) SOME CUSTOMS AND BELIEFS OF THE "ORANG DUSUN[1]"

The religion of the Dusuns is largely animistic, though with it is combined a belief in a supreme deity, who has a wife, and in minor deities or major spirits. Their ceremonies, as might be expected, are chiefly concerned with those supernatural beings who may, according to their ideas, affect human affairs favourably or unfavourably, these ranging from the positively malevolent to the potentially, or actually, beneficent. Those which are implacably hostile must be driven away by means of magic, for, in their case, bribery is of no avail, among them being included, I think, the body-snatching spirits, and those which cause some acute diseases, such as small-pox. To induce others, less malevolent and more venal, to quit the haunts of mankind, a mixture of magic and bribery or cajolery may be employed, as, for instance, in the annual ceremonies for purging villages of evil influences, and in some Tempassuk District methods of dealing with the ghosts of the newly buried. Again, there are spirits who will remain neutral if they are propitiated, and among them, perhaps, are to be placed those of rivers; while there would seem to be a few which will be positively friendly if well treated, such as the spirits of the sacred jars which the Tuaran Dusuns treasure and the spirits of the rice; but even these become bad tempered when neglected. If no offerings or sacrifices were made to the jar spirits, they would certainly take their revenge by bringing all sorts of misfortunes upon those who had slighted them; and what would happen to the crops of a man whose rice-souls were offended with him?

[1] *Vide* two papers of mine published in *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, vols. XLII. and XLVII.

The propitiation of the Dusuns' chief deity, Kinharingan, and his wife Munsumundok does not, I believe, form any considerable part of their ritual, and, though the former is called upon to be a witness to oaths, he is, probably, regarded as being too far away to take any very great interest in everyday matters.

A curious feature of Dusun religious ceremonies is the prominent part played by priestesses, initiated women, upon whom rests the responsibility for the successful carrying out of the rites. Men, though present, usually play only a subordinate part in such performances, the duty assigned to them being that of providing a musical accompaniment for the women's chants. At Tuaran there are regular fixed fees for young women who wish to enter the ranks of the initiated, and their instruction covers a period of over three months. The fees received by the instructresses are, at the present day, generally paid in money, though formerly payment was made in goods. I have been told by natives that the women use a secret language in their chants, and thus the mysteries of their conjurations are safeguarded from becoming public property.

Certain more or less fixed yearly festivals and ceremonies are observed by the Dusuns of both districts, but there is considerable difference in custom between the Tuaran people and those of the Tempassuk, and, indeed, between the Tempassuk highlanders and lowlanders, if not even between neighbouring villages.

Various animals are regarded as omens, either of good or evil portent, and these, some of which I treat of below, have a considerable influence on the people's daily life.

Head-hunting was prevalent in both districts, until prohibited by the British North Borneo Company, but certain rites connected with it are still carried out at Tuaran, and probably elsewhere. On taking a head a warrior was entitled to be tattooed in a particular manner, but with the prohibition of head-hunting tattooing has become practically obsolete.

The Dusuns of Tuaran

Deities

Some details with regard to Kinharingan, the Creator, and Munsumundok, his wife, will be found among the notes on the Tempassuk area, the belief in these two divinities being common to both districts. Two Tuaran Dusun legends of the creation will be found among the folk-tales on pp. 45 and 46.

The Cult of Sacred Jars

The Dusuns of Tuaran, Papar, and, I believe, of some other places commonly worship certain jars, which are regarded as being sacred. Various kinds of old jars of foreign manufacture, most, if not all, of which are of Chinese origin, are regarded as being valuable property by many of the pagan peoples (and also by some of the Mohamedans) of Borneo, but the Dusuns think that certain varieties[1] of them are tenanted by indwelling spirits, and are hence worthy of reverence. It is to a kind called *gusi* in particular that sacrifice and prayer are made at Tuaran; and families vie with one another to obtain a specimen, from two to three thousand dollars being no uncommon price to pay for one. Each member of a family has often a small share in such a jar, and, owing to the frequent and complicated lawsuits which formerly arose in consequence, it became necessary that such cases should be stopped; a notification, therefore, was issued by the then Governor of British North Borneo, which prohibited legal proceedings with regard to *gusi*, except with a view to enforcing the rights of the *waris* (members of the families of owners) as defined in the notification[2].

The *gusi* is a pot-bellied jar of a greenish-brown colour, and has often a crackled skin, but whether this crackle is due to age, or was produced in manufacture, I am not certain. It appears to be of Chinese make, and specimens may vary considerably in size.

Gusi are often kept in a railed-off enclosure in one of the

[1] *Vide* also a folk-story on p. 52.

[2] *Vide* a critique of a former paper of mine in *The British N. Borneo Herald* of October 1st, 1914. In this will be found some interesting and original notes on the Dusuns, Major E. O. Rutter being responsible for them.

inner rooms of a Dusun house, and annual sacrifices are made to them at a festival called *Mengahau*, about which a few particulars will be found below. I have it on the authority of a Tuaran Dusun, named Omboi, that the old women go to a *gusi* and wipe its mouth, saying at the same time, "Do not be angry with me, for I have given you food[1]." The spirits that dwell in the *gusi*, one in each jar, the same informant told me, are those of ancestors. They are thought to be evilly disposed unless kept in a good temper by sacrifices, when they may be actually beneficent. Offerings are made to the *gusi* when there is sickness in the house or village. The *buluhon* is a kind of *gusi* which the Dusuns say that Kinharingan let down to the earth by a cord from an open window in the sky. A species of banyan (*Ficus*) is reported to be the abode of a spirit, and it is said that men coming suddenly upon a tree of this kind have seen many *gusis* standing below it, but when they have looked again, the jars have vanished for the spirit has snatched them up into the tree.

Religious Ceremonies

(i) One of the most, or the most, important yearly ceremony of the Tuaran Dusuns is that which is called *Mobog*, when all evil spirits which may have collected in the village during the previous year are solemnly expelled. In September, 1910, I was lucky enough to see a part of these rites carried out. The chief performers, as is the case in all Dusun religious ceremonies, were women, the minor parts, of drum- or gong-beaters, being assigned to the men. A procession of women, in full ceremonial dress, goes from house to house, stopping at each to go through a performance. It is preceded by a boy carrying a spear on which is impaled a large parcel containing

[1] The Bahnars, Sedangs and Jurais of Indo-China also have sacred jars, which are thought to contain indwelling spirits. Their mouths are coated with blood and rice-wine on holidays. As among the Dusuns old jars are considered to be wealth (*Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. III. "Indo-China," p. 230).

Certain old Chinese jars which are found in the Philippines are said to be able to talk, *vide* Fay-Cooper Cole's *Chinese Pottery in the Philippines*, p. 12 (Publication 162 of the Field Museum of Chicago).

rice, the wrapping of which is a piece of palm-spathe; next follow two men bearing between them a drum and a large gong of the variety known as *tawag-tawag*, these being slung from a bamboo pole, the ends of which rest on their shoulders. After them come the women, one of whom carries on her back a small sucking-pig in a basket. Each woman holds a wand in her right hand, which has a spiral strip of bark, running from end to end, removed from it. These wands, I was told, are used for beating the sucking-pig, and the name of *Mobog*, meaning "beating," is given to the ceremony because the pig is maltreated in this manner[1]. In addition to the wands the women also bring with them bunches of small brass bells, which are shaken in time with their movements, while performing posturing dances, by quick backward and forward jerks of their wrists, and, as well as these, somewhat castanet-like instruments called *tetubit*, consisting of two discs of brass attached by a string to a handle, which is usually made from a back-plate of a soft-turtle (*Trionyx*). The *tetubit* is used to beat time during chanting[2], the discs being clanked together against the base of the thumb of the right hand on its inner surface. On arrival at a house, mats are spread near it by some girls. A man then brings the stalk of a coconut-palm leaf, and having bent the proximal and broader end at right angles to the rest of the stalk, he sharpens the distal end slightly, and plants it firmly in the ground at the end of the mats which is nearest to the door of the house. In front of this the spear—mentioned above—is set, point upwards, and at the base of the leaf-stalk is placed the packet wrapped in palm-spathe. The women then take their places on the mats, and the ceremony begins.

This consists partly of chant, partly of dance and chant combined. At one time the women are moving slowly round in a circle from left to right, chanting the while, and empha-

[1] The squeals of the pig, I understand, attract the spirits.

[2] It may, perhaps, have a magical use as well. *Vide* p. 22, with reference to the use of a somewhat similar instrument, the *gunding*, in the Tempassuk District.

sizing the time by means of the *tetubit*; at another they divide themselves into two files facing the spear, their head-priestess standing out in front and taking the leading part in a chant in which the others join. At this time they perform a posturing dance and make use of the bunches of small bells, one of which they hold in each hand.

During the ceremony rice has been placed on the bent-down end of the palm-leaf stem, and dishes containing blades of young rice and herbs of various kinds have been set upon the mat behind the women. When the rites are finished, the procession is re-formed and streams off to the next house that is to be visited, where the same performance is repeated.

It was up to this point only that I observed the ceremony; since I was ignorant, at the time, that anything further was in contemplation, and also of the meaning of the proceedings[1]. I have been informed, however, that, when all the houses have been visited, the performers make their way to the river, the evil spirits, which they are supposed to have collected on their way, following them. On arrival there the spirits embark on a raft which has previously been moored in readiness. This raft is covered with models of men, women, animals and birds, made, I understand, of sago-palm leaves, while offerings of cloth, cooking-pots, chopping-knives, and food are also placed upon it.

When all is ready, the raft, with its supernatural passengers on board, is pushed off into the stream and allowed to float away. Should it, however, ground near the village, it is set adrift again with all speed, lest the spirits should get ashore. The sucking-pig which has been used as a lure is killed at the end of the ceremony, and its body thrown away.

(ii) *Mengahau* is a festival in connection with the sacred jars, which is performed annually and may take place a few days before *Mobog*. The purpose of the ceremonies then

[1] This was shortly after my arrival in Borneo, and before I could speak more than a few words of Malay. I was only stationed at Tuaran for a couple of months, and a good deal of my information comes from three or four Tuaran Dusuns whom I met, or had with me, in the Tempassuk District in 1910–1911 and in 1915.

performed seems to be to placate the *gusi*-spirits and to procure good luck generally[1].

(iii) A ceremony called *Masalud* takes place after the wet-rice plants have been transferred from the nursery to the fields, and have attained a fair height. The women, as before, take the chief part in the ceremony and are accompanied by male gong-beaters. A fowl is sacrificed and eaten, and an image of the bird, made from its feathers, is set up in the crop with a leaf of a certain species of wild ginger (?) behind it. Water is also sprinkled over the young rice.

(iv) *Menomboi* is a rite which appears to be only performed after a successful harvest. I was told that a small piece of steel is placed in a basket of unhusked rice, which stands upon a chopping-knife. A religious ceremony is then performed. It is said that padi is offered to any large stones that the celebrants may come across.

(v) *Menawa* (or perhaps better, *Menawar*[2]). Here again, as in the case of the three preceding ceremonies, my evidence only comes from natives, and not from personal observation. *Menawar* rites are performed for the purpose of obtaining rain when the country is suffering from a long drought. Every woman brings a basket of husked rice to the river-side, and an egg is placed on the top of each basket. A religious ceremony is then performed by the initiated women, and, finally,

[1] Major Rutter, in the critique mentioned above, deals with what I stated (*J.R.A.I.* 1912) to be discrepancies in my evidence regarding *Mobog* and *Mengahau*. He says that *Mobog*, which is the ceremony for driving out evil spirits, "is essentially part of the jar worship. Usually *Mengahau* takes place after padi planting, and *Mobog* after harvest, but there is no fixed time for either as the priestess awaits a warning in a dream, which tells her that the time for the ceremony is at hand. What Mr Evans regarded as discrepancies in his evidence can thus be reconciled." This is no doubt correct, but the ceremony that I saw at the rice-planting season, and have described above, was *Mobog*, which Tuaran Dusuns told me in 1915 was amply proved by the fact of the woman carrying the sucking-pig. Very possibly the *Mengahau* ceremony was celebrated at almost the same time as *Mobog* on that occasion. One point in Mr Rutter's statements seems to me a little doubtful. I do not think that jar-worship can originally have had anything to do with the expulsion of evil spirits on a raft. Rites of this kind are found in other parts of Borneo, where the worship of sacred jars is not a feature of the local religion, and also in the Federated Malay States (*vide infra*, p. 280).

[2] Probably the same as the Malay word *menawar*, meaning to neutralize.

each of them takes the egg and a handful of rice from the different baskets, and throwing these into the water, says to the spirit of the river, "This is your share." The remainder of the rice is given to the initiated women as wages.

Ceremonial Dress

Some description may well be given here of the dress worn by the women of Tuaran on ceremonial occasions, as this differs materially from that in every-day use. The ceremonial head-dress consists of four stiff bunches of feathers—those of a cock or of a peacock (?) pheasant are used—cut and dressed into the form of shuttlecocks, and having long pins of bamboo projecting from their points. They are ornamented at their tops with pieces of red cloth, and are inserted into the hair by means of their pins, so as to form a sort of crest running from the front of the head to the back, where, owing to the hair being piled up, the hindermost clump of feathers is the most elevated, the crest thus having an upward slope from front to back. From the top of the foremost, and also of the hindermost, tuft of feathers depends a string of green beetles' wings. Below the crest of feathers there surrounds the head a fillet of red cloth backed with rattan cane, which is ornamented with oblong and square plates of gilt silver: these are embossed with patterns.

The body from the neck to the waist is clothed, in most cases, in a tight-fitting jacket of blue or black Chinese cloth, and over this is worn an elaborately draped scarf of Bornean manufacture. These scarves, which are very old, are said to have been made by the Brunei Malays: they are highly valued, and are only used on occasions of ceremony. Their colour is generally a mixture of red and yellow. Around the waist are red, black or natural-coloured rings made of rattan cane, such as are affected by all Dusun women. Below this is a short ceremonial skirt of variegated cloth, the material and pattern of which much resemble that of the scarf[1].

[1] If I now (1917) remember rightly these cloths and skirts are of the pattern which the Malays of the Peninsula call *kain limau*.

The majority of the women who take part in religious ceremonies wear round their necks, and hanging down their breasts, many-folded necklaces composed of old Chinese (or possibly Dutch) beads; among these are, however, round beads of carnelian, and also long octagonal or hexagonal bugles of the same stone which taper towards their ends[1]. Strung on the necklaces are cone-shaped ornaments of silver, from about three to three-and-a-half inches long; these are hollow, but are filled with plugs of wood which are rounded at their tops and bored to admit the passage of a cord. The cones are so disposed that they hang in pairs with their points directed downwards to form a series on each side of the jacket. A necklace with cones of this kind is termed *kamuggi*, and a good specimen of many folds will often fetch from sixty to seventy dollars. Another type of ceremonial necklace, the *okob*, has a roughly crescentic silver plaque suspended from it as well as certain other little silver ornaments.

Head-hunting

Head-hunting ceremonies, as remarked above, are, or were, performed in both districts. At Tuaran the skulls of enemies are kept in the common verandahs of "long houses," one which I have seen boasting as many as forty of these trophies. My notes on this subject are rather fragmentary, for I found that the natives whom I questioned were rather chary of speaking of head-hunting and head-hunting ceremonies, chiefly, I believe, owing to my being an official. Once, nevertheless, at Tuaran I was witness of a small portion of some head-hunting rites. Seven or eight men were walking in single file near a village and were keeping up a kind of war-cry, which had a peculiar whistling sound. Each of them was wearing a ceremonial sword with a very long scabbard that was profusely decorated with long pendent bunches of human hair. This sword is called *tenumpasuan*; it consists of a straight blade and a brass grip with guards; which, when combined

[1] Similar beads and bugles are also found among the Igorots of the Philippines, as well as in other parts of Borneo.

with a short sheath, is known as a *pedang*[1]. The scabbard of the *tenumpasuan* is about four feet long, and broadens to a width of about six inches at its further end. The outer face is covered with rude carving. The leader of the party carried a conch-shell trumpet (*tabhuri*) on which he blew occasional blasts. All the men wore, attached to their waists, large bunches of the long dried and shredded leaves of a particular kind of palm, called *silad*, which are used in ceremonies connected with head-hunting, and are also frequently tied to the cords of, and partly cover, the skulls which are hung up in the houses. One of the celebrants was wearing a human vertebra tied to his belt from which was suspended a triangular plaited ornament of the same kind of leaves. On making inquiries it transpired that an ex-policeman, who had some time previously taken a head—where I do not know—had returned home, and that a buffalo was to be sacrificed and a ceremony gone through in order to ward off any evil consequences of his act.

The rites performed after the return of a head-hunting party are called *domalu*, and an annual sacrifice of a buffalo is made to the heads which have been taken. I have been told that during the ceremony in connexion with this yearly sacrifice the men eat rice from half coconut-shells and that all of them must finish their meal at the same moment, as otherwise anyone who was left behind in eating would be cut up by the enemy, should he go on a head-hunting expedition with the people of his village. The edges of certain cooking-pots, too, are decorated with red flowers and others are wrapped in leaves which produce a rash if touched. The men cry aloud and stamp on the pots till they are broken. Possibly this may signify that the warriors will thus stamp down and break whatever enemy may oppose them, but my informant could not give me any explanation of the proceedings. While

[1] This sword has a cross-shaped hilt, the upper limb of the cross ending in a small chalice. The chalice is always found, but is occasionally filled up with resin, into which is fixed a tail of human hair. The weapon is, perhaps, of Christian origin. Possibly it reached the Malayan region through the Arabs.

the ceremony is being performed the women weep. It is said that if the skulls are rubbed with chillies they will call out.

Marriage Customs

At Tuaran, according to two informants of mine, though there is a feast there is practically no marriage ceremony, except when the children of rich natives marry[1]. In the case of such a well-to-do couple there is some sort of an incantation performed by a priestess, but the actual sign of marriage is the eating together by the bride and bridegroom of seven handfuls of rice from the same plate. The plate is placed between the pair, who sit opposite to one another. The man first takes a little rice, and a woman in attendance then turns the part of the plate from which he has helped himself to the bride, who takes rice in her turn. This is repeated seven times, and the ceremony is gone through both at the house of the woman's relations and at that of the man's.

The Couvade

Though I have written no notes on this subject I think that it will be found by anyone who carries out further investigations among the Tuaran Dusuns that men whose wives are with child consider themselves debarred from doing a good many things which are ordinarily allowable[2]. I did, however, come across one couvade-custom in 1915. This was at Jesselton when I was packing up my collections preparatory to leaving Borneo. Having filled several boxes, I ordered my Tuaran Dusun "boy," whom I had brought down to the coast with me, to nail down the lids. This he told me that he could not do as his wife was expecting a child, since it was tabu for a man whose wife was in that state to fasten anything up[2].

[1] Children of well-to-do parents are often betrothed at a very early age.

[2] The Bajaus of the Tempassuk District will not have their hair cut when their wives are expectant.

Customs connected with Death and Burial

From Omboi and from Tinggi, two Tuaran Dusuns, who accompanied me on my visit to the Tempassuk District in 1915, I obtained some rather interesting details with regard to the way in which corpses are protected against evil spirits. Three spirits seem to be feared as body-snatchers, or as being able to do harm in some way. One, the *Komakadong* (comparable to the *Pĕnanggalan* of the Malays), is a flying head with long hair, and a trailing stomach instead of a body. The second, the *Balan-balan*, looks like a human being; while the third, the *Tandahau*[1], has a bird-like body. The last-named comes down from the clouds and, when it seizes a body, carries it off into the centre of the sea, and there cuts it up into little pieces, which it throws into the water. These become fish, which the *Tandahau* eats.

To protect a body from these spirits, two working-knives are placed under the mat on which it lies, with their points projecting downwards through the floor of the house, while a spear is placed upright near the body, its butt resting on the floor, and its point sticking into the sloping thatch of the roof. A fire is also lit, usually near the mat on which the corpse lies.

If a bad thunderstorm comes on while a corpse is awaiting burial, a fire is lighted on the ground under the house[2].

Omboi told me that the bodies of well-to-do natives are sometimes kept in their houses sealed up in burial-jars for a month before interment. Those of the poor are buried on the day of death, or on that succeeding, either rolled up in mats, or in rough wooden coffins.

While walking near the villages around Tuaran it is quite common to come across an old graveyard in which the rims of burial-jars project above the surface of the ground. In this neighbourhood they are frequently dug up and re-used, but,

[1] Perhaps suggested by the vulture.

[2] Cf. the custom of burning rubbish, *jadam*, etc. under houses among the Behrang Sakai (*infra*, p. 201) in order to drive away a thunderstorm. The practice of burning evil-smelling substances to drive away spirits is also known in India; *vide The Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, III. 415.

as Omboi told me, thirty years must elapse from the date of burial before this can be done[1].

Tuaran Dusun graves sometimes have a small hut built over them which contains a cooking-place. Packets of rice are, Omboi informed me, placed on the floor for the benefit of the dead person's spirit. Those who have attended a funeral bathe on their return from it.

Various Tabus

The following tabus are observed, though no doubt there are very many others:

(i) A man may not mention his own name, that of his father, mother, mother-in-law, or father-in-law. One man (Omboi, if I remember rightly) told me that his people were afraid to mention their mothers' names, because, if they did, their "knees would become big."

(ii) The eating of pork is tabu. I have been told by a Tuaran Dusun that this is because his people would be ashamed if the neighbouring Bajaus were to revile them as pig-eaters. The down-country Dusuns of the Tempassuk have, however, no such scruples, though their villages are frequently quite close to those of the Bajaus.

(iii) It is forbidden, or rather it is unwise, to point at the rainbow as the finger that you use to point with will rot away. The rainbow is Kinharingan's fighting-scarf with which he stopped the rain[2].

Omens

A flying swarm of bees is considered an omen of evil portent. If a man sees or hears one he must do no work in his rice-fields on that day, or his harvest will not be good.

Certain birds are also regarded as omens, but I did not identify any of these.

[1] Other Bornean tribes besides the Dusuns bury in jars, *e.g.* the Muruts. It seems possible that jar-burial was at one time in vogue in the Philippines. *Vide* p. 8 of the paper on Chinese pottery which I have referred to above (footnote on p. 6). The author of this believes that the custom of burying in jars was introduced by Fokien Chinese.

[2] This, I believe, refers to some story of a deluge, but I could get no further details. There was once, I have been told, a Roman Catholic mission station somewhere on the Tuaran River, so this idea, if not truly native, which I am rather inclined to think it is, may have been got from the missionaries. Legends of a flood are known in parts of Borneo where missionary influence cannot be suspected.

Various Beliefs and Customs

In the men the incisor and canine teeth in the upper jaw are filed down—in some cases almost, or quite, to the level of the gums[1]. This is probably considered a mark of manhood for the operation is performed at, or before, the age of puberty. One Dusun man told me that his people "would be ashamed to laugh if they had long teeth."

A small black and white bird, called by the natives *Tempak longun*, is said to be the ancestor of the Chinese, because its note is thought to resemble the sound of their speech.

The firefly (*nenekput*) is the spirit of a dead man.

The praying mantis points out a husband for a woman if she asks it.

(Beliefs of various kinds among them being some with regard to small-pox, the creation of the world, the Dusun gods, the eclipse of the moon, etc. will be found below among the folk-stories told by Tuaran people.)

The Tempassuk District

Deities

Kinharingan and Munsumundok, the Creator and his wife, figure in the folk-lore of the Tuaran Dusuns, as well as in that of the Tempassuk people; and how they arose from a great rock in the middle of a vast water may be read in two of the tales which are printed below[2]. The creation-legends of the Tuaran Dusuns and those of the Tempassuk vary in detail, but present a general similarity. In both districts we have the story that, after the creation of the world and of mankind, Kinharingan and his wife killed a child of theirs—a girl, according to the Tuaran account[3]—in order to give food to the people whom they had made, and that, when they had cut it to bits and planted the pieces in the earth, there arose from them all kinds of food-plants.

[1] I believe that the teeth of the women are also treated in this manner, but I have never made a close investigation.

[2] Pp. 45, 46.

[3] Their first-born child, according to a Tempassuk legend. I unfortunately omitted to ask its sex.

In the Tempassuk District—my evidence comes from lowland Surun Dusuns (*i.e.* those of Bengkahak, Piasau, and one or two other villages), Kinharingan is credited with a son named Towardakan[1], who is evilly disposed towards men. Kinharingan, according to my informants, made all men equal, but Towardakan, who was jealous of men's happiness, interfered with this condition of affairs and brought it about that some should be rich and others poor. For this crime he was banished by Kinharingan. Towardakan does not like a good harvest, for then all men may become equally well off. It is said that among the Bengkahak Dusuns women who are performing religious ceremonies sometimes call out that they have seen Towardakan. One or two Tuaran men whom I questioned[2] denied any knowledge of this mischievous godling, but it is worthy to note that according to the Tuaran creation-legend Kinharingan had a son as well as a daughter.

In the lowland Tempassuk villages—my evidence is again from Surun Dusuns—there seems to be a belief in *Kinharingan Tumanah*, or local gods, and these, according to the folk-tales, sometimes assume the shapes of animals. In one case a *Kinharingan Tumanah* (*tumanah* is probably connected with the Malay *tanah*, which means "earth") becomes a scaly ant-eater, and in another a monkey, a deer, and a rhinoceros. I was astonished to find in 1916, that the Tambatuan Dusuns do not seem to know of these local deities. In consequence of this I had intended, on my return to the coastal regions from up-country, to make further enquiries about this belief from my friends at Piasau and Bengkahak, but, unfortunately, a bad attack of fever prevented me from carrying them out before I left the district.

Religious Ceremonies

In the notes under this heading it must be understood that if I state that a ceremony is performed in one village, it must

[1] Perhaps this should be written Tawardakan. The name may be connected with the Malay *tawar*, which means to neutralize.

[2] This was in 1911, after I had left Tuaran and gone to the Tempassuk District.

not, therefore, be necessarily thought that it is common to all the Dusuns of the Tempassuk District. There seems to be a considerable amount of difference in custom between the people of the highlands and the lowlands, between groups of villages, and, in minor matters, between village and village.

The Piasau Dusuns, Sirinan told me, perform the annual ceremony for ridding the village of evil influences by launching spirit-rafts, and even the Mohamedan Bajaus observe these rites in a modified form. Jar-worship is practically, or entirely, non-existent in the Tempassuk, for though there seem to have been at one time a number of these spirit-haunted jars in the district, Sirinan said that they had nearly all been sold to Brunei traders, who, in their turn, disposed of them to the Dusuns of Tuaran and Papar, where such objects are highly prized and much venerated. At Tambatuan, in 1915, I obtained from Gumpus the following names of ceremonies performed by the people of that village, and the annexed information concerning them. As might be expected the majority of them are associated with agricultural operations:

(i) *Maulud*. This is celebrated in connexion with the preparation of land for planting wet-rice. A fowl is sacrificed to the earth spirit (or spirits?), and an offering of rice made, while *Kamburonga*, a kind of magical plant[1], is held by the officiating priestess. The larger feathers of the fowl are tied together to form an ornament, which is bound to the top of a bamboo set up in the fields. Two or three of these ornaments, each on the land of a different owner, were to be seen in the rice-fields below Tambatuan at the time of my visit in the month of July. The ceremony takes place before the grass and weeds are cleared away[2]. Gumpus also referred to it as *Menjoget*[3].

(ii) *The festival at the taking of the rice-soul.* At the festival

[1] *Vide infra*, p. 26.

[2] *Maulud* may possibly be partly equivalent to *Masalud* of the Tuaran Dusuns (*vide supra*, p. 9), but *Masalud* it must be noted is performed after rice-planting; *Maulud* before. There is an Arabic word *Maulud*, meaning a birthday, which is used by the Malays (*e.g. Bulan Maulud*, the month of the Prophet's birthday).

[3] The *joget* of the Malays of the Peninsula is a kind of dance.

of the taking of the rice-soul (*membaraian*) the ceremony is performed by a woman before reaping begins, the soul consisting of seven ears of rice. When the rice-soul has been cut, general reaping starts and is continued till the end of the day. The first day is called *Temimpun*; the second—when no work must be done—*Tomingkud*; the third *Sumauk*, the fourth *Sumagang*. Another name for *Temimpun* was given to me, *Ka-in-gonom* (or *Ka-in-onom*) *Ka-silau*, which is, and, I believe means, the sixth day of the new moon[1]. Hence, the *membaraian* ceremony would seem to begin on the sixth day of the month[2]. The rice-soul, with offerings of raw cotton and leaves, is hung up in a hut on, or near, the rice-field, while there is a ceremony on the first day (*Temimpun*), but no sacrifice is made. When reaping is finished the *membaraian* is taken to the owner's house and a ceremony called *Sumalud* is performed there. The rice-soul is finally hung up in the rice-store.

(iii) *Kokatuan* is another festival which, Gumpus told me, is celebrated about a month after the taking of the *membaraian*. There is then a religious ceremony carried out by women; a buffalo (or buffaloes) and pigs are killed, and large quantities of rice-wine drunk.

(iv) *Maginakan* (the big eating) is only celebrated if the harvest has been plentiful. It takes place eighteen days after *kokatuan*. There is a religious ceremony performed by women, and feasting is indulged in.

(v) *Mengahau*. A festival called *Mengahau*, according to Gumpus, is observed on the fourth day after *Maginakan*, when there is feasting; but apparently no religious rites are performed.

(vi) *Mengemahau*. The Tambatuan Dusuns have a ceremony called *Mengemahau*, or "brushing," which they perform in order to rid the houses of the spirits of disease. The men

[1] See calendar, p. 42.

[2] I do not quite see how the Dusuns can always manage to begin their harvest on the sixth day of a lunar month. Surely the crop cannot always be ripe at exactly the same time each year. This is a point which, unfortunately, I did not thresh out.

brush down the walls of the houses with bunches of flowers and bamboo leaves, the former being of two kinds called *tenimong* and *mumuhau*.

The general term for "to perform a religious ceremony," used by the Tambatuan Dusuns, seems to be *memurinait*. In speaking Malay the Dusuns of the Tempassuk and Tuaran Districts use the word *menghaji* in this sense, which means, primarily, to learn the Koran, but is also commonly applied to learning lessons of any kind. Since, however, religious or secular lessons in Malaysia are invariably chanted aloud by scholars, the Dusuns have applied the term to reciting or chanting religious formulae.

A ceremony, of which I do not know the name, is performed at Tambatuan over a man who has returned from another district, in order to banish any evil influences or spirits that he may have brought back with him. On a visit which I paid to the village in 1911 I was disturbed one night by, if I remember rightly, the noise of gong-beating and chanting, and Gumpus, whom I questioned on the following morning as to what had been going on, told me that a man had returned to the village from a residence elsewhere, and that a ceremony had been performed over him with the above-mentioned purpose.

Celebrants returning to their village from rites during which a fowl has been sacrificed sometimes strew the feathers of the bird along their path. I noticed that this had been done near Pindasan in 1910.

Dusuns who are going to work in another part of the district take a fowl with them to sacrifice at their destination, so that the spirits of the place may not affect them with sickness. In 1911 I met some lowland Dusuns going up-country to work on the bridle-path, who were carrying a fowl with them for this purpose.

Ceremonial Dress and Implements

In down-country villages the dress of the priestess when performing ceremonies is that of every day, but the hood of dark blue cloth, ordinarily assumed for field-work, is worn as

well. This holds good, too, for up-country villages, though more elaborate costume is sometimes to be seen. At Tambatuan in 1915, for instance, I saw, and purchased, a complete woman's ceremonial costume: this, though based on the ordinary dress, was much more ornamental. It consisted of a hood (*kulu*), a short skirt (*kinahoyudan*[1]), and a long cape (*lapoi*), the last being an article which, as far as I know, is not usually worn by Dusun women. These were decorated with edgings of old shell bead-work, small bells, fine brass tubing and pieces of money-cowries. The hood and skirt were of native cotton dyed to a blue-black colour, the cape, also of cotton cloth, was brown with narrow longitudinal lines of blue.

Conical hats with thick brims, made of finely woven strips of rattan dyed red, yellow and black are also worn by women of Kaung "Ulu" and Tambatuan at *Maginakan*, and, perhaps, at some other ceremonies. Hats of this kind, which are often ornamented with shells of the money-cowry and with a plume of cock's feathers, are called *serong linumbagai*[2].

Under the present heading, too, we may perhaps include war-dress. At Tambatuan I bought a heavy sleeveless war-coat of *lamba* (*Musa* sp.) fibre decorated with a border of cowry-shells, and a sword whose strap was also set with these shells.

The weapon was of the variety which the Malays call *pedang*, but I understood from the Dusuns that, when decorated in this manner, it is called *binurinsaian*. A rattan helmet (*kinalangkang*), sometimes also with cowry-shell ornamentation, was also worn in warfare, and I obtained a fine specimen at Kaung "Ulu."

Shells of the money-cowry are frequently affixed by up-country Dusuns to objects used in ceremonies, as may be seen from the above notes, and, though I have not been able to find out for certain that they are used as talismans or amulets,

[1] The ordinary skirt is called *gonob*.

[2] The hat which was used in the ceremonies connected with the Kiau murder, which I deal with in the next section, was of this type.

I strongly suspect that this is the case, since any objects which appear to them to be unusual, including other kinds of sea-shells, are tied into bunches and worn for this purpose at certain ceremonies: furthermore the cowry is regarded as being a talisman in many parts of the world. Possibly it may have a phallic significance among the Dusuns, and thus be associated with fertility[1], for I have been told that, from its shape, it is called the *brinchi*-shell, *brinchi* meaning the *pudenda muliebre*. If so, this might account for its use on hats worn at the harvest ceremony and also on war-coats and weapons, since the taking of a head will insure good crops.

I have already spoken of the *tetubit*, an instrument which is used in religious ceremonies at Tuaran. A somewhat similar article, the *gunding*, is employed in up-country villages in the Tempassuk, and in Tambatuan it is regarded with considerable reverence, men not being supposed to touch it. Gumpus, of that village, told me in 1911 that it was "the Dusuns' Koran." A *gunding* in a small ceremonial basket, or in a joint of bamboo, is frequently hung up just inside the doorway of a house in order to keep away evil spirits. The implement consists essentially of a small handle of bone, wood, or brass, from which depend several plates of brass or iron. The plates are clanked together by an officiating priestess when chanting. I managed to purchase a fine old specimen of this instrument at Tambatuan in 1915: it had a bone handle to which, in addition to brass and iron plates, were attached various seeds and roots, these, presumably, being fetiches or talismans.

Head-hunting

Head-hunting was formerly prevalent in the upper regions of the Tempassuk District, and neighbouring villages were often at feud. The people of Kaung and Kiau, for instance, were hereditary enemies, as were also those of Kiau and Wasai[2]. Heads are still preserved in some villages and it is

[1] I have a Chinese necklace in my possession from which, in addition to other talismans to secure good luck and plenty, there hangs a silver cowry and a peach, both of which, I believe, denote fertility.

[2] This village is in the Tuaran Valley.

customary to keep them in a special head-house, or they may be hung up outside a grain-store, but I have never seen them suspended in dwelling-houses, as they sometimes are at Tuaran.

A case of head-hunting occurred in the Tempassuk about two or three years before I went to the district, and the culprits were not discovered for some time owing to the collusion of a local headman with the murderers, the former hushing the matter up and forbidding his people to give evidence when an enquiry into the affair was held. The following facts, however, came to light subsequently. Two young men of Wasai determined to take a head, and, making their way to Kiau, killed a woman, who was working alone in a clearing at some distance from the village. (The Kiau-Wasai feud had long been settled by compensation being paid for the last head taken.) Hearing, as they thought, someone approaching, the two young "warriors" then made off, without having had time to remove the woman's head. The witnesses for the prosecution proved that the two accused had been seen carrying weapons in the neighbourhood of Kiau at about the time of the murder, and also that they had later gone through a ceremony such as is usually performed after the return of a successful head-hunting party, one of the witnesses being the woman who had officiated at these rites. The two head-hunters were hanged at Jesselton shortly after I went to the Tempassuk District, while the headman who had assisted them retired to Sandakan gaol, there to be cared for by a paternal Government.

Three mementoes of the murder were, in 1911, in the possession of Mr H. W. L. Bunbury, then District Officer, North Keppel, stationed at Tuaran: they were a thick-brimmed conical hat of a particular form, from the apex of which rose a small shaft of wood decorated with several long cock's feathers[1] and two small, roughly carved, wooden representations of human faces. These last were, I understand,

[1] This, I believe, was used in the ceremonies which were performed over the head-hunters after their return to Wasai, being, probably, worn by the officiating priestess. See also the section above on ceremonial dress.

intended to represent the head, which, as stated above, was not taken, and, inasmuch as both men had had a share in the affair, two of these objects were manufactured. The following are the only other facts that I have been able to gather about head-hunting practices in the Tempassuk. A purification by bathing is undergone by successful head-hunters, and the head is set upon a stone. Yompo, of Kiau, told me that the wooden models of heads are called *tenumpok*.

At Tambatuan, in 1915, I saw a couple of human skulls hanging outside against the wall of a rice-store: these seemed to have been placed there partly with the idea of protecting the grain against thieves. They were both very old and covered with cobwebs, so, as I wished to photograph them, I tried to get somebody to clean them for me, thinking that the Dusuns might not like me to do it myself. Nobody, however, seemed willing, Gumpus telling me that they might only be touched by someone who had taken a head, or at any rate been in some war. Eventually a policeman, whom I had with me, volunteered to do the cleaning, as he had seen a little active service, and was, therefore, not afraid that any evil consequences would result from his doing the work. I made two or three attempts to photograph the heads without getting a good result, as they were overshadowed by the thatch, and Gumpus immediately concluded that they did not like their portraits being taken. I told him that I would have one more try, and then, if I was not successful, I would admit that he was right. Luckily, however, this last attempt yielded me quite a fair picture. The skulls were both those of Dusuns—one that of a Kinsiraban man, if I remember rightly —and the names of their former "owners" were still known.

On visiting Kaung "Ulu" in the same year, I found there three small head-houses; these—one of which had fallen over owing to the rotting of its posts—were tiny wall-less and floor-less erections, raised some feet from the ground, and covered with pent-house roofs of palm-leaf thatch. Under each roof there hung a basket, or a parcel, containing skulls. One of these, in addition to two or three human crania, also held

some of those of the Orang-utan, which represented, I was told, the heads of people who had been wounded, but who had managed to make their escape. The two other huts, as far as I recollect, sheltered not more than a couple of human skulls each.

There is, Yompo told me in 1915, also a head-house at Kiau, but I did not visit the village in that year—I met Yompo at Kaung—and I did not know that there were any skulls kept there when I stopped at Kiau in 1911.

The Rice-Soul

I have already given some details with regard to the taking of the rice-soul, and in this section I deal with its subsequent treatment.

While I was at Tambatuan in 1915 Gumpus took me on several occasions into his rice-store, where were hanging from the rafters the rice-souls of former crops, tied into bunches, those of several years being thus bound together; for, contrary to the custom of many peoples, the Dusuns, it seems, do not mix the rice-soul with the seed for the next sowing. Some of these bunches had large sea-shells and small bamboo tubes tied to them, these being receptacles for offerings. To one, for instance, were attached two large marine shells and a tube of bamboo, the former being intended to hold respectively rice and *sirih*-leaves; the latter an offering of rice-wine. Placed on the floor below the rice-souls were big tree-bark bins containing stored padi. A small chamber at the end of the building, which had no opening into it from the main room, and was entered from a door outside, contained a couple of bins of unhusked rice from the last crop, while, on the top of the grain in one of them—that from which rice was being taken for daily use—was a small brass pipkin also containing padi. With regard to this Gumpus told me that, when rice is first taken from a bin filled with the produce of the new harvest, a handful or so is set aside as "the rice-soul's share," and, that when the bin is finished, the rice-soul's share is moved on to the next.

In 1915, too, I obtained from a watching hut on the fields for wet-rice, which lie in the valley below Tambatuan, two small bamboo knives with which the rice-soul is cut—the use of iron for this purpose being tabued—and a bamboo trough[1] in which it is suspended before removal to the village.

Divination

A peculiar method of divination is in favour in up-country Tempassuk villages, and is resorted to for purposes of discovering a thief, or of ascertaining whether the omens are favourable before undertaking a journey or any other enterprise. The instrument used in divining is a piece of bamboo, sometimes shaped like a chopping-knife, to one end of which[2] are attached numbers of little pieces of the root of a plant called *Kamburonga*[3]. This plant is, it appears, favoured by some kind of a spirit, and, in divining by this method, a woman holds the handle end of the bamboo in her left hand, and places the index finger of the right on it near its proximal end, a mark of some kind having been previously made just below the *Kamburonga*-roots. Supposing that she is trying to detect a thief, she then says to the *Kamburonga*-spirit, "If so-and-so is guilty, draw my finger along this handle." Then, if the man whose name she mentions is not the culprit her finger remains immovable on the spot where she first placed it, or, if she applies great pressure, doubles backwards, or shoots off the handle to one side or the other. Providing this happens she mentions in succession the names of any other persons against whom there is suspicion, the same thing occurring every time, until she comes to that of the thief. When she utters this her finger passes easily along the stick to the mark which has been made on it on the near side of the *Kamburonga*-roots. The calling of the spirit of the *Kamburonga* is known as *Semunggu*.

At Tuaran, *Kamburonga*, obtained from up-country Dusuns, is hung against the doors of houses when there is any

[1] These three specimens had all been used at the last harvest. The knives were stuck into the thatch, while the trough was hanging from a cross-beam.

[2] To the point, if the bamboo is shaped like a knife.

[3] This grows in abundance close to Kaung "Ulu" village.

sickness about, or, if it is unobtainable, ashes from the fire, which are also thought to keep away the spirits of disease, are thrown out of the door instead. My Tuaran Dusun informant, Omboi, further told me that the plant is used for treating headache or pains in the eyes, being applied to the parts affected.

The above information was obtained at Tambatuan in 1915, and as it was my intention to proceed a little further up-country from there, before making my way back to the coast, I suggested to Gumpus that he should get a Dusun woman to ascertain by some method of divination whether I should have an easy and successful journey; so, after some trouble, he persuaded an old crone to try our luck for us for a fee of three *gantang*-measures of rice. Her audience—consisting, in addition to Gumpus, myself, and my two men, of a number of villagers of both sexes—having formed a circle, she stepped out into the middle of the cleared space, her head being covered with one of the blue hoods which Dusun women wear. I give my notes of the performance below, just as I jotted them down at the time:

She starts singing in a quavering voice; then begins to quiver and shake as if convulsed with fever—pants—sings loudly—makes hysterical noises—moves her feet—jumps about with both feet together, first backwards, then forwards—stamps about—sings—talks in an hysterical voice—pants—calls "Adohi! Adohi[1]!"—runs round and round—goes on all fours—sits—pants—sings—stands up—trembles—sings—jumps about with both feet together, and does a few dance steps.

This sort of thing went on for some time, till she finally tumbled down and pulled the hood off her head. On Gumpus asking her whether we should meet with any troubles on our journey, she said that we might go in safety, as she had driven away all the spirits of disease. Some of her exclamations towards the end of the performance seemed to amuse her audience highly, and on questioning Gumpus he told me in Malay what she had called out. Her remarks were all extremely indecent.

[1] "Oh, dear! Oh, dear!"

Sirinan, of Piasau, told me that these female priestesses or shamans are termed *berbĕrlian*, while male shamans are called *sunduk*.

A curious method of divination is resorted to by the Dusuns of Tambatuan which is very similar to that formerly, and perhaps still, employed by the Sakai of the Ulu Kampar in the Federated Malay States, for the purpose of finding out whether a certain piece of ground will be unlucky to clear for planting crops, or whether it will give a good yield[1]. Seven leaves of the *Mandahasi*-tree are placed under a stone in the centre of a piece of ground about six feet square, on the site of the intended clearing, which has previously been swept of rubbish, and the ends of the leaves trimmed off evenly. The man who wishes to make the clearing then says to the earth-spirit, "If I shall die while using this clearing, let the spirit pull out one of these leaves." The next morning he comes to examine the leaves, and if they have remained undisturbed, he considers that it is allowable to fell the jungle there, but, should one leaf project beyond the others, he takes it as an evil omen. Then, selecting another piece of land, he again goes through the same performance. If, too, on the morning that he visits the leaves he finds that a twig or a leaf has fallen into the cleared space, or that a hole has appeared in the ground, he takes these signs as evil portents, and will not make his clearing in that spot.

Sacred Stone at Kinalabu: Guardian Spears and Stones: Amulets and Talismans

Some of the objects with which I deal in this section would probably be correctly termed fetiches, since they are tenanted by indwelling spirits.

In 1911 at Kinalabu or Penalabu (either name does equally well), a hill village of the Tempassuk District, I came across the only representation of a human figure which I have seen in Borneo that could by any possibility be called an idol. It was a natural water-worn boulder of greyish stone some two-

[1] *Vide* p. 240 for a similar custom among the Sakai of the Malay Peninsula.

and-a-half to three feet in height, the shape of which accidentally resembled a human head and bust. The stone was set in the ground, and eyes and a nose had been marked upon it with roughly smeared lime. On one side of the figure a slender upright bamboo was planted in the ground, the upper end of which was divided and bound so as to form a small receptacle[1], which contained an offering of hen's eggs. Behind the image were several *Lempada*-trees[2]. The natives were reticent concerning the stone, but said that it kept off sickness from the village. Possibly it may have only been a guardian-stone like those described below.

On my arrival at Tambatuan in 1915 I found that news had reached the village that some disease (dysentery or a mild form of cholera) was prevalent at Kiau, which is situated some few miles away on the lower slopes of Mount Kinabalu. For fear of this every villager was wearing as an amulet a little piece of some kind of wood (or root) tied to a string which was bound either round the wrist or the ankle. Wishing to be in the fashion I asked Gumpus to obtain one of these prophylactic articles for me, and he told his wife to prepare one. I was instructed that I must, according to custom, give a small measure of rice as its price; so, not having any rice, I asked how much I was to pay in money as its equivalent. Gumpus said, however, that money could not be received directly, so I had first to buy the rice from his wife for cash and then hand it back to her.

Owing to fear of this epidemic, wooden models of spears —about how spirits take up their abode in these may be read in one of the folk-stories[3]—had been set up in front of several houses to prevent the entry of the spirits of disease; and near the steps of one house was a real spear, on the blade of which a rough figure of a man, upside down, had been drawn with

[1] In the Malay Peninsula, where similar bamboo receptacles are used for holding offerings or burning incense, they are known as *sangkak*. The cup at the top of the bamboo is of the shape of an inverted cone.

[2] *Vide infra*, p. 31.

[3] P. 53. Wooden figures of men as well as spears, are, I have been told, sometimes set up, but I have never seen any of the former. The stone at Kinalabu may, however, have served this purpose.

lime, while a joint of bamboo, containing toddy, and two crossed sticks had been planted in the ground before it.

In up-country villages near much frequented tracks, which are thus exposed to infection (disease spirits according to Dusun ideas) several groups of standing stones are often to be found outside the radius of the houses[1]. These stones guard the approaches to the village, and protect its inhabitants against disease[2]. They seem in fact to have an exactly similar purpose to the spears mentioned above.

In 1911 I saw a wooden spear, two shaved sticks, and the horns and part of the skull of a goat—the animal had, I presume, been sacrificed—planted close to the bridle-path, and at the top of the divide which separates the Tempassuk District from the Residency of the Interior. The horns of the goat were affixed to a post, and a little packet of rice and salt, enclosed in a piece of palm-spathe was suspended from them. A small boulder was placed in front of these objects, which, being set up at a bend in the path, dominated the approach from down-country. I was told that they had been put there by Bundutuhan[3] people to prevent spirits of disease passing to their village along the bridle-path.

All Dusuns make use of amulets, and many will not start on a journey without taking some with them as a protection against any perils that they may encounter. Belts of cloth, or string network, are frequently made to contain such amulets as their owners may wish to wear on their persons, and each one of these is sewn, or netted, into a separate compartment. The articles used for this purpose are of many kinds, especially any which are rare or unusual; among those that I have seen being little bundles of some kind of wood, rhinoceros' teeth, quartz crystals, a fossil shell, and curiously-shaped stones and roots. Probably also the marine shells,

[1] *E.g.* at Kaung "Ulu."

[2] Similar guardian-stones are found among the Tinguians of Luzon in the Philippines. *Vide Customs of the World*, p. 657, and the illustration on p. 658. The stones depicted on the latter page are smaller than those that I have seen in Borneo which were about three or three-and-a-half feet high.

[3] A village on the far side of the divide.

seeds and hard fruits, little bundles of wood, and skulls of animals, which are attached to cross-belts, and worn by men at Tambatuan during certain ceremonies, are also regarded as prophylactic against evil spirits.

Brass bells are sometimes to be seen suspended from cords round the necks of Dusun children, and these, I have been told, scare away evil spirits: thus it seems probable that the little brass bells which up-country Dusun women often wear on their girdles, and those occasionally to be observed on women's ceremonial hoods, capes, and skirts at Tambatuan (and probably in other hill villages as well) may be intended to be more than ornamental. Among lowland Dusuns stones of curious appearance are frequently placed in the bins which contain the unhusked rice, and act as talismans to keep it in good order.

The Lempada, a Sacred Tree

The *Lempada*[1] is a tree which the Tempassuk Dusuns consider sacred to Kinharingan, who has decreed that nobody shall climb up into it, cut its wood, or take its fruit. If such an impious act were performed, the offender would be afflicted with ulcers, and eventually die of them. According to one story that I was told, the Dusuns in ancient days used to take their most sacred oaths under its shade, and they are still much afraid of it. Nevertheless if a tree of this species is encountered, when a clearing is being made in the jungle, it may be cut down if a religious ceremony is performed first, though it is frequently left standing. The *Lempada* grows to a good height: it has long shiny lanceolate leaves and its fruit is large, red, and oval. Whether the tree, or rather its juice, has any power of producing ulcers, I do not know, but it is quite possible, as several Bornean trees and forest plants have extremely irritating saps.

During my 1915 visit to the Tempassuk District, having rather forgotten the appearance of the *Lempada*, I asked Gumpus to draw my attention to a specimen, should we pass one while coming down from up-country. He did so, and,

[1] *Vide* also p. 51.

naturally enough, I stopped for a minute to look at it, though I did not go near it, owing to my respect for Gumpus' prejudices. He immediately exclaimed "Don't stop! Don't stop, Tuan! I can't bear the sight of it! There is a spirit in that tree!" At the same time turning away his face and scowling hideously.

Sirinan of Piasau told me that his people sometimes use the sap of the *Lempada* as a medicine for treating certain diseases. When this is to be collected, however, the ordinary name of the tree must not be mentioned, but it must be called *Gūgŭtakan.*

Graves and Burial

Burial in large earthenware jars of Chinese manufacture is fairly common[1], but not so general as at Tuaran. It is interesting to note that where jars sufficiently large to hold corpses cannot be obtained, various attempts to comply with custom are observable. In some villages fair sized jars are placed on the head of the grave, while the body lies below encased in a rough coffin, or wrapped in mats; in others perhaps only a tiny jar, about a foot high, will be found standing on the grave.

The grave-mound is frequently covered with a *chevaux-de-frise* of sharp bamboo points to prevent wild pigs from digging up the corpse. Over the whole, in some lowland villages, is built a small wall-less hut, the roof of which has long eaves which are often rudely carved: sometimes umbrella-like structures, covered with European-made calico, two to each grave[2], are erected instead of a hut. Under the hut is occasionally placed a wooden representation of a human figure[3], but whether this is intended to represent the deceased, or is a remnant of some custom of human sacrifice (*i.e.* takes the place of a sacrificed slave) I have not been able to gather from the natives whom I have questioned. At Nabah, at Piasau,

[1] Jars are not now in use for burial at Piasau, though it is said that they were formerly. They are expensive and are not always easy to obtain, especially at short notice.

[2] Grave-huts and umbrellas of this type seen at Nabah in 1911.

[3] Also at Nabah.

and in some other lowland villages the bamboo fence which surrounds the grave is profusely decorated with models of chopping-knives, cocks, hens, buffaloes, swords, spears and guns carved from the pith of some kind of palm, or from soft wood, these being, presumably, offerings for the benefit of the deceased's soul. Sirinan, of Piasau, informed me that offerings of food are not put on graves by his people—a custom which obtains at Tuaran—though bamboo-joints containing water are hung on the fences which surround them. The clothes of the dead are placed either on the fences, or else on the boughs of trees close to, as to wear the clothes of a dead person would, it is thought, be to court disaster. At Tambatuan those of young unmarried women who have died are embroidered before being disposed of in this manner. After a funeral (among the Piasau Dusuns) the mourners all go to bathe in the river in order to purify themselves, and when they return to the village a buffalo is killed and a feast is made, but, for what reason I do not know, one man must eat a little of the food before the others begin. In this village, too, the people of the house where a death has occurred must not go about and visit other houses for three days, neither must they receive visits from neighbours, nor perform any work except such as is absolutely necessary.

Before leaving the subject of burial, I may remark here, that as far as I know, old jars are never removed from graveyards and re-used, as I have already noted is often done at Tuaran. In some cases of jar-burial, when the only jar obtainable is too small at the neck to allow the corpse to pass, but big enough to hold it otherwise, the jar is cut into two horizontally. The body is then placed in the bottom half, and the top fixed on again with resin.

Kinabalu, the Dusun Afterworld

The Dusuns, as do several Bornean tribes and peoples, believe that the souls of the dead ascend a mountain, and, as Kinabalu (or better, Nabalu) towers up to a height of about 13,500 feet, dominating the whole Tempassuk District and,

indeed, the country for many miles beyond it, what could be more natural than for them to choose this magnificent mountain for the resort of departed souls? They believe, however, that the ghosts of the dead may linger near their former homes before undertaking their journey, for, in the lowland villages of the Tempassuk, when a death has occurred, the old women weep and cry aloud to the spirit of the deceased: "Do not stop here, for your path lies to the left!" (*i.e.* to Nabalu), since they are afraid that if the ghost were to loiter near the village it would do the survivors some mischief. With the object, too, of preventing the soul's return, the bamboo bier on which the corpse has been carried is sometimes cut to pieces at the grave-side[1], while I have been told that in some lowland villages mourners on returning from a funeral slash with their chopping-knives at the steps of the house and the door of the room in which a death has occurred. The Piasau Dusuns, I noticed, avoid graveyards as much as possible, but whether this is due to fear of the ghosts of the dead, or of grave-haunting spirits of a ghoulish nature, I do not know.

The villagers of Kaung "Ulu," an up-country village, say that the spirits of the dead cross a small stream near-by, which is called the Koraput, or Uraput, and that they rest there on their way to Nabalu, sitting on some stones in the middle of it[2]. Another stop is also said to be made at a large rock called Pomintalan, which lies between Mount Nunkok and Nabalu. Here the souls leave signs of their passing; the men a wrapping-leaf of a native cigarette; the women some thread, and the children some dirty little shreds from their loin-cloths.

Since Nabalu[3] is the home of the dead a ceremony has to

[1] I have seen a bier, which had been treated in this manner, near Piasau. Sirinan, a headman of the village, told me that the mourners, after the burial, say with regard to the bier, "This is no longer of use. We will cut it up." He also informed me that the souls of the dead go to Nabalu before their bodies are buried, but subsequently return again, as I understood, only for a time. [2] See also folk-tale on p. 50.

[3] I do not think that the Dusuns ever call the mountain Kinabalu, except in speaking to Europeans. The name has, I am convinced, for reasons which are too long to set down here, nothing to do with "Chinese Widow," as has been so often stated. The native name is Nabalu or Peng-alu-an, which seems to mean "the place where the dead go to."

be performed, and offerings made, before its ascent can be undertaken by human beings. In addition those who climb the mountain must not use its ordinary name while on it, but must refer to it as Agayoh Ngaran, which, I understand, means "big name." Sompot, of Kiau, told me in 1911, that it is also forbidden to mention the names of the different streams encountered during the climb. The requisite offerings he said, were seven eggs and two hens. When the ceremony in connexion with the ascent has been performed, a spirit, the Kiau Dusuns say, is often heard to howl like a dog[1]. If the ceremony were omitted, those who went up the mountain would be unable to find their way home again.

Tabus

The tabus connected with mentioning one's own name, or those of near relations, which are in force at Tuaran, also hold good among the lowland Dusuns of the Tempassuk District, and, I believe, among the people of the up-country villages as well. The most interesting examples of tabu that I have been able to collect are those relating to war, which, though somewhat fragmentary, I give below:

(1) When their men are on the war-path the women must not weave cloth, or their husbands will be unable to escape from the enemy, because they will become uncertain in which direction to run; for in the weaving of cloth the backward and forward movements of the shuttle represent those of a man running confusedly first to one side, and then to another, in order to escape from an enemy.

(2) Women may not eat rice from the winnowing-tray; for the edges of it represent mountains, over which their men would not be able to climb.

(3) The women must not sit sprawling about, or with their legs crossed, else their husbands will not have strength for anything.

On the other hand:

(4) It is lucky for the women to keep walking about, for then the men will have strength to walk far.

We now come to other tabus, connected with newly-built houses and villages, sickness of an epidemic nature, with

[1] Possibly the guardian dog of Nabalu, mentioned by Dalrymple. *Vide Natives of Sarawak and B. N. Borneo*, I. 220.

religious ceremonies, and with the dyeing of cloth. Some others which I obtained will also be found scattered throughout this paper under sections dealing with other matters.

A house tabu. Nobody but the owners may enter a new house until a religious ceremony has been performed over it. It may be mentioned here that bunches of leaves which have been used for sweeping out the house at the performance of these rites are afterwards suspended from the rafters and carefully preserved.

A village tabu. If a person dies in a newly-built village within six months of its completion, nobody may remain there: it must be abandoned and another site chosen.

A colour tabu. No one must hold anything white, yellow or red where a religious ceremony is being performed[1].

Sickness tabus. As among the Dyaks, it is forbidden to make any kind of a loud noise when there is sickness in the country. While I was at Tambatuan in 1915, Gumpus, the headman, reprimanded some of his people for beating gongs, as there was epidemic disease at Kiau, a neighbouring village. When there is small-pox in the district the lowland Dusuns will not eat Indian corn, as they consider that the grains of it resemble the pustules of the disease, and that to eat them would, therefore, be to court an attack[2]. *Caladium*-roots, too, and some kind of fish which has red flesh, are also interdicted; the former, for the reason that they are thought to cause irritation of the skin; the latter, because the colour of its flesh is, by sympathy, thought to cause the rash of the sickness to appear. Cats, dogs, and fowls must not be struck when there is small-pox about, even if they steal food; and there also seems to be a dislike to killing animals at such times.

Property tabus. I was told that no evil results from supernatural causes are feared by a person infringing a tabu of this kind. Property tabu marks seem to have merely the signification of notice boards, showing that what they are tied to is private property and must not be used by other people.

[1] *Vide* folk-tale, p. 81.

[2] The Bajaus of the Tempassuk District also have this belief.

Coconut trees are marked by tying bands of grass round their trunks, but faggots of thorny brushwood, placed at a considerable height from the ground, are also employed in order to prevent thieves from climbing the trees. A number of slender bamboo sticks planted in a circle and bound together with a ring of rattan cane are often to be seen on the banks of rivers in the hilly country. These denote that there are fish-traps in the stream, which are used by the people of the village, and must not be interfered with by strangers. A pointer of wood attached to the circle of bamboos generally indicates the position of the traps.

Omen-Animals

The barking-deer, or muntjac (called *paus* by the Dusuns), is regarded as an omen-animal, and if a man is going to his clearing and hears a muntjac bark *once* he will return to his house and remain there; to do work on that day being, it is thought, unlucky. If, however, the animal barks more than once, no ill-luck will be incurred if he goes about his business as usual. Should a man hear a muntjac bark once while he is on a journey, he will either return home—if his house is not far away—or will stop where he is until the next morning, when he may set out again[1].

A kind of bird, which the Dusuns call *mantis*, is also thought to be an omen, and if anyone sees one "near the river," when going to work, he (or she) must return to the house and abandon all idea of field-work for that day.

Similar prohibitions (*kadat*) apply to anyone who sees a bird which the Dusuns call *domolok* (unidentified) and another species named *molohing*.

To meet a *nanagan*, a bird which Gumpus, who gave me the above notes, described as having a yellow body, a white head, and red legs, is lucky. You must ask it to follow you and help you.

A large and common species of *Julus* or millipede is also a bad omen if it is seen to be crossing a man's path, or coming

[1] Information chiefly obtained at Tambatuan.

towards him. If one is met in this manner, the person concerned must return home, and not go to work in the fields on that day[1].

Some kind of snake, a species with a skin of variegated colours, is also feared by the Dusuns as being of evil portent, and I was told that if anyone were to go to work in the fields after meeting one, he (or she) would lose all the hair of the body[2].

Various Beliefs and Customs

A belief in the existence of tailed men is very general, and they are said to be cannibals. There are also legends of giants called Tempulalongoi, but I have been able to gather but little information about them, beyond that they seem to be supernatural beings who have a liking for visiting burial-places and calling upon the dead to rise from their graves. The latter, however, pay no attention to them, and the Tempulalongoi pass on their way.

With regard to the Singkalaki, seemingly a kind of goblin, who makes his appearance in one of the folk-takes[3], I gathered a few fresh details in 1915 from Gimbad, of Tempassuk village. It appears that the Singkalaki's wife is named Gergadohan, and he told me that when a man picks up another person's child he will sometimes dance it on his knee, saying as he does so, "Dance, dance, child of the Singkalaki, child of Gergadohan! Short, short legs; long, long beard; No teeth yet!" Then everyone laughs. When a child, who is not yet able to walk, crows and laughs to itself, people say that the Singkalaki is amusing it.

A rather curious custom with regard to the clearing of the jungle for planting hill-rice is observed in some up-country villages. I noticed in 1915 that in one of the fields on the hill-side near Tambatuan, a single tree was left in the middle of the clearing. Guessing that this was not preserved without some good reason (according to native ideas), I made inquiry and was told that it was customary to leave a single tree standing, "lest the birds, having no perching place, should

[1] From Lengok of Bengkahak.
[2] From Gumpus of Tambatuan.
[3] *Vide* p. 106.

curse the crop." A similar custom obtains among some of the Dyak tribes of Sarawak, where it is said that the tree is left as a refuge for the spirits of the jungle which has been felled.

A peculiar belief, which is found both among some of the pagans and among the Malays of the Peninsula[1], is also held by the Dusuns, namely, that it is particularly unlucky for anybody to go out into the jungle, or start on a journey, with an unsatisfied craving of any kind. For instance, should a man hurt his foot, fall ill, be stung by a scorpion, be bitten by a snake, or meet with any other misfortune, and then remember that he had intended to chew betel, smoke a cigarette, or eat rice before leaving the house, but had omitted[1] to do so, he would immediately put down his ill-luck to his not having satisfied his want. The Malay word used in connexion with this belief is *kĕmpunan*[2] (*kopohunan*, of the Dusuns). It is difficult to translate it properly—in some cases it merely seems to have the meaning of a longing, or very strong desire, for some article of food, such as is sometimes felt by pregnant women—and the dictionary is not very helpful, but *kĕna kĕmpunan* in Malay seems to mean to the more unsophisticated villagers of the Peninsula "to get into trouble through going out without having satisfied some craving" (lit. to be hit by a desire). I may remark here that I have seen a mouse which had been killed divided up between a dozen or more Dusun coolies of mine (Tambatuan people) so that everyone might eat a little of it, and thus not be exposed to danger on the journey that they were undertaking, which would have been the case with anyone who wished to taste the animal, but did not receive a portion of it.

Various marks on buffaloes are considered very unlucky. If an animal has, for instance, two whorls of hair under the belly, something very bad will happen to its owner, while a Y-shaped white mark on the neck means that the animal will be killed by lightning.

[1] *Vide infra*, pp. 237–239, 294–296.

[2] *Vide Sixteen years among the Sea Dyaks*, by E. H. Gomes, p. 320, for similar beliefs among the Sea Dyaks. The Dyak word is *puni*.

The belief in dreams as a means of divination is very strong, and any warning which may seem to be conveyed by them is scrupulously heeded.

Markets are instituted with the sacrifice of a buffalo, the blood of which is smeared on a stone. Curses are pronounced on anyone who shall violate the market by fraud or other evil practices.

Totemism

The nearest approaches to totemism of which I have evidence are some beliefs of the lowland Dusuns that certain of their ancestors became, or were, animals. A case in point is that of the Tempassuk people, who do not eat snakes because they say that one of the women of their village once gave birth to a reptile of this kind[1], while there is also a legend which relates how one Aki Gahuk, of Tengkurus, became transformed into a crocodile[2]. We have two stories of the inhabitants of whole villages becoming sparrows and pigs in order to plunder the crops of others, while there are also tales of certain villagers who became mosquitoes and bees[3]. I have mentioned above the belief that *Kinharingan tumanah* can become animals at will.

The Giving and Changing of Names

Children, I have been given to understand, are frequently called after their ancestors, but occasionally they are named from some event which happened at about the time when they were born. Thus one Tambatuan boy was called Kambadi because his birth occurred on a market (*badi*) day. A Tuaran Dusun, too, was named Sembawan, because his mother had performed a ceremony called *membawan*, for the purpose of avoiding the bad luck attaching to evil dreams, not long before his birth[4].

[1] *Vide* folk-tale, p. 78. [2] P. 76. [3] Pp. 65, 71.

[4] In a former paper (*J.R.A.I.* 1916) owing to a mis-reading of my rough notes, I ascribed this information about Sembawan to Gumpus of Tambatuan. The mistake occurred owing to my having obtained the story from two Tuaran Dusuns, my "boy" and a policeman, whom I had with me at Tambatuan in 1915.

In Tambatuan, in 1915, I found that the practice of changing a person's name to change his luck was not unknown, for one day while talking to Gumpus about the giving of names, he said, "You know, Tuan, my name used to be Logus, but it was a very dirty name; so I changed it to Gumpus." Wondering what he meant, and thinking that Logus had, perhaps, an indecent meaning, I asked him why he said that Logus was a dirty name. "Oh," he replied, "while I used that name I was always ill and could not get down to the river to bathe; so I changed it to Gumpus and then I got well."

Sagit

Sagit[1] is a word of wide significance, which, in some cases, has the meaning of compensation, such as may be given in a lawsuit. For instance, a husband whose wife has been insulted by another man may demand *sagit* from the offender, the amount of compensation being settled by a council of the older men. The term may, however, have a meaning much less easy to define, and I give an example of *sagit* of this kind as the best method of illustration. I was once in want of some human hair to restore the scabbard of a sword, the bunches of hair on which had become damaged. While visiting Tengkurus in 1911, I saw a man wearing long hair, and I asked him if he was willing to sell it. He replied that he was, and named a price, but said that I must also give him a fowl as *sagit*. This fowl, I was told, would be sacrificed, and subsequently taken as a perquisite by the person who performed the ceremony. The object of the sacrifice was, perhaps, to avert any evil consequences which might result from my having cut off his hair, and also to protect him should I try to "make magic" with it. He told me that it would not be necessary for him to make a sacrifice if he cut off his hair of his own accord as he would not be "breaking custom" of any kind, the wearing of long or short hair being purely a matter of personal taste.

[1] I presume that it is a Dusun word, but am not sure. It is commonly used by natives when talking Malay, but is not understood by the Malays of the Peninsula.

Day of month	Name of day	Literal meaning of day-time	What it implies to the native	Whether day good or bad for work	Remarks
1st	*Tonibul*	*Vide* 23rd	Animals eat padi	Good for beginning work	Why good I do not know. The meaning does not sound auspicious
2nd	*Ka-in-duoh*	Second	—	Good	—
3rd	*Ka-in-teloh*	Third	—	,,	—
4th	*Ka-in-apat*	Fourth	—	,,	—
5th	*Ka-in-limoh*	Fifth	—	,,	—
6th	*Ka-in-onom*	Sixth	—	,,	—
7th	*Ka-in-turoh*	Seventh	—	Bad	The number seven occurs repeatedly in Dusun legends, and, as in so many eastern countries, has probably a sacred (or unlucky) significance
8th	*Ka-in-walu*	Eighth	—	Good	—
9th	*Ka-in-siam*	Ninth	—	,,	—
10th	*Ka-in-hopod*	Tenth	—	,,	—
11th	*Ka-in-hopodomiso*	Eleventh	—	,,	—
12th	*Ka-in-hopodomduoh*	Twelfth	—	,,	—
13th	*Kopopusan*	Finished out (?)	Finish of good days	,,	End of first set of good days
14th	*Tentelu*	?	?	Bad	A multiple of seven
15th	*Tawong*	Scanty (?)	Scanty rice	,,	—
16th	*Telekud*	Behind	Monkeys come when men are away from rice-fields	,,	Behind—in the sense that the monkeys come behind the men's backs
17th	*Tentong*	?	Rice sprouts well	Good	—

18th	*Rampagas*	Blighted (?) Bleached	Red sprouts	Bad	—
19th	*Limbas*	Not mature (?)	Cut trees will not die. Bananas will not ripen	Medium (?)	Good for making clearings for hill-rice; bad for work on wet-rice
20th	*Timpun*	Begin (?)	(1) Broken chopping-knives (2) Come let us break chopping-knives (3) Chopping-knives break easily	Bad	Bad for work on wet-rice
21st	*Kompusan*	Finished, spoilt	Field-banks broken by floods and water drained off	,,	,, ,,
22nd	*Katang*	Spread out feet (?)	Many potatoes	Very bad	Meaning perhaps many potatoes (a rough translation of the Malay *ubi kayu* = tapioca) spread out like feet
23rd	*Geok*	Maggots	Maggots in rice	Bad	—
24th	*Ka-in-duoh*	Second	—	Good	—
25th	*Ka-in-telon*	Third	—	,,	—
26th	*Ka-in-apat* (or *gapat*)	Fourth	—	,,	—
27th	*Ka-in-limoh*	Fifth	—	,,	—
28th	*Kopopusan*	Finished out (?)	Finish of good days	,,	End of second set of good days
29th	*Sukilab*	?	Those who work become sick. Those who don't get much rice	Bad	—
30th	*Tenob*	?	Monkeys eat rice	,,	—
31st	*Gogor*	?	Same as for *Sukilab*	,,	—

The Duşun Month

The Dusuns of the Tempassuk give a separate name to every day of the lunar month. Certain days, being regarded as unlucky, are rest-days when no work must be performed; while on others, partially unlucky, only work of certain descriptions is allowable. The first calendar, given above, was obtained at Tengkurus in 1911; the second, which presents some differences, at Tambatuan on my 1915 expedition to the district. It will be noticed in that from Tengkurus that *Tonibul* is the first day of the month, while in the Tambatuan calendar it is given as the last, with *Salimpunan ka'silau*, which does not occur in the Tengkurus example, as the first. Other differences are that at Tambatuan *Tentelu* (given at Tengkurus) is omitted as the fourteenth day of the month, and *Maulat* inserted as the twentieth, while the twenty-first is given as *Katang* instead of *Kompusan* (*Kompusan*, according to my Tengkurus informant, being followed by *Katang*). *Ka-in-duoh, Ka-in-teloh*, etc. are simply the Dusun ordinals, second, third, and so forth.

As far as I have been able to gather, there is no method of reckoning years other than by rice seasons. The plainsmen go by the wet-rice seasons—from planting to harvest eight or nine months; the inhabitants of the uplands by the hill-rice year or season—from sowing to reaping six months—with, of course, in each case complementary periods between harvest-time and sowing or planting.

1st	*Salimpunan ka'silau*	Rest day. No work
2nd	*Ka-in-duoh*	All kinds of work allowable
3rd	*Ka-in-teloh*	,,
4th	*Ka-in-apat*	,,
5th	*Ka-in-limoh*	,,
6th	*Ka-in-onom*	,,
7th	*Ka-in-turoh*	Observed as a holiday by those in comfortable circumstances
8th	*Ka-in-walu*	All kinds of work allowable
9th	*Ka-in-siam*	,,
10th	*Ka-in-hopod*	,,
11th	*Ka-in-hopodomiso*	,,
12th	*Ka-in-hopodomduoh*	,,
13th	*Kopopusan*	,,

14th	*Tawang*	Rest day. No field-work except sowing allowable
15th	*Telekud*	,, ,,
16th	*Tentong*	All kinds of work allowable
17th	*Rampagas*	Work on hill clearings allowed, but not work on wet-rice fields
18th	*Limbas*	Work allowed on wet-rice fields, but not on clearings
19th	*Timpun*	Rest day. No work
20th	*Maulat*	Rest day, but only observed by elderly married men
21st	*Katang*	All kinds of work allowable
22nd	*Geok*	Rest day. No work
23rd	*Ka-in-duoh telimah*	All kinds of work allowable
24th	*Ka-in-teloh telimah*	,,
25th	*Ka-in-apat telimah*	,,
26th	*Ka-in-limoh telimah*	,,
27th	*Kopopusan*	,,
28th	*Sukilab*	Rest day. No work
29th	*Tenob*	,,
30th	*Gogor*	,,
31st	*Tonibul*	,,

(ii) FOLK-TALES OF THE TUARAN AND TEMPASSUK DISTRICTS

A Legend of the Creation

A version told by Gensiau, a low-country Dusun of Tempassuk Village, Tempassuk District

When the world was first made there was only water with a great rock in it: a man and a woman[1] were on the rock. The man and the woman were dirty and went down to bathe in the water, and when they bathed the dirt rolled off from their bodies. They smelt the dirt which came from them and the man said, "This will become land," and it became land. Then the man and the woman made a stone in the shape of a man, but the stone could not talk; so they made a wooden figure, and when it was made it talked, though not long after it became worn out and rotten; afterwards they made a man of earth, and people are descended from this till the present day and from the other earth-men which they made at the same time. The man and the woman began to think in what

[1] Kinharingan and Munsumundok, the chief god of the Dusuns and his wife.

way they could give food to their men, but they could not get anything, as there was no food in the world. Then the woman gave birth to a child, and the man said to the woman, "How are we to give food to our men?" The woman wanted to kill the child. So they killed it, and, when they had cut it to bits, they planted it in the ground; after a time its blood gave rise to rice, its head to a coconut, its fingers to betel-nut, its ears to the *sirih*-vine, its feet to Indian corn, its skin to a gourd-vine, and the rest of its body to other things good to eat. Its throat also became sugar-cane and its knees *kaladi* (*Caladium esculentum*).

A slightly different Legend of the Beginning of the World

Told by the headman of Timpalang Village (Dusun), near Tuaran

At first there was a great stone in the middle of the sea. At that time there was no earth, only water. The rock was large, and it opened its mouth, and out of it came a man and a woman. The man and the woman looked around and there was only water. The woman said to the man, "How can we walk, for there is no land?" They descended from the rock and tried to walk on the surface of the water, and found that they could. They returned to the rock and sat down to think; for a long time they stopped there; then again they walked upon the water, and at length they arrived at the house of Bisagit (the spirit of small-pox), for Bisagit had made land, though it was very far away. Now the man and his wife were Kinharingan and Munsumundok. They spoke to Bisagit and asked for some of his earth, and he gave it to them. So, going home, they pounded up the rock and mixed Bisagit's earth with it, and it became land. Then Kinharingan made the Dusuns and Munsumundok made the sky. Afterwards Kinharingan and Munsumundok made the sun, as it was not good for men to walk about without light. Then said Munsumundok, "There is no light at night, let us make the moon," and they made the moon, and the seven stars[1], the Spring-trap and

[1] The Pleiades.

the Kukurian[1]. Kinharingan and Munsumundok had one son and one daughter. Now Kinharingan's people wept because there was no food. So Kinharingan and Munsumundok killed their girl child, and cut it up, and from the different portions of its body grew all things good to eat: its head gave rise to the coconut and you can trace its eyes and nose on the coconut till this day; from its arm-bones arose sugar-cane; its fingers became bananas, and its blood padi. All the animals also arose from pieces of the child. When Kinharingan had made everything, he said, "Who is able to cast off his skin? If anyone can do so, he shall not die." The snake alone heard, and said, "I can." And for this reason, till the present day, the snake does not die unless killed by man. (The Dusuns did not hear, or they would also have thrown off their skins, and there would have been no death.) Kinharingan washed the Dusuns in the river, placing them in a basket; one man, however, fell out of the basket, and floating away downstream, stopped near the coast. This man gave rise to the Bajaus, who still live near the sea and are clever at using boats. When Kinharingan had washed the Dusuns in the river he performed a religious ceremony over them in his house, but one man left the house before Kinharingan had done so, and went off into the jungle to search for something, and when he came back he could not enter the house again, for he had become a monkey. This man is the father of all the monkeys.

Kinharingan and Bisagit

Told by Anggor, a Tuaran Dusun

Kinharingan made all men and the earth. First of all he made the earth, and the earth would not become hard. Then he ordered the Toripos[2] to fly to Bisagit, the spirit of smallpox, and ask for earth. The bird flew to Bisagit's country, and when it came there it said to him, "Kinharingan has ordered me to come and ask for earth from here." Said Bisagit, "You can have earth from here if Kinharingan will

[1] Constellations. [2] Small green parrot.

promise to divide his people with me, half for me, and half for Kinharingan." "Wait," said the bird, "and I will fly back to Kinharingan and ask for orders, for I have no power to make the agreement." So the Toripos flew back to the country of Kinharingan and, going up into his house, said to him, "I have been to Bisagit's country and asked Headman Bisagit if he will give earth, but he said, 'I will only give earth if Kinharingan will share his men with me.'" "Very well," said Kinharingan, "I will share my men with him. Fly back and ask for earth, and say to Bisagit that with regard to his wanting half my men, I will agree to it, if he will give me earth." The Toripos went back to Bisagit's country and told him Kinharingan's words. Then said Bisagit, "Kinharingan has acknowledged this?" and the Toripos said, "He has." So Bisagit got earth and gave it to the bird, saying, "Take this earth and go back." The bird came again to Kinharingan's country and said to him, "I have got the earth," and Kinharingan said, "Well done!" In the morning early Kinharingan put Bisagit's earth into the middle of his own, and immediately the land became hard, and when it had become hard, he made men. Two or three years afterwards Bisagit came and asked for his men, and all Kinharingan's people fell ill of small-pox, half the people died, and half lived. Those who died followed Bisagit, and those who lived followed Kinharingan. When Bisagit was going home, he said to Kinharingan, "I am going home, but at the end of forty years I will come back and ask for more men." "Very well," said Kinharingan, "but do not kill all of them, for, if you kill all, I shall have no village left." And up to the present time Bisagit comes once in forty years and takes his toll of one half of Kinharingan's people. Kinharingan said to his people, "I am going back to my country in the sky; if there is any fever or other disease in your village you must chant religious formulas and you will gain relief."

The Dusuns of Tuaran do not perform religious ceremonies for small-pox, as it is useless, since there is an arrangement between Kinharingan and Bisagit that small-pox shall come

once in forty years and carry off one half of Kinharingan's men.

Kinharingan and the Snake

Told by Sirinan, Headman of Piasau Village (Dusun), Tempassuk District

Kinharingan once pounded rice and made flour from it. When he had made the flour he called all the animals in the world and ordered them to eat it. When they had all got their mouths full, and could not speak, Kinharingan asked them, "Who can cast off his skin?" Now the snake had only been putting his mouth into the flour and pretending to eat, and, being able to answer because his mouth was not full, he said, "I can." "Very well," said Kinharingan, "if that is so, you shall not die"; so, until the present day, the snake does not die unless killed by man.

The Eclipse. The Story of the Tarob and the Moon

Told by Sirinan of Piasau, Tempassuk District. A Dusun Legend

The children of Kinharingan once pounded rice and when they had pounded it, the Tarob[1] came and ate it all up. Every time they pounded rice[2] the Tarob ate it up, and at last they complained to their father, and said, "Every time we pound rice the Tarob comes and eats it up." Then said Kinharingan, "If he comes again order him to eat the moon." So when the Tarob came again the children of Kinharingan said, "Don't you eat our rice; go and eat the moon!" And down to the present time the Tarob, when he is hungry, goes and swallows the moon, but the Dusuns chant spells, and he puts it out of his mouth again, and goes and eats the rice which they place for him in their winnowing-baskets.

[1] The spirit who swallows the moon when it is eclipsed.

[2] *I.e.* padi, or unhusked rice, in order to separate the grain from the husk.

The Mengkahalob

(Tuaran Dusun account of the Eclipse of the Moon.)
Told by Omboi, a Tuaran Dusun

The Mengkahalob says to its mother, "I've not had enough to eat, I want two jars more." When he has finished the two jars, he asks for another. Then his mother says, "What are you not full yet?" And the Mengkahalob answers, "No." "Well," says his mother, "if you are not satisfied yet, go and eat the moon!" So the Mengkahalob goes and swallows the moon, and the Dusuns, seeing the moon in his mouth, beat gongs and drums until he puts it out again.

Towardakan

Told by "Orang Tua" Lengok of Bengkahak,
Tempassuk District. A Dusun Story

Towardakan is a son of Kinharingan. Kinharingan made all men equal, but Towardakan did not like this and brought it about that some men should be rich and some poor. For this he was expelled by Kinharingan. Towardakan does not like a good rice year for then all men are equally well off.

The Path of the Ghosts

Told by Sirinan of Piasau, Tempassuk District

(The ghosts of the dead are supposed, by the Dusuns of the Tuaran and Tempassuk Districts, to ascend Mount Kinabalu.)

There is a small river to the seawards of Kaung "Ulu" village named Koraput. There are large stones in the middle of it, and the people say that the ghosts stop there on their way to Nabalu. If the ghost of an old man is passing the sound of his walking stick is heard tapping on the stones; if that of a young bachelor the sound of his *sendatang*[1]; if of an unmarried girl the sound of the *toriding*[2]; and if of a child the sound of weeping.

[1] The native banjo.
[2] A kind of Jew's-harp which is made of wood, bamboo, bone, etc.

The Legend of the Lempada

Told by "Orang Tua" Lengok of Bengkahak, Tempassuk District. A Dusun Story

Long ago there was a house in which lived a man and his wife, and near the house was a *lempada*-tree. Whenever fruit fell from the tree, the man and his wife heard a noise like that of a child weeping. His wife was afraid at the sound of the wailing, and the man descended from his house; but he only saw the fruits which had fallen to the ground. One of these he pushed with his chopping-knife, and again he heard a sound of weeping; so he cut it in two. When he had opened it there was nothing but earth inside. He went back to the house, and that night, as he slept with his wife, a man came to him in a dream, and said, "Why have you cut me? I will be revenged upon you." Then the man of the house spoke and said, "Do not, I pray you, for I did not see anyone when I cut open the fruit, but I only heard the sound of a child crying." The dream-man said to him, "Very well, to-morrow you shall see me." The next morning the man saw a beautiful youth, dressed in magnificent clothes, walking below the *lempada*-tree. On the following night the man slept and dreamed again, and the dream-man said to him, as before, "I will be revenged upon you." "Do not, I pray you," said the man. "Well," said the dream-man, "I will make a compact with you. Do not damage this tree, do not walk underneath it, do not eat its fruit. If you go under the tree and take its fruit, I will afflict you with ulcers until you die."

Now the man who came in the dream was Kinharingan, and the tree is his.

The Making of the Bluntong (*Rainbow*)

Told by Sirinan of Piasau, Tempassuk District. A Dusun Story

Long ago the rainbow was a path for men. Those who lived up-country used the rainbow as a bridge when they wished to go down-country in search of wives. For though there were

women up-country, the up-country men were very fond of the down-country women. Because of the men's desire for wives from the coast they made the rainbow as a bridge, and you can see the floor and hand-rail of the bridge in the rainbow till the present day. The men when they had first made the rainbow walked on it to the women's houses. After the men had fed, the women followed the men along the rainbow to their homes. When they arrived up-country the marriages were celebrated with a feast, and the men became drunk. Then came a headman from another village and said to them, "You men are very clever, how long have I lived in this country, but never yet have I seen anything like your rainbow! Do you intend to leave it there or not?" The men replied, "When we want to go down-country with our wives we will put it in place, but when we do not want it, we will take it away," and thus they do to the present day. What the men were, I do not know, but they were more than ordinary men. It is an old-time tale of our people. Perhaps it is true, as just now, as you saw, the rainbow vanished.

The Tompok and the Sungkial

Told by Sirinan of Piasau, Tempassuk District

NOTE. This is a story about certain sacred jars, and though jar-worship is not a feature in the religious rites of the Tempassuk Dusuns at the present day, it may have been at one time. Sirinan told me that there were formerly jars of this kind in the district, but that, with the exception of a few of the variety which is known as *sungkial*, they had nearly all been sold to Brunei traders, who had, in their turn, disposed of them to the Dusuns of Tuaran, Papar, and other places. "For," said he, "we preferred the money to a jar which contained a (potentially) evil spirit, who demanded constant sacrifices."

There was once a man who was very rich and had all kinds of goods. After a time he took a wife, but no child came of the marriage for two or three years. Then said the man, "How is it that we have no children, while others who were married at the same time all have some?" One night the man dreamed that a woman appeared in his room and that he said to the woman of his dream, "Why have we no children?" The woman replied, "You have no children because you have so many

possessions. If you wish for a child you must kill a pig and a hen." In the morning he got up, and, as he very much desired a child, he killed seven pigs and seven hens. Again the man dreamed and the woman came to him and said, "There is evil in your jar; that is why you have no child. It is in the *Tompok*[1]. The spirit of your *Tompok* would like to do you evil, but I do not wish it for I am also a spirit, the spirit of your *Sungkial*[1]. There is also an evil spirit in your *Narajang*[1]. When the year is finished you must always kill a pig for the spirit of your *Tompok*." After a time the man's wife gave birth to a child, and at the end of the year he killed a pig and prayed to the jar; and this he did at the end of each year in order that the two spirits should not be angry with him any more.

Dusun signs for averting sickness

(These signs are figures of men and spears[2] set up to defend the villages against epidemic disease, particularly small-pox. The story of how they work is told by Yompo of Kiau, which village is situated on the slopes of Mount Kinabalu.)

These signs are set up in time of sickness. Sickness spirits see the signs and meet the spirits which have been called into the spears and figures by religious performances. When the spirits of the small-pox are journeying in the country in companies, they come to one of these signs and the spirits of the spear call to them, "The men of this village set us here to dispute with you, the men here are our men, and you cannot pass!" So it is settled that the spirits of small-pox shall not enter the village, but they ask the spirits of the spear to point out another to which they can go, saying, "If you will show us another village we will not enter this one." Then some of the spear-spirits go with the spirits of small-pox. When they encounter another village it is dark to their sight, though it is really daylight; for the people of the village have set spear-spirits there also, and have made it dark with their magical ceremonies. So the spirits of small-pox chant spells, and when

[1] Three kinds of sacred jars.

[2] *Vide* p. 29, *supra*.

they have finished, and it has become light again, the small-pox spirits find that they have passed the village while they have been walking along performing these rites. (There are spirits of the spear at all the villages, but they do not follow the small-pox spirits like those of the first.) When the spirits of small-pox come to a third village it is dark there also, and the same thing happens again. Then the spirits of small-pox say to the spirits of the spear who came with them from the first village, "If we cannot get into another village, we will go back and get into yours." Now while they are between the third and fourth villages it is still dark, and they wait there for five or six days and nights to see if it will become light. Then the spirits of small-pox say to the spear-spirits, "If we do not get into this village, we will go back to yours." "Very well," say the spirits of the spear, "we will go with you into this village, for we do not wish you to go back to ours." So the leaders of the small-pox spirits and of the spear-spirits confer together, and one of the small-pox spirits says, "I will not go back, for we swore not to." So, the road to both the third and fourth villages being dark, they try to make their way into the latter, but coming upon a very large rock near the village, they cannot fly over it because it is dark and they cannot see. Then one spirit of small-pox finds a narrow path to the back of the village, and follows it with the others behind him, and, when they have walked a little, they look back and find that it has become light, and they can see the village clearly, because there is no spear at the back of the village, but only facing the road by which the small-pox comes. In the village they see many men, women and children, and the elders of the small-pox and spear-spirits agreeing that it would be good to go into it, and not go back, they enter it, and going into a long house they see many women making thread, but the small-pox chooses only those who are beautiful for his sickness; those who are ugly he does not wish for. Then says the leader of the spear-spirits, "I have shown you the way into a village, and we will now go home; where next you go is your own affair." So the spear-spirits go home; but they

become like brothers with the spirits of small-pox and say to them, "When you have finished here you can come to our village also." When they leave the village, the spirits of small-pox go to another, but they fight with the spear-spirits of that village, for they no longer have spear-spirits as their guides, and some of the small-pox spirits are killed and some of the spirits of the spear. After some more villages, only a few of the spirits of small-pox can enter, for many of them have died in their fights with the spear-spirits; and at last there are so few of them left that they no longer dare to make an attack.

The Story of Langaon

Told by Sirinan of Piasau, Tempassuk District.
A Dusun Tale

Langaon had made a clearing sufficient in which to sow two *mandor*[1] of padi, and after a time his rice bore fruit. When the padi-harvest came the men of the village went to reap in their clearings, and Langaon went also to reap in his, but, when he had finished reaping, he found that the produce of it was only two *mandor*, just what he had sown at first. "Why is this?" said Langaon. "Other men all have a good return from their sowing; I alone have no padi." So he went to the old men of the village and told them about it. However, he decided to make another clearing and this time to sow three *mandor*. So he made his clearing and sowed three *mandor* and when his rice came up, it was better than any one else's in the village; when it began to fruit, too, it was finer than that in any other clearing. At length harvest came, and Langaon this time got three *mandor* of rice for his harvest, while every other man had at least a full *tangkob*[2]. Then he made up his mind to leave the village and search for better ground in which to sow his padi. So he set out and, after he had wandered for a long time in the jungle, he came to a small stream, and built himself a hut there. Here he stopped and made fish-traps in the stream. The next morning he went to

[1] A measure of capacity.

[2] A large rice-bin.

look at his traps and found that he had got a large catch of fish. Then said he, "it would be good to stop here, for there is no lack of fish; only I have no salt and no rice, and how can I live without them?" So he set out with his fish to look for some place where he might sell them for salt and rice. After a time he came to a village, and the people said to him, "Oh, Langaon, where are you going?" "I have run away from my village and am living near the river," said Langaon. "I have caught many fish, but, as I have neither salt nor rice, I have come to sell them." Then they called him to come into the house, and they gave him rice and salt and cooking-pots and mats in exchange for his fish. So Langaon was much pleased, and the people of the village asked him to come every day and bring them fish. When he got home, he had sufficient to eat and vessels to cook in, for hitherto he had used bamboos[1]. So he decided to stop by the river, and make himself a large hut. The next morning there were again many fish in his traps, and Langaon thought, "I shall be ashamed if I go every day to the village, so I will dry these fish in the sun, and to-morrow I will take them the dry fish and any fresh fish from the traps." On the following day, Langaon again went to the village and the people gave him choppers and spears and cloth in exchange for his fish. Then Langaon said to himself, "I had better tell them that I shall not come again at once, as the river has fallen, since there has been no rain, and until rain comes again, I shall have no fish." So he told them, but they said to him, "If you have no fish, come all the same." Langaon went home, and, though he got many fish, he did not go to the village again for another week. At last, however, he started for the village with his fish, but when he got there, he said, "To-day I do not wish to sell my fish; I will divide them among you, but I will not take anything in return." So he divided the fish among them and each man got two half coconut-shells full. "Why do you not ask a price for your fish?" said the people of the village. "I am not without food,"

[1] Large bamboos, cut into lengths, are sometimes used for cooking in, chiefly by natives who are on the march.

said Langaon, "I still have much left from what you gave me before, but if I have no food left, and catch no fish, I will come and ask you for what I want." So it was agreed, and Langaon asked them when was the time for making clearings there, and they said, "As soon as this month is finished we begin to make them." When the month was finished, Langaon went back to the village, bringing with him a little fish to give to the people, and again he asked them when they would start making clearings. "Oh, any time that we feel inclined," said they, "to-morrow or the next day," and they asked him to come and live in their village, but Langaon refused. So he went home, and the next day he began to make a clearing, and when he had cut down all the trees, it was large enough to sow two *mandor* of seed in. "Well," he thought, "I will rest a little till other people begin to burn" (the felled trees). After about twenty days he saw great quantities of smoke coming from near the village, and going to his clearing he fired it until not a single tree-trunk was left. "This is troublesome," thought he, "I have no seed to sow in my clearing." In the morning he took his fish with him and went to the village to ask for seed, and when he was still far off, they started calling to him to bring his fish. So he divided his fish among them, everybody getting a half coconut-shell full; and the people asked him if he had sown his rice. "Not yet," said Langaon, "I came here to-day, to ask you to give me some seed." "How big is your clearing?" they asked. "About large enough to sow two or three *mandor* of seed in it," replied Langaon. So each man in the village gave him a *mandor* of seed, until there was none left who had not given. "Why do you give me so much?" said Langaon, "for my clearing is not a large one, only enough for two *mandor*. If each man were to give me one or two coconut-shells full, I should not finish it, but this that you have given me is much more than I shall use; besides, how shall I get it home, for I shall only be able to carry two or three *mandor*?" "Never mind," said the people, "whatever you do not want to sow you can leave here, and you can use it to eat." So when he

went home he took only three *mandor* of seed with him, and the next day he started and sowed two *mandor* in his clearing. The rice sprouted and thrived, and Langaon said, "Ah, perhaps this year I shall have plenty of padi"; and each day he went to his clearing, though there were no weeds in it. At last he said, "What use is it for me to go to the clearing, for there are no weeds in it," and for six days he remained at home. On the seventh day he went back and found that *Maragang*[1] monkeys had broken into his clearing and had damaged his rice. Then Langaon wept, "Ah," said he, "all my rice has been destroyed." So he tried to raise the stems which the monkeys had beaten down, and he resolved to move his house to the clearing, so that he might guard what remained of the crop. He stayed there at the clearing until his rice had recovered, and when it was ripe, he said to himself, "I must make my *binolet*[2]." Then he went into the jungle to get wood for the *binolet*, and slept a night there, but when he returned home he found not a single grain of rice left in his clearing, all the ears of grain had been taken and only the straw left standing, and there were tracks of many monkeys everywhere. "Ah," said Langaon, "I will run away from here, for first of all the monkeys damaged my crop, and now when it is ripe they have come again and eaten it all." So he set out again, and after he had wandered in the jungle for a long time, he made another hut, but this time there was no river near, and he had to live on whatever he could find in the jungle. He had brought away with him the one *mandor* of seed which he had not planted in his former clearing, and here again he made a clearing and sowed the seed in it. This time he made it round his house so that he might keep a guard on his crop, and when the rice came up it was very good. There he lived until his rice was in the ear. One day he went to fetch water from the river, and on coming back he saw a great many *Maragang* monkeys near his clearing; though they had not yet entered it and eaten his rice. Then he dropped his water-vessel and went to drive

[1] Proboscis-monkeys. [2] Wooden store-vessel for ears of padi.

away the *Maragang*, but they attacked him, and Langaon ran away, for he had just come from the river, and had neither chopping-knife nor spear with him. When he got to his hut he snatched his spear and wounded one of the monkeys, and they all ran off, except the largest of them, which still fought with him. Then Langaon retreated from the monkey backwards until, without noticing it, he became entrapped between four large tree-stumps which stood in the clearing; and there both Langaon and the monkey stopped fighting, while after some time the monkey suddenly became transformed into a beautiful woman. Langaon, seeing this, came out from the tree-stumps and spoke to her. "Where do you come from?" said he. "My mother ordered me to come here," replied the woman. "When you made a clearing before, I came there also, but you did not guard your rice. The rice, which you said that monkeys ate, was reaped, and I also was among the reapers." "Where did you put the rice?" said Langaon. "In my house," said the woman, "and the people of my village reaped with me." "Well," said Langaon, "I have no food, for this rice is not yet ripe." "You had better come home to my house," said the woman. So Langaon followed the woman home, and found that her house was in the jungle, and not far from his clearing. "I am alone here," said she, "for my father and mother and my companions are in my village which is a long way off. My father has much pity for you, and I also, because you have no wife. All this rice in my house is yours, for when you made the clearing near your village, it was I who stole your padi, and when you made a clearing by the river, I went there also." So Langaon stopped there, and the woman told him how she was really a *Maragang* monkey, but had become a woman. Then she became his wife, and Langaon said, "I will search for some village near, for it is evil for us to be all alone here." "Oh," said the woman, "if you want a village, there is one not far off," and she pointed out one to him which he had not noticed before; but she besought him not to go, and so he remained with her. At last, when they had a child, Langaon said, "I should like

to go to the village: if I start to-day, I shall return to-day also, for it is not far away." His wife said, "Do not go, for I shall be very much frightened while you are away there." But Langaon did not pay attention to his wife's words, and after a while she said to him, "Well, if you go, do not sleep the night there, for I shall be all alone here with the child." So Langaon started off, and when he got to the village he found a great feast going on, and, joining in it, he became drunk and forgot about going home. For seven days he stopped there eating and drinking, and on the sixth night he fell in love with a woman of the village. However, on the seventh day he started home, and when he came to his house his wife was very angry and would not speak to him. "Why are you angry?" said he. "Why should I not be angry?" said his wife, "for you have been unfaithful to me, for, though you were far off, I know it, and you have a mark on you by which I can tell." But Langaon denied it. "If," said his wife, "you deny it, I will take from you the mark by which I know that you have been unfaithful." "You may take it," replied Langaon. "Well," said she, "I will show you, for I am the God of your village (*Kinharingan tumanah*)," and taking a looking-glass she showed him the appearance of the other woman and of himself in it. Then said Langaon, "It is true." "I will leave you," said his wife, "and take the child with me, for you have now a wife in the village." But Langaon asked for pardon, saying that he would pay what was according to custom as recompense. But still his wife refused to stop with him; so when it was near night he bound her hands and feet to his, for he was frightened that she would run away. So they slept; but when Langaon awoke in the morning, the ropes were opened, and his wife and child gone. Then Langaon wept, for he did not know the village in which his wife lived. On the second day he stopped weeping and started to look for his wife, "For," said he, "wherever I find a village, there I will search!" So he wandered in the jungle and one day he met a herd of deer which attacked him. Then Langaon ran away and crept into a hole in the ground, and hid, and the

deer could not catch him. The next morning he came out of the hole and started again, but he had not gone far before he met a herd of wild pigs, and these also attacked him, and, as before, he ran away until, coming to the same hole, he again got into it to hide. There he slept and dreamed, and in his dream a man came to him and said, "Langaon, you are a coward to run from the deer and the wild pig, for if I were looking for my wife I would fight them!" "How can I fight them," said Langaon, "for I am all alone, and they are many?" "If you journey again to-morrow and are brave," said the man, "you will get your wife back, for she will ride a rhinoceros." "Formerly I was not afraid even of the rhinoceros," said Langaon, "but I found that I was afraid of these stags and wild pig." "If you are afraid," said the man, "you will not get your wife back." "How shall I know the animal she is riding," asked Langaon, "for the other animals had no one riding them?" "You will know the one," replied the man, "because it will have bells on it; that is the one that you must hunt, but do not let it go, or you will lose your wife." In the morning Langaon awoke, and set off early in search of his wife, and, after a time, he came upon a herd of rhinoceros, and among them he saw a large one which had bells hanging round its neck. So he waited for the rhinoceros with the bells to attack him, and did not run away, and when he caught hold of it by the bells round its neck, all the rest of the herd vanished. The one he had caught also tried to escape, but Langaon struggled with it for three days, until he stumbled and fell close to his own house, and, in falling, he let go of the bells. The rhinoceros disappeared and Langaon sat down outside his house to think. After a time he heard a child begin to weep inside and he went in to see who was there, and, opening his door, found that his wife and child had returned.

Note on *Kinharingan tumanah*. A common form of oath among some of the lowland Dusuns of the Tempassuk District runs as follows: "I swear by Kinharingan above and by 'In-the-Earth' (*i.e.* by the *Kinharingan tumanah*) that I will speak the truth, if I do not do so, may a crocodile eat me, or may a tree fall on me in the jungle."

The Bělukun (*Scaly Ant-eater*)

Dusun legend told by Sirinan of Piasau, Tempassuk District

A long time ago there was a man named Andaraian who went into the jungle to look for vegetables. He carried his *basong*[1] on his shoulders and as he was searching for vegetables he said aloud, "This is why I have to search for vegetables to eat; because I have nothing with which to buy rice." Then a *Bělukun*, who happened to be near, said, "Oh, Andaraian, what is your work in the jungle here?" Said the man, "My children are crying for food, and the vegetables that I am gathering in the jungle are all that I can find to give them." "Come here," said the *Bělukun*. So Andaraian went to the place where the *Bělukun* was sitting in a hole in a tree, and the *Bělukun* again asked him why he was looking for vegetables. Andaraian replied as before, "Because I have nothing with which I can buy food." "Very well," said the *Bělukun*, "you can throw away your vegetables." "Why does he want me to throw them away?" thought Andaraian, "I don't see any rice in his place in the tree." However he took his *basong* and poured the vegetables out of it. "Now," said the *Bělukun*, "place your *basong* beneath my anus and strike me lightly on the back, only do not strike hard." So Andaraian struck the *Bělukun* lightly on his hinder parts, and cloth and cooked rice and fish ready boiled came out from the *Bělukun* until Andaraian's *basong* was full. Then the *Bělukun* told him to stop striking, "For," said he, "your *basong* is full. You had better eat," said the *Bělukun*, "for I know that you are hungry; and when all the rice in the *basong* is finished you can come here again." So Andaraian sat down and ate, and when he had finished he went home. Then he called together all his people, and they also ate their fill, but while they were eating, a dog came, and a grain of rice fell upon its head. Now this dog belonged to a woman named Lintago, and, when it went home, she saw the grain of rice sticking to its head. She took the grain from the dog's hair, and wondering from where

[1] A kind of large back-basket.

anyone had got rice, for the people of the village were starving; she put it into a large jar full of water. Then she called all her people to "eat rice," and they drank the water in the jar. But one of Lintago's little children swallowed the grain of rice, and Lintago was very angry, and asked who had eaten it. "For," said she, "I wished to divide it so that everyone might have a little." So she asked all the people of the house about it, until she was told that the little child had eaten it, and, being angry, she beat the child. "I will find out where this rice comes from," said Lintago, and she started off to inquire in the village. At last she came to Andaraian's house, and she asked him where he had got rice from. "I have no rice," said Andaraian. But Lintago asked him again and again if he had not got rice, but Andaraian always answered "No." "Very well," said Lintago, "if you will not tell me to-day I will kill you." Then Andaraian became frightened, and said, "It is true that the rice was mine, but it is finished." "Where did you get it from?" asked the woman, and Andaraian told her how he had got the rice from the *Bĕlukun*. So Lintago ran home and got a *basong* as big as a house, and off she went into the jungle, saying that she would not stop hitting the *Bĕlukun* until he had filled her basket. When she got to the place where Andaraian had been, she started shouting that she was gathering vegetables as she had nothing with which she could buy food. At last the *Bĕlukun* called to her, "Oh, Lintago!" "Where are you?" said she. "Here I am," said the *Bĕlukun*, and he came out of his hole in the tree and asked what she was doing. "Oh," said Lintago, "I heard how Andaraian got rice here, and I also am too poor to buy it. Will you give me some?" "I have not much," replied the *Bĕlukun*, "but there is a little," and he told her to place her *basong* as Andaraian had done. "But," said he, "when you strike me, do not hit hard." "If you do not fill my basket," said Lintago, "I will not stop hitting you," and she began to beat him hard; but there came from him only tapioca roots and *Caladium*, and, when the *basong* was nearly full, about a *gantang* measure of uncooked rice,

and also a little raw fish. When the *basong* was full, Lintago went off with it as fast as she could to get home. So they ate the *Caladium* tubers and the tapioca in her house, and Lintago said, "When these are finished I will go and get some more, for there are plenty there." Now Andaraian heard about all this, and he thought, "Perhaps Lintago will kill the *Bělukun*; to-morrow I will go and see." The next day Andaraian started off, carrying only a small *barait*[1], and going straight towards the *Bělukun's* house he called to him from a distance. After a long time the *Bělukun* answered him, for he was very ill from Lintago's treatment of the day before. "Why did you not answer at first?" asked Andaraian. "I am very ill," replied the *Bělukun*, "because Lintago struck me so hard yesterday. Why did you tell her about me?" "I did not want to tell her," said Andaraian, "but she kept on asking me from where I had got rice, and at last she threatened to kill me, and then, being afraid, I told her." "Why did not you bring a *basong* to-day?" said the *Bělukun*. "Because I have not yet finished what you gave me before," said Andaraian. Then said the *Bělukun*, "I am your brother, and though you have not brought a *basong*, still I will give you something. Take this blow-pipe." "I only came to see if you were ill," said Andaraian, "and I do not want a gift." But the *Bělukun* gave him the blow-pipe, saying, "Whatever you aim at with this you will hit; if your house is old, blow through this *sepok*[2] and it will become new, and if you wish for buffaloes or pigs or hens blow into the *sepok* and they will appear; only do not show it to anyone. For I am not really a *bělukun* but the god of your village (*Kinharingan tumanah*) and I have a great liking for you." So Andaraian promised that he would not show the blow-pipe to anyone, and went home, and when he got to his house he hid it. The next morning Lintago went off again to look for the *Bělukun*, taking her *basong* with her as before. She was not long in getting to the place, but when still a little way off she started calling, "*Bělukun, Bělukun!*" But

[1] A back-basket with a cover; much smaller than the *basong*.
[2] Blow-pipe.

the *Bĕlukun* did not answer, and she could not find the tree that he lived in. Then she began shouting that if he did not answer her she would eat him when she caught him. So the *Bĕlukun*, thinking that if he did not answer he would be killed, came out, and Lintago immediately put her basket below him and struck him with her hand, but only a few tapioca roots and *Caladium* tubers came from him. Then she took a small stick and started beating him, but nothing more came out. At last she got in a rage and began to beat him very hard, but still without result. "Why, what's the matter with the beast?" said she, and looking up the *Bĕlukun's* anus she saw his heart beating inside his body. "Oh," said she, "here is a *Caladium* which has not come out yet," and plunging her hand into the *Bĕlukun's* body she seized his heart. Then the *Bĕlukun*, being in great pain, began to climb up the tree in order to get away, and, his anus having closed on Lintago's wrist, she was drawn up the tree after him. "Stop, stop!" yelled Lintago. "I have let go of the *Caladium* inside you!" But the *Bĕlukun* climbed to the very top of the tree, and then releasing Lintago's hand she fell to the ground and was killed. "That's a bad woman," said the *Bĕlukun*; "That was my heart she had caught hold of, not a tuber."

The Mosquitoes' Village

A Bajau legend told by Si Ungin of Kotabelud

A long time ago a man was once hunting in the jungle, and when it was near nightfall he wished to return home, but, having wandered from the path, he was unable to find it. While he was searching for the way, he came upon a large house near a village. So he went into it, and meeting there an old man, he told him how he was lost, and asked leave to sleep there. "Yes," said the old man, "you can sleep here, for you cannot find your way home to-night, as it is already dark." After a time, other people, men, women and children, came to the house, and the old man told them about the

stranger, saying, "Let us give him a bed for the night." Then they brought him food, but instead of water they gave him blood, and for rice they gave him maggots. "Perhaps I am among evil spirits," thought the stranger; so he ate a little of what they had given him. "Why do you not eat?" said the old man; and the stranger replied that he was troubled about having lost his way home. "If you cannot find your way home," said his host, "to-morrow I will send one of my men with you to show you the path." Then the women of the house said that they would find him a mat to sleep on; but when they brought it, it was only a banana leaf. So the stranger and the people of the house lay down, but the former could not sleep owing to the great number of mosquitoes. Then, as he heard none of the other men in the house striking at the mosquitoes, he thought, "Perhaps this is the mosquitoes' village," and so he also did not try to kill them, but brushed them gently from his body; and when he had done this once, they no longer returned to disturb him. However, he did not sleep, for he was afraid. When morning came the old man looked at the stranger's mat, and seeing no mosquitoes there, said to him, "Well, my son, you wish to go home and shall have someone to show you the way. This, my younger brother, shall go with you, and you shall become brothers to one another, only do not bring him to your house, but let him go when you find your path; for we are all mosquitoes, and that was man's blood that you drank last night. You must take this bamboo box (*bombong*) with you, and when you get home call your father and mother and brothers and sisters to see what it contains, but do not open it before you get to your house." So the stranger went home, the old man's younger brother accompanying him till he found the path. When he got to his house he told his relations what had happened to him and how the old man had given him the bamboo box and had ordered him to open it in the presence of his father and mother; speaking thus, he opened the box, and from it he brought out gold ornaments, rings and bracelets and fine clothes. Now when the stranger's elder brother

saw the gold and the fine clothes he said, "I also will go to the village, and will tell the people that I am your brother." So he started, and after a time he, too, lost his way in the jungle. When it was near night he came to the village of the mosquitoes and asked the old man to let him sleep there; and he told the old man how his brother had lost his way in the jungle before, and how he had come upon a house when he was lost, and that the people of the house had given him gold and fine clothing. "But," said he, "I do not know if this is the house." Then the old man ordered them to bring food for the elder brother, and for water they brought him blood, and for rice, maggots. "What sort of food is this you give me?" said the elder brother. "Blood and maggots! I cannot eat it!" When the time came for sleep they brought him a banana leaf instead of a mat; and he said again, "What is this that you have brought me? This is a house, not the jungle! I want to sleep on a mat, not on a banana leaf!" Said the old man, "These are our mats, sleep on them if you will, but if not, what can I do? Only do not say that I have no respect for you." So the elder brother slept, but before long he awoke and found that he was being bitten by swarms of mosquitoes. Then he started slapping away at them right and left; and in the morning, when he wished to go home, there was no blood left in his body. In the morning the old man told him that he must return and gave him a bamboo, telling him not to open it till he came to his house. "But," said the elder brother, "how can I go home, for I do not know the way?" The old man replied that he must find the way for himself. So, setting out, he at length came upon the path and reached home safely. Then he called together all his relations and friends and said, "I also have got a bamboo and I think that there must be gold and fine clothes in it too." But his younger brother asked him, "Did a man guide you home?" And the elder brother answered, "No." So the elder brother opened the box and from it came out scorpions and other poisonous animals and stung him to death, but no one else in the house was touched by them. Thus the elder brother

fell down and died; and the younger said, "My brother must have offended the people of the village."

Mosquitoes do not make their buzzing unless they are near men's ears and then they say, "If these were not your ears, I would swallow you." (Si Ungin.) (Bajau version.)

The mosquito says, "If these were not your horns, I would swallow you." (Sirinan.) (Dusun version.)

Rakian

A Dusun legend told by Sirinan of Piasau, but it is an up-country Dusun tale which is known to the people of Kiau

Once there was a *Manggis*-tree[1], in which there were large bees'-nests, and, when there was sufficient honey in the nests, a man named Rakian went to the tree and began to drive bamboo pegs into it so that he could climb up. It was getting towards evening when he began to work. Now there were many bees'-nests in the tree and Rakian, seeing that the bees of the nest right at the top of the tree were white, decided to take it; "For," thought he, "I have never yet seen white bees." Then he climbed up the steps that he had made in the tree to take the bees'-nest, and when he was close, he drew his chopping-knife to cut it down. But the bees did not swarm out from the nest, and while he was sawing away at the branch from which it hung, he heard the bees say, "That hurts." Then Rakian, wondering, sheathed his knife, and the bees said to him, "If you wish to take the nest, take it gently, and do not cut it down." So he took the nest with the bees still in it, and putting it into his *barait*[2], he descended the tree and went home. When he came to his house he put the *barait* with the bees in it into his room. Early the next morning Rakian went to his clearing and did not return until near dark, when, on coming back to his house, he found rice

[1] I do not think that this can be the same as the *Manggis* (*i.e.* Mangosteen) of the Peninsular Malays, which, as far as I know, is not found in the Tempassuk District. The *Toalang*, a very tall tree, which has to be climbed by driving in pegs, as described above, is much frequented by colonies of wild bees in the Malay Peninsula.

[2] A kind of small carrying-basket.

and fish ready cooked on his shelf above the fire. Then Rakian thought, "Who can have cooked for me, for I am the only man who lives in this house: the fish is not mine, though the rice is. The rice is cold and must have been cooked for a long time. Perhaps somebody has come here and cooked and has taken away my bees'-nest." So he went to his *barait* and found the bees'-nest still there. Then Rakian sat down to eat. "Well," he thought, "if someone is going to cook for me, so much the better." In the morning he ate the remains of the rice from the day before, and again he went to his clearing. As on the previous day he came home before nightfall, and again there was food prepared for him. "Who is this," thought Rakian, "who comes to my house and cooks?" And once more he went to see if his bees'-nest had been stolen; and thus it happened that there was always food ready for him when he came home. One day he determined to return early and see who was cooking his food for him. So early in the morning he set out as if for his clearing, but when he had gone a little way, he went straight home again and hid himself near the house. For a long time he waited and nothing happened, but at last the door of his house creaked and a beautiful woman came out of his room, and, taking his bamboo water-vessel, went out of the house to the river to get water: then, when she had gone down to the river, Rakian entered his room, without the woman seeing him, and went to look at his bees. But when he opened his *barait* he found that there were no bees in it but only the nest. So he took the nest from the *barait* and hid it, and concealed himself in the house. After a time the woman came back from the river and went to the *barait* to look for the bees'-nest. "Oh," said she, "who has taken my *sarong*[1]?" So she hunted for the nest and at last began to weep, saying, "Who can have taken it? It cannot be Rakian for he has gone to work at his clearing. I am afraid that he will come back and find me!" When it was nearly dark, Rakian came out from his hiding-place as if he had just returned from his clearing; but the woman

[1] *Sarong*, a Malay word meaning skirt or sheath (of a weapon, a letter, etc.).

sat there without speaking. "Why are you here?" said Rakian, "perhaps you want to steal my bees." "I do not know anything about your bees," said the woman. So he went to the *barait* to look for his bees, but of course they were not there, for Rakian himself had hidden the nest. "Oh," said he, "my bees'-nest is not here, perhaps you have taken it." "How should I know anything about your bees'-nest?" said she. "Well it does not matter," said Rakian, "will you cook for me, for I am very hungry?" "I do not want to cook," said the woman, "for I am very much vexed." So Rakian kept on telling her to cook for him, but the woman refused, and at last she said, "Where is my *sarong*?" "I have not taken it," replied Rakian. "I believe that you have hidden it," said the woman, "and all my clothes and goods are in it." At last Rakian said, "I will not give it to you, for I am afraid that you will get into it again." "I will not get into it," said the woman; "if you like you can take me for your wife. My mother wished to give me to you in this way because you have no wife here, and I have no husband either in my country." Then Rakian took the bees'-nest and gave it to the woman. "What is it?" said he. "It is my *kawal*[1]," replied the woman. "But," said she, "if you take me as your wife, do not ever call me a bee-woman, for, if you do, I shall be much ashamed." So they married and had a child. Now one day there was a feast at a neighbouring house, and Rakian went to eat there. "Where is your wife from?" said a man at the feast, "for we have never seen such a beautiful woman before." "She is from this village," replied Rakian. When all the men had become drunk they still kept asking him whence he got his wife, and saying that they had never before seen such a beautiful woman. At last Rakian, who, up to that time, had always replied that he had taken his wife from the village, became drunk also. Then he forgot his promise and said, "The truth is that my wife was at first a bee." So the men stopped questioning him, and he went home. When he got to his house his wife would not speak to

[1] Meaning unknown to Sirinan.

him. "Why will you not speak?" said Rakian. "What did I tell you long ago?" said she. "I think that you have been saying things to make me ashamed." "I have not said anything," replied Rakian. "You are lying," said his wife, "for though the house is far off, I heard. When men asked whence I came, at first you would not tell them, but when you became drunk, then you told them everything." Then Rakian in his turn became silent. "I will go home," said she, "for you have made me ashamed; but the child I will leave with you. In seven days my father will pass to the up-stream of this house on his way home to his country; and I will go with him." So Rakian wept. At the end of seven days Rakian saw a white bee flying to the up-stream of his house, and his wife came down the steps from his house and became a bee again, and flew off after the other. Then Rakian rushed into the house and seized the child, for it was in his heart to follow his wife and her father, "For," said he, "if my wife is not here, the child will die because it is still little." So he hunted for the bees until he saw them going in front of him in the jungle. At the end of seven days he had lost sight of them, and still he had not come to any village. On the eighth day he came to a bathing-place at a river. Then both he and the child, being hungry and weary, lay down by the side of the river and slept. At last a woman came from the village and woke Rakian and said, "Rakian, why don't you go to your wife's house instead of sleeping here with your child, for the house is not far off?" "When I have bathed," said Rakian, "you must show me the way," and the woman replied, "Very well." So Rakian bathed, and then he followed the woman, and it was not long before they came to a village. "That is her house," said his guide, pointing to a long-house, "but her room is right in the middle of it. There are eleven rooms in the house, and, if you enter it, you must not be afraid, for the roof-beams are full of bees, but they do not attack men." So Rakian climbed up into the house and found it full of bees, both large and small, but in the middle room there were none. Men in the house there were none, only bees.

Then the child began to cry, and Rakian sat down. "*Otun*[1]," said a voice in the middle room. "Why do you not come out?" answered Rakian. "Have you no pity on your child who is weeping here?" Then after a time Rakian's wife appeared in the room and the child ran to her at once, and Rakian's heart became light; but his wife said to him, "What did I tell you at first, that you were not to say whence I came? If you had not been able to follow me here, certainly there would have been distress for you." When she had finished speaking all the bees dropped down from the roof-beams to the floor and became people. As for Rakian and his child, they stayed in the village, and did not go back any more.

Lomaring and the Sparrows

A Dusun legend, told by Sirinan of Piasau, Tempassuk District

Once a man named Lomaring lived with his father and mother, and he had much rice, because he worked hard in his clearing. His mother wished to get a wife for him, but in the whole village she could find no one suitable. Then Lomaring said to his mother, "If I cannot find a wife here we must search in other villages." So they sought in other villages near, but still could find no one suitable, and at last Lomaring said to his mother, "Mother, if you cannot get a wife for me near by, you will do well not to search any more, for it is tiring work." So the three, Lomaring, his father, and mother, went back to work in their clearing until the rice was in the ear, but before it became ripe it was all eaten by sparrows[2]. Their rice only was eaten, other men's did not suffer. The next year they again made a clearing and again the sparrows came and ate up their rice. Then said Lomaring, "What are we to do, there is plenty of ripe rice, but the sparrows only eat ours, which is still green?" When the third

[1] An expression of endearment.

[2] I have translated the Malay *burong pipit* as "sparrows," they are really, however, weaver-birds. They go about in flocks, and frequently do great damage to the standing crops.

year came Lomaring said, "We will try once more, but if we fail, and the sparrows eat our rice, I will stay no longer in this village." Again, when it was near harvest, the same thing happened, and all their rice was eaten by the sparrows. So Lomaring said to his mother, "I will go and find the sparrows' village, for I am very angry." Then said his father, "You are young, yet I who am old have never yet heard of a sparrows' village." "Never mind," said Lomaring, "if I have to search for five years, still I will find it." So Lomaring told his mother to make him seven pairs of trousers and seven coats, and his mother said to him, "Do not work any more in the clearing, for it is useless." Said Lomaring, "After seven days I will set out and I will teach the sparrows to rob us of our rice." "What will you eat on the journey?" said his mother, and Lomaring told her to make him some cakes.

At the end of seven days Lomaring set out, and wherever he went, he thought about the sparrows, and followed them wherever they flew. After twenty days he saw no more sparrows, but still he walked on, and for two or three months he journeyed thus. At the end of this time he came to a village, and going to it, he climbed up into a long-house of twenty doors, but there was no one there. One room in the middle of the house was very beautiful; its steps were of iron and its ceiling of looking-glass, while the posts were also of iron. Lomaring sat down there and waited, and after a time a betel-nut box appeared before him, but he still saw no one. Then Lomaring said to himself, "How can I eat betel when there is nobody here? If people come, they will accuse me of stealing." Now Lomaring had come to the house after mid-day, and when he had been there a short time, he was astonished to see a very little rice appear before him and water in a very small golden kettle, but he did not dare to eat since there was no one there. After a long while an old woman appeared in the room and said to him, "Why do you not eat, for I can see that you are hungry?" "How should I eat," said Lomaring, "when there was no one in the house? People would say that I was stealing." So saying, he began

to eat, and though there was very little rice, when he had eaten and drunk his fill some still remained, nor was the golden kettle empty. Having finished he took betel-nut, and he began to ask the old woman where all the people of the village had gone and where their clearings were, "For," said he, "although there is plenty of rice in the house, I see no traces of old clearings." When it was nearly dark many men and women came home, some carrying sacks, some *basong*[1] and others *bayong*[1], all full of rice, and after a time came the children of the old woman bringing rice with them also. Now one of her daughters was very beautiful. Then said the mother of the girls to Lomaring, "We have no trouble about making clearings, for wherever there is rice, we also must have a share of it. It is no use concealing it. See how many years you have worked in your clearing and have not got any rice, for it is your rice that my children are bringing home in their baskets. I saw that your mother was searching for a wife for you, and that is why my people, when they became sparrows, stole your rice, for I wished you to marry my daughter. All the men in this village wish to marry her, but I can find no one who is suitable." Then Lomaring was pleased, but he said, "How do you become sparrows?" "Oh," said the old woman, "there is a spring here, and when my people wish to get rice they go one by one into the spring, and at once become birds; and when they come home with the rice, they again go into the spring and become men." So it was agreed that Lomaring should marry the girl; and he took her for his wife. Then said Lomaring to his mother-in-law, "I wish to go back to my village to see my father and mother, and my wife shall come with me, but I shall stop there two or three years." So Lomaring went home with his wife, and his father and mother were rejoiced to see him. They asked him whence he had got his wife; but Lomaring said, "From another village," and did not mention anything about the sparrows. That year they made a clearing and not a single grain of their rice was taken by birds.

[1] Two kinds of large baskets.

Wild Pig

A legend of the Dusuns of Lubah, told by Sirinan of Piasau, Tempassuk District

A long time ago a man made a clearing and planted it with tapioca and *Caladium*. After a while, when the crop was ready, many wild pigs came and broke into the garden. Then said the man, "I shall get no food if the wild pigs always come and eat my *Caladium*." So he made a spring-trap, and when he had set it, he went home. The next morning he went to the trap and found that no pig had been in his clearing that night. "Why is this," said he, "that when I have made a trap the pigs no longer enter my clearing?" After another three or four days he again went to the trap and he found that a wild pig had been struck by it, but that the head of the bamboo spear had broken off in the wound, and the pig had got away. The man followed the track of the pig's blood into the jungle, and for four or five days he hunted on its trail, but even then he did not find the dead pig. At last the trail of blood stopped, but he still followed the foot-marks, which appeared fresh. When he had been on its track for a whole month, he at length came to a river with a bathing-place. The man stopped and bathed, but he saw no one on the banks or in the river. Then when he had finished, finding many tracks of people on the bank, he went in search of their houses, for he had lost the tracks of the pig at the river. For a whole day he sought for them, but could not find them, but on the second day he was startled to come suddenly upon a village where there were many people. The people of the village came to meet him and asked him whence he had come, but the man did not answer. "I have never seen you before," said one of the people of the village, "and besides strangers never come here. Never since I can remember have I seen a stranger here, for our village is a month's journey from any other." Then the man from Lubah answered, "This is the reason why I have come. I made a *Caladium* garden, and wild pig were always breaking into it. Because of this I made

a spring-trap and I came here hunting for the tracks of a wild pig which was wounded by it." Said a man of the village, "You can come to my house. There are only a few of us here, for many have sailed away to trade, but one man who became sick has returned, as he was of no use on the boat." "What is his illness?" said the man from Lubah, "and how long has he been ill?" "He has been ill for more than a month," replied the other, "but he only came back two days ago. We have all tried our medicines and he does not recover, but if you are skilful, give us your help." "Where is his illness?" said the man from Lubah. "Below his arm," answered the man of the village. So the stranger went to see the sick man, and opening his coat saw the sharp part of his spring-trap spear sticking in the man's body. Then the man of the village promised the stranger a reward if he could heal his companion, and the latter said that he would do his best. So he drew out the spear-head from the man's body, and put medicine on the wound, and in two or three days the man recovered, and gave the man from Lubah much goods in payment. Thus the man from Lubah knew that the men of this village were able to change themselves into wild pigs; and to the present day if many wild pigs come to Lubah they consider that they are not really pigs, but men in the shape of pigs, who have come from some far away village to plunder them.

The Legend of Aki Gahuk, the Ancestor of the Crocodiles

A Dusun story told by Sirinan of Piasau, Tempassuk District

Long ago, Aki[1] Gahuk was chief of Tengkurus village[2]. He was a very old man and he had seven sons and four daughters. His sons all wished to take wives, and his daughters husbands, and so they married. At last Aki Gahuk became so old that he could no longer walk, and his children did not wish to provide for him. Then Aki Gahuk said to them, "Why do you not wish to support me, for I am an old man and can no

[1] *Aki* = ancestor, grandfather.
[2] A village in the Tempassuk District.

longer get my living?" But his children answered that they wished that he was dead, as he was only an encumbrance to them. So Aki Gahuk wept and said, "If you wish me dead you had better put me into the river, for although you give me food, you give me no clothes and I am naked and ashamed." Then his children put him into the river, for they did not wish to buy clothes for him; and Aki Gahuk stopped there in the water, and every night and morning they gave him food. There was a large stone in the middle of the stream, and when he was cold Aki Gahuk used to climb slowly up on to this and sit there like a toad. Now after he had been in the water for three or four months, Aki Gahuk no longer climbed the big stone, and his feet and legs, as far as his knees, became like those of a crocodile. His children who brought him food saw that his feet had become like a crocodile's, and said, "Father, we thought that you would die, but you are becoming a crocodile." Then all the brothers and sisters came together to look at their father and said to him, "Father, if you are not going to die, let us take you home again to the house and give you clothes, for we do not wish you to become a crocodile." But Aki Gahuk said, "How can I go home with you, for I have become a crocodile? Before you had no pity on me, and now that you have pity on me I am unable to go home." So his children wept and said that they did not wish him to turn into a crocodile, and Aki Gahuk said to them, "You can tell this story to your descendants; perhaps also it is good that I should become a crocodile. On feast days you can call to me, and when there is a flood I will take you across the river on my back." After some days his whole body became like that of a crocodile, and his children were afraid that he would eat men, but he could still speak and he told them that he would never eat men, though perhaps his descendants might do so. Then, after a year, Aki Gahuk called to his children and told them that he wished to go seawards, saying that if his children went in that direction they were to call him, "For," said he, "I wish to take a wife." Said his children, "How will you take a wife, for there are no other

crocodiles?" "I will call one to me," said their father, "I will call the *Pang* (Monitor-lizard) and she will become my wife." Then Aki Gahuk went seawards and the *Pang* became his wife, and from their offspring arose all the crocodiles.

The Puaka[1]

A Dusun legend told by Sirundai, Headman of Kalisas, Tempassuk District

The *Puaka* is like a pig in appearance and has a very sharp tongue. If a man is pursued by *Puaka*, he is safe if he crosses a river. *Puaka* eat the bark at the tops of trees and if they want to feed, mount up on one another's backs till the top of the tree is reached and the top *Puaka* licks the bark off the tree. If *Puaka* meet a man, they stop, and the man stops; and when the man runs away the *Puaka* hunt him. Should he climb a tree, the *Puaka* mount up on one another's backs until they have caught him and the top *Puaka* licks off the flesh from the man's bones. If the man crosses a river the *Puaka* follow him, but when they get to the opposite bank they stop to lick themselves like dogs and their tongues lick up all their skin and flesh, until only bones remain.

Why the Dusuns of Tempassuk Village do not eat Snakes

Told by Gensiau, a Dusun of Tempassuk Village, Tempassuk District

There was once a man of Tempassuk Village in this country who wanted to marry. After he had been married for some time his wife gave birth, not to a child, but to a snake. When the snake had grown large, the woman again gave birth; this time to a girl. Some time after the child had been born, the man and his wife went to bathe in the river, and they ordered the snake to watch the child while they were bathing. So the snake guarded the child, wrapping it round with its body; and when the man and the woman came back from the river, it unwound itself from the child and climbed up on to the

[1] *Vide* Appendix A.

shelf where the rice-stores are kept. The snake lived on the shelf for some time, and, when it had grown a little larger, it left the house and travelled about for two days. At the end of the two days it came home, and entering the house, it went to its father and wound itself about him. It then climbed down and for the second time wound itself about him and descended to the floor. Then said its father, "Why does my snake-son wind himself around me in this way?" So he followed the snake, which had gone off into the jungle, and after a time they came to a dead deer lying on the ground. Then said the man to himself, "Perhaps my snake has killed this deer and that is why he wanted me to follow him." So he went back to the house, and the snake followed him, and when they arrived the father of the snake said to his companions, "There is a dead deer in the jungle which my snake has killed." So they went off into the jungle, but the snake did not follow. When the men arrived at the place where the deer was, they lifted it, and, carrying it home, made a feast. The snake, however, did not eat, but remained on the shelf for three days. At the end of three days it again set out, and was gone on its journey seven days. Then it returned, and again coiled itself round its father, as if it wished him to follow, and its father thought, "Perhaps my son, the snake, has got something again." So he followed the snake, and when they got into the jungle there was a dead stag there as before. So the man carried the stag home, but the snake stopped on the shelf. Then the man said to his companions, "I will put a collar and a bell round my snake's neck for somebody may kill it, as it is poisonous; but if they hear the bell, they will know that it is my son and will refrain." So he told all the men of the village that his son, the snake, was wearing a bell, saying, "If any of you see a snake with a bell round its neck, do not kill it, for it is my child!" Now at the end of seven days the snake set out again, and at length came to the country of Kinsiraban, and the men of Kinsiraban killed the snake and ate it. After a long time the father of the snake heard news that his son had been killed and set

out for the country of Kinsiraban, and finding the snake's collar and bell there, he said, "It is my son." So he made war upon the people of Kinsiraban, and killed them. Then he went home, and he commanded the people of Tempassuk Village not to eat snakes—in memory of his son. And though the Dusuns of other villages eat snakes, we Dusuns of Tempassuk do not do so to the present day, for the father of the snake was a man of our village.

The Orang-Utan

A legend of the Kiau[1] Dusuns, told by Yompo

Long ago some men went into the jungle carrying blow-pipes and when they got near the river Tenokop they heard someone singing verses among the trees. Then they looked and saw an Orang-Utan (*Kagyu*) sitting on the ground singing, and this was his song: "First of all I lived at the River Makadau, but I went to the River Serinsin; from there I went to the River Wariu; from the Wariu to the Penataran; from the Penataran to the Kilambun; from the Kilambun to the Obang, and from the Obang to the Tenokop. I cannot go up into the trees again, for I am old and must die upon the ground. I can no longer get fresh young leaves to eat from the trees; I have to eat young grass." Then the men who had been listening said to one another, "This *Kagyu* is clever at verses, let us shoot him with our blow-pipes." One man was about to shoot when the *Kagyu* saw him and said, "Do not shoot me, but make me a hut, and let me live here till I die. When you have made me my hut, bring your sisters here and I will teach them magic, for I am skilled in it." So the men made him a hut, and they brought their sisters to him, and the *Kagyu* instructed them how each sickness had its own magical ceremony. He taught them the spells for snake-bite and fever, and for the bite of the centipede. The men went home, about three days' journey to get rice for the *Kagyu*, but when they came back with the rice the *Kagyu* was dead;

[1] Kiau is a village on the slopes of Mount Kinabalu.

and from that day, whenever there was sickness in Kiau Village, they called the women who had been instructed by the *Kagyu*, and those who were ill recovered, and, if a man was wounded, and had magical rites performed over him by the women, no blood came from the wound.

The Origin of a Dusun Custom

Told by Sirinan of Piasau, Tempassuk District

Once there was a woman who had newly given birth to a child. The house she lived in was a large one, ten doors long. One day the women of the other rooms were dyeing cloth with indigo (*tahum*), and the men of the house were away hunting, some in one place, some in another. About midday it began to rain and with the rain came much thunder and lightning. While it was still thundering, the woman who had newly given birth performed a religious ceremony in the house, and while she was performing it, she saw a woman chasing a boy outside on the ground below, and their appearance was as if they had been quarrelling, for the boy was weeping, and the woman kept snatching up sticks to throw at him. But she did not manage to hit him, and she kept calling out, "Stop, stop, for the people here do not know the custom!" So the woman who was in the house stopped her chanting, and going to the door, called out, "Why are you treating your boy like that?" The other woman stopped and said, "I am treating him like this because you people do not know the custom." "What sort of custom?" said the woman, and while she still spoke the thunder stopped and the boy also stopped running away. The woman outside answered her, "In this you do not know the custom, and that is why my son is fighting me. It is because you women are dyeing cloth when your husbands have gone to hunt, and it would be good if they, your husbands, were all together in one place in the jungle. See when they come back; some will bring white, some red, and some yellow; these women are dyeing their cloth *black*[1]." Then the

[1] More correctly a dark blue, for that is the colour obtained from the native indigo.

women of the house said, "We did not know of any custom like this. What is it?" The woman answered them, "This is the custom: when you wish to dye cloth (black or blue) you must not take hold of anything white, red, or yellow." Said the women of the house, "Instruct us in this custom." And the woman outside said, "You must keep this custom, and it would be good if men did not get hit by things thrown by my son[1]. If the things that he throws only hit a coconut-tree, it does not matter, but if they hit a man, there will be trouble for that man. Another time your husbands must not be seeking for things to eat, red, white, or yellow, when you are dyeing your cloth black. And do not bring these colours into the house while you are still dyeing cloth." Then the woman and the boy vanished. After a time came the men who had been hunting; four had got a deer[2], and the other six had brought turmeric and the young white shoots of the *Bĕluno* tree. When the women saw the men coming, they called out, "Whatever you have brought from the jungle, do not bring it into the house this night." So the men slept outside with the goods they had brought from the jungle. On the morrow they brought their deer and other things into the house, and the women of the house told them how the woman had chased the boy. And to the present day women may not touch red, yellow, or white when they are dyeing cloth. [I think that the boy who was being chased by his mother was the Spirit of Thunder (Sirinan).]

NOTE. The colours mentioned in the story would appear to be symbolical of a thunderstorm:

Black, or dark blue	= the clouds.
White	= the rain.
Yellow and red	= the lightning.

The Origin of the Spring-trap, the Ror, and the Puru-Puru (*Three Constellations*)

A Dusun story told by Sirinan of Piasau, Tempassuk District

Long ago men planted only tapioca, *Caladium*, and beans: at that time there was no rice. When they had planted them

[1] Thunderbolts. [2] Red blood.

they fenced them round, and, after a time, they cleared away the weeds in the crop. At weeding-time they found that wild pigs had been getting in, and had eaten all their *Caladium*. "What use is it," said they, "our planting crops? The wild pigs only eat them." In the evening the men went to their houses, and when it was night, they went to sleep. Now one man dreamed, and in his dream an old man came to him and he said to the old man, "All my *Caladium*, and tapioca and beans, which I planted, have been eaten by wild pigs." Said the old man, "You must make a spring-trap at the edge of your fence where the pigs enter." Then the man awoke, for it was near morning, and thinking over the dream, he resolved to set a spring-trap near the edge of his garden. So he ate, and when he had finished he went out to his clearing and started making his trap. When he had finished it, he set it and returned home, and on the fourth day after he had set the trap, he went back to his clearing to look if it had killed anything. When he got there, he found a wild pig in the trap, but it had become decayed, and was not fit to eat. He poked it with the end of his walking-stick, and found that the head was separate from the body, and that the under-jaw and teeth had fallen away from the head. The man went home, and at night he went to sleep and dreamed that the same old man came to him and said, "What about your trap, did it catch a wild pig?" "Yes," said the man, "I caught a pig, but it had become rotten, and I was not able to eat it." "Did you take a walking-stick with you?" said the old man, "and did you prod the pig's head with the stick?" "I did," said he. "Very well," said the old man, "Do not plant *Caladium* and beans this year, plant rice instead." "But where am I to get rice from?" said he, "for there is none in this village." "Well, search for it in other villages," said the old man, "if you only get two or three *gantang* that will be enough. The marks where you thrust your stick into the pig's head shall be called the *puru-puru*[1]. The lower jaw shall have its name

[1] *Puru-puru* seems to mean "poked close together," or something of the kind. I could not get an exact translation.

of the *ror* and the spring-trap also shall keep its name, and all these shall become stars." Then said the man, "I want instruction from you, for if I get rice, how am I to plant it?" Said the old man, "You must watch for the spring-trap, the *ror* and the *puru-puru* to appear in the sky and when, shortly after dark, the *puru-puru* seems to be about a quarter way up in the sky, that is the time to plant. The *puru-puru* will come out first, the *ror* behind it and the spring-trap last of all." When the man awoke he found that the old man's words had come true and that the *puru-puru*, the spring-trap, and the *ror* had become stars. So to this day they follow this custom and the rice is planted (sown?) according to the position of these stars as seen shortly after dark (about 7 o'clock).

The Legend of Nonok Kurgung

Told by Lengok, Headman of the Dusun village of Bengkahak, Tempassuk District

Long ago when there were no people in this country of the Tempassuk, there were two people at Nonok Kurgung, a man and his wife. The woman became with child and gave birth to seven children at one time, both male and female, four were females and three were males. When these children were grown up they wished for husbands and wives, and asked their father and mother how they were to get them, as there were no other people in the country. Their father and mother said to them, "Wait, and if our dreams are good you will get your wish." When the woman was asleep, Kinharingan came to her in her dreams, and said, "I have come because I have pity on you, that you cannot get wives or husbands for your children. Your children must marry one another as that was the reason that I gave you seven at one birth." In the morning the woman asked her husband if he had had any dreams, and he said, "No." Then he asked his wife if she had dreamed, and she said that Kinharingan had come to her and told her that their children must marry one another. So they consulted together and ordered their children to marry, and after

they had been married for some time all the women gave birth, each to twenty children at a time, and these children intermarried in their turn. Now at this period the people had no clearings, and they got rice by cutting down the stems of bamboos; the rice coming out from the inside of the stem. There was a river with many *Nonok* trees near the village, and the children used to go and bathe there, and lie under the trees. Every day they went to bathe there, and every day a child was lost. This went on until twenty children had been lost, and the fathers decided to try and find out what was happening to them. They searched the river and they searched the banks, but could find nothing, and there were no crocodiles in the stream. After they had hunted in vain for three days, they went home, and, when they met together, they decided that they would run away from the place. So they collected all their goods to start. One night all was ready, and the next morning they started out, taking with them their wives and children, their baggage and bamboos to give them rice. After they had journeyed for a day, one man and his family stopped behind to make a house; a second man stopped on the second day, and so on, till there was nobody left to journey on. These families which had stopped formed villages, and from their bamboos came all sorts of food-plants, vegetables and *Caladium*, and these they planted in their gardens. This is how this country became peopled with Dusuns to as far away as Marudu.

How the Bajaus came to the Tempassuk and the Dusuns learnt the use of Beeswax

Told by Sirundai, a Dusun of Kalisas, Tempassuk District

There is a tree named *Kendilong* which has a white sap like water, and this sap is very irritating to the skin. The *Kendilong* is a home for bees, and if men wish to take the honey, they cut steps in the tree up to the bees'-nest.

Once there was a poor man, and every night he dreamed that if he found a *Kendilong* tree he would become rich. So he set out to look for one, and, when it was near dark, he

found a *Kendilong* and slept the night there. Now, there were bees'-nests in the tree. The next morning he went home and brought two companions back with him. Two men climbed the tree, and one stopped below by the trunk. They took the bees'-nests, but did not know to whom to sell them. Now there was a Bajau who had come up the river in a boat, for at this time there were no Bajaus living in the country. This man met the Dusun who had got the bees'-nests, and, going home with him, he saw four sacks of nests and bought them for a little cloth, saying that he did not know what they were. He said that he would try and sell the nests, and that he wished to become the Dusun's brother. So they swore brotherhood and sacrificed a hen, and the Bajau promised to give the Dusun his share if there was any profit from the nests; at the same time telling him to collect any more that he might find. Then the Bajau sailed away and the Dusun searched hard for bees'-nests. Now the Bajau had promised to return in three months' time, and when he came he brought a *tongkang*[1] full of goods, and he found the Dusun's house full of bees'-nests. So the Dusun got much goods from the Bajau, and became rich; and that is how the Dusuns got to know about beeswax.

Pots

Told by a Dusun of Tambahilik, Tempassuk District

A long time ago men had no cooking-pots, and when they wished to cook they had to use (joints of) bamboos (as vessels[2]). One day a youth went out into the jungle with his dog to hunt, but the dog would not hunt and kept stopping. So the youth, wondering, went to look why the dog had stopped, and saw that there was a small mound. He scratched in the mound and taking some of the earth, which was potter's earth, he carried it home and told the women to make pots of it. When they had finished making the pots, they found that they were useless and fell to pieces. "Ah," said the

[1] Large boat of Chinese type.

[2] The Sakai of the Peninsula still frequently cook rice in bamboos. I have also seen bamboo used for this purpose by Dusuns when on the march.

youth, "this will not do." So going back to the mound, he made a large hole, until he came to sand. Then he took both sand and potter's earth, and, coming home again, told the women to make pots. This time the pots were good, and thus pots are made to the present day, by mixing sand with potter's earth.

Lamongoyan

There is an earthwork some little way above Singgaran halting-hut in the "Ulu Tempassuk," into which the bridle-path to the interior now cuts. It consists, as far as can be seen, of a ditch and a *vallum* on the hillside, the ditch being above the mound. I measured both of these and found them to exceed sixty feet in length. The mound has been much damaged by the construction of the bridle-path, but appears not to have been of any great breadth. Unfortunately, I had no opportunity of excavating the site, but the Dusuns tell the following legend about it:

There was once, long ago, a very tall man named Lamongoyan. He could cross a river at a single stride, and he died on the top of the hill on the side of which his grave now is. His people were unable to lift his body, and so they rolled it down to the place where they had made his grave, and there he lies to the present day. His head points inland, and his feet seawards.

Tudu

In May, 1911, I made some small excavations on the legendary site of a Dusun village which is situated at the top of a hill (about 1000 feet high) not far from Pĕladok, an Illanun settlement in the Tempassuk District. My diggings, I may remark, proved that there had formerly been a village there. The following story is told about the place. The name of the old village (and of the hill) is Tudu:

Long ago some men of Tudu Village were looking for wood to make a fence, and while they were searching they came upon what appeared to be a great tree-trunk, which was lying on the ground. They began to cut it with their chopping-

knives, intending to make a fence from it, but to their surprise blood came from the cuts. So they decided to walk along to one end of the trunk and see what it was. When they came to the end, they found that they had been cutting into a great snake and that the end of the "trunk" was its head. They, therefore, made stakes, and driving them into the ground, bound the snake to them and killed it. Then they flayed the skin from the body, and taking it and the meat home, they made a great feast from its flesh. The skin of the snake they made into a great drum, and, while they were drinking, they beat the drum to try its sound; but for a long time the drum remained silent. At last, in the middle of the night, the drum began to sound of its own accord, "*Duk duk, kagyu*[1]*; duk duk, kagyu!*" Then came a great hurricane and swept away all the houses in the village; some of them were carried away out to sea together with the people in them; while others settled down at what is now Tempassuk Village and elsewhere, and from them arose the present villages.

The Puak (Horned Owl) and the Moon

Told by Sirinan of Piasau, a Dusun village in the Tempassuk District

The moon is male and the *Puak* is female.

Long ago when the sky was very low down, only a man's height from the ground, the moon and the *Puak* fell in love and married. At that time there was a man whose wife was with child. This woman came down from the house and, as the heat of the sun struck her on the stomach, she became ill. Then the man was very angry because his wife was ill, and he made seven blow-pipe darts. Early the next morning he took his blow-pipe and went to the place where the sun rises and waited. Now at this time there were seven suns. When they rose, he shot six of them and left only one remaining; then he went home. At the time that the man shot the suns the *Puak* was sitting on the house-top in the sky, combing

[1] *Kagyu*, according to the Dusun who told me the story, is Bajau for "hurricane" or "typhoon."

her hair. The comb fell from the sky to the ground, and the *Puak* flew down to get it, but, when she found it, she could no longer fly back to the sky; for, while she had been looking for her comb, the sky had risen to its present place; since, when the man had shot the six suns, the remaining sun, being frightened, ran away up into the air, and took the sky with it. And so, to the present day, whenever the moon comes out the *Puak* cries to it, but the moon says, "What can I do, for you are down there below, while I am up here in the sky?"

The Three Rajas

A Dusun tale, told by Gergoi of Nabah, Tempassuk District

Long ago there were no men in this country of the Tempassuk; men's first home was at Naragang Nonok up-country. In this village there were many *Nonok* trees, and men lived in them. When the village was over-full they called a council, and they agreed to divide the country between them. So three men with their wives and children and followers set out from the village at different times. The first man who started at length came to a place where there was a threefold fork in the road; he kept straight on and set a mark on the road by which he had travelled. The second man chose the road to the left hand, and the third took that to the right. So the companions of the first man followed him along the straight road, and at last they made a village. The parties of the second and third men who had gone to the left and right also made villages. Seven days after the first man had made his village, a white stag came to the place. The men of the village agreed to try and catch the stag, but it always escaped them, although it did not go far away. Now the name of the man who followed the straight road was the Raja Kapitan, and he had seven wives, and he said to them, "I cannot catch this stag; you had better make me some cakes of banana and flour" (*linobok*). Then the Raja, taking with him seven cooks to carry his food and baggage, got on his horse and set out to hunt the stag. So he hunted, and at night the Raja and

the stag both stopped. The next morning early, as soon as the Raja had eaten, he again started off after the stag, and for three days he chased it, but at last he lost it. Then the Raja, finding that he did not know where he was, agreed with his men to push on till they should come to some village, if there was one. At last they arrived at a village and the Raja said, "Why there are other people in this country; I thought that my village was the only one." Then he asked in the village whose it was, and he was told the Raja Kretan's[1], and that the Raja had seven wives. "Well," said the Raja Kapitan, "if it is true that he has seven wives, he is like me, and I will ask him for betel-nut, telling him, if his wives come to me, to send those which are the most beautiful." So the Raja's two most beautiful wives came to him, one to give him betel-nut, and the other to make him cigarettes. They were lovely, one as a star, and the other as the moon. The Raja Kretan, however, slept in his house. When the two beautiful women had waited upon the Raja Kapitan, he immediately killed them both, and cutting off their heads, started for home. This he did because he was angry at losing the stag. Then the Raja Kretan awoke, and when he found what had happened, he caught his great dog, and using it as a horse, pursued the Raja Kapitan. Now the Raja Kapitan, who was afraid of being attacked because of the heads that he had taken, when he had got home, made a fort three fathoms in height. So the Raja Kretan came to the fort, and his dog jumped the wall. When he had got inside he asked whose village it was, and men answered, "The Raja Kapitan's." "How many wives has he got?" he asked, and a man answered, "Seven." "If that is so," said the Raja Kretan, "let them bring me cigarettes and betel-nut." So the two most beautiful wives of the Raja Kapitan came out to give him cigarettes and betel-nut, and when he had been served, he immediately cut off their heads, and, leaping on his dog, called out that he was now avenged on the Raja Kapitan. The dog took the wall at a bound, and in a little time the Raja Kretan was nearly

[1] *Kretan* = shark.

home. Now the Raja Kretan was the second man who had started from Naragang Nonok, but the Raja Kapitan knew nothing of the other men who had followed behind him. When the Raja Kapitan awoke, for he had been asleep, he asked where his two favourite wives were, and he was told how they had been killed. So he started out alone on his horse to hunt the Raja Kretan and overtook him just as he was going to enter his house. Then the Raja Kretan, seeing him, threw the heads on the ground and made off on his dog, and the Raja Kapitan hunted him on his horse. After they had been going thus for a week, the Raja Kretan running away, and the Raja Kapitan pursuing him, they left the Raja Kretan's country behind and came out upon a plain. So the Raja Kretan dismounted from his dog, and the Raja Kapitan from his horse and the two fought, but neither conquered the other. Now, while they still were fighting, they came into a village, but did not know it until they struck their backs against the posts of the houses. And the people of the village were astonished, for they saw that the two men were strangers. Then the Raja Bassi, who was the Raja of the village, awoke, and coming out of the house, asked why they were fighting, and the Raja Kapitan told him how he had hunted the stag, and how, being angry at losing it, he had cut off the heads of the Raja Kretan's wives. And the Raja Kretan related how he had avenged himself upon the Raja Kapitan, and how the latter had pursued him. Then said the Raja Bassi, "Do not quarrel any more about your wives, for I have twenty-seven, who are all beautiful, and you can replace your dead wives from them. This only, I beg, do not fight in my country." So the Raja Bassi's twenty-seven wives came out of the house, and the Raja Kapitan and the Raja Kretan each chose two wives like their former wives in appearance. And the Raja Bassi said, "I have given you wives, and you must fight no more; for we three men all came from Naragang Nonok, but I only know the way back. You, Raja Kapitan, have become a Dusun, you, Raja Kretan have become a Mohamedan (Bajau, Brunei, etc.), while I have become a white man; and in future

time, if I have any trouble, you must give me your help." Then the Raja Kretan and the Raja Kapitan thanked him and promised to help him. "For," said they, "you have become a great Raja, and we will help you; and you shall judge us and our children, and shall help us in time of sickness." So the Raja said that their answers were good, and that they should help him, and that he would judge their peoples and give them help. "And," said he, "you must pay me a yearly tax on each head (male) of your people." And so to the present day the Raja Bassi (the white people) judges the Raja Kapitan (the Dusuns) and the Raja Kretan (the Mohamedans) and takes a tax from them for each man. Further, he spoke, saying, "There shall be in this *pelompong*[1] many people, for that is my wish." So we Dusuns to the present day are descendants of the Raja Kapitan and the Bajaus of the Raja Kretan, and, as the white people are descendants of the Raja Bassi, we obey the Government and clean the paths and do other work in which the Government asks our help. For the Raja Bassi said, "Though you have made me great, I am mortal and shall die, but I will tell this story to my grandchildren, and you, Raja Kapitan, and you, Raja Kretan, shall tell it to yours, and they shall observe it."

The Half Men

A Dusun story, told by the Headman of Tambahilik, Tempassuk District

Once a woman gave birth to a boy child, but one half of it was wanting; it had only one arm, one leg, half a body, and half a head. The child grew up, and his tongue and his deeds were equally evil. If a woman was spinning he would get a chopping-knife and slash her loom and cloth; and the women of the village used to say to him, "You are like a beast, and besides you are only half a man!" Then he would be ashamed and think whence he could get his other half. So at last he set out in search of it. All the people in the country knew

[1] Island, *i.e.* the country round Mount Kinabalu.

him, and when he came to a village they would say, "Where are you going?" And he would answer, "I am going in search of my other half." Long he journeyed, and at last he came to a *susendatan*, a place where people get water from the river, and there he bathed. Directly he had finished, he set out for the village, and soon saw the houses. When he got there, a man asked him where he was going, and he replied that he was looking for his other half. "There is a half man here," said the man of the village. Now the half man who was travelling in search of his other half was looking for his right-hand side, and the man in the village was without his left-hand side. So the half man who was a stranger asked how they could become one man, and somebody said, "You must wrestle together, and then you will become one man." So they wrestled together for a long time, and at last they became one man. Then the "whole man" asked how he was to go home, "For," said he, "I do not know the way." "Why, it is not troublesome for you to go home," said a villager, "your village is quite close"; and the "whole man," looking, saw his village not far off. So he went back, and his father and mother asked him whence he had got his other half, and he said, "I got it from a village far away; perhaps it is Kinharingan's village " Then his father and mother were very glad that their son had found his other half.

The Monkeys

A Dusun story, told by Sirinan of Piasau, Tempassuk District

The monkeys were once men. The people who became monkeys were dyeing cloth, and, while they were working, they were struck by hail and became monkeys. Their hands became black from the dye, and so they remain till the present day, and the movements of the monkey's hands still resemble those of people dipping the cloth in the dye (*i.e.* the sort of patting motion often made by monkeys with their two hands).

Kaduan

A Dusun legend, told by Limbong of Tambahilik, Tempassuk District

Once there was a man named Kaduan who had a wife and seven daughters. His wife and daughters were ill with *balang*[1], and they were all so hungry that in a short time they would have been reduced to eating the ashes from the fire. Then Kaduan said to his daughters, "It is no good going on like this, I will search for husbands for you." Now his daughters were wearing *dampon*[2] for clothes. They said to him, "Father, why do you want to search for husbands for us? It is not fitting; for we are women, besides we are almost dying with disease and we are so poor that we have nothing to eat; our house, too, is worn out, and the roof-beam has fallen down at one end till it touches the ground." However, the next morning Kaduan set out, and at length came to a bathing-place on the river, where the sand of the river was composed of beads of gold; there were also *Kalian* trees there whose fruits were gongs and bells, and the gongs and bells were sounding in the wind. So Kaduan bathed and crossed the river to the house of a man named Gerlunghan. The place below the house was full of fowls, for Gerlunghan was very rich. Then Kaduan climbed the steps of the house and Gerlunghan met him and asked where he was going. "I am looking for husbands for my daughters," said Kaduan, "for, though it is not very fitting that I should seek for them, still your people are the same as mine, both in appearance and in wealth. I have been in the jungle for seven months, and my clothes are worn out, but when I first left my village they were all covered with gold like those which you are wearing." "How hungry you must be," said Gerlunghan, "after being in the jungle for seven months! I will cook for you." Said Kaduan, "If you cook for me do not cook as for three men or four men, but for five or six, for I am very hungry indeed." So Gerlunghan had rice cooked in huge pans and with the rice he gave

[1] An ulcerating disease of the leg.

[2] Cloth made of tree-bark.

Kaduan three fowls. When Kaduan had finished the rice, a man in the next house remarked, "How big is this man's stomach! It must be like a *basong*[1]." Then Kaduan, turning round, looked at the trenchers from which he had eaten, and they had again become piled up with fish and rice, but no man had put the food upon them, it had appeared of itself. "Perhaps it is true that this man is rich in his own village," thought Gerlunghan, "for he had finished the food, but when he turns round to look at the plates from which he has eaten, they become full once more." Then Kaduan ate again, and he said to Gerlunghan, "Inquire of your sons whether they will marry my daughters, for I am tired of searching for husbands for them, since I can find none like them for beauty in this country, and none who can approach me in respect of my wealth." So Gerlunghan inquired among his seven sons, and the eldest said, "Father, I do not wish to go, for I have never seen this man Kaduan before and I do not know what sort of a man he is, whether good or bad," but his seventh son said, "Whatever my father orders I will follow." "Perhaps you think that he is poor," said Gerlunghan, "but his clothes are worn out because he has been so long in the jungle." So the eldest son refused to go, but at last, seeing that the others were willing, he said, "Well, I do not wish to be left behind, so I will go too." "If it is settled," said Kaduan, "I will go home for seven days and at the end of that time I will come back and marry your sons, for it is not right for my daughters to come here, for it was I who sought husbands for them." So Kaduan went home and when he got to his house he found his children eating the ashes from the fire. So he said to them, "I have found husbands for you, the children of Gerlunghan, and in seven days I go to marry them." "You will only make us ashamed," said his daughters, "for we are all ill with *balang* and we have nothing to eat." "Why do you not follow my orders," said Kaduan, "as Gerlunghan's children followed his?" When the time was up, Kaduan started off again in his clothes made of *dampon*. At

[1] A large back-basket.

last he came to Gerlunghan's, and before he climbed the steps he called to Gerlunghan and said, "I have come here in my old clothes for everyone knows how wealthy I am, and I was afraid of being robbed and killed by the way for the sake of my golden dress; for the clothes I wear are always of gold; my house is seven doors long, and the windows in the roof are seven also, my sleeping mats, too, are more than a span high from the floor. I have seven jars for my rice-wine, and when I eat I have five trays of rice before me, and I finish them at a meal." Then somebody said, "A man who eats like that should have a big stomach," but they looked at his stomach and saw that it was like that of a man who eats but seldom, and they were all astonished. "Well," said Kaduan, "my feast is ready at my house, and you, Gerlunghan, must follow me with your sons, but though I have killed buffaloes and cooked rice, I have not a single fowl." The next day they set out for Kaduan's house, Kaduan, Gerlunghan and his seven sons, and Kaduan walked as though he were flying, so that he had always to stop and wait for Gerlunghan and his sons. Thus Kaduan arrived first at the house, and told his wife and daughters to run out of the house and hide. So they rolled away into the jungle, for they could not walk because of their *balang*. When Gerlunghan and his sons came to the place they looked about expecting to find a beautiful house, but all they could see was a small tumble-down house with a path leading to it which looked like the track of a single man—Kaduan himself had also made off into the jungle. After a time Kaduan returned saying, "Gerlunghan, you can kill me." So he asked first one and then another to kill him, but no one was willing. Then Gerlunghan's youngest son said to his father, "I will strike him," and snatching out his chopping-knife he wounded Kaduan on the arm, cutting him to the bone, and much blood came from the wound. Now, as Gerlunghan's son yelled and chased Kaduan near the house, the blood which fell from Kaduan's wound turned into buffaloes and cattle and fowls. The house also became new and beautiful, and the sound of gong-beating was heard from

within. Then Gerlunghan marvelled and said, "This man is even more wealthy than I." But Kaduan went to look for his children in the place where he had hidden them, and he found them well and beautiful and dressed in magnificent clothes, and Kaduan's own clothes also had turned to gold. So Kaduan killed seven buffaloes and seven cattle and brought out seven jars of rice-wine; and made a great feast for Gerlunghan; and when the eating and drinking were over Gerlunghan returned home, but his sons remained with Kaduan.

The Legend of Ligat Liau

A Dusun tale, told by Sirinan of Piasau, Tempassuk District

There was once a man named Tamburan. One day he took his chopping-knife, his spear and his *barait*[1], and went off to look for vegetables in the jungle, for he was poor and had no food. He searched and searched, but could find nothing; at last, however, he came to an old clearing, and seeing a hut near it, he went to look if there were any people in it, for he thought that the clearing was still being used, as there were many gourds growing there. Putting down his *barait* and spear, he climbed up into the hut, and there he saw a woman lying down. Now she was unable to sit up because her head was very large, while her neck was only as thick as my little finger. The woman, whose name was Ligat Liau[2], spoke to him and said, "Tamburan, why have you come here?" "I have come looking for vegetables," answered Tamburan, "for I have nothing to eat, and nothing with which I can buy rice." "If you are hungry," said Ligat Liau, "there is some rice ready cooked there on the shelf above the fire, which you can eat, and you will find fish there too." "How does she manage to pound her rice?" thought Tamburan, "for she cannot even sit up." Then he said, "I do not like to eat alone." "I have just eaten," said Ligat Liau, "do not be ashamed to eat." So Tamburan took the rice and ate, and, when he had finished Ligat Liau asked him to come and search for lice in her hair; so he went to search, but, instead of lice, he found in her hair

[1] Small carrying-basket.

[2] Said to mean "little neck."

scorpions and little snakes and centipedes, and all other sorts of poisonous animals. Then he killed them all until there were none left, and Ligat Liau thanked him, saying that none of the women who came there would search for lice in her hair. "But now," said she, "I shall be able to stand up, since my head is light now that I am free of all these lice." So she stood up and said to Tamburan, "Take seven gourds from this clearing." So Tamburan took the gourds and brought them into the hut. Then said Ligat Liau, "Take this first gourd as soon as you get home and cut it in two; the second one cut open when you are in your own room; the third you must open in your store-room; the fourth on the rice-shelf, the fifth on the verandah, the sixth below the steps, and the seventh below the house." Then Tamburan went home and, on reaching his house, he did as Ligat Liau had instructed him, for his children were crying for food. When he cut open the first gourd he found rice and all other kinds of food ready cooked in it, together with plates and drinking-cups. So they ate, and when they had finished, he cut open the second gourd in his sleeping-room, and in it were mats for sleeping on and all the furnishings of a bedroom. The third gourd he opened in his store-room, and from it came gongs of all kinds, *tawags*[1] and *chanangs*[2] and *tenukols*[3] and other goods besides. The fourth gourd he opened on the rice-shelf and from it came great quantities of unhusked rice. The fifth he opened on the verandah, and in it were many hens. The sixth he opened below the steps and out of it came great numbers of pigs. The seventh held many buffaloes; this also he cut open, as he had been ordered, within the fence below the house. Now, when the gourds were cut open, there was a man in the house named Sikinding[4], who lived in another room. This man was also poor and he came to Tamburan and said, "Brother (*Pori San*), where did you get all these goods from?" Said Tam-

[1] The *tawag-tawag* is a thick and deep gong with a protruding boss.
[2] The *chanang* is a shallow gong with the boss almost on a level with the surface.
[3] The *tenukol* is a large and rather cheap kind of gong.
[4] More correctly Si Kinding.

buran, "I was astonished at getting them myself, for I dreamed that I was rich, and, when I woke up, I found that it was true." "Ah," said Sikinding, "I always dream at night, but I have never become rich from it"; for he did not believe Tamburan's words. "It is true," said Tamburan, "for you know well that yesterday I was as poor as you and went with the rest of the men to look for vegetables in the jungle." But Sikinding still did not believe him, and said, "Perhaps you got them from someone." "I spoke truth," said Tamburan, "and this is my dream, I dreamed that I came to an old clearing and that I went into a hut there, and that I got the goods from the person who lived in the hut." "Well," said Sikinding, "I will try and find this clearing, and the person that you dreamed of." "Just as you like," said Tamburan, "for, as I told you, I only dreamed of the place." "I shall start to-morrow," said Sikinding. "Well, I am not ordering you," replied Tamburan, "you are going to please yourself." So the next day Sikinding set out to look for the clearing, but having searched for two days, and not finding it, went back and told Tamburan that he thought that he was a liar, saying that he had searched for the clearing for two days and not found it. "For," said he, "I think that you really went there, and not that you dreamed about it." But Tamburan again replied that it had been a dream. "Ah," said Sikinding, "I don't believe you, how many times have men dreamed in this village and never yet got rich from it?" "Well, try once more to find the place," said Tamburan, "and perhaps you will succeed." So on the next day Sikinding set out again, and, not finding it, returned after he had searched for four days. Thought Sikinding, "Perhaps Tamburan is trying to kill me by sending me into the jungle; this time I will take my spear and chopping-knife when I ask him, and if he will not tell me, I will kill him." Then Sikinding went to Tamburan's door and said, "I still do not believe your story, though I have hunted for the clearing for four days. If you do not tell me the truth this time, I will kill you, for if my luck had been bad in the jungle, I should have died there."

But Tamburan still declared that it was a dream, and Sikinding, getting angry, snatched the sheath from his spear, and Tamburan ran away. Then Tamburan cried out that he would tell the truth, for he was afraid that Sikinding would kill him. So Sikinding stopped chasing him, and Tamburan told him how he had gone to the clearing, and how he had marked the trees with his knife, so as to know the way back. "Well," said Sikinding, "I will not kill you if you will show me the way." "But perhaps," said Tamburan, "you will not be brave enough to hunt for the lice in her hair." "Oh," said Sikinding, "however brave you are, I am braver." "Well, when you come to the clearing," said Tamburan, "if anybody asks you to search for lice, you must not be afraid, for many men have been there, but I only was brave enough." "Oh, I shall not be afraid," said Sikinding. So the next day he set out and followed the marks which Tamburan had made on the trees, and at length he came to the clearing. When he was still some way from the hut he began calling out to know if there was anyone inside; but no answer came. So when he had come to the hut, he put down his *barait*, and, going in, saw Ligat Liau there, and she said to him, "What do you come for?" "Oh," said Sikinding, "I have no rice and I have come to look for vegetables; I am very hungry; where is your rice?" "How should I have rice?" said Ligat Liau, "for I cannot get up to pound it." "Oh, that's not true," said Sikinding, "for how can you live if you have no rice?" "Well, it is true," said Ligat Liau, "for as you see yourself, I cannot get up." So Sikinding went to get rice from the shelf over the fireplace, but on taking down the plate he found nothing but earth in it. "Ah," said he, "you people in this village are no good; you eat earth!" "I told you that I had no rice," said Ligat Liau, "but you can take a gourd from the clearing." Then Sikinding went and took a gourd, and going up again into the hut, he asked Ligat Liau how he was to eat it. "You must cut it open," said she, "and eat what is inside." So he cut it open and found a little rice and one fish in it, and from this he made his meal. When he had finished eating the rice and

fish, he said to Ligat Liau, "That is not enough; I'll go and take another gourd and that will be sufficient." "You can take another," said she, "but only one." So he brought another gourd, and, cutting it open, found inside only rice in the husk and uncooked fish. "I've not had enough to eat," said he, "where can I get it from?" "You can cook the food here," said Ligat Liau. "No, I won't do that," said Sikinding, "I will take it home and cook it; but I want seven gourds to take home with me." "I will give them to you," said Ligat Liau, "but first come and look for lice in my hair." So Sikinding went to look for lice, but when he saw the scorpions and snakes and other poisonous things, he cried out and was not brave enough to kill them, and he let Ligat Liau's head fall first to one side and then to the other. "Well," said Ligat Liau, "if you are afraid to kill my lice, you had better go home. But take one gourd with you; you may take a large one, but do not take more than one." Then Sikinding took the gourd, and Ligat Liau said to him, "When you get home and wish to open this gourd, get into your *tangkob*[1] and make your wife and children get into it as well; but shut up the top of the *tangkob* well so that nothing can get out." So Sikinding ran home, and calling his wife and children, they all got into the *tangkob*, with the exception of one small child, for whom there was no room. Then Sikinding opened the gourd, and from it came out snakes and scorpions, which bit Sikinding and his wife and children until they died. The only person who remained alive was the small child for whom there was no room in the *tangkob*.

NOTE. A variant of this tale is known among the Dusuns of Tuaran. Tamburan is, however, replaced as hero by a man named Rahah Bujang, and there are other points of difference.

The Lazy Woman and her Bayong

A Dusun story, told by the Headman of Tarantidan, Tempassuk District

Long ago there was a lazy woman; she would not work, and as for bathing, she was so lazy that she only washed herself

[1] Large store-vessel of tree-bark for holding unhusked rice.

once in ten days. One day she went to the bathing-place and a *nipah*-palm called to her from across the river. The palm-tree kept on calling, but she was too lazy to answer, or to cross the river to see what it wanted. At last the *nipah* said, "Why are you so lazy that you will not cross the river? There is a boat on your side of the water and you can row across and take my shoot." So the lazy woman went very slowly and got into the boat, and going very lazily across the river in it, she took the shoot from the palm. Then said the *nipah*, "I called you because you are so lazy. You must take this shoot and dry it a little in the sun and make a *bayong*[1] from it." Now the lazy woman nearly wept when she heard that she was to make a *bayong*; however, she took the sprout home and made a *bayong* from it. When this was finished it spoke to the woman and said, "You must take me along the path where people are going to market, and put me down near the side of the road where everybody passes; then you can go home." So the woman took the *bayong* and left it near the road where people were going to market. Many people passed there, but no one noticed the *bayong* until a rich man came along and, seeing it, said, "I will take this *bayong* to market, as it will do to put anything I buy there into, and if the owner is at the market, I can give it back to him." Presently the rich man came to the market and he asked everyone if they had lost a *bayong*, but nobody acknowledged it. "Well then," said the rich man, "it is my gain, and I will put what I have bought into it and take it home; but if anyone claims it he can come to my house and get it." So the rich man put all his goods: *sireh*, lime, cakes, fish, rice and bananas, into the *bayong* until it was full, and while the man was talking to some of his friends, the *bayong* started off of its own accord to go home to the lazy woman's house. When it was still some little way off from the house, it began calling to the lazy woman, "Come here, come here and help me, for I can't stand the weight!" Then the woman went to the *bayong*, though she was nearly weeping at having to go and fetch it

[1] A kind of large basket.

home, but when she saw that it was full of all sorts of good things, she said, "This is a splendid *bayong*, but perhaps it will want some payment. At any rate, if it is always like this, I shall get an easy living by just leaving the *bayong* on the road to market." So on market-days the woman always placed the *bayong* near the side of the path, and it always came home full; but it never met any of the men who had found it before until it had cheated six men. Now at the seventh market the men who had filled the *bayong* at the six previous markets, and had thus lost their property, happened to be going to market all together, and when they saw the *bayong* left near the road they all recognized it as the one which had cheated them. So the six of them collected buffalo-dung and filled the *bayong* to the top, "For," said they, "this *bayong* is a proper rascal." Then the *bayong*, being full, started straight off for home, and did not go to the market. When the lazy woman saw it coming, she rushed to help it home, but when she found that it was full of buffalo-dung, she began to cry, "For," said she, "if the *bayong* does not bring food, surely I shall die." As for the *bayong*, it would never bring food from the market again.

Serunggal

A Dusun legend, told by Sirinan of Piasau, Tempassuk District

"Ah," said Serunggal, "it is no use my stopping here, I had better go and marry a Raja's daughter." Now Serunggal was a very ugly man to look at. So he set out for the Raja's village. After a time he came to a place near a river, and hearing men screaming, he went to look what it was, and saw many men killing an ant. "Why are you doing that?" said Serunggal, and the men ran off and left the ant, which crawled away. When he got to the bathing-place of the village, he again heard men shouting. "Why is this?" thought Serunggal, and again he went to look what it was. When he got to the place, he saw men trying to kill a firefly (*ninekput*[1]). He spoke

[1] The firefly is said to be the spirit of an ancestor. *Ninekput*, has, no doubt, this signification, since *nenek* is the ordinary Malay word for a forbear.

to them, and, as before, the men ran away. At length he came to another village, and for the third time he heard men calling out near the river, and going towards the sound, he saw many men trying to kill a squirrel. "Do not do that," said Serunggal, and the men at once ran away. After a long time Serunggal came to the Raja's palace, and the Raja said to him, "Serunggal, whither are you going?" "Well," said he, "I will not hide my intention; I came to ask for your daughter to make her my wife." Said the Raja, "You see this *bayong* full of rice? If you can collect it all after a man has scattered it from horseback, and put it all back into the *bayong* until it is full, you shall have my daughter." Then thought Serunggal, "How can I collect that rice, if it is scattered from horseback?" but at length he said, "I will try, for," thought he, "if I cannot collect it all I will go home, for I shall not wish to stop here any more." So the Raja ordered a boy to take a horse, and scatter the rice as the horse ran, till it was all finished; and the boy took a horse and scattered the rice in the plain, until it was all finished. "Now," said the Raja, "I will go home and wait for you for two or three hours, but if you do not collect all the rice, you shall not have my daughter." Then Serunggal started to collect the rice, but at the end of half-an-hour he had only got about a coconut-shell full, and he began to weep. After a time came the Ant, and said to him, "Why are you crying?" "Because the Raja will not give me his daughter," said Serunggal, "unless I collect this rice, which he has scattered, and I have only been able to find a coconut-shell full in half-an-hour." "Well, stop crying," said the Ant, "and I will help you, for you helped me when the men wished to kill me." Then the Ant called his companions, and they collected all the rice, until the *bayong* was full; and Serunggal carried the rice home to the Raja's house. The Raja saw him coming from afar off and wondered; but when he arrived the Raja said to him, "You shall have my daughter, but you must climb my betel-palm first and get me a betel-nut to eat." Now the Raja's betel-palm was so high that its top was in the clouds and could not be seen. When

Serunggal saw the tree, he said to himself, "How shall I climb this tree, for I shall fall before I get half-way up." So the Raja went home, and Serunggal began to climb the tree, but when he got about two fathoms up it, he fell to the ground. Then he began to weep; but after a time the Squirrel came and asked him why he was crying, and Serunggal told him how the Raja had ordered him to climb the tree before he should have his daughter. "Well," said the Squirrel, "I will help you," and he climbed the tree, and brought Serunggal the fruit until there was none left. When Serunggal was still far from the house, the Raja saw him and said, "This man is greater than I, for he has got the betel-nuts which so many men have tried to reach in vain." So the Raja told Serunggal that he could have one of his daughters. Now the Raja had seven daughters, and it was of the seventh and most beautiful that Serunggal had heard. Said the Raja, "You must go to my house, when it is dark, and the first daughter of mine that you find in the sleeping room shall be your wife, and you must carry her away to another room, but you must come late at night, when it is very dark." "Ah," thought Serunggal, "how shall I find his seventh daughter, for, if it is dark, I shall not be able to see?" That night Serunggal went to the Raja's house and waited outside till it was dark enough, and he began to weep because he did not know how to find the Raja's youngest daughter. At last the Firefly came and asked him why he was crying; and Serunggal told it how he had to take the first of the Raja's daughters to whom he should come, and how he wished to get the seventh. "Never mind," said the Firefly, "I will search for you, and I will settle on the nose of the seventh daughter; so wherever you see a light, that will be the place where the Raja's youngest daughter is." Then Serunggal went into the women's sleeping room, and seeing the Firefly, carried away the woman on which it had settled to another room. In the morning, when the Raja came to see which daughter Serunggal had chosen, he found that he had taken the youngest and most beautiful. And thus the Raja was forced to acknowledge him as his son-in-law.

The Singkalaḳi and his Slaves

A Dusun legend, told by Ransab, Headman of Piasau, Tempassuk District

The Singkalaki once wished to set out on a voyage, so he called to his wife, "Baing," said he, "I am going on a voyage, so you must prepare rice for me." When all was ready the Singkalaki took the buffalo fence from below his house, and, when he had made a raft from it he loaded his rice and other baggage upon it. So he sailed away, and after a time he came to an island. There he found a *Takang*, and taking him on board he bound him to the raft. Sailing away again he came to another island where he found a toad (*Buangkut*) and this too he bound to the raft before he left. At length he came to a third island, and from there he brought away a *Padtong*. On another island he found a *Korutok*[1], and this also he loaded on his raft, and, his rice being finished, then sailed home. When he came to his house he called to his wife, "Baing," said he, "you can carry the four slaves, that I have got, from my vessel." So his wife brought the four slaves to the house. When night came the *Padtong* began to cry, "*Tong, tong!*" Then the Singkalaki called to his wife, "Baing, this slave of mine wants to hang (*gantong*) me; you had better tell him to run off!" Next, the *Korutok* started to cry "*Tok, tok!*" "Ah," said the Singkalaki to his wife, "this slave wants to chop (*totok*[2]) me; you had better throw him out!" "*Buangkut-kut! Buangkut!*" said the toad, and the Singkalaki called again to his wife, "Baing, this slave, too, has been plotting with the others and wants to bury (*memukut*[3]) me; throw him out too!" But the *Takang* did not make a sound and the Singkalaki said, "This slave has not been plotting." So when he went to his clearing, he took the *Takang* with him, and gave him a working-knife, but the *Takang*, not being a man, did nothing with it. Then the Singkalaki said to his wife, "This *Takang* is new to the work; don't force him, and

[1] All these four animals are species of frogs or toads.
[2] The Malay *tĕtak*.
[3] The literal meaning of this word is, I believe, *to dig*.

perhaps to-morrow, or the next day, he will have learned." So he brought the *Takang* back to the house and the next day again took him to the clearing and gave him a chopping-knife, while he himself and his wife went to work. When they stopped working they went to look at the *Takang* and, finding that he had not done any work, the wife said, "Why has he not done any work?" "Oh," said the Singkalaki, "he is new to it, and besides, he is grieving for his relations." Then the Singkalaki took the *Takang* and tied him up outside the hut, giving him a knife so that he might learn to work. After a time it began to rain hard, and the *Takang* started crying, "*Kang, kang.*" "Ah," said the Singkalaki, "this is very bad, for he wants to use me as a horse, and place a bridle (*kakang*) in my mouth." Then the Singkalaki threw out the *Takang* also, and thus he had no slaves left.

Ginas and the Raja

A Dusun legend, told by a man of Tambahilik, Tempassuk District

A long time ago there was a man and his wife whose names were Rakian and Sumundok[1]. On the day when they married, many others also married, and each couple had at least two children; but Rakian and Sumundok had none, though Sumundok was expecting a child. Rakian fell ill, and he said to his wife, "Perhaps I shall die before I see my child, but you must bring him up well, for we are not wanting in possessions." Then Rakian died, and after a time Sumundok gave birth to a male child, and she said to it, "I will give you a name; your name is Ginas, but I will not bring you up, I will put you into a box." So Sumundok put the child into a box, and after two or three months she went to look at it, and she found that it had grown and could walk. When the child had come out of the box, it spent its time in hunting the pigs, and its mother did not forbid it. "For," thought she, "if it should kill a pig I can replace it." But the people of the village became angry because Sumundok's child was

[1] *Sumundok* = "virgin." Cf. Munsumundok.

always chasing their pigs. Qne day Ginas went to the Raja's house, and for two days he hunted the pigs there below the house. Then the Raja said to one of his men, "Go to Ginas' house and tell his relations that he must not hunt pigs any more, for I have had no sleep from it for two nights. If he does not follow my orders, I will make him my slave." So three men went to Ginas' house and told him that if he chased the Raja's pigs any more, the Raja would make him a slave. But Ginas paid no heed to the Raja's words, and going to the Raja's house, he again hunted the pigs. Then said the Raja, "All men follow my orders, this Ginas only, who is still small, does not obey me." So the Raja sent to Ginas, saying, "For three nights I have not been able to sleep for the noise of the waves in the sea. Go and chase them, and see if you can stop them." When the Raja's men came to the house of Ginas, they said to him that the Raja wished him to stop the waves, and Ginas replied, "You must stay here to-night, and eat with me." The three men stayed there, and, when it was night, Ginas went down to the sea-shore, and, taking sand, wrapped it in his handkerchief. Then going back to the house he woke the Raja's men and said to them, "Give this sand to the Raja, and tell him to have a rope made from it, and, when the rope is made, I will use it to catch the waves with." So the men went home, and the Raja asked them what Ginas had said about his order to stop the waves. Then the Raja's men told him that Ginas had said that he would catch the waves, only that, as he was short of rope, he was sending some sand to the Raja of which to make a cord, and that when the cord was made, he would catch the waves with it. And the Raja had to admit that he was beaten, and threw the sand away. Then the Raja had seven jars of rice-wine made, and killed three head of cattle; and he sent three men to call Ginas to drink. The three men came to Ginas and he replied that he would come on the next day. On the morrow Ginas brought out clothes all covered with gold, and putting them on, set out. When he got to the Raja's house, the Raja asked him to sit down on his mattress, and all kinds of food and

drink were brought to them, and there was a bowl there for washing the hands, seven spans[1] in circumference. After they had eaten, the Raja said to Ginas, "Ginas, you shall wash your hands on my mattress, and if the mattress is not wetted you shall replace me as Raja, and shall have all my property and my daughter as your wife; but if you wet the mattress you shall become my slave." So when Ginas was washing out his mouth he was afraid of spitting the water out on to the mattress, so he sent it into the Raja's face instead, saying, "I was afraid to put it anywhere else, but your face does not matter, since you are blind in one eye, and thus your face is damaged. Take this looking-glass and look," So the Raja took the mirror, and, seeing that one of his eyes was damaged, and that no one else had so ugly a face, was ashamed, and ran away from the country, taking with him only one of his wives. As for Ginas, he took his place and became Raja.

The Kandowai and the Kerbau (Buffalo)

Told by Anggor, a Tuaran Dusun

NOTE. The Kandowai is the white padi-bird (*Bubulcus coromandus*), which so often accompanies herds of buffaloes in the coastal regions.

The bird said to the buffalo, "If I were to drink the water of a stream, I could drink it all." "I also," said the *Kerbau*, "could finish it, for I am big, while you are small." "Very well," said the bird, "to-morrow we will drink." In the morning, when the water was coming down in flood, the bird told the buffalo to drink first. The *Kerbau* drank, and drank, but the water only came down the faster, and at length he was forced to stop. So the *Kerbau* said to the bird, "You can take my place and try, for I cannot finish it." Now the *Kandowai* waited till the flood had gone down, and when it had done so, he put his beak into the water and pretended to drink. Then he waited till all the water had run away out of the stream, and said to the *Kerbau*, "See, I have finished it!"

[1] The span of the hand, when widely opened, from the extremity of the thumb to that of the middle finger.

And since the bird outwitted the *Kerbau* in this manner, the *Kerbau* has become his slave, and the bird rides on his back.

The Lungun, the Bobog and the Monkeys

A Dusun story, told by Sirinan of Piasau, Tempassuk District

The *Lungun* (adjutant-bird) was watching at its nest one day and fell asleep, and while he was sleeping, monkeys came and pulled out all his feathers. Then the *Lungun* cried, for he could no longer fly in search of food. After a time his mate came and brought him food and asked him how he had lost his feathers. The *Lungun* explained how the monkeys had come while he was asleep, and that when he awoke they were plucking out all his feathers. After about two months the *Lungun* was able to fly, for his feathers had grown again. He thought and thought in what way he could revenge himself upon the monkeys, but he could find none. One day, however, when he was walking about, he met the *Bobog*[1] and he told him how the monkeys had stolen all his feathers and how he had not been able to fly for two months, and he asked the *Bobog* how he could take his revenge upon them. "I will help you," said the *Bobog*, "but you must go and hunt for a boat first." "What is the use of that?" said the *Lungun*, "I am not clever at rowing." "Never mind," said the *Bobog*, "just get it, but it must be one with a good large hole in it, and I will go into the hole and stop it up." So the *Bobog* and the *Lungun* agreed to meet again in seven days, and the *Lungun* set out to look for a worn-out boat with a hole in it. He was not long in finding one, and at the end of seven days the *Bobog* and the *Lungun* met at the place where the boat was lying. Then the *Bobog* crept into the hole so that the water could not get in any more, and the boat started away down-stream with the *Lungun* standing on it. The monkeys saw the boat and the *Lungun* on it, and called to him, asking him where he was going, and the *Lungun* replied that he was going for a sail. Then the monkeys asked the *Lungun* if they might

[1] A kind of small tortoise. Probably the same species as that which the Peninsular Malays call *Kura-kura*.

come with him, and the *Lungun* replied, "Certainly," for he recognized among them many of the monkeys who had pulled out his feathers. So the monkeys, twenty in all, got into the boat, and when they were enjoying themselves, drifting in the boat, another monkey called from a tree, and he and his companions, twenty-one in number, also got into the boat. Many other monkeys called to them, but the *Lungun* would not let any more come on board, for he said that the boat would not hold more than forty-one. When the boat had drifted out from the river into mid-ocean, it was struck by the waves, and the *Lungun* told the monkeys to tie their tails together, two and two, and to sit on opposite sides so that it should not roll. Then the monkeys tied their tails together because they wished to stop the rolling, but the forty-first monkey, who had no tail and only one hand, had no companion. When they were all tied up, two and two, the *Lungun* called, "*Bobog*, I'm going to fly off." "Very well," said the *Bobog*, "I'll swim off too." So the *Lungun* flew up, and the *Bobog* coming out of the hole, the boat sank. Then the monkeys tried to swim, but could not do so because their tails were tied together. So the fish ate them, and the only monkey who escaped was the forty-first, who had no companion tied to him. As for the *Lungun* he flew away, saying, "Now you know what you get for pulling out my feathers."

The Bobog (Water-Tortoise) and the Elephant

A Dusun story, told by Sirinan of Piasau, Tempassuk District

NOTE. The *Bobog* has movable plates, fore and aft, on the under-side of his shell and with the help of these he can shut up his body completely.

The *Bobog* was walking one day near the river when he met the Elephant. Said the Elephant, "*Bobog*, what are you doing here?" "I am looking for food," replied the *Bobog*. "Well," said the Elephant, "I'm going to eat you." "Why?" said the *Bobog*. "Because I choose to," said the Elephant. "Won't you have pity on me?" said the *Bobog*, "I can't run away as I can only walk slowly." "If you don't want me to

eat you," said the Elephant, "I will burn you." "But I am very much frightened of fire," said the *Bobog*, "if I see it, I run away at once into the water. Well," continued the *Bobog*, "if I don't burn, may I try and burn you afterwards?" And the Elephant said that he might. So the Elephant made a pile of wood as big as a hut, building it on the sand near the river. "*Bobog*," said the Elephant, "to-morrow morning early you must go into the pile of wood and I will burn you." "Very well," replied the *Bobog*, "I will go in to-morrow, but as I am going in you must keep on calling me, and when I no longer answer you any more, you can set the pile alight." So the next morning the *Bobog* went into the heap of wood, and for a long time, whenever the Elephant called, he always received an answer; at last, however, the *Bobog* was silent. Then the Elephant set fire to the pile all round, so that there should be no chance of the *Bobog* getting out. The fire burnt down, and the Elephant said, "Certainly the *Bobog* is dead." So off he went to the river to drink; but when he came back, there was the *Bobog* walking about among the ashes of the fire, for he had buried himself in the damp sand of the river, and shut up his shell; and thus had not been hurt. "You are very clever to have got out," said the Elephant; "how does the fire feel, does it burn, or not?" "It is a little unpleasant," said the *Bobog*, "but what can one do if an elephant wishes to burn one?" So the *Bobog* asked the Elephant to help him to collect wood for his own burning, and for three or four days the Elephant brought wood until he had made a heap far larger than that which had been used for burning the *Bobog*. Then the *Bobog* asked the Elephant when he would go into the heap, and the Elephant answered that he would go in early the next morning. On the following day the Elephant went into the pile and made a nice place for himself to lie down in. Then the *Bobóg* called to him, "Elephant, are you comfortable, for I want to burn you?" "Burn away," replied the Elephant. So the *Bobog* set fire all round the pile, and, after a time, the Elephant called out, "The fire is very hot." "Well, I did not say anything about it," said the *Bobog*. Soon

the Elephant began to cry out that the fire was burning him. "Be quiet, can't you?" said the *Bobog*, "I never cried out, and besides it's your own fault, for you suggested burning me; I should never have thought of burning you." So the Elephant was burnt to death, but the *Bobog* laughed and said, "Ah, Elephant, you tried to burn an animal whose back is hard, and whose face is hard; besides you cannot dig into the ground as I can!" Then the *Bobog* made a *toriding*[1] from a small bone of the Elephant, and while he was walking along, playing upon it, he came to a large tree. Now there was a Monkey in the tree, and he, hearing the beautiful sound of the *toriding*, came down to see who was playing. "*Bobog*," said he, "where did you get your *toriding*?" "From the Elephant's bones," replied the *Bobog*. "How did you get the Elephant's bones?" said the Monkey; "I should like to try your *toriding*." But for some time the *Bobog* would not let the Monkey try it: at last, however, he gave it to him, and immediately the Monkey snatched it and ran away with it to the top of the tree; and the *Bobog* wept because his *toriding* had been stolen. After a time there came a small Crab[2] and asked the *Bobog* why he was crying. "Because the Monkey has stolen my *toriding*," said the *Bobog*. "Where is he?" said the Crab. "Up in that big tree there," replied the *Bobog*. "All right, don't worry," said the Crab, "I will go up the tree after him." Now the Monkey had his child with him, and, when the Crab had got up into the tree, the Monkey's child saw the Crab, and called out, "Father, there is a crab up there close to you." "Oh, nonsense," said the father, "I expect it is only a knob of wood that you see." Then the Crab pinched the Monkey, the Monkey dropped the *toriding*, and the Crab dropped out of the tree. So the *Bobog* ran to get his *toriding* and he thanked the Crab, "For," said he, "without your help I should never have got it back again."

[1] Jew's-harp.
[2] Such as are found near streams in the jungle.

The Magical Boats

A Dusun story told by a man of Tambahilik, Tempassuk District

A man named Lomaring once made a beautiful *gobang*[1], and when he had finished it, he ordered it to sail away. The *gobang* set sail of its own accord and sped over the sea until it came to a Raja's bathing-place near the coast, and there it waited. Soon a beautiful young woman, the Raja's daughter, came down to the river to bathe. "Whose *gobang* is this," said she, "which has floated away? What a nice plaything." Speaking thus, she climbed on board, and immediately the boat sailed away to Lomaring, taking the woman with it. When it arrived at Lomaring's bathing-place, he was bathing there, waiting for it to return. "Oh," said he, "perhaps this is my boat, which is bringing a beautiful woman." So he took the woman, and brought her home to his house, and made her his wife. Now another man of the same village, Tamburan by name, who was also a bachelor, but very ugly, heard of Lomaring's luck with his boat. "Ah," said he, "I also will make a boat and try my fortune." So Tamburan made his boat, and ordered it to sail away for him, but for seven days the boat refused to move. Then said Tamburan, "If I talk Dusun perhaps it does not understand; I will try Illanun." So he spoke to it in Illanun, saying, "Go and find a beautiful house," and immediately the boat sailed away, until, at last, it came to a place where a ship was moored, which had a dead woman on board. "Ah," said a man on the ship, who had caught sight of the boat, "what luck, here is a small boat in which I can row the dead woman ashore!" So he put the corpse into the boat, and immediately it rushed away with its freight to find Tamburan, and arrived at his bathing-place just as he was going to bathe. Tamburan, seeing his boat with the woman in it, went and raised her up, but, since the corpse could not stand, he said, "Perhaps she is fast asleep; let her rest, for she must be tired." So the dead woman remained

[1] A small boat made from a single tree-trunk: a dug-out canoe.

in the boat. On the following day Tamburan went down to the boat again, and the woman's stomach being near bursting, he said, "What a wretch is this boat of mine; it has brought me a dead woman"; and, getting very angry, he broke up the boat. Then Lomaring made a beautiful *basong*[1], and, when it was finished, it started off of its own accord. Now there was a Bajau woman in a village, who was making cakes for a festival, and the *basong*, having come into the village, stopped there. So the woman, seeing the *basong*, took it and placed cakes in it, until it was full to the top. Then the *basong* set off immediately for Lomaring's house, and when he saw it, he said, "What sort of *basong* is this? As soon as I finished making it, it ran off, and now here it is again, full of cakes." So Lomaring and his wife ate their fill. "My boat," said Lomaring, "got me a woman, and now my *basong* brings me cakes." Tamburan heard that Lomaring's *basong* had come home full of cakes, and he said, "I made a boat to get me a woman, but it only got me a rotten corpse; perhaps I shall have better luck if I make a *basong*." Then Tamburan made a *basong*, but when it was finished, it would not go where it was ordered. "Perhaps," he said, "I must speak Illanun to it," so he said in Illanun, "*Basong*, go and get food for me," and the *basong* started off, and went after a herd of cattle, and, as it followed close behind them their droppings kept on falling into it. When the *basong* was full of dung, it went into the jungle and under bushes, until the top was covered with leaves, and the dung could no longer be seen. Tamburan saw the *basong* coming when it was still some little way from his house, and said, "I will go and help it, for it cannot climb up into the house, since it is so full of cakes." So he went and carried the *basong* into the house, and plunging his arm into it to get at the "cakes" he brought it out covered with cow-dung. "What a rascal is this *basong*," said he, "it has brought home only filth"; and he fell upon it with his chopping-knife.

[1] A kind of carrying-basket made from the leaf-stems of the sago-palm.

The Buffalo and the Banana Plant

An Illanun story told by Orang Kaya Haji Arsat of Fort Alfred, Tempassuk District

A herd of buffaloes wished one day to cross a river, but was afraid to do so, as there were many small calves in the herd, and the river was both swift and deep. As the buffaloes were debating how they were to cross, some banana plants, which were growing near, spoke and said, "Cut us down, and then you can make a raft from us on which your children can cross the river." So the buffaloes felled the banana plants, and, making a raft, set the calves upon it. But when the raft got out into the river the force of the stream seized it, and carried it down the river to its mouth, where, meeting with great waves, the raft was dashed to pieces, and all the young buffaloes were drowned. Then the buffaloes, being very angry, attacked the remaining banana plants with their horns until none were left standing; and that is the reason why till the present day buffaloes like to knock down banana plants with their horns.

The Raja and the Pauper

A Bajau tale told by Si Ungin of Kotabelud, Tempassuk District

There was once a very handsome man who had married a beautiful wife. The husband said one day to his wife, "If I were to die, would you marry again?" The wife did not answer him properly, but asked him in turn, "And if I were to die, would you marry again?" The man replied, "If you were to die first, I would not marry another." Then said his wife, "If that is your answer, neither should I wish to marry again, if you were to die first." The husband and the wife, therefore, agreed that, if either of them died, the remaining one should not re-marry. Some time afterwards the man became ill, and, when he had been sick for three or four days, he died. His mother and father came and wished to bury him, but his wife would not allow them to do so. Then said

his mother and father to the woman, "What do you want?" And the wife replied, "I wish to lie near him until nothing but his bones are left." So the woman slept near her husband's corpse, and she became defiled with its putrefaction. When nothing remained except the bones, she went to bathe, and, having done so, she again appeared beautiful. All the men in the country wished to marry her, but she would have none of them, saying, "I still have a husband." At last the Raja of another country heard a report of her beauty. He loaded his vessel with costly gifts and prepared to set sail with his companions. Now a certain poor man, who as yet had not married, was in the Raja's train and, when the ship was laden, this poor man said to the Raja, "Your Highness, your slave would like to go with you and see this woman." Then said the Raja, "What is the use of your going there, you are only a pauper; you have no goods, and the only thing that you possess is your own body." The poor man answered, "If your Highness will take pity on your slave, your slave would like to go and see this country." "Very well," said the Raja, "you can come, but to-morrow I set sail." So the poor man thanked the Raja and went home. That evening he said to his mother, "Mother, put me up some rice in a bundle." His mother asked him, "Where are you going?" and he replied, "I am going with the Raja to see this woman." The same night he went to the graveyard and, digging open a grave, took the bones from it, and carried them home. The next morning, when the Raja was about to sail, he placed the bones in a large basket and went on board. The ship sailed away and, after a time, arrived at its destination. When the Raja had disembarked, he gave it out that he wished to marry the woman. Next he sent men requesting an answer to his proposal, and the woman replied, "I do not wish to marry, for I have a husband already—these bones." Then said the Raja, "Tell the woman to throw away the bones and I myself will occupy their place and will give her as dowry all that my ship contains"; but the woman answered again that she already had a husband.

That evening the poor man left the ship and, taking his basket with him, went to the woman's house. When he got there it was dark, and he said to the woman's father, "Will you let me sleep here to-night, for darkness has come on while I have been walking?" The woman's father replied, "Very well, you can sleep here." So the woman's father gave him food and, when all the people of the house had fed, he unrolled a sleeping-mat and gave it to him. Now when the poor man had spread out his mat, he opened his basket, took out the bones, and placed them near him. The father of the woman said to him, "What are those?" The poor man replied, "They are the bones of my wife, and wherever I go, I take them with me." "Allah!" said the father, "why my daughter also keeps the bones of her husband; look for yourself." Said the poor man, "I promised my wife, when she was alive, that if she died first, I would not marry again, and she made a like promise to me. Now she is dead, I do not wish to marry again, and I carry my wife's bones with me." Then spoke the woman, "I made a promise just such as yours, and now I do not wish to marry a man, however handsome he may be, or however many goods he may have." After this the people of the house went to sleep, but the poor man kept awake, and at midnight he took away the bones of the woman's husband, mixed them with those that he had brought with him, and put them near the cooking-place. Then he feigned sleep, and, at about five o'clock in the morning, sat up and pretended to weep. So because of his great lamentation, the father of the woman, the woman herself, and all the other people of the house awoke. And the father said to him, "Why do you weep?" The poor man replied, "My wife is not here near me; where can she have gone?" Thereupon the woman began to bemoan herself because the bones of her husband were missing as well. So the people of the house searched for the two skeletons, and found them near the cooking-place. Then both the man and the woman lamented afresh, since the bones of the woman's husband were lying with the skeleton which the poor man said was that of his wife. Thus there arose a lawsuit

because the bones of the poor man's "wife" had been unfaithful with those of the woman's husband; and the judgment of the elders was that, as the bones had been unfaithful, the man and woman were absolved from their promise, and, considering the facts of the case, they thought it fitting that the man and the woman should marry. So they were married, and the Raja was very angry with the poor man, and went home to his own country; but the poor man stayed with his wife. As for the bones, the people of the house took them and buried them.

P'LANDOK STORIES

These stories about the cunning little mouse-deer are great favourites in Borneo among the coastal peoples. Variants of them are also well known in the Malay Peninsula and a number of them are given by Skeat in his *Fables and Folk-tales from an Eastern Forest.*

The P'landok and the Gergasi

A Bajau story told by Si Ungin of Kotabelud, Tempassuk District

Once upon a time there were seven kinds of animals, the Buffalo, the Bull, the Dog, the Stag, the Horse, the *P'landok* (mouse-deer) and the *Kijang* (Muntjac or barking-deer). These animals agreed to catch fish, and when they had cast a round net into the sea, they drew it to the edge, and there were many fish in it. They placed their fish on the sand, and someone said, "Who will guard our fish, while we go and cast the net again? For we are afraid of the *Gergasi*[1]." Then said the Buffalo, "I will guard the fish, for I am not afraid of him; if he comes here I will fight him with my horns." When the other animals had gone away, the *Gergasi* came, and said, "Ha, ha, ha, what a lot of fish you have caught! I'll eat them directly, and if you don't like it, I'll eat you too!" Said the Buffalo, "All right, come here and I'll horn you!" "Very well," said the *Gergasi*, "if you won't give me your fish I will eat you." When the *Gergasi* had got close, and the Buffalo

[1] A mythical giant demon who carries a spear over his shoulders. Tusks project from his mouth.

made as if to horn him, he seized hold of his horns, and he could do nothing, because the *Gergasi* was very big and strong Then the Buffalo cried out, "Let go; if you let me go, you can eat the fish!" So the *Gergasi* let him go, and the Buffalo swam off to his companions, who were in the sea catching fish. When he came there, he said to them, "The *Gergasi* has eaten our fish: he caught hold of my horns, and I could do nothing." Then the other animals were angry with him, and said, "If we were to go on fishing till we died, the *Gergasi* would get all our fish"; and the Horse said to him, "You fish with these others this time; I'll guard the fish and, if I don't manage to bite the *Gergasi*, at any rate I'll kick him." So the animals brought the fish to the same place, and leaving them in charge of the Horse, went again to catch more. When the other animals had been gone a good time, out came the *Gergasi* again, and said, "Ha, ha, ha, if you don't swim off again to your companions, I'll eat you as well as the fish!" "Well," said the Horse, "come and take them if you can, but I will guard them till I die!" On the *Gergasi's* approach, the Horse tried to bite him; but the *Gergasi* caught him by the head, and he could do nothing. Then the Horse reared up and the *Gergasi* let go his head. When he had got free, he let fly at the *Gergasi* with his heels; but the *Gergasi* caught him by his hind legs. So the Horse begged to be let go, and the *Gergasi* released him, and while the Horse was swimming away to his companions, the *Gergasi* ate the fish. When the Horse reached his companions, he said, "I, too, have done my best, but the *Gergasi* has got the fish. First I tried to bite him, and he caught me by the head. Then I reared, and, having shaken him off, tried to kick him, but he only caught me by the legs, and I had to give in." Then his companions said, "What is the use of our catching fish? We only get tired, and the *Gergasi* eats them; it is best that we should go home." So the Bull, the Stag, the Dog, and the *Kijang*, said, "What is the use of our trying to fight the *Gergasi*? For we are afraid: all the strong animals had tried, but they have all been beaten. Let us go home." The *P'landok* only remained silent, and

when all the others had had their say, he said, "You go and catch fish again, and I will stop on guard." "What can you do," said the Horse, "you who are so small? How can you fight the *Gergasi*?" "Never mind," replied the *P'landok*, "I can't fight him, or kill him, but I should like to guard the fish." The other animals wanted to go home, but the *P'landok* persuaded them; and they again caught many fish, and these they placed on the sand in the same spot. Then said the Stag, "Who is going to guard the fish?" and the Buffalo replied, "Why the *P'landok* said just now that he would." "Very well," said the *P'landok*, "I will guard them, but perhaps some other animal would prefer to, as my body is so small?" But none of the other animals was willing, so the *P'landok* said, "All right, I will guard them, but put them in a heap, and cover them with leaves, so that they cannot be seen." Then his companions heaped up the fish and covered them with leaves, and, having done so, went back to the fishing. When the others had gone the *P'landok* went and got some rattan canes, and cut them into strips, such as are used for binding anything. As soon as he had finished, out came the *Gergasi* and said, "Ha, ha, ha, is the *P'landok* guarding here? Why, I got the fish from the Buffalo and the Horse, what do you think you, who are so small, can do? You had better give me the fish, or I'll eat you along with them!" Then the *P'landok* said, "I'm not guarding fish, I'm cutting up rattans"; and the *Gergasi*, who had come near, but had not seen the fish, said, "What are you doing with the rattans?" "I'm binding them round my knees," replied the *P'landok*. "Why are you doing that?" said the *Gergasi*. "Don't you see the sky?" answered the *P'landok*, "it looks like falling; see how low it has got; that's why I am binding up my knees." "Why do you bind up your knees if the sky looks like falling?" asked the *Gergasi*. "I'm binding up my knees so that I can get into our well here; for, if the sky falls, I shall not get hurt when I'm down there." Then the *Gergasi* looked at the sky and saw that it was very low. "Don't bind up your legs first," said he, "bind mine." "All right," said the *P'landok*, "only

go over to the well first." So the two went to the well, the *P'landok* carrying the rattans. Then the *Gergasi* said, "You bind yourself up first," but the *P'landok* replied, "If I bind myself up first, how can I bind you up afterwards?" "Very well," said the *Gergasi*, "bind me first, but you shall be the first to go into the well." "If I do that," said the *P'landok*, "I shall not die from the sky falling on me, but from your falling on top of me in the well." So the *Gergasi* agreed to go first, as what the *P'landok* said seemed reasonable; and the *P'landok* bound up the *Gergasi* firmly, tying his hands to his knees. "Why have you bound me so tightly?" said the *Gergasi*, but the *P'landok* only gave him a push, and he fell into the well. "Ah, now you can stop there till you die," said the *P'landok*; "you don't know the *P'landok's* cleverness!" "I suppose that I shall die here," said the *Gergasi*. "Yes," said the *P'landok*, "for you have always stolen our fish." After a little time there came the *P'landok's* companions, bringing more fish. "Ah, see how clever I am," said the *P'landok*, "for I have bound the *Gergasi*! You said the *Gergasi* was strong. How then have I managed to tie him up?" "You lie!" said the Buffalo and the Horse, "How could *you* manage to bind him?" "If you don't believe me," said the *P'landok*, "look into that well and see if he's not there." So all the animals went to the well, and saw the *Gergasi*. Then said the Horse and the Buffalo, "How did you bind him?" "What's the use of your asking?" said the *P'landok*, "you don't know the *P'landok's* cunning! However, you'd better kill him with a spear or something, because he has stolen our fish so often." So they killed the *Gergasi* with a spear. When the *Gergasi* was dead, they agreed to eat on the shore, and when they had cooked their fish and rice they found only one thing wanting, and that was chillies. So as they had no chillies, they did without them, though, as they were accustomed to them, they did not enjoy their food much. Then, while they were eating, the *P'landok* saw that the end of the Dog's penis was showing red; "Ah," said he, "we were seeking for chillies just now—there's one I see!" And he pointed to

the Dog's penis. The Dog did not understand; and the Stag and the *Kijang* said, "Where is the chillie?" "There," said the *P'landok*, and again he pointed to the Dog. Then the Dog became very angry, because he was ashamed, and the Stag and the *Kijang* had laughed at him. So the Stag, the *Kijang* and the *P'landok* became frightened, and ran away, and the Dog pursued them. And the Dog always hunts these three till the present day, because they made him ashamed. The Dog was hot on the track of the *P'landok* when they entered the jungle. The *P'landok*, however, managed, by using its teeth and feet, to climb a tree. The Dog came below the tree, but could neither see the *P'landok's* tracks, nor follow its scent, beyond this spot. So the Dog left following the *P'landok*, and went to hunt the Stag and the *Kijang*. When he got to the place where the animals had fed, he found that they had all gone, but their rice and their fish were left behind. Then he hunted the Stag and the *Kijang*, but could not catch them. At last he said, "Well, if I ever see the Stag, the *Kijang*, or the *P'landok* again, I will kill them, and my children and their descendants shall do the same!" And so they do down to the present day. A little time after, the Dog met the Horse, the Buffalo and the Bull, and these four animals shared the food, for the Dog was not angry with the other three, because they had not laughed at him.

The P'landok and the Tiger

Told by Si Ungin, a Bajau of Kotabelud, Tempassuk District

When the Dog had gone home, the *P'landok* went in search of the Tiger, and on his way he came across a lot of snakes, which were lying coiled up in circles near the Tiger's house. The *P'landok* waited there, and the snakes did not move. Then came the Tiger, and the Tiger and the *P'landok* saw each other at the same moment. The Tiger, however, did not see the snakes, and said to the *P'landok*, "*P'landok*, what are you doing here?" "Oh," said he, "I've been waiting here

for a long time on guard, because the Raja has ordered me." "What are you guarding?" said the Tiger. "I am guarding the Raja's goods here, his *orut*[1]," said he, pointing to the snakes. Then the Tiger looked at the "*orut*," and seeing them coiled up, he said, "What if we drag them undone, then I can tie them round my waist and see if they are good ones or not?" "I dare not let you do it," said the *P'landok*, "as the Raja has put me here to guard his goods, but, if you like, I will ask him." Now the *P'landok* was frightened of the Tiger, and wanted to beat a retreat, so he said, "I will go ahead, and if I meet the Raja, I will call to you." Then the *P'landok* started in search of the Raja, and when he had got some little way off, he called to the Tiger and said, "I have met the Raja, and he says that you can try on the cloths." Then the Tiger caught hold of the snakes and dragged at them, and they, waking, attacked him, winding themselves about his body and biting him. Thus the Tiger died. As for the *P'landok* he ran off, saying, "Ah, you Tiger, you consider yourself strong, don't you? But you are no match for the cunning of the *P'landok*!"

The P'landok and the Bear

A Bajau tale told by Si Ungin of Kotabelud, Tempassuk District

When the Tiger was dead, the *P'landok* began to think how he could get the better of the Bear, for he had heard that the Bear was also a strong animal. As he was walking along one day, he came across a bees'-nest in a tree, and sat down near it to wait. After he had been there for some time, there came the Bear. "What are you doing here?" said he. "I am guarding the Raja's *tawag-tawag*[2]," answered the *P'landok*, "which he has left in my charge." "May I try its sound,"

[1] The *orut* is a long scarf-like cloth used for swathing the body, and especially the stomach, during war. It is said that if a man who is wearing an *orut* is stabbed in the abdomen, the intestines will not project from the wound.

[2] *Tawag-tawag*, called *tawak-tawak* or *tĕtawak*, in the Malay Peninsula, a large gong; *vide* footnote to p. 98, *supra*.

said the Bear, "whether it is good or not?" The *P'landok* answered, as before[1], that he must ask the Raja first, and when he had gone off, and had got some distance away, he called out, "The Raja says that you can strike the gong." So the Bear struck the nest, and the bees, coming out in a fury, stung him to death.

The P'landok and the Crocodile

Told by Anggor, a Tuaran Dusun, but doubtfully a Dusun story

The *P'landok* was walking one day near the edge of a river and saw some fruit on a tree on the other side. He was just going to cross when he espied the Crocodile. "Who is that?" said the *P'landok*, but the Crocodile did not answer. Then said the *P'landok*, "Ah, I know who you are, you are the Crocodile! In seven days' time I will bring my whole tribe to fight you, and do you also bring your people." When the seventh day had arrived, the *P'landok* went down to the river very early, before the Crocodile had come, and walked backwards and forwards until the whole of the river margin was covered with its tracks. After a time the Crocodile and his companions arrived. Then the *P'landok*, who was awaiting them, spoke and said, "You are late in coming: my followers waited and waited for you, but at last they grew tired, and have gone home. If you do not believe me, look at their tracks on the bank. I should like to count how many you and your companions are, so draw yourselves up in a row from one side of the river to the other." Then the crocodiles did so, and the *P'landok* started walking on their backs counting, "one, two, three," when suddenly he gave a jump and reached the other bank. Then he called out, "Ah, I have cheated you, for how else could a *P'landok* fight with crocodiles? I saw the fruit on the other side of the river, but I was afraid to swim across, as I knew that you were waiting for me." "Very well," said the Crocodile, "wait till you come down to the river to drink and I'll eat you." A few days

[1] Just as he had answered the tiger about the *orut*.

afterwards, the *P'landok*, who had forgotten all about the Crocodile, came down to the river to drink, and the Crocodile caught him by the leg. Then the *P'landok* took hold of a piece of wood and pulled it towards him, and when he had done this, he called out, "That is not my leg you have caught hold of; this is my leg," said he, pointing to the piece of wood. So the Crocodile let go of the *P'landok's* leg, and the *P'landok* sprang away, calling out, "Ah, I have cheated you again; how foolish is the Crocodile!" "Very well," said the Crocodile, "another time I won't let go of your foot so easily."

The P'landok in a Hole

Told by Ransab, Headman of Piasau, Tempassuk District
(Though the tale is told by a Dusun, I doubt its Dusun origin)

The *P'landok* when wandering in the jungle one day fell into a large hole in the ground, and could not get out again. After a time the *Timbadau*[1] came to the hole, and seeing the *P'landok*, said, "Why, *P'landok*, what are you doing there?" "Oh," said the *P'landok*, "I've come here to see my mother and father, my sisters and brothers." "Wait a bit," said the *Timbadau*, and I will come down too, for I also wish to see my mother and father, sisters and brothers," but the *P'landok* told the *Timbadau* that he was not to come down. Then the *Timbadau* answered, that if he said that again, he would fall on him from above, and he, the *P'landok*, would die. So the *P'landok* gave the *Timbadau* leave to get into the hole, and the *Timbadau* came down. When he had come down, the *Timbadau* said to the *P'landok*, "Where are my father and mother?" "Wait a little," said the *P'landok*, "I've lost them just at present." So the *Timbadau* waited, and after a long time the Rhinoceros came to the hole and asked them what they were doing. Then the *P'landok* answered as before that he was amusing himself, that he was seeing his father and mother, and that there were lots of shops down there. Whereupon the Rhinoceros came down too, "For," said he, "my father and mother are dead, and I would like to meet them

[1] *Bos sondaicus.*

and see how they have come to life again." Next came the Stag and asked what they were doing, and the *P'landok* replied that he was seeing his father and mother, and that there were many people sailing away on voyages down there. So the Stag also jumped down. After that came the *Kijang*[1], and he, receiving the same answer from the *P'landok*, came down too. Then since the other animals were standing on each other's backs in the hole, the *Timbadau* at the bottom and the *Kijang* at the top, the *P'landok* was able to scramble up to the top on their backs and make his escape. Now, when he had got out, he met a man, who was hunting with his dog, and the dog, having got on his scent, pursued him. Then the *P'landok* made for the hole, and, running round it once or twice, departed. So the dog, while following the scent of the *P'landok*, came to the hole, and seeing the *Timbadau* and the other animals, stopped there barking; and the man came up and killed them all. As for the *P'landok* he got off scot-free.

The P'landok and the Omong[2]

Told by Si Ungin, a Bajau of Kotabelud, Tempassuk District

When the *P'landok* had cheated all the strong animals and had brought about their deaths, he wished to have a contest of wits with an animal who considered himself clever, so he went in search of one. At last he met the *Omong*, and the *Omong* said to him, "*P'landok* all the strong animals have been killed by your cunning, but if you like to try your wits against mine, I am ready." "Very well," said the *P'landok*, "that is just what I am looking for, animals who consider themselves long-headed; but how would you like to compete with me?" "I should like to race you," said the *Omong*, "and if you win, I will acknowledge your cleverness and your power of running." "What, *you* want to race with *me*?" said the *P'landok*, "you can only walk sideways on the sand, and you don't race with your body only, for you have to carry a shell as well." So the *P'landok* felt ashamed to run a race

[1] Muntjac (*Muntiacus muntjac*). [2] The *Omong* is the hermit-crab.

with the *Omong*, but he said, "When are we to race?" "To-morrow," replied the *Omong*, "we will meet in the middle of the sands and race. You had better call your companions, and I will call mine too." "Very well," said the *P'landok*, "I will come to-morrow." "We will make a four-sided course for the race," said the *Omong*, "and we will race along the sides of the square from post to post." On the morrow, the *P'landok* and his companions came, and also the *Omong* with his, and it was decided that whoever won should be considered the champion over all the animals—for the *P'landok* had already overcome all the strongest of them. When they arrived at the open sand by the sea they made a square, placing stakes at the corners. Now the *P'landok* collected all his followers into one place, as did also the *Omong*. The *Omong*, however, had made a plot and had chosen three of his followers like himself in appearance and size, and had told them to bury themselves in the sand by three of the corners of the race-course, but to leave the fourth corner, the starting-point, vacant. Then said the *Omong* to the *P'landok*, "When you get to the first post call out '*Omong*,' and if I don't answer, you will know that I have been left behind, and that you have won the race." So the *P'landok* and the *Omong* started to race from post to post, the *Omong* saying, "Run!" When the *P'landok* heard the *Omong* say, "Run!" he gave a jump and the *Omong*, who, of course, was left behind, quickly buried himself in the sand, without anyone seeing him; for the spectators were some way off, and the *Omong* was small. So the *P'landok* ran without looking back, and when he got near the first post, the second crab had come out of the sand, and was waiting for him. When the *P'landok* got to the post he called out, "*Omong!*" and the crab answered, "Yes." So the *P'landok*, seeing what was apparently the same crab, gave another jump, and started running for the second post. The same thing happened here also, and the *P'landok* said to himself, "How is it that the *Omong*, who walks so slowly, manages to keep up with me?" At the third post the crab again answered, and the *P'landok*, who was

breathing heavily from running at top speed, set off as fast as he was able for the original starting-post, which was also to be the finish of the race. When he got there, the *Omong* was waiting for him, and again when the *P'landok* called out, "*Omong*," he was answered. Then the *P'landok* was ashamed and wished to die; so he ran from stake to stake until his breath was exhausted, and when he reached the starting-point he again called out, "*Omong!*" and the *Omong* answered "Yes." Thereupon the *P'landok*, who had no breath at all left, fell down and died, and the hermit-crabs cried out that the *Omong* was champion; but the *P'landok's* followers were silent.

(iii) NORTH BORNEAN MARKETS

The *tamu*[1], or market, is a regular institution in some parts of British North Borneo, and of such markets two kinds can be distinguished. One is the small local market, at which only the inhabitants of a few neighbouring villages are present, which chiefly serves as an excuse for cock-fighting, toddy-drinking, and gossiping, the amount of trading done being almost negligible. Of this kind is Tamu Asam, in the Tempassuk District, where the Mohamedan natives of the coast, Bajaus and Illanuns, meet the people of the neighbouring Dusun villages. The other variety of *tamu* is devoted to serious trading, and to such a market natives come many days' march from the interior, carrying on their backs heavy baskets of damar gum (*salong*), native grown tobacco, beeswax and other products of the country. These they trade with the Chinese shopkeepers of the district, who have stalls at most of the more important markets, and ride[2] up regularly from their shops near the government post.

A very good example of the larger type of market is Tamu Darat, also in the above-mentioned district. This is held once

[1] This word for "market" is used by natives when talking Malay. It is derived, no doubt from *ber-tĕmu*, to meet together, *tĕmuan*, "a meeting." The word is, however, in Borneo pronounced as spelt (not *tĕmu*).

[2] Buffaloes, cattle—especially bulls—and native ponies, are all used for riding purposes. A Bajau or an Illanun will scarcely travel anywhere on foot if he has a beast to ride.

in twenty[1] days, though a smaller *tamu* also takes place on the same ground on the tenth[1] day after Tamu Darat. To this is given the name of Tamu Sesip (Malay *sĕsip*, "slipped in between"). Formerly the markets were, I understand, held further up the Tempassuk Valley than is the case at present, the change of site having been made by a former District Officer, partly in order to get these meetings under better control by having them nearer to the government station, now about six miles away, and partly for the convenience of the Chinese traders. In past years, when the district was in a disturbed state, there was a very natural dislike on the part of the natives both of the interior and of the coast to venture too far into each other's country[2]; consequently, certain markets, as was the case with that under discussion, were held on more or less neutral ground, though even then everybody came to *tamu* fully armed, fights being by no means of rare occurrence. Up-country natives to the present day come down to market armed with spear and chopping-knife, but these have to be left outside the ground in charge of the lance-corporal or policeman who is there to assist the native chief appointed to preserve order.

With the growing feeling of security of the up-country natives in visiting the coasts, the old half-way market, though still largely attended, appears to be in some danger of falling into neglect, for it is now no uncommon thing for the people of the interior to go straight through to Tamu Timbang, which is held every Wednesday, not far from the government station and the Chinese shops. By doing this a man bringing in a load of jungle produce is enabled to obtain slightly higher

[1] It is worth noting that these up-country markets are held once in twenty days in view of the fact that some Indonesians have a week of five days, but for all I know, though I doubt it, the days for the markets may have been fixed by some European officer. The point only occurred to me recently, and I have now no opportunity of looking further into the matter, still I have never heard that the Dusuns have a week of any kind. The markets in the coastal regions are held every seven days, for the Mohamedans, like the Christians, have a week of that number of days.

[2] The Dusuns of the interior were much more frightened to trust themselves among the Mohamedans of the coast than *vice versa*, the Dusun being a lamb compared with the Bajau or Illanun wolf.

prices, and can also have a better selection of shop goods to choose from in return. The up-country native is a great walker, and will carry a very heavy load of damar or tobacco for many days together. Jungle produce is brought down in large baskets, which are generally fitted with a back-board and with three straps of tree-bark; two of these go over the shoulders while the other is worn round the forehead, the head and neck thus having to bear a considerable part of the weight.

The jungle produce business is entirely in the hands of the Chinese; but besides damar, beeswax and wild rubber, the Dusuns bring with them various articles of their own manufacture—hats of various types made of plaited and dyed rattan or bamboo, rope of twisted tree-bark and coils of rattan cane cut into strips and dyed black or red, these last being used for ornamental bindings—as well as rice, mangoes, durians, belunos and other kinds of fruit, and, most important of all, tobacco, which is largely cultivated at Kiau, on the slopes of Mount Kinabalu, as well as at Bundutuhan and other more inland villages. These they trade with the coast peoples who expose for sale, fresh and sun-dried fish, shell-fish, turtles' eggs, coarse native-made salt and head-cloths, which are woven by both Bajau and Illanun women on their primitive looms.

Straits Settlements' silver dollars and the North Borneo Company's notes, copper and nickel coin pass freely, and payment in cash is at a premium, but a great part, probably the greater part, of the trade in the *tamu* is done by barter[1]. This is of course very much to the liking of the Chinese, who will not part with cash unless forced to do so, since by bartering their cotton goods, beads, gambier, kerosene and other articles, they obtain a double profit on every deal. Buffaloes are to some extent traded in at the large *tamu*, but such transactions have to take place in the presence of a chief, and the animal must be branded with the chief's brand before the sale is complete. This is extremely necessary, as buffalo

[1] The trade in jungle produce, and in large quantities of tobacco, is very frequently done by barter. Buffaloes are brought to market by the Chinese to trade for heavy loads of damar, etc.

thieving, in spite of all attempts to suppress it, remains one of the "industries" of the Tempassuk District. Bajau and Illanun women do not come much to Tamu Darat, though they resort in large numbers to the coast markets, where they prove themselves even more inveterate hucksters than their men-folk. Dusun women, however, will go a six or seven days' journey to any important *tamu*, and frequently carry almost as heavy loads as the men.

Before the Tempassuk District was properly pacified, the Chinese were afraid to move far away from the protection of the government station, and the Bajaus, therefore, performed the part of commission agents for them; but with the growth of security this method of gaining a living has gradually become closed.

Native-grown tobacco, mentioned above, is prepared by cutting it into strips, which are sun-dried and rolled into bundles of from about nine inches to a foot long. A bundle of this kind is termed a *pĕrut*[1] (stomach). A considerable export trade in tobacco is carried on from the district, chiefly to Brunei; whence, no doubt, it is distributed to other parts of Borneo. The Dusun is not in reality so simple as he appears to be at first sight, and buyers of tobacco generally take a sample from the middle and bottom of a vendor's basket, as it is no uncommon thing for the rolls at the top to be of good quality, while every other *pĕrut* in the basket consists of only a wrapping of tobacco outside a core of grass or other make-weight. Adulteration of rubber is also not infrequent, and after a deal has been concluded, it is advisable for the purchaser to cut open and inspect the balls of crude rubber before making payments for them; otherwise the wily Dusun, who has filled them with rubbish inside, will have made himself scarce.

It is interesting to note the Dusun's preference for using his ancient routes when coming down to market from up-country. At the time that the writer was stationed in the Tempassuk District there was an excellent bridle-path reaching

[1] This is a Malay term.

from Kotabelud, the government post, to the divide which forms part of the boundary of the Residency of the Interior. The path was necessarily somewhat winding, as it was impossible to get a better trace owing to the fact that the hills rise up steeply from the river, and the track is perforce cut in the side of them. The Dusuns, as a rule, neglect the bridle-path in favour of the old-time track, which largely follows the bed of the Tempassuk (or Kadamaian) River, a stream shallow nearly everywhere in its upper reaches. In times of flood, when the Tempassuk, swollen by the torrents which descend from Mount Kinabalu, becomes a raging and impassable flood, the up-country native is, however, thankful for the government path, and the river loses the toll of lives which it was its wont to exact in former days from those Dusuns who foolhardily attempted the impossible.

Before bringing this paper to a close, mention should perhaps be made of the Dusun's habit of camping to chat and rest on the night before market. In the majority of cases only natives from villages comparatively near come straight into the trading place from the march. Those from a distance time themselves so as to reach a spot some way up-stream from the *tamu* ground on the evening before; here they camp, cook their food, and meet together to exchange news and to discuss the prospects of the rice crop. The next day they start off so as to reach the *tamu* about an hour before noon. Each village has its own particular place in the market, the Tiong (Ulu Tuaran) people near a fallen tree on the river bank; the Kiau people under a large *Ficus*, and so on. At 12, when the chief in charge hoists the flag on the flagstaff, the market springs into full life. The Bajaus, who up to this time have been divided off from the Dusuns by a rope drawn across the centre of the ground, rush over to trade their fish for such articles as they may require; and those Dusuns who have brought baskets of damar gum or tobacco make their way to the stalls of the Chinese traders, where pandemonium is let loose owing to the clamour of rival shopkeepers, each of whom endeavours to get the best of the trade into his own hands.

PART II

THE MALAY PENINSULA

(i) *Some Beliefs and Customs of the Negritos.*
(ii) *Some Beliefs and Customs of the Sakai.*
(iii) *Some Beliefs and Customs of the Jakun.*
(iv) *Miscellaneous Notes on Malay Customs and Beliefs.*
(v) *Malay Folk-tales.*
(vi) *Malay Back-slang.*
(vii) *Setting up the Posts of a Malay House.*
(viii) Bĕla Kampong.
(ix) *Customs of the Camphor-hunters and* Bahasa Kapor.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

THE Malay States which are under British control, apart from the representatives of the many races and peoples[1] which have flocked into them—chiefly during the last thirty years or so—in connexion, directly or indirectly, with the development of the tin-mining industry and of rubber-planting, are occupied by the native Mohamedan Malays and the pagan tribes, the latter being found chiefly in the more inaccessible parts of the country. The former—it is certainly true in the case of some of them (*e.g.* those of the Negri Sembilan[2])—are, according to their own legends, chiefly invaders from Sumatra[3], who displaced, intermingled with, or exterminated certain of the aborigines.

[1] The Chinese almost equal the Malays (native and foreign) in numbers in the four Federated States. They come chiefly from the southern maritime provinces of Canton and Fuhkien and the island of Hainan, and include Hokkiens, Khehs, Cantonese, Hailams and others. There are also many thousands of Indians, both from the north and south, the most important peoples numerically being Tamils, Telugus, Malayalims, Sikhs and Pathans. Other foreigners present in large or small numbers are Sinhalese, Japanese, Siamese, Javanese, Sumatran Malays, Banjarese (from Banjar Masin in Dutch Borneo), Boyanese, Siamese, Burmese, Manilamen and Dyaks.

[2] Negri Sembilan means "the nine countries." It was at one time composed of nine states.

[3] I doubt whether this holds good for the people of Trengganu and Kelantan and the Malays of the states under Siamese jurisdiction. Furthermore, there appears to be a very considerable Bugis element among the native Selangor Malays and also a non-Sumatran admixture in Perak, Pahang and parts, at any rate, of Johore.

The pagans are representative of three races. Firstly, we have the woolly-haired Negritos, almost certainly the oldest inhabitants of the country, who seem to have once had a much more extended range, but, nowadays, are only found 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. Secondly, the wavy-haired people (Sakai), of whom the purest tribes are probably to be found in the mountains which form the boundary between Pahang and the Kinta and Batang Padang Districts of Perak. Thirdly, the Jakun, or pagan Malays, of the south of the Peninsula.

Many groups are of mixed origin, the mixture sometimes including all three elements[1]. In the mountainous regions of Upper Perak, for instance, the inhabitants are of mixed Negrito-Sakai type, though their dialect and culture are Sakai. As we go further 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 head-waters of the Kinta, it has almost disappeared[2]. From the Raya, the next considerable river, down to the Selangor border, the people of the Main Range are as pure Sakais 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

[1] Especially in parts of Pahang, where, among tribes talking Sakai (Mon-Annam) dialects, but with Malayan (Jakun) physical characters generally dominant, individuals are frequently to be encountered who have obviously a considerable strain of Negrito blood in them.

[2] These hill people, who live in the neighbourhoods of the Temengoh, Plus, Piah and Kerbau Rivers and around the head-waters 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.

being 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 to have originally come over from Sumatra and to be related to the Orang Kubu and some other wild tribes of that island.

The Malays, from the point of view of the student of primitive religion and custom, are not particularly interesting as compared with the pagan peoples of the Malay Archipelago, for, though they still retain a good number of ancient beliefs and customs, they are Moslems, and though their present religion forms only a thin veneer over a slight layer of Hinduism, and a mass of animism, shamanism and fetichism, yet Mohamedanism has had sufficient influence partially to destroy the older beliefs and customs—such as can still be studied in their entirety among the pagan peoples of Borneo. With the present facilities for communication by rail and road, and their greater extension in the future, the advance of education, and the opportunities that the Malays now have of obtaining orthodox Moslem instruction in their religion, the older beliefs—though still showing a great deal of vitality—will, probably, gradually pass away.

Concerning the beliefs and customs of the pagans in general, though Skeat has told us a good deal about the Besisi, and the present notes add, I hope, something to the total of our information about various groups, really not very much is known. To get into touch with most of them is not particularly difficult, but to live with them for any length of time, often on clearings in the heart of the jungle, into which the sun beats remorselessly all day long, shut off from breezes at night by the surrounding forest, is, as I can testify, neither pleasant, nor particularly good for the health. Europeans, who wish to investigate their affairs must have either a fairly good working knowledge of colloquial Malay—the only really possible medium of communication, or must employ an interpreter

who can speak Malay and English, and satisfactory men for the purpose are not, I should imagine, very easy to obtain. Apart from visitors to the Malay States, who have given merely travellers' impressions of the pagans, *savants* fresh from Europe, who have been hindered by the shortness of the time at their disposal, and the above-mentioned difficulties, from gaining much knowledge of the inner life of the wild tribesmen, what work has been done in this connexion is chiefly to be ascribed to European residents in the Peninsula, who have devoted a part of their leisure to finding out what they could about the pagans whom they have encountered on their (generally official) travels, or who were to be found living close at hand. Of these Skeat stands head and shoulders above the others[1], and his book is, and will probably remain, the standard work on the aborigines.

One worker on the customs and beliefs of the wild tribesmen, and one of the most prolific in his writings, has proved, unfortunately, the bugbear of those who have come after him. This is Vaughan-Stevens. Now it is by no means fair for one investigator of the religions and customs of uncivilized peoples and tribes to brand another as a liar, for in such work so much depends on the temperaments and tempers of those who undertake it, as well, sometimes, on circumstances over which they have no control[2], still I think that it would not be unjust to say that in Vaughan-Stevens' case very little evidence in confirmation of a good deal of his work has yet come to light[3].

Let us now see with regard to the three racial divisions of the aborigines—the Negritos, the Sakai and the Jakun—whether it is possible to say that such and such beliefs or customs are characteristic of, or confined to, any of the three.

[1] Of the earlier workers Logan, Hervey and Newbold should be remembered with gratitude.

[2] In Malaya they sometimes have to encounter the results of bad behaviour on the part of other Europeans who have preceded them in visiting the natives: sometimes hostile rumours, started owing to stupidity, or for material reasons, by Malays or Chinese.

[3] Especially with regard to his elaborate stories about the magical use of the comb-patterns of the Negritos, and the subject of totemism among the Sakai. Some of his work, I myself, however, have been able to verify to a certain extent.

To attempt this, however, is somewhat dangerous, for our knowledge is deficient and if we state that certain practices, or beliefs, are common only, let us say, to the Jakun tribes, further evidence may prove that our statement is incorrect, and that they are found among Sakai, or Sakai and Negrito, groups as well. I will content myself, therefore, by trying to point out tentatively in what respects the three racial divisions seem to differ from one another, and in what they seem to have common ideas or observances. It is, of course, much more easy to go astray in making negative than positive statements. The Malay States do not form a very large area, and as certain of the groups are of mixed origin, and others, belonging to different racial divisions, are in contact and tend to become of mixed blood, it is not to be wondered at, if, for instance, what appear to be really Jakun beliefs and customs are found among groups which we should describe as being Sakai; or the reverse.

Skeat gives the following analysis of the religious beliefs of the three racial divisions:

(*a*) The Semang[1] religion in spite of its recognition of a "Thunder-god" (Kari) and certain minor "deities" has very little indeed in the way of ceremonial, and appears to consist mainly of mythology and legends. It shows remarkably few traces of demon-worship, very little fear of ghosts, and still less of any sort of animistic beliefs.

(*b*) The Sakai religion, whilst admitting a great quasi-deity, who is known under various names, yet appears to consist almost entirely of demon-worship; this takes the place of the Shamanism so widely spread in south-east Asia, the Shaman or Medicine-man (hālā) being the acknowledged link between man and the world of spirits. In the words of Mr Hale it is a form of "demon-worship" in which demons (*Hantu*) are prayed to but not God (*Allah*).

(*c*) The religion of the Jakun is the pagan or pre-Mahomedan (Shamanistic) creed of the Peninsular Malays, with the popular part of whose religion (as distinct from its Mahomedan element) it has much in common. It shows no trace of the tendency to personify abstract ideas found among the Semang, and its deities (if they can be so called) are either otiose or a glorified sort of tribal ancestors, round whom miraculous stories have collected. The few elements that it has in common with the Semang religion are no doubt due to cultural contact[2].

[1] Negrito.

[2] *Pagan Races*, II. 174, 175.

Now I rather doubt whether Skeat's analysis will stand in its entirety in view of the further information contained in the present papers. To take a few points, the Semang Thunder-god appears to be a deified tribal ancestor[1], and the Jakun deities are also, according to his statement, of this class. He says that Negrito religious ideas show "very little fear of ghosts and still less of animistic beliefs," whereas according to my experience the Negritos are in great fear of the ghost of a deceased person for from six to seven days after death[2] while they also seem to have fairly strongly marked animistic ideas with regard to the spirits of trees[3]. In addition he states that there are "few traces of demon-worship." If he means of shamanism, which I am inclined to think that he does, it is worth noting that shamans and shamanistic practices[4] are found among, at any rate, some of the Negritos. In his analysis of Sakai and Jakun beliefs I can find few points on which to differ from him. It is perhaps worth pointing out, however, that "the great quasi-deity" of the Sakai is, it seems, either actually the sun, or is in some way considered closely connected with that luminary.

Before trying to point out what beliefs or customs are characteristic of each of the three racial divisions of the pagans, I will make an attempt to demonstrate certain similarities. It is curious to note in this connexion that, in some respects, the beliefs of the Negritos of the Western States seem to show greater correspondence with those of the mixed tribes (Sakai-Jakun) of Selangor and the Negri Sembilan, than with the Sakai proper, who lie much nearer to them; for instance, the legend of a bridge leading to an island paradise of fruits is found among the Negritos of the Ulu Selama region of Perak and the Besisi of the Selangor coast, while though I have obtained evidence of a similar belief among the aborigines of the Behrang Valley (in Perak near the Selangor boundary) and from a community of Sakai dwelling on the flat lands near Sungkai (Perak)—among both of whom I know that

[1] *Pagan Races*, II. 174, 175.
[2] *Vide* p. 178, *infra*.
[3] *Vide* p. 171, *infra*.
[4] *Vide* p. 158, *infra*.

there was a Selangor (Sąkai-Jakun) element—I have, so far, not discovered that such ideas are known among the purer Sakai groups, and Skeat considers beliefs with regard to the "Island of Fruits" to be of "Malayan" (*i.e.* Jakun) origin.

The magic circle, or circular hut, within which some aboriginal medicine-men place themselves when they call upon their familiars, is found among the Negritos of Ulu Selama, some of the Sakai-Jakun tribes of Selangor and of Negri Sembilan, the Behrang and Sungkai Sakai mentioned above, and among Sakai living near Tapah in the Batang Padang District of Perak. In all these cases I have myself seen the hut or circle which is employed for this purpose. The Ulu Selama Negritos and the Selangor and Negri Sembilan tribes construct a beehive-shaped hut of palm-leaves, though sometimes, among the last two, only the semblance of such a hut —the circle is generally incomplete in such cases—is erected within an ordinary house. The Tapah people and the Behrang and Sungkai tribesmen make a large ring of rattan cane, which is suspended within the house, and has a thick fringe of shredded leaves attached along its perimeter, this reaching almost to the floor. Messrs Annandale and Robinson have also reported these circular structures from Bidor in South Perak, while I have verbal evidence of the use of round huts or circles among the Sakai of the Ulu Kampar (Perak), and the Jehehr Negritos of Upper Perak. I know from personal experience, however, that the magic circle or round hut is not in use among some Kemaman Sakai-Jakun whom I met in Central Pahang in 1917, while the Rompin[1] Jakun told me that they did not use it either.

In some parts of the Peninsula the shaman holds a whisk of shredded, or whole, leaves when calling his familiar, and I have seen such implements among the Sakai-Jakun of the Selangor-Negri Sembilan boundary, the Behrang Valley aborigines, and the Sungkai people (the last two of whom, as stated above, have a Selangor strain in their blood), the

[1] The Rompin River is in Pahang.

Kemaman Sakai-Jakun, and the Jakun of the Rompin River District, but do not know that it is employed among the Negritos.

When a death occurs fear of the ghost makes many aboriginal groups shift their quarters, and I have evidence of such customs among the Ulu Selama Negritos, the Sakai (fairly pure) of the Kerbau River neighbourhood in Perak, the Sakai of the Ulu Kinta, a Sakai-Jakun tribe in Pahang, the Jakun of the Rompin District[1] and others. For the same reason, too, various tabus are in force for from six[2] to seven days among the Negritos of Ulu Selama and of Grik, and for five days among the Sakai of the flat lands near Sungkai. There is also, perhaps, reason for thinking that the Sakai of the Ulu Kampar believe that a ghost lingers near at hand for seven days, for I was told that a fire is lighted at the grave for the first six days after a body has been buried.

Offerings of food, too, and the belongings of the dead are very generally placed upon graves[3] by tribesmen of all three races.

The idea that storms accompanied by subsidence of the ground, and involving the swallowing up of villages and their inhabitants, are sent as punishments by the Powers Above, when somebody has offended them by some impious action, is well known among some of the Negrito and Sakai tribes, as also to certain groups of Sakai-Jakun, to some of the Malays of Pahang, and—outside the Peninsula—to the Dusuns of British North Borneo[4]. The kinds of actions which are particularly likely to give offence, and to be punished in this way, are teasing domestic or other animals, burning or cooking certain substances or food-stuffs together, or copying the notes of some species of birds.

Among the Western Negritos, when a bad storm comes on, a blood-offering is generally made to the spirits, or deities, who dwell in the sky, while the Sakai of the Batang Padang

[1] They only desert the clearing for from ten to fifteen days.
[2] The spirit goes to the home of the dead on the seventh day.
[3] Or in them.
[4] For many other instances of such beliefs *vide Megalithic Monuments of Indonesia.*

District of Perak either cut off a piece of hair and strike it with a working-knife or with a billet of wood, or make an offering of blood in very much the same way as the Negritos.

Among some of the Sakai tribes there are certain prohibitions with regard to mentioning the every-day names of some kinds of animals when their flesh is being consumed, and there also seem to be traces of such customs among the Negritos.

A number of other resemblances between different racial sections of the Peninsular aborigines might be pointed out, but I shall content myself with only mentioning a few of them: for instance, the Negritos think that during an eclipse of the moon it is being swallowed by a butterfly or by a snake, while the Sakai consider that it is a snake or dragon which makes an attack upon the luminary, while the stars, both among the Sakai of Sungkai and the Negritos of Ijok, are said to be the children of the moon. Beliefs that certain persons can become tigers at will are current among the Negritos and Sakai, among the Malays, and probably among the Jakun as well.

Chĕnduai-flowers and a fungus rhizomorph, known to the Malays as *akar* (or *urat*) *batu* are used as charms, both by the Negritos and by certain of the Sakai-Jakun of Selangor and Negri Sembilan, the former for obtaining the affections of women, the latter as a talisman against "hot rain" (*i.e.* rain while the sun is shining), which is feared by Malays as well as by the aboriginal groups, since it is thought to bring sickness.

Still another curious belief, found among both Negritos and Sakai, is that places where the roots of trees cross one another are the haunts of evil spirits.

It will be seen, I think, from the instances given above, that it is not very easy to state what beliefs are characteristic of any of the three racial divisions, especially since not very much is known about their inner life. With regard to the Jakun, we know very little about the tribes of Johore, who should be their purest representatives, and, in view of this, I do not think that it would be fair to judge by the borderland

Sakai-Jakun, whom I have included with the Sakai in these papers. Of the Negritos the following ideas and customs may, perhaps, prove to be characteristic:

1. That a bird-soul animates the foetus in pregnant women.
2. That children are named from the kinds of trees near which they were born, or from the nearest stream[1].
3. That dart-quivers are decorated with magical patterns which by sympathy render the game tame. (These patterns are conventionalized representations of parts of the animals which are usually hunted, or of the kinds of food which they like best.)

(i) SOME BELIEFS AND CUSTOMS OF THE NEGRITOS

My evidence with regard to Negrito beliefs and customs has been gathered from members of several groups. Of these one lives in Pahang; all the others in Perak. In the latter State I have been in contact with, and, in most cases, visited Negritos at Lenggong, Kuala Kenering, Grik, Temengoh, Ijok[2], and also in the Ulu Selama region, where I have twice camped close to settlements, one of which contained representatives of three tribes. In Pahang the Negritos whom I met were those who frequent the neighbourhood of the Cheka River.

In the present section of this book I have purposely avoided speaking of Semang and Pangan, as Skeat calls the Western and Eastern Negritos respectively, since if we refer to both

[1] As far as I know both the Western and Eastern Negritos name children in this manner. They are sometimes named after rivers among Sakai tribes, but they are also frequently given names from events which happened at about the time of birth, from fancied resemblances to animals, from the locality at which the birth took place, etc.

[2] Lenggong, Kuala Kenering, Grik and Temengoh are all in Upper Perak: Ijok is in the Selama Sub-District. Much of my information about the Negritos was gathered from a Menik Kaien Negrito whom I met in 1918 near the Damak River, Ulu Selama, but with whom I had previously become acquainted at Ijok in 1913, from Mĕmpĕlam, headman of the Kintak Bong group—Ulu Selama Negritos—in 1921, and again from the same Menik Kaien (Tōkeh), when he paid a three days' visit to me at Taiping in the same year. Additional information obtained from him after this section of my work was written is added in the footnotes with his name and the year (1921) appended.

Menik means aborigines (Negrito or Negrito-Sakai) as opposed to the Malays and other strangers.

of them as Negritos it avoids some possibility of confusion. 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 frequently called Sakai, and I have also come across wild Sakai-Jakun tribes whom they dubbed Pangan. The fact is that "Orang Sakai" really means "subject peoples," while "Orang Pangan" signifies little more than "people of the forest glades," so it is not wonderful that the Malays do not apply these terms in the sense in which they have been accepted by anthropologists. The term Semang, however, I have never heard the Malays use with reference to any but Negrito tribesmen.

It may, perhaps, not be out of place here to make a few remarks anent the tribal names of the different sections of the Negritos with whom I deal below, and of those with whom they are in contact. I have already referred (in a footnote, p. 143) by their proper names to the Menik Kaien whose territory formerly extended from Batu Kurau to Bruas, and the Kintak Bong, or Menik Bong, the Negritos of the Ulu Selama region[1]. The Lenggong, Kuala Kenering and Grik people—the Sakai Jeram of the Malays—call themselves Semak[2] (Semark) Bĕlum or Semak Bĕlong; that is, Perak River aborigines, since the Perak River in its upper reaches is locally known as the Bĕlum, or better, Bĕlong[3], Water. They are, however, known to the

[1] The Selama Negritos, the Kintak Bong, unfortunately suffered severely in the influenza epidemic of 1918, and the present headman told me that altogether twenty-seven died, mostly at Mahang in Kedah. There are now, according to the headman's statement, rather over fifty Kintak Bong left, most of these being, at the time of writing (1921) in Kedah, while the remainder—nineteen in all—are living at Lubok Tapah, a Malay village about three miles distant from Kuala Bayor.

[2] *Semak* has the same meaning as *Menik*, but the Lenggong, Kuala Kenering and Grik tribes speak a Sakai dialect while the other tribes, with whom I deal, speak so-called Negrito dialects. The Grik people sometimes call themselves Semāk Sabeum.

[3] According to Capt. H. Berkeley, I.S.O., District Officer, Upper Perak, *bĕlong* is the name of a kind of tree from which a poison was formerly manufactured.

Menik Kaien and Kintak Bong as Menik Lanoh. The Negritos who are native to the Ijok Valley—there are also Menik Kaien[1] and Menik Lanoh there—are called Menik Gul (Marsh Negritos[2]) by the Menik Kaien, and Bianok by the Kintak Bong, while the name given to them by the Malays (Semang Paya) is merely a translation of Menik Gul. The Negritos of Temengoh and of Tadoh (Kelantan)—known to the Malays as Jehehr—are called Menik Jehai by the Kintak Bong and Menik Kaien, but whether they apply a different name to themselves, I do not know. The Baling and Siong (Kedah) tribe is, according to Mĕmpĕlam, called Menik Kensieu, while Tōkeh referred to the Negrito-Sakai tribes, whom I deal with under the heading of Sakai, as Menik Chubak (hill aborigines).

Mĕmpĕlam told me that the Grik (in Upper Perak) Negritos were called Menik Semnam, and those of Belukar Semang, Upper Perak, Menik Hangat. In the neighbourhood of the Kupang River in Kedah he said there were Kintak—not the same as the Kintak Bong—as well as some Kensieu. Other tribes mentioned by him were the Mengos, said to live near Lanih in Kelantan, and the Menik Tiong also in that State. He also referred to several hill groups, one of which, at any rate, is probably apocryphal: these were the Menik Lalik (Ulu Temengor hills), Menik Chubak[3] (Ulu Piah), the Pleh, and the Batak[4]. The last are said to dwell around the head-waters of the Plus. They are cannibals and dwell in burrows in the ground. Neighbouring tribes, according to Mĕmpĕlam, make offerings to them by pushing live babies down their burrows.

[1] The Menik Kaien are also said to have a camp on the Ayer Sauk, a tributary of the Plus River. Tōkeh (1921) says that there are eight Menik Kaien at Ijok, but many among the Lanoh in the Perak Valley, to whom they are now assimilated in speech and manners.

[2] Tōkeh (1921) says that there is now only one Menik Gul left, a woman, who is married to a Chinese convert to Mohamedanism, by whom she has three children. The neighbourhood of Titi Ijok is said to have been the original home of the Menik Gul.

[3] *Chubak* means a hill.

[4] The Batak of Sumatra are charged with being cannibals. Probably confused stories about them have been transferred to some existent, or imaginary, tribe.

The Negritos of Cheka Valley in Pahang alluded to themselves as Batek.

Legend of the Origin of the Negritos

Told by a Negrito of Ijok

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 with *lalang* 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 from 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 *Bĕrok* monkeys[3], Raja Bĕrok, 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 down-stream 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.

[1] The *Mawas* is *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.

The Negrito Gods

Skeat tells us that Ta' Pönn is the supreme deity of the Negritos of Siong 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 to be found in his writings, and in no case has more evidence of this come to hand than in the Ulu Selama region. 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[1]. It will be found, I think, on comparing the material in this and some of the following sections—largely obtained from a Menik Kaien (Tōkeh), but also checked in part by questioning others (Kintak Bong) as well—with what Vaughan-Stevens, as quoted by Skeat[2], 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[3] (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.

Tapern appears to be a kind of deified tribal ancestor, for —according to the story which I obtained from Tōkeh— Tapern, his wife (Jalang[4]), his younger brother (Bajiaig), and Bajiaig's wife, Jamoi, escaped from the war between the *Siamang* and *Mawas*, of which I have given an account above. 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

[1] *Vide Papers on Malay Subjects; The Aboriginal Tribes*, p. 4.
[2] *Pagan Races*, II. 202–225. [3] "Grandfather."
[4] Tōkeh (1921) says that it was Jalang who taught the Negritos how to make combs, head-dresses, 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!"

follow them. Tapern made a ladder up to heaven by shooting a series of darts 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 named Yak Takel. Yak (grandmother) Lepeh is the mother of Jalang, while Jamoi's mother is called Yak Manoid. 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 Jatik, who lives in the eastern sky, acts as his body-servant[1], and two others, Chapor and Chalog, 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[2]. 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 above to the three grandmothers who live under the earth. The Kintak Bong (in 1921) confirmed what had been told me previously by Tōkeh, but substituted the name of Yak Kalcheng for that of Yak Takel. It is these grandmothers who make the waters rise from under the earth, causing *Henweh*[3], and Tanong (the dragon-fly) carries the message from Tapern

[1] According to Tōkeh (1921), Tapern has also an attendant named Tak Suwau.

[2] *I.e.* forming a cross of the four quarters.

[3] Rising of water from below the earth accompanied by storms and subsidence of the ground The Negritos of Lenggong speak of *Henwoie*.

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.

The evidence that I obtained about some of the deified Negrito ancestors from Mĕmpĕlam (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 Tōkeh[2] and from the Kintak Bong, but I got another story from the Negritos of Grik. The tale of the Grik aborigines, which I extracted from them with a good deal of trouble, is as follows:

Kari[3] 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

[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 Kaien man.

[3] *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).

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.) Kĕndĕrong 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 Kĕndĕrong and Gunong Kĕrunai) had arisen there, whereupon the younger brother said, "Our fishing-rods have become mountains!" but his elder 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 which became Gunong Kĕndĕrong (the taller of the two mountains) and the younger's which became Gunong Kĕrunai. Kari and Tapern met their wives Jamoi and Jalang in the sky. Yak Manoid and Yak Takel[1] 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 Mĕmpĕlam 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 jinerok* of the Malays). Among the beings who come to the shaman during a séance are many Chinoi, among them,

[1] According to my Menik Kaien informant, however, Yak Takel is the mother of Tapern.

as will be seen from the lines chanted by him, which I give below, 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[1], are mentioned a male Chinoi, Menlus, who plays the Jew's-harp to Yak Kalcheng; the Screw-palm 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.

Mĕmpĕlam 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 Halak Gihmal[2] 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-box[3] 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.

Thunder and Lightning

Thunder and lightning, being, according to Negrito ideas, caused by the powers above, are much feared. The Menik Kaien and Kintak Bong, I was told by Tōkeh, draw blood

[1] *Vide Musical Performances.* [2] "The Weapon Shaman."

[3] The kind which Malays call *chĕlĕpa*. This is generally watch-shaped.

from the outer side of the right leg near the shin-bone when a bad thunder-storm comes on, and throw it up towards the sky saying, "*Loim mahum pek keping!*" (*i.e.* "Throw the blood aloft"). Mĕmpĕlam, in 1921, supplemented my information with regard to the blood-offering made by 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 the benefit of 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 kaii pek kid beteu!*" This 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 Jehehr, cutting the leg in the same manner, take a few drops of blood from the wound on the blade of the 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 which 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,*" which seems to mean, "Take up the blood (*darah* in Malay) that is thrown."

Some Negritos, of Lenggong, to whom I once showed a stone axe-head, which I had purchased from a Malay, remarked that it was a thunder-stone; and this belief about ancient stone implements is common to the Malays as well.

I have already given an account of the ideas of the Kintak Bong and Menik Kaien with regard to thunder and lightning. These differ somewhat from the story given to me by an Ijok man, who 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 the same people, scarcely seems to tally with that for thunder; this was that lightning is caused by the children of the people who live

under the earth, who, when they play at tops, flourish the cords which they use for spinning them, and these appear above the earth as lightning[1].

Among the Jehehr certain actions are tabu, as being thought to cause thunder-storms, which may involve the death by lightning, or drowning, of others as well as those of the transgressors. For instance, it is tabu for anyone to kill a millipede, to shoot a certain species of owl with the blow-pipe, 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 day-time[2]. 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 petrifactions[3], are called *Henweh* by the Kintak Bong and Menik Kaien, and they think that such acts as copying the notes of certain kinds of 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, whom I have mentioned above, illustrates these ideas very well:

Some Negrito children once copied the note of a *Sagwong* bird[4], and there came thunder and lightning and a great flood, and all the Negritos there 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[5]. Yak Lepeh, Yak Manoid and Yak Takel made the waters rise from under the earth.

[1] Skeat obtained a similar story from the Negritos of Siong in Kedah, *vide Pagan Races*, II. 206.

[2] For similar beliefs among the Sakai and the Malays, *vide infra*, pp. 199–204, 271–272.

[3] It is rather the after-events, the rising of water and the petrifactions, which are termed *Henweh*, than the storm itself.

[4] Said to be the bird known to the Malays as Burong Sa'kawan (*Anthacoceros malayanus*).

[5] Tōkeh (1921) says that the notes of the *Kĕmastadu* (the Pied Long-tailed Flycatcher), and the *Sang-id* (the Black-Naped Flycatcher) must not be imitated for fear of *Henweh*.

Tōkeh said 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. They must retire to the jungle for the purpose. As far as I could find out, no such prohibition is found among the Negritos of Grik, though for a similar reason, sexual intercourse is not indulged in during the daytime[1].

The Creation of the World

The Menik Kaien 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[2]. 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.

The Sun, the Eclipse of the Moon, the Rainbow

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-ag and Klang. The former has now become the Crow, and 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.

[1] Just as among the Jehehr.

[2] Like dung-beetles bring up powdery earth from below at the present day, when they draw pieces of dung under the surface of the soil.

Tanong went up to the sky with the house. The house became the sun, and Tanong lives with Tapern and looks after it.

The following information is also from a Menik Kaien (Tōkeh):

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.

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[1]). 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 are exactly similar, as also those of the Jehehr of Temengoh, 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 in Pahang have an identical belief and call the eclipse "snake swallow" (*jekob hilug*).

The rainbow, according to the Ijok Negritos[2], 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 Kaien, on the other hand, say that it is two snakes called Huyak, which come to drink.

Rain, say 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: when it turns upwards the weather is dry. A Chinoi, Liren, guards the flower.

[1] The Ijok Negritos also told me that the stars were the moon's children.
[2] From an Ijok man. Tribe unknown.

The Stone Pillar which supports the Heavens

The stone pillar which, according to the Menik Kaien and Kintak Bong, supports the sky is called the *Batu Herem*. I was told that this is to be seen near Jinerih[1] 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*. Mĕmpĕlam told me that Yak Kalcheng, Yak Manoid and Yak Lepeh guard the roots of the *Batu Herem* beneath the earth.

The Chinoi are said to play in the dark region called Ligoi which surrounds the *Lambong*. Tapern and Bajiaig go every morning to see the Chinoi fight and play above the *Lambong*.

The Abode of the Dead and their Journey to it

The souls of the dead, according to Tōkeh, 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 time[2] those of the good are escorted by Mampes to the island which is called *Belet*[3]. They pass to this over a green switchbacked bridge named the *Balan Bacham*, which spans a sea. *Bacham* is, I was told, a fern which the Malays call *paku ular* (*Blechnum orientale*[4]). This plant grows at the further end of the bridge, and with it the ghosts wreathe their heads before entering *Belet*.

[1] Spelt Jeneri on the Kedah map.

[2] I believe on the evening of the seventh day.

[3] *Belet* appears to lie rather in the west-north-west, or in the north-west, rather than due west.

[4] Wilkinson's Dictionary, *paku*.

A female Chinoi, called 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 great 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 have had their eyes turned back in their heads, so that the pupils face inwards. When this has been done, they become real ghosts (*kemoit*[1]) 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 durians, a fourth rambutan fruits, and so on; furthermore, at the base of its trunk are numbers of breasts from which flow 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, as I have already mentioned, comes from the Menik Kaien and Kintak Bong only. From the members of other Negrito groups whom I have questioned I have got very little information 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 Jehehr 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)

[1] Tökeh (1921) says that women become brave after death; men cowardly.

may linger near their old 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 Cheka River Negritos and the Jehehr.

The Shaman

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 were no *halak* in the settlement 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*[1]) was built 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 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, Jalong 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*" was striking the palm-leaf walls with the flat of his

[1] The second syllable is pronounced with a very nasal accent so that the word sounds very much like *panorh*.

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 names 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 *Batu 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 mĕnikam.*

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 which 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, also inherited. Fire-

flies, *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. Mĕmpĕlam, 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 Mĕmpĕlam, 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 in each case the sex of the Chinoi who is supposed to be speaking, and, in some, have given their names and their occupations.

Mĕmpĕlam told me that the appearance of the *halak* becomes changed[2] when he is in the *panoh*.

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.

[1] "Banana"; *pisang* in Malay.
[2] According to Tŏkeh (1921), his face shines.

The following are the songs together with attempted word-for-word and free translations:

Junkeh	*'Rem,*	*tabek*[1]	*laweh!*	*yek*	*gantong*	*chebelhat.*
Head of a cross-beam	Herem,	salutations	head!	I	hang	a moment.

Sakan	*gantong*	*dadak*	*'Rem.*
Big	hang	breast	Herem.

"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.

	Yam	*bedlat*	*keping*	*Tapern.*
	I	go	above	Tapern.
Jagat[2]	*pengweurng*[3]		*Yak*	*Tanggoi.*
Giddy	house (hut)		grand-mother	Rambutan.
Dahar	*menulang*[4]	*keh,*	*menulang*	*bekau?*
Where	head-dress	my,	head-dress	flowers?

"I go above Tapern's (house); giddy at the house of Yak Tanggoi. Where is my head-dress of flowers?" It is a female Chinoi who is speaking.

Tabek	*kuie*[5],	*eh!*	*yek,*	*yek*	*gantong*	*sa'bentai*[6].
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*	*dai*[7]	*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.

[1] *Tabek* is a Malay term of salutation. In the sense of "I ask your pardon," it is frequently used when someone 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] Tōkeh (1921) says that *jagat* means "loving"—the Malay "*sayang*."

[3] Tōkeh (1921) says that *pengweurng* is a Chinoi word. In ordinary speech a hut is *hiak*.

[4] Cf. the Malay *bulang ulu* "the head-cloth of a raja," *mĕnulang* "to enwrap."

[5] *Kuie* is the ordinary word for head, *laweh* is probably Chinoi language.

[6] The Negrito form of the Malay *sa' bĕntar*.

[7] The Negrito form of the Malay word *dari*. The letter *r* is a shibboleth to the Kintak Bong.

Tagok liwon langkah litol chenib yek.
Old man wander step 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 piyudau[1] *maloh menulang?*
What (?) hold magical performance where (?) head-dress?

"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[2]*, 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.

Pau wer-chet[3]*, 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 Chinoi 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 chībeh.
Father, father, climb bridge rising sun.

[1] Equivalent to the Malay word *bĕrsewang,* "to hold a spiritualistic séance accompanied by singing."

[2] *Vide* remarks with reference to *galun, infra,* p. 166, and also the form *kalun* on the same page.

[3] Tōkeh (1921) would translate *pau* "noise like clapping," *wer* "turning," *chet* "arrive."

"Father, father, I have climbed the bridge of the rising sun." It is a Chemam, 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, Mĕmpĕlam gave me "go" for the meaning of *bedlad*; here, however, he translated it as "open." The meanings given for the other words are also suspect. A possible free translation is, "I go from the door, and come out[1], come out." It is a Chemam 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.

Lohmon *pideh,* *guruk*[2], *baleh* *Chinoi?*
Why call, interpreter, maiden Chinoi?

"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 every-day language of the Kintak Bong Negritos, and the males sometimes copy them.

Miwoḥ *mutau*[3] *yek,* *baleh.*
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.

Baleh, *lareh* *tupar* *lindong.*
Virgin, moon fly fluttering.

"I, a virgin, fly fluttering by moonlight[4]." The same Chinoi is speaking. *Lareh* is the Chinoi word for "moon."

[1] Tōkeh (1921) says that it should read *bedlad* (go) *besangit* (buzzing) *un-un* (that that) *un-un* (that that). "I go buzzing, there, there."

[2] A variant of the Malay word *guru* (?) "teacher."

[3] Tōkeh (1921), however, would translate *mutau* as "moving the head up and down."

[4] Tōkeh (1921) gives *lareh* "owl," *tepar* (*sic*) "branch," *lindong* "hide." There is a Malay word *lindong* which has the same meaning.

Deh, Deh, Deh

This has no meaning according to Mĕmpĕlam. Said by one of the Jaman, wer-tigers, who live with the Yak (grandmothers) at the base of the *Batu Herem*. There are many Jaman. This one, I was informed, is sitting at the "Rice Stone" near the *Batu Herem* towards where the sun falls.

Amboi,	*Amboi*	*ayah*	*kami!*
Oh,	Oh,	father	ours!

This line is in Malay. It is a Jaman who is speaking.

Malok[1]	*menulang*	*yek?*
(What) Where	head-dress	mine?

This either means "With what shall I bind my head?" or "Where is my head-dress?"—I think the latter is probably correct. It is a female Chinoi who is speaking.

Dordoi	*wai*	*haiyah*[2],	*eh*	*loie.*	*Tabek*	*laweh,*	*arah*
Sit	open	bertam,	father	mine.	Salutations	head,	pass
			menulang.				
			head-dress.				

"I sit opening *bĕrtam*-palms, O father mine, salutations to your head, on my head-dress passing you." It is a male, a *Bĕrtam*-palm Chinoi who is speaking. He asks his father (the *halak*) to pardon him for throwing his head-dress in front of him.

Malok	*menulang,*	*guruk*[3]*?*	*Babeh*	*Tapern*	*magiseh.*
Where	head-dress,	interpreter?	Newly	Tapern	go round.
What			married		

"Where is my head-dress, interpreter? I, newly-married, go round Tapern." It is a male Chinoi who is speaking.

Jinung	*reng*	*chenerkem*	*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.

[1] Cf. *Pagan Races*, II. 755, "What" (Mal. *apa*): *malo*, Sak. Kerb.

[2] Tŏkeh (1921) does not agree with Mĕmpĕlam's translations of *dordoi* and *haiyah*. He says that the latter is the kind of musical instrument which the Malays call *gĕndang batak*. I could get no translation of the former.

[3] *Vide* footnote, *supra*, p. 163.

Pau *wer-chet* *kejuh* *barau*[1].
From inside(?) come down(?) young male *barau*.

The sense of the line is, "From inside comes down a young male *barau*." It is a *Barau*-bird Chinoi which is speaking.

Bum 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.

Lohmon pideh, guruk, baleh, kijing,
What call, interpreter, virgin hear,
Chelchem bulin Chelchem terjun papan taseg?
Chelchem back to *Chelchem* plunge down plank lake?

"Why do you call me a virgin, going from *Chelchem* and back to *Chelchem*, to plunge down to earth?" It is a male (!) Chinoi who is speaking. *Chelchem*, Mĕmpĕlam told me, is a place below Tapern's house which opens and shuts.

Sa'bidang yek tulis gampil Yak
One sheet I plait mat Grand-mother
Jalang, yek deng.
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.

Un, un deh bidang[2], *kadeng deh!*
There, there it sheet, see it!

"There, there it is, the mat, see it!" A male Chinoi is speaking.

Bedlat menulang, tabek laweh, kadeng deh!
Going head-dress, salutations head, see it!
Chinoi, mak sinlin!
Chinoi, will replace!

"My head-dress is going past you, salutations to your head, see it! This Chinoi, your slave, will replace it!" A female Chinoi is speaking.

Ha menulang keh yah baleh?
Where head-dress mine your (?) maiden?

"Where is my head-dress, the head-dress of your maiden?" It is a female Chinoi who is speaking.

[1] The *Barau* is the Yellow Crowned Bulbul (*Trachycomus ochreocephalus*).
[2] A Malay numeral coefficient, *sa bidang tikar*; one mat.

Eh,	*rampus*	*ingat*[1]	*sunting*[1]	*Chinoi,*	*palah*	*nilam!*
Father	take	remembrance	hair ornaments	Chinoi,	shoots	indigo!

"O father, do not forget hair ornaments for the Chinoi, shoots of the indigo-plant!" A male Chinoi is speaking.

Kalun	*yek,*	*babeh,*	*penangkan*	*gihmal*[2].
Waist-cord	I,	married woman,	shoulder-cloth	skirt.

"I, a married woman, wear a waist-cord, shoulder-cloth and skirt." A female Chinoi is speaking.

Ibeh	*jinoring*	*galun.*
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 *gelong*, a rattan loop. Reading *galun* as equivalent to *gelong* makes good sense, as it is a rattan skipping-rope[3] to which reference is here made.

Oi	*minyun,*	*yam*	*bulang*	*menulang*	*bacham.*
I (?)	shaking up and down,	I	wreathe	head-dress	ferns.

"I, shaking *the bridge* up and down, I wreathe my head with a head-dress of ferns." It is the Chinoi Sagar, a female, who is speaking. She lives, as I have related above, at the far end of the *Balan Bacham*. She says that, while making the bridge of the dead, the *Balan Bacham*, spring up and down, she wreathes her head with the *Bacham*-plants which grow near it.

[1] Malay words.

[2] According to Tōkeh (1921) *gihmal* means weapons, *vide* "Halak Gihmal," *supra*, p. 151.

[3] 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 was native. Tōkeh (1921) says that there is a *nibeh manau*, a skipping-rope of *rotan manau* under the *Balan Bacham*. He says also that to skip with the rope held crosswise against the sun is tabu.

Yek, yek ensol, yek tenbon sigalak[1] *galong*[2].
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.*

Un, un, eh keh, sa'bidang, un eh loie 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, the Mat Chinoi, who is speaking. Some details about the mat-weaving snake will be found in a previous section, p. 151.

At the end of the performance, when the *Halak* was supposed to be again becoming conscious of his surroundings, he said, "*Betud amed*[3] *penet*[4] *dikeh,*" "Very long is my tiredness."

Dreams

Dreams, among the Kintak Bong and Menik Kaien, are believed to convey warnings of good or evil fortune to come. For instance, a man who dreams of rubbing himself with oil will not go out into the jungle on the next day, as, if he does so, he thinks that he will be struck by a falling tree. A dream that a *běrok* monkey is attacking the sleeper indicates that a Malay will come to the camp and make trouble. The dream of holding a winnowing tray means that a soft tortoise (*Trionyx*) will be caught next day, while to dream of finding a half coconut-shell foretokens that a tortoise, of the kind which the Malays call *kura kura*, will be captured. Should a man dream of a tree falling towards the east, he will be taken by a tiger, if he goes to the jungle on the next day[5], while should he have a dream that he is distributing tobacco he will shoot a monkey with his blow-pipe. If a married man dreams that he is wearing a ring or bracelet of *suasa* (an alloy of copper and gold), his wife will give birth to a female child;

[1] The Malay *sĕgala*, "all," "every."
[2] The Malay *galang*, "a cross-beam," "a roller."
[3] Equivalent to the Malay word *amat.*
[4] Equivalent to the Malay word *pĕnat.*
[5] Tōkeh stayed at home for a day, while I was stopping near his camp, because of a dream of this kind.

if a ring or bracelet of silver, a male; but should he dream that the bracelet or ring gets broken while he is wearing it, the child will die[1]. To have an unlucky dream is called *pahad empak*, this being equivalent to the Malay *salah mimpi*.

Oaths

The form of oath in use among the Negritos of the Ulu Selama region seems to be very similar to that of some of the Sakai tribes and of certain Indonesians. A man who is swearing to the truth of some statement will say: "If I lie—

dok teiok makab yek;
may tiger seize me;
dok ki-ung machong yek!
may rotten tree strike me!"

A Menik Kaien Spell

This, according to Tōkeh (1918) is to be said over oil, which contains *chĕnduai* flowers[2]. The oil is to be smeared on the body or clothes of the woman whose affection it is desired to gain.

Lod lod bĕkot
Jed lod ed ek
Kĭlhek langod
S'leman kentan
Balok wag hĭlag
Hertik kedong sayong
Sog mohr takob
Beb-tob teheu bim
S'naian bleuk kom
Chom pales suk.

I was unable to get any translation of this formula; and, as far as I could make out, its language is archaic[3]. Of the following words, however, I got the meanings:

[1] The Malays of the Ulu Selama region seem to have somewhat similar ideas with regard to dreams about rings and bracelets. So the Negrito beliefs may, very likely, have been adopted from Malays.

[2] Tōkeh (1921) denied that it should be said over *chĕnduai* flowers, but says that it is an old spell, and repeated it accurately as a test.

[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*, II. 232, 233.

Běkot	flower	*Takob*	tuber
Ed	skin	*Beb-tob*	knock (?)
Ek	stomach	*Teheu*	water
Kīlhek	flower of a certain kind	*Bim*	come (?)
Hertik	tail	*S'naian*	time
Kedong	rat	*Kom*	frog
Sog	hair	*Balak*	ivory
Suk	hair	*S'leman*	Solomon
Mohr	nose	*Bleuk*	thigh

The Negrito Bird-Soul

This is one of the subjects on which I have obtained some confirmation of Vaughan-Stevens' work. My evidence comes in part from the Menik Kaien and Kintak Bong; in part from the Negritos who live near the Cheka River. My Menik Kaien informant, Tōkeh, told me that his people and the Kintak Bong believe that a certain kind of bird, which is called *Til-tol-tapah*[1], announces the impending arrival of a child. Thus, if a *Til-tol-tapah* is heard, the Negritos immediately say that one of their women, or the wife of some Malay, is about to become pregnant. A bird of this species had been heard just before my arrival at the Damak River, and the tribesmen were, therefore, awaiting the fulfilment of its prophecy. Tōkeh spoke of the *Til-tol-tapah*, which he said that he had never then seen, as being the shadow (Malay *bayang*) of all the Negrito women[2], and also referred to it as the *semangat bidan* (Malay), or midwife's soul. Another bird, the *Chimioi*[3], is

[1] So named from its note. I have not been able to identify this bird, but I believe that it is small. Tōkeh told me that the Malays call it *kangkang katup*.

Mĕmpĕlam told me that the bird was large with a breast speckled with white; Tōkeh (1921) says that he has seen it and that it is small. He agrees that its breast is speckled. I believe that Tōkeh is right. I heard the bird several times while in the Ulu Selama in 1921, and, judging by the note, should think that it is small.

[2] It is worth noting that the ideas of shadow and soul are often closely connected in the Malayan region.

[3] Tōkeh, however (1921), states, in opposition to what he told me previously, recorded above, that the *Chimioi* is the bird-soul of young males up to the time of marriage. It appears that these bird representatives are not heard by their owners, but that—as in the case of the Cheka Negritos—they visit the camps of friends to give warning of approaching visits of their owners. As the *Chimioi* is the soul of young bachelors, according to Tōkeh, so a bird called *Sulor* is that of young unmarried girls, and the *Wah* that of

also thought to convey similar intimations by means of its cry.

The *Chimioi* has now been identified by Měmpělam from the bird collection in the Perak Museum as the Yellow-crested Sultan Tit (*Melanochlora flavicristata*).

The Cheka Negritos told me that their souls were green birds of the kind called *Biau*, which has a long beak and feeds on fruit and insects[1]. The *Biau* has two cries, "*Kah-kah-kah*" and "*Tutoh buah*," the latter (Malay) meaning "gorge fruit." When a woman is pregnant and hears one of these birds in the jungle she knows that the soul of her child has arrived; while on a person dying, the soul leaves the body in the form of a bird. If anyone catches a *Biau* a great thunder-storm will arise.

Apparently a man's soul can leave his body during life in the shape of a *Biau*, for the Negritos said that when they hear one of these birds they say that a friend is coming to see them, and they 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.

Tabued Days

Among the Menik Kaien, according to Tōkeh, 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." 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

small children. A bird called *Tu-tuag* is the bird-soul of men who are clever at finding fresh-water turtle, and the *Hong-yau* of males who are expert at making scoops for catching fish.

[1] Probably a species of Bee-eater (*Nyctiornis amicta*).

[2] The custom is no longer observed according to Tōkeh (1921). For the reason for its origin *vide* the Menik Kaien folk-story told by Měmpělam, pp. 194–195.

[3] *Hai* is obviously equivalent to the Malay word *hari* (day). *Vide* a previous footnote (p. 161) on the mispronunciation of the letter *r* by certain of the Negritos.

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 while climbing. After the rejoicings there is a three days' tabu period, when work is not allowable.

Musical Performances

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. 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 which were sung:

Bah[1] *Tanggoi*	The Rambutan fruit song.
Bah Tepas	The Tepas fruit song.
Bah Changeh	The song of the *Arang-para* fruit.
Bah Sempak	The song of the wild Durian (*Durian burong*).
Bah Limus	The song of the Horse-Mango.
Bah Kabang	The song of the *Rambutan Kabang*.
Bah Penig	The song of the *Durian Kampong* fruit (the cultivated Durian).

While I was at Lubok Tapah, Ulu Selama, 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 of wood by one of the women, and by two pairs of "castanets," pieces of wood or bamboo—such as the Malays call *chĕrachap*—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 Mĕmpĕlam, and attempted translations of them afterwards:

Eh,	*minyun*	*charah*	*nampak*	*berenching.*
Father,	shake up and down	sun-rise	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.

[1] *Bah* = "fruit."

Minyun, *yak* *yah,* *keh,* *keh* *minyun.*
Shaking up and down, grandmother mine, I, I shake up and down.

Senujak *ha-nial.*
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. Mĕmpĕlam told me that it was a male Chinoi named Menlus who was speaking. He plays the Jew's-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.

Yak *keh,* *minyun* *lel* *gantong.*
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.

Yek, *Puyau,* *menang* *cherengbung* *belang*
I, Basket, thread plunge down to
batu *dadak* *charah* *kĕdah* *Tanggoi.*
stone breast sunrise girl Tanggoi.

"I, Basket, go, plunge down and stick to the stone at the breast (?) of sunrise, at the house of Tanggoi's girl." It is the Chinoi Puyau, 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.

Jerjun *jeurn* (?) *klawong.* *Lel,* *lel,* *jerjun*
Carry on your hands *kĕnuwak.* Spinning, spinning, carry on your hands

klawong. *Asal* *kebeurk*[1] *klawong.*
kenuwak. Origin fruits *kĕnuwak.*

"Carry on your hands the *kĕnuwak* fruit. Spinning, spinning, carry on your hands the *kĕnuwak.* Origin of fruits is the *kĕnuwak.*" I did not ascertain the name of the Chinoi who is supposed to be speaking.

Minyun, *menawu* *tapag,* *ngabag.*
Shake up and down, bending down leaf pinnae, chant magical chants.

[1] *Kebeurk* is equivalent to the Malay numeral coefficient *biji*, which is applied to round objects, such as fruit.

"Shaking up and down, bending down the leaf pinnae of the 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.

Sibeh[2] *menang bedlad keping galong lel*
Attach thread go above cross-bar (bridge) spin
jutkat keping chanang[3] *yoh bělang*[4] *Langyau.*
bring down above plate mine near Langyau.

No satisfactory translation of the above 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." It is the Chinoi Langyau, a male Chinoi, who lives near Ligoi, who is speaking. *Chanang* is said to be Chinoi talk.

Yamun deng un, yek deng kasau Tapern. Luntem
I (?) see there, I see rafter Tapern. Jam
un yek chek menang bělang batu.
there I come thread near stone.

A satisfactory translation of this was not obtained. The general sense, according to Měmpělam, 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 house. I come to fasten (jam) there the thread to (near) the stone." Probably the same Chinoi is supposed to be speaking.

Yek chetol beraleh chintol lubag pengeseh kelingrong[5] *Tapern.*
I thrust in place round bud orna- ments *lěbak* around mortar Tapern.

"I will thrust in and place round bud ornaments of the *Lebak*-plant around the mortar of Tapern." It is the Chinoi Behwak,

[1] The species of *Pandanus* which the Malays call *měngkuang*.
[2] The Malay word *sangkut*, to attach, was given as the equivalent of *sibeh*.
[3] Cf. perhaps, the Malay word *chěnang*, a kind of gong.
[4] Malays, in speaking, often use the word *děkat* (near) instead of *kapada* (to).
[5] According to Tōkeh (1921) *kelingrong* is the ground under a house, as in a Malay dwelling, which is raised on piles.

the Tepus-plant Chinoi, a female, who is supposed to be speaking. She makes wreaths.

Ledsaid bayang charah ketel balan nukau mak bulang.
Scarlet spirit[1] sunrise go bridge house want head-dress.

"Red appears the spirit of sunrise and goes to the bridge where there is a house in search of a head-dress." It is the Chinoi Galong, the Bridge Chinoi, a female, who is supposed to be speaking.

Eh, tantig klawong penlohr[2] *bĕring!*
Father, bring *klawong* pierce fruit!
kĕnuwak (Mal.)

"Father bring *klawong* fruits and pierce them (as charms)!" It is a male Chinoi, called the Chinoi Taneh, who is supposed to be speaking.

Weung[3] *ramen, dedeh*[4]*, weung!*
Winnow body, sieve, winnow!

"I move my body like a winnowing-tray, I sift, I winnow!" It is a female Chinoi, a Flower Chinoi, who is supposed to be speaking.

Eh, minyun balan chibeh pinkoh lawad
Father I shake up and down bridge sunrise mimic song[5]
juih[6] *kaleh.*
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.*

Birth Customs

Among the Jehehr their women are prohibited from eating the cabbages of palms, flesh and fish, and tubers for four days after giving birth to a child. Among the Kintak Bong and Menik Kaien, according to Tōkeh, for ten days after her

[1] Equivalent to the Malay *mambang.* Cf. Malay *bayang,* "shadow."
[2] Used, I was told, of piercing the nasal septum. This is not a Kintak Bong custom, but is found among the Kensieu and other tribes.
[3] According to Mĕmpĕlam, the Malay equivalent of the word is *tampi.*
[4] The Malay equivalent of the word is *ayak.*
[5] The Malay equivalent is *suwara.*
[6] Said to be a Chinoi word for "bird."

delivery, a woman must not step into water, nor may she eat salt, fish or flesh. The flesh of the bamboo rat is especially tabued, as, if she were to eat it, her child's face would grow into a resemblance of that of the rodent.

Among the two last named groups, too, a pregnant woman may not go out during "hot rain" (*i.e.* rain with sunshine), fetch water late in the afternoon or evening, or go to the hills alone. If she breaks the last prohibition, she will meet a tiger and be devoured.

Marriage Customs

I have very little information about marriage customs among the Negritos, but what details I have are, perhaps, worth putting on record here. The Batek of the Cheka River neighbourhood said that marriages among them took place at the durian-fruit season[1], which is a time for rejoicing among many of the aboriginal tribes. They told me that, with the exception of a feast, there is no marriage ceremony.

Marriage, it seems, between members of the same band or group—*puwak* was the Malay term used—is forbidden. Probably the *puwak*, of which there were two in the neighbourhood of the Cheka River at the time of my visit—is little more than a family group, and its members thus nearly related.

According to the Jehehr it is allowable, but not usual, for a man to have two wives. A bachelor who wishes to marry, takes his wife from another band of the tribe, and brings her back to his own camp. After a while, however, he and his wife return to live with his wife's relations for a time, and visits are subsequently paid to them at varying intervals. There appears to be little or no marriage ceremony among the Jehehr.

As far as I could find out, there are no marriage rites among the Kintak Bong and Menik Kaien. I was told by Tōkeh that a man's relations generally search for a wife for him, while engagements seem to be occasionally entered into before the girl is of a ripe age; thus it was said that one of the men

[1] *Vide* photograph by Cerruti in *Pagan Races* (Vol. II, plate opposite p. 61) of a young Sakai girl.

was betrothed to a girl in the settlement near the Damak River, but that she would not be ready for marriage for about another two rice seasons.

According to Mĕmpĕlam, the headman of the Kintak Bong, a man who is suitor for a girl's hand usually speaks to the girl's father or elder brother. In the event of there being nobody in the camp whom a bachelor can marry, he goes in search of a wife either to another camp of his own people, if there is one, or to that of another tribe.

Divorce seems to be not unusual among the Kintak Bong, but according to the Grik Negritos it is not common among their people[1]. Exogamy among the Menik Kaien[2], Kintak Bong and the Menik Gul[2] seems to be very usual, but much rarer, if my informants are to be believed, among the Grik aborigines. With regard to the prohibited degrees of relationship, Tōkeh told me that a man might not marry the wife of his deceased brother, and also that marriage between first cousins was forbidden. This may, perhaps, be so among the Menik Kaien, but according to Mĕmpĕlam the statement needs qualifying as far as the Kintak Bong are concerned. The rule is that first cousins may marry, provided that the man is the son of an elder brother or sister; if he is not, they may not marry.

Burial Customs

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[3]. 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*[3]). A woman's grave is dug to a depth of her height from her feet to her breasts; that of a man to a

[1] Few, if any, of the Grik people, I believe, have more than one wife.

[2] These two groups are almost extinct.

[3] When the spectator is facing the foot of the grave. Cf. the description of a Negrito grave in *Pagan Races*, II. 92.

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*[1]), decorated with patterns rudely drawn with charcoal, are planted against the body; one of these, the smaller of the two, 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 *tangkel*, on the right of the body and near that part of it in which the disease 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 the 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 (*tangkel 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 *tangkel kemoit*—ghost talismans. Their purpose is to prevent the return of the souls of the dead to their homes, though Tōkeh told me 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 Mĕm-pĕlam told me that it is the ghosts' Jew's-harp[2].

[1] I obtained models of these from Tōkeh and of the ghost talismans mentioned below.

[2] The Semang—also the Malay—Jew's-harp is made of bamboo or palm wood. The Malay name for the instrument is *gĕnggong*.

When burying a corpse, the Kintak Bong and Menik Kaien say:

Chub-deh[1] *kasing:*
Go first;
Yek tekoh.
I afterwards.
Yinket eg ujan[2]*;*
Do not give rain;
Yinket eg ibud (Malay *ribut*)*;*
Do not give storms;
Yinket eg kilad[3] *kaii,*
Do not give lightning thunder.

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 the Negritos of Grik and Temengoh, 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!*" ("Fill in, fill in (*i.e.* bury), grandmother!"), while the Jehehr phrase, "*Bai! Dun! Dun! Di-prak!*" he said, should be, "*Bai! Dut! Dut! Di-prak!*" ("Dig! Fill in! Leave!").

Among the Kintak Bong, the Menik Kaien, and the Ijok people 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 it is at liberty. At the end of that time, according to the Kintak Bong and Menik Kaien, Mampes, the guardian

[1] The Malay equivalent of *chub-deh* was given as *pergi-lah*.
[2] *Ujan* is a Malay word. [3] *Kilad* = Malay *kilat*.

of the *Balam 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 upon to come and take away the ghost of the dead person.

According to my Kintak Bong informant, Mĕmpĕlam, 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.

The description of the position of the corpse in the grave which I obtained in 1918 seems quite correct. Mĕmpĕlam told me that the head points to *Belet*, that is about north-west, with the face looking towards the setting sun. The body lies on its right side with the knees drawn up.

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.

The Giving of Names

Except where the Negritos have been much in contact with Malays and have given their children Malay names[1], it is usual to name a child from the kind of tree under which it was born, from the nearest stream or river, or from the place at which the party was encamped when the birth occurred. Thus

[1] It is possible that some of the Negritos, who are called by Malay names, may also be known by native names among their own people.

the Negritos of the Cheka River district said that they named their children from streams, giving me the names; Pachet, Wul, Songsong, Yes, Geh and Saboie (or Choie) as examples: while out of the names of eleven Jehehr Negritos, five are river names, two the 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[1], also follow ancient custom to a large extent; thus we have such names as Kemangi (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 to outsiders as Daun, Mr Coconut (Hipai) is called Nyior, and Mr Wood (Nehuk), Kayu[2].

The Menik Kaien and the Kintak Bong also give their children names from the species of trees and plants, or from the rivers, near which they were born. My friend Tōkeh, for instance, was named after a kind of bamboo, while another man, known as Doin (a fan-palm; *Livistona cochinchinensis*), was, for some reason, called Tebu (sugar-cane), by the Malays. Among the Kintak Bong, whom I visited in 1921, besides Mĕmpĕlam (mango) and Piseng (banana), there were the following individuals:

Pai, a female, born at the Tapah River. *Pai* means "ditch."
Sidim[3], born near the Sidim River in Kedah.
Semeh, a female, born near a *kemangi*-shrub (*semeh*).
Kising, a male, born near a *kising*-plant[4].

Some Social Tabus

The mother-in-law, among the Negritos, is avoided as much as possible by her son-in-law, and the father-in-law by his

[1] It is possible that some of the Negritos, who are called by Malay names, may also be known by native names among their own people.
[2] *Vide Journal of the F.M.S. Museums*, IX. 10.
[3] Sex not obtained.
[4] Probably some species of wild ginger. I was told that it is much like a *tĕpus*-plant, but has a strong smell.

daughter-in-law. Thus the Cheka Negritos told me 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. The Ijok people[1] seem to be much more strict, for, according to their custom, a man must not speak to his mother-in-law, nor a woman to her father-in-law, and they must avoid these relations as far as possible. If communication is necessary, an intermediary must be employed. A man, may, however, speak to his father-in-law and a woman to her mother-in-law. A man may not mention the name of his mother-in-law, nor a woman that of her father-in-law. Among the Jehehr, too, the mother-in-law may neither be named, nor spoken to, by her son-in-law. Kintak Bong and Menik Kaien men, also, may not speak 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, 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.

Food-Tabus

I have mentioned above that certain articles of diet are forbidden to women who have recently given birth: others appear to be more or less interdicted to women under ordinary circumstances. Thus, the Jehehr told me that their womenkind did not, or were not allowed to, eat the flesh of the *p'landok* (or chevrotain), as it was thought that to do so would entail their suffering from convulsions, while, for the same reason, the meat of the Rusa-deer (*C. unicolor*) and the muntjac was also tabued, though less rigidly than the first,

[1] Menik Kaien, Lanoh, etc. A mixed group.

some women not being afraid to consume these forbidden dainties[1].

The Menik Kaien and Kintak Bong have a prejudice—it can scarcely be said to amount to a tabu—against certain kinds of food, among them the flesh of buffaloes and fowls, and the eggs of hens, but there appear to be also certain tabus connected with the eating of flesh or fish. Thus, Tōkeh informed me that it is not allowable to re-duplicate the names of animals when they are being eaten—I could not get a very clear explanation of the matter—and it is thus wrong to refer to a fish called *betok* as *betok balok*. If anyone does so, he or she will suffer from severe intestinal disturbance.

Amulets and Talismans

The question of the magical use of the patterns with which many of the Negritos decorate their combs and dart-quivers has been much debated, chiefly owing to Vaughan-Stevens' elaborate theories. Skeat, who quotes him at length, has, unfortunately, little or no evidence of his own to offer either for or against the truth of Vaughan-Stevens' statements.

I made it my business, when visiting the Negritos who live near Lenggong, Ijok and in the Ulu Selama region, to inquire, as exhaustively as I could, into this subject.

It may be noted that the patterns with which the Western Negritos decorate their dart-quivers represent, generally, either parts of the 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* monkeys' teeth," "arms of the *lotong*," "eyes of the *lotong*," "tortoise breast pattern" and "eyes" of the *Kuwangkweit* bird[2]; while in the second there are "padi grains," "flower sheaths of the jack fruit," "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

[1] Similar ideas are found among many of the Sakai tribes.
[2] These are Malay names.

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[1]. This statement is supported by that of a Lenggong Negrito, who said that the *lotong* patterns on the quivers were thought to aid hunters in their quest for monkeys, while an Ijok man also affirmed that the patterns on the dart-quivers assisted his people in obtaining food—game, I presume—in the jungle; though this was denied by another member of the same tribe. I think, however, that there is sufficient evidence to warrant our believing that the patterns on the quivers have a magical significance and use.

With regard to the combs, with which Vaughan-Stevens' theories are chiefly concerned, I have, up to the present, been able to obtain no proof that the designs which are engraved upon them are supposed to have any magical properties. Tōkeh, when asked directly about the matter, replied that they had not, nor was I more successful in obtaining confirmation of Vaughan-Stevens' stories from the Negritos of Lenggong and Ijok. One Ijok man, whom I asked straight out whether the women's combs were regarded as amulets, only answered that they might, perhaps, have a magical use, as the women always wore them[2].

Necklaces of a black fungus rhizomorph, which the Malays call *akar* (or *urat*) *batu*, are frequently worn by Ijok, Lenggong and Ulu Selama Negritos—chiefly by the men—as a charm against "hot rain"—that is, rain while the sun is shining—which is much feared as bringing fever and other ills[3]. Among the Negritos of the Cheka River district in Pahang, too, I have seen girdles and bracelets of this material in use, but I omitted to inquire whether they were worn for the same purpose. The Negrito women of the Western States very generally wear a

[1] Tōkeh (1921) tells me that men decorate their dart-quivers with any patterns which they may dream will aid them in hunting.

[2] Vaughan-Stevens, however, states that only the Eastern Negritos use comb-patterns for magical purposes. The Cheka people, the only Eastern Negrito tribe that I have visited, do not make the typical Negrito comb.

[3] Some of the Sakai-Jakun of Selangor and Pahang also wear necklaces and bracelets of *akar batu* as amulets against "hot rain."

short kilt of *akar batu*, this being often put on underneath a Malay *sarong*.

From the Lenggong and Ijok people I obtained some dried racemose inflorescences of a small plant, or plants—for they may have been of different species, though much alike—which were stated to be those of the *chĕnduai*: they are thought to form infallible love-charms by the Malays[1]. The specimens which I got at Lenggong were forwarded to Kew to be named and were identified as being *Salomonia aphylla* (Griff.). The *chĕnduai* is, according to Malay stories, said to grow in the most inaccessible fastnesses of the mountains.

The Herald of Small-pox

In 1918, while I was camping in the Ulu Selama region of Perak, the Kintak Bong living close by were very much troubled about an outbreak of small-pox in a Malay village a few miles away, this disease being, with good reason, much dreaded by the Negritos. They said that the advent of small-pox is announced by an insect called *Imong*—a kind of cicada, as far as I could find out—and that they had heard its note before the outbreak in question had occurred.

Various Beliefs and Customs

The following information was collected from Mĕmpĕlam, headman of the Kintak Bong, in 1921.

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 site must be selected, as if this is not done a tiger will raid the occupants of the hut, or they will fall ill with fever.

If the Hornbill, which the Negritos call *Kawan Malik*[2], is heard at night, it is said that a tiger is coming. The same

[1] Some similar inflorescences were obtained by my Malay "boy" from the "Biduanda" of the Ulu Langat in Selangor, when I visited them in 1912. He only showed these to me, however, after I had got my specimens from the Lenggong Negritos.

[2] This is the *Burong mati sa'kawan* of the Malays (*Annorhinus galeritus*).

belief also attaches to the *Kuwangkweit*[1] when its note is heard after dark.

If a squirrel in a tree falls from it near the sleeping-bench of a shelter, it is a sign that someone will die.

Malays (*Hemik*), blood, jungle leeches and the private parts of a man or woman may not be mentioned when fish are being caught by means of *tuba*-poison[2]. These words are *enlak*, tabu. Women who are expectant may not accompany the fishing party. If these tabus are broken, the poison will have no effect upon the fish.

Folk-Stories

Yak Kampeh and Piagok

Told by Mĕmpĕlam, Headman of the Kintak Bong

Yak[3] Kampeh lived with her son, Piagok, in the Selama District.

Yak Kampeh dreamt one night that she had got a son named Kebeurk Yihuk[4]. The next morning she went out to look for food, and came across a fruit hanging from a tree. She told her son, Piagok, to climb and take the fruit. So Piagok climbed the tree and threw the fruit down into his mother's cloth, which she held to receive it. A sound of crying was heard from the cloth, and the fruit opened, and a child was in it.

Another night Piagok dreamt that he met a woman. So, on the next morning, he set out and really met her. She told Piagok that she wanted armlets (of rattan), Jew's-harps and combs. Piagok went home and made the combs. On the day after he told his mother to go to the woman's camp, and at night he went there himself and slept with Yak Tanggoi[5]—for that was the woman's name.

The next morning, he went with Homoit, Tanggoi's younger brother, to hunt with his blow-pipe, and, when it was night, they went home. Homoit was carried tied on Piagok's back, above his back-basket, because his waist was only as big as

[1] A goatsucker (Tŏkeh, 1921).

[2] *Derris elliptica*, a plant of which the sap is poured into pools in the river to stupify the fish.

[3] Grandmother.

[4] This means "tree fruit."

[5] Grandmother Rambutan.

my index finger, and he could not walk: on returning to the hut, his sister released him.

On the day after, Piagok went by himself through the jungle to Perak (*i.e.* the Perak River Valley) for five days, and then came back. On his return, he went away again on the next morning and shot a pig with his bow. He returned, and 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.

Then Piagok went on a journey, and he found when he looked at his (Yak Tanggoi's) leaf, that it had shrivelled.

Now after Piagok's departure, Yak Tanggoi had gone to bathe with five other women. The five women pushed her down into the bathing-well and drowned her, because they wanted Piagok for themselves.

Piagok returned and found his wife dead, and wrapped her body in a mat. Then he got an iron pan and heated water. Next he called the five women and said to them, "If you like my body, come and sit here!" They came and sat down near him; whereupon he took the hot water and poured it over them, killing them all. Then there came *Henweh*[1] and the house turned to stone, but Piagok carried Yak Tanggoi's body up to the sky.

Now there was a cousin of Piagok who lived in Perak. His name was To'Taseg and his wife was called Yak Hnileh. To'Taseg being a *halak* (magician) knew about Piagok, and came with his wife to Selama, but his younger cousin (Piagok) had gone to the sky.

To'Taseg seeing that Piagok's house had become a stone, transformed himself into a Chinoi, and entered it, his wife going in first, because he stopped to burn incense.

Yak Tanggoi came to life in the sky, and, when a *halak* performs in a *panoh* ("medicine-hut"), Piagok, Yak Tanggoi, Taseg and Yak Hnileh come to him. They have become Chinoi.

[1] Water welling up from under the ground. A disaster caused by an impious act. *Henweh*, as here, is sometimes accompanied by petrifaction of the offender's house.

Tak Chemempes

Told by Mĕmpĕlam, Headman of the Kintak Bong

Tak Chemempes one day turned himself into a rhinoceros. A companion of his, who had gone to cut attaps[1] in the jungle, saw him eating the leaves of a tree and went home, got his bow, returned, and shot at him, but Tak Chemempes caught the arrow under his "armpit" (front leg). Then he pretended to be dead, as if he had been killed by the arrow.

The man who had shot at him went back to call his friends to come and cut up the rhinoceros that he had shot. They all went to the place and made themselves shelters near the "dead" rhinoceros. Five children started playing near the rhinoceros while their mothers were building the shelters, and the rhinoceros said to them, "Have you all come here?" and the children answered, "All of us." The children went to their fathers and said, "The rhinoceros asked us if we had all moved here." The fathers said, "Don't speak *minchah*[2]."

Then all the people came together to cut up the rhinoceros, and the rhinoceros got up, became a man, and killed them all, except one man who was only lamed. Then Tak Chemempes said, "Is there anyone left?" and the wounded man replied, "There is"; so Tak Chemempes killed him too.

Another time Tak Chemempes became a blacksmith, but he made his working-knives of tin. Then he called the people together and sold them knives, and when they had gone, he went away and became the cabbage of a *Taak*-palm[3].

Now the people to whom he had sold the working-knives were shifting their camp. They came to the place where Tak Chemempes had become a palm-cabbage, and first one, and then another, climbed the tree to cut out the cabbage, but all were unsuccessful, until a man cut it through with a small knife[4], and pushed it down, when it rolled into the river and became a soft-shelled turtle.

[1] Leaves for making thatch.

[2] *I.e.* words which will cause stomach trouble when the flesh is eaten: *Minchah* is more or less equivalent to the Malay word *mising*, "bad diarrhoea."

[3] The Negrito name for the *Langkap*-palm.

[4] Not one that he had bought from Tak Chemempes.

All the people tried to catch the turtle, but it cut their hands. At last the man who had cut down the palm-cabbage went down into the river, caught the turtle, and brought it ashore, when it immediately dug itself into the ground, and became an elephant's-head tuber. So they dug it up, and preparing a fire, roasted it; and fifteen of the people died of stomach trouble through eating it, and fifteen remained alive.

Then Tak Chemempes became a *toalang*-tree with two or three hundred bees'-nests in it. The fifteen people who were left alive came across the *toalang* and made shelters there, so as to take the bees'-nests. They made a ladder[1] up the tree to reach the nests and, at night, a man went up carrying a torch[2] and a bailer[3] made of the flowering spathe of the *Bayas*-palm. When he got to the nests, the bees became a man, who cut the climber's throat, and, catching the blood in the bailer, let it down to the people below, saying, "There's lots of honey; the bailer won't hold it all!"

Then he called another man up to help him, and cut his throat too. So he called another and another, and so on, until eight had been killed. At last the cocks crew and it was daylight, and Tak Chemempes vanished. But the seven persons who were left saw their dead companions lying under the tree.

Next, Tak Chemempes became a crocodile and laid eggs on the shore of a river. A man who had been digging tubers came to the river to wash his hands, and, seeing the eggs, took them home, cooked and ate them. When night came the crocodile followed him to the camp to which the eggs had been taken. All the people there were asleep, except one man and his wife. These two heard the crocodile coming and called the people who had eaten the eggs, but could not wake them;

[1] The kind of ladder which the Malays call *sigai*, long bamboos placed end to end with notches cut in them for foot-rests or with wooden pegs, forming steps, fitted into the notches. Wooden pegs, called *patin*, are also commonly driven into *toalang* trunks to form a ladder when Malays climb for honey.

[2] For lighting his way and for smoking out the bees.

[3] Like the article used for bailing boats. It has a cross-bar. The honey is let down in the bailer.

so they ran away. Then the crocodile came and ate up all the sleepers.

After this Tak Chemempes became a lizard[1] in a tree near a camp. Whenever he saw anything nice cooking in the camp, he came down from the tree, became a man, and got a share by telling the people that he had come from a far-away place. At last a girl followed him, and Tak Chemempes returned to his own shape and carried her off from there.

Then he journeyed until he found some people fishing, and tried to persuade them to go to their huts to eat their fish. But the people told him how a certain man, named Tak Taihi, oppressed them by taking their fish, and said that, if he could overcome their oppressor, they would collect fish for him. So Tak Chemempes prepared rattan bindings[2] large enough to go round his knees and elbows. Soon came the man who had taken the fish and asked what the bindings were for, and Tak Chemempes replied that they were medicine for pains in his elbows and knees. Tak Taihi asked for them, saying that he also had pains. Tak Chemempes gave them to him, showing him how to put them on with connecting pieces of wood between the elbows and knees. Then, when he was firmly trussed, Tak Chemempes beat him to death, and when the people came back from fishing they heaped together their fish for him.

Next, Tak Chemempes bored a hole in a tree-buttress, making it sufficiently large for his foot to pass through easily. This hole he stopped with mud, so that it would not be noticed. When he had finished, he called his companions to try if they could kick a hole in a tree-buttress, and they said that they would give him all their fish if he was able to do so. His companions tried to kick a hole in a buttress, but could not. Then Tak Chemempes kicked the buttress in the place which he had prepared, and his foot passed through it easily. So his companions brought him their fish.

[1] The species known to the Malays as *Gĕgĕrok* (*Gecko stentor*). It lives in holes in trees and has a loud and peculiar cry, which is generally heard in the early morning and towards evening.

[2] Of the kind which the Malays call *simpai*.

After about another two or three days his companions stole the girl whom he had brought with him. Tak Chemempes went in search of her, but could not find her: so he returned. He slept for a night, and the next day he discovered the thieves, but not the girl. He said to them, "If you want to become like I am, go and get some bamboos." So they went and got what he told them to fetch, and Tak Chemempes dried the bamboos for two nights over the fire. Then he made knives from the bamboos, and said, "If you want to become Mohamedans (*i.e.* be circumcised), go and sit above the waterfall." So they went and sat above the waterfall. Tak Chemempes went to their wives and said, "If I am attacked by an evil spirit[1] when I circumcise your husbands, here is medicine to blow over me[2]," and he gave them some *tios*[3]. So he went to circumcise their husbands. First he called one man, cut off all his genitals, and kicked him down into the river below, then another, and so on, till all thirty of them were dead. Then he went back, and the wives asked him when their husbands were coming home, and he replied, "Perhaps to-day or to-morrow." That night he pretended to have an epileptic fit[4], and all the women came together to blow the medicine over him. Then he beat them all to death.

On the next day he started on a journey, and, when a strong wind arose, he heard a sound of loud whistling. He found that the noise was made by two trees, the stems of which crossed one another and were pushed together by the wind. Tak Chemempes climbed up into the trees and put his hand between them, in order to take whatever it was that made the whistling, but his hand was caught between the trunks, and there he was held until he died.

[1] In Malay "*kĕna badi*."

[2] The Malay *sĕmbor*. Blowing medicine from the mouth, often *sirih*-water, on the affected part, is a method of treatment frequently resorted to by native practitioners.

[3] *Kunyet tĕrus* in Malay, a kind of turmeric, *Curcuma aromatica* (?).

[4] In Malay, "become pig mad," epileptic fits are ascribed to possession by a spirit.

Mampes

Mampes and his wife went from Selama to Perak, and lived there a month. On his return, Mampes found that all his companions had been eaten by tigers: now there were two of these animals.

He told his wife to climb a *jĕrai*-tree. Then he went to the huts where the people had died, and there he found two tigers. The tigers wanted to fight with him, but he stopped them, saying, "Wait a little, and then we will fight. I want to take a thorn out of my foot." He took out the thorn, and then, standing up, called the male tiger to fight. They fought, and Mampes killed the tiger with an arrow. Then he called the female and she, also, was killed in the same way. So Mampes said, "Ah, when I was away you came and killed my mother and my relations, but now you have had to fight with me!" He returned to his wife and called to her to come down. Then he told her how their friends had been killed, and she wept when she heard of it.

After this Mampes went to his father's camp, which was in another place, and told him how his mother and his companions had been eaten by tigers. He lived there for about three months. One day he told two of his companions to make a swing, and, when it was made, he sat in it and swung.

Now there were two women whose husband—they were both married to the same man—was very clever, but pretended to be dumb. Now this "dumb" man, Tak Nin[1], was really also Mampes, for he had made a double of himself, but of different appearance.

These three, Tak Nin and his two wives, Yak Lunggyait and Penantun, both of whom were *halak*, went to the jungle Tak Nin taking with him a bow.

They came across a bear up a tree in the jungle and Yak Lunggyait took the bow, placed one end on the ground strung it, and gave it to Tak Nin, motioning him to shoot

[1] Tak Nin's footprints, I am told, can still be seen at Ayer Tuna, Sidim Kedah.

The bear was struck and crouched on the ground, and Yak Lunggyait said, "*Nin ɟeurk kawap*[1]!" "Run!" said Nin to his two wives. Then the bear died.

They went back and stopped for two nights at their hut. After this they started out again, and met an elephant, and Tak Nin went by himself and shot at the elephant with his bow, wounding him. The elephant ran away and, when he had run for about two miles[2], fell down dead. So Tak Nin went home with his two wives and told his companions about the dead elephant. Next day about twenty of them started off for the place where the elephant was lying. When they arrived, Tak Nin cut open the elephant's head and took the tusks. Then they went home.

Now there was a younger brother-in-law[3] of Tak Nin's. This man was a *halak*, his name was Pas[4], and he was the ancestor of the Muntjac, for all animals were once men. Tak Nin told him to speak to his (Tak Nin's) mother-in-law[5], and ask her what he should do with the ivory. So Pas ran off to Tak Nin's mother-in-law's and arrived at night, when, on coming to the entrance of the camp, he stepped on two people who were sleeping there. These two moved to a sleeping-bench, which broke under their weight, and they were wounded in their backs by the supports of the bench.

Then Pas went straight to his mother's hut, and said, "My elder brother has killed an elephant," telling her to go the next day. The mother-in-law told the father-in-law, and, on the following day, he and Pas went to Tak Nin's hut.

The father-in-law took the tusks home with him and kept them for ten days, until a thief, named Keh, came at night and stole them. On the next morning the father-in-law, Tak Kemis, went after the thief and met him on the path. Then Keh put down the tusks and ran away up some rocks, com-

[1] "Nin run from the bear!"

[2] In Malay "*dua batu*," two stones, *i.e.* two miles. The Negritos have learnt to speak of miles from the Malays.

[3] *Adik ipar* in Malay. *I.e.* a brother-in-law who was younger than Tak Nin.

[4] The name means "*kijang*" (*Muntiacus muntjac*).

[5] Tak Nin would be prohibited by Negrito custom from speaking to her himself.

plaining. Tak Kemis shot him with his bow, and he died. This Keh[1] was the ancestor of the goat-antelopes.

Tak Kemis went home with the ivory, but one night another thief climbed up upon the shelf[2], while five others watched near Tak Kemis' head. The five took the ivory and ran away, while the sixth jumped down from the shelf, spilling the salt into the fire in doing so. Now the five got away safely, but the sixth, Chigchag, broke his thigh between two logs. Tak Kemis found him on the next day and killed him.

Wild Pigs

Told by Mĕmpĕlam

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 went to the jungle and came across some pigs, and the elder brother shot at one of them with an arrow[3] and hit it. Then the "pigs" ran away to their houses and became men again; and the man who had been hit complained of the pain to his wife.

Now the younger brother went to the village and saw the sick man. The elder brother followed him and called out in the village, "This is where my arrow is," but his younger brother told him not to say anything. Then the "pigs" came

[1] His followers became goat-antelopes (serows). The name Keh, I believe, means serow. Note that Keh tried to escape to the rocks. The serow is commonly found on precipitous limestone cliffs, such as are to be seen in many parts of the Peninsula.

[2] Malay *para*. Probably the ivory was kept on a shelf above the hearth. The Negritos do not, however, build sufficiently complicated dwellings to have a *para*. Licence must be granted to the story-teller.

[3] It is often said, with truth, that the bow is the original Negrito weapon and the blow-pipe has been borrowed from the Sakai. The bow, though known to the Negritos of Perak, is now little, if at all, used by them, but is still a favourite weapon of the Negrito-Sakai of the hills of Upper Perak. The Negritos of the Perak River Valley (Lanoh) use the blow-pipe to a considerable extent, weapons generally being obtained from the Negrito-Sakai, who can easily obtain the long-noded bamboo (*B. Wrayi*) which is the best for making the inner tubes. The Negritos have, however, evolved their own type of dart-quiver: this has no cover.

In these folk-stories it is, I think, well demonstrated that the bow is the original Negrito weapon, there are constant references to it as against only two to the blow-pipe.

and fought with them. The elder brother went home, but the younger remained behind and treated the sick man till he was well.

Then the younger brother went home and said to this elder brother, "Do not go to the village to-morrow, if you do, the 'pigs' will fight, and you will die." The elder brother paid no attention to what the younger said, and went to the village and asked for rice[1]. They gave him rice, and attacked him while he was eating it, and killed him.

His younger brother did not know about this. The next morning he went to the village and found his elder brother's body lying there. He went and moved the body and found that his brother was dead. Then he took the tail of a grass-lizard and thrust it into his elder brother's nostrils. Whereupon his brother sneezed, and came to life again. Then they went home.

When they got home, they stopped there for two days, and then the elder brother went fishing and caught some fish. He went back to his hut, and, when he arrived, his wife cooked rice for him. After he had eaten, and it had become dark, he set out again and did not return. His younger brother went in search of him, but could not find him, so he went back, and remained at his hut for fifteen days. On the sixteenth day he again went in search of his elder brother, and found him at a water spirits'[2] camp. Then the younger brother slept there for the night, and saw that the people of the hut were of a different race from human beings.

On the next day he tried to persuade his elder brother to come home, but he refused. So the elder brother stopped there, while the younger returned.

A Menik Kaien Legend

Told by Mĕmpĕlam, Headman of the Kintak Bong

There was once a man, a *halak*, who had a son who was also a *halak*. The son had a wife. One day the son went out

[1] The Kintak Bong are, at the present day, hangers-on at Malay villages. They continually beg for rice, and often avoid doing work in payment for it when received.

[2] *Kemoit teheu.*

to shoot with his blow-pipe. His wife took a *bangkong*[1]-fruit and roasted it in the fire, intending to give it to her child, who was crying for food. The *bangkong*-fruit exploded—now to burn a *bangkong*-fruit in 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, and 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 to the son 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 Tapern 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 Kaien 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.

(The Menik Kaien, according to Mĕmpĕlam, claim Batu Kurau as being in their territory. Only the Menik Kaien dialect may be talked by Negritos when going near the hill.)

Note on the Identification of Negrito Words

As a large number of Negrito words occur in this section of my work, I have made an attempt to identify them in the

[1] A kind of wild jack-fruit.

[2] Magicians among the Negritos and the Sakai are frequently credited with the power of turning themselves into tigers.

[3] I am inclined to think that this cave is the rock-shelter in Gunong Kurau which the Malays call *Kĕramat Rimau, i.e.* the tiger's holy place. I carried out excavations at this site in 1917; *vide* IX. 34 of the *F.M.S. Museum's Journal*. Tōkeh, however (1921), says that Mĕmpĕlam is wrong and that the place is in the Ulu Selama.

[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*.

comparative vocabulary at the end of Vol. II of *Pagan Races*. A considerable proportion of these—given in the list below, together with reference letters and numbers—has been thus traced to identical, nearly allied, or probably related forms, but a considerable number have not been thus identified; of these most are to be found in the songs of the *halak*, or in those of the "singing performance." There is thus a possibility that some of them are words which are not in every-day use, since the Chinoi—who are said to use special words—speak through the *halak*, while in the "singing performance," Chinoi were also supposed to be speaking, though in this instance, I take it, there was no suggestion of possession by them.

Ag-ag, crow, C 277.
Ai, monkey (*Presbytes neglecta keatii*), M 140.
Awih, climbing plant, R 39.
Bai, dig, D 107.
Balak, ivory, H 126.
Baleh, virgin, G 28, Y 40, W 131.
Bĕkau, flower, F 187.
Bering, fruit, F 281.
Beteu, water, W 3.
Betud, long, L 130.
Bleuk, thigh, T 60.
Bum, we (= Malay *kawan*, companion), R 36 (*Lataik bum, rotan kawan*).
Chelchem, Chelchem, cf. perhaps, *kelyeng*, inside, I 27.
Chem, stab, C 296 (*cheg*).
Chibeh, sunrise, D 33 (*chewe*).
Chintol, bud, B 446. Meaning given as "comb flower" in one place.
Dadak, breast, B 380.
Dahar, where, W 81.
Deh, this, it, T 86.
Deng, see, S 75.
Deurk, run, G 44.
Eh, father, F 45.
Ek, stomach, B 161.
Empak, dream, D 158.
Ensol, ashamed, A 158 *a*.
Gampil, mat, M 63.
Gul, swamp, H 113.
Ha, where, what, W 77.
Halak, shaman, M 78.
Heneng, hole, H 107.
Hertik, tail, T 3.
Hilud, swallow, to, S 526.
Huyak, rainbow snake, R 16.
Ibeh, turn, cf. *bit, habit*, T 250.
Jagat, giddy (?), cf. *ja-kui*, H 46.
Kawap, bear, B 103.
Kawong, Argus pheasant, A 129.
Kebeurk, fruit (= Malay *biji*, a numeral coefficient applied to round objects such as fruit), F 283.
Kedlud, firefly, W 121.
Kedong, rat, R 33.
Keling-tek, earth, from under, E 12 (*tek*).
Kemoit, ghost, G 18.
Keping, above, A 5.
Kid, root, bottom, P 515, A 118.
Kijing, hear, H 60.
Kilad, lightning, L 97.
Klang, hawk, E 4.
Kom, frog, F 265.
Kuie, head, H 46.
Kuwangkweit, bird, species of, B 222.
Lel, spin (turn), T 267, T 251.

Magiseh, go round, T 257.
Makab, seize, C 48.
Maloh, what, W 77.
Menang, thread, T 96.
Menik, Negrito, M 25.
Menlis (*blis*), go down, D 33, F 12.
Met ketok, sun, D 33.
Minchah, stomach trouble, S 468.
Mohr, nose, N 98.
Ngabag, magical singing performance, to hold a, S 212.
Nteng, ear, E 6.
Oi, I (?), cf. I 3.
Pas, muntjac, D 76.
Penet, tired, T 149.
Penig, durian, cultivated, D 188.
Pideh, call, C 9.
Piseng, banana, P 49.
Pi-weg, go back, R 83 (*weg*).
Puyau, basket, cf. *puyu*, *pandanus*, P 27.
Sagwong, bird, species of, B 225.
Sempak, durian, wild, D 189.
Sog, hair, H 1.
Suk, hair, H 1.
Takob, tuber, Y 2.
Tanggoi, rambutan, R 22.
Tapag, palm leaflets, R 178.
Teiok, tiger, T 130.
Tekoh, afterwards, A 46.
Tembun, come up, climb, C 166.
Til-tol-tapah, a bird, D 181. It is not the Argus pheasant, as stated by Vaughan-Stevens.
Un, that, there, T 51.
Wai, open, O 44.
Yak, grandmother, G 86.
Yam, I, I 1.
Yek, I, I 1.

(ii) SOME BELIEFS AND CUSTOMS OF THE SAKAI

This paper covers not only the Sakai proper but also the mixed tribes both Negrito-Sakai—such as the people living in the hill regions of Upper Perak and the Sakai-Jakun tribes of Selangor, Central Pahang and Negri Sembilan. The latter are important as occupying a large extent of country, and forming a considerable proportion of the aboriginal population of the Peninsula.

The culture of the Negrito-Sakai is more Sakai than Negrito, for they are fairly diligent agriculturists and build good houses of the communal type. Physically the mixture of blood between the two races is obvious.

The mixed tribes of Selangor, Central Pahang, and Negri Sembilan generally incline more to the Jakun than the Sakai type. Some of them—as do the pure Jakun—speak Malay as their mother-tongue; others Sakai dialects. Thus, of those mentioned in this paper, the tribes in the neighbourhood of Pertang in Negri Sembilan, the "Biduanda" of the Ulu Langat and of the Ulu Kenaboi, and the "Mantra" whom I met in the neighbourhood of Johol are Malay-speakers; while

the Besisi, the Serting River people, the Bĕra tribe, the Kĕrau tribe, the Kemaman Sakai-Jakun, the Tekam tribe and others, speak various Sakai dialects. Many of the mixed tribes, too, have the Jakun system of tribal officers.

Jakun influence penetrates Perak to some extent—chiefly owing to the migration of Selangor pagans—and I have found Selangor or half-Selangor people living as far north as the low country around Sungkai. Probably, however, there is much less, if any, admixture among the mountain-dwelling Sakai of South Perak.

Possibly I shall be found fault with for placing these mixed tribes under the heading of Sakai instead of under that of Jakun, but these papers are intended more as storehouses for facts to be made use of by students of custom and religion than as essays on the differences which prevail between the pagan races. Several years' experience of the Malay Peninsula has served rather to impress upon my mind the similarities in belief and custom which prevail among the pagan tribes, than to accentuate differences; still in the general introduction I have attempted to draw some distinctions between the beliefs and customs of the different races.

Deities

The Sakai who inhabit the valley of the Sungkai River from the neighbourhood of Sungkai village to an up-stream settlement of the Malays which is named Jeram Kawan—a section of the Senoi (Central Sakai)—have a hazy belief in a Supreme Being, whom they call Yenang[1]. The Sakai who live around the Kampar River above Gopeng, too, acknowledge Yenong (Jenong[1]) as their god and it seems, both from the small amount of information that I was able to get with regard to him myself, and also from that obtained by others[2], that there is some reason for identifying him with the sun.

[1] The Yenang, Yenong or Jenong may possibly mean chief and be of the same derivation as Jenang, a tribal officer among some of the Sakai-Jakun and Jakun tribes. There is a certain amount of Selangor (Sakai-Jakun) blood among some of the Sakai of the lowlands in the neighbourhood of Sungkai.

[2] *Vide Papers on Malay Subjects*, "The Aboriginal Tribes" (Wilkinson), p. 42.

Though I did not get any direct proof of this in the neighbourhood of Sungkai, yet it is worthy of note that swearing by the sun is a form of oath which is used among the Sakai of Jeram Kawan, for one man, who had been accused by a Malay of informing against him, told me that he replied, "I swear by the sun that I did not tell the 'Tuan,' and, if I lie, may the sun shrivel up my tongue."

Among the Sakai of the Behrang River in the south of the Batang Padang District of Perak, I could get but little information with regard to deities, but they speak of Ungku[1], Turul or Nanchet as being the spirit who makes thunder. They say that Bonsu[2], his younger brother, wished Turul to go with him to a place above the sky. Turul, however, would not consent, as he wanted to remain below to cause trouble on earth. Bonsu thus left him below, where he remains to the present day. I was told that Turul has four children, three of them females, Wah[3] Hilong, Wah Hideh and Wah Dampeh, the fourth, Puntok Keboie, a male.

Thunder and Lightning

Among the Sakai, as among the Negritos, thunder and lightning are much dreaded, and especially storms which are thought to have been brought on by some impious act.

The Behrang Senoi, like many other Sakai, think that should certain prohibited acts be done, without steps being taken to avoid the consequences, the village of the offenders would be struck by lightning and overwhelmed and destroyed by the storm. Some of the tabued acts in connexion with storms are to dress up a monkey and laugh at it, to set a cat and dog to fight, to burn jungle-leeches, *malau*[4] (a kind of gum), lice, bugs, *jelotong* wood, *ipah* wood (?), rattan canes of the kind known as *kĕrai*, and two kinds of creepers (*dagut* and *chinchong*) in the fire of the cooking-place. It is also

[1] *Ungku* is a fairly common word for thunder in the Sakai dialects.

[2] The Sakai version of the Malay word *bongsu*, "youngest-born."

[3] Probably Wak (Grandmother) would be more correct, but I give the word as I took it down at the time.

[4] One sort of *malau* is stick-lac.

forbidden to roast or boil the flesh of the *Bĕrok* or of the *Kĕra* monkey on a fire on which dried fish has been cooked. In addition the notes of many kinds of birds and insects must not be imitated when heard, for instance that of the cicada. Even such actions as playing with the sand by the river-side and laughing loudly, as children like to do, or looking into another person's face and laughing, are, according to their ideas, capable of bringing on one of these disastrous storms.

Katil, the headman of a Sakai settlement near the Behrang River, told me that a few months before my visit a man had cooked a piece of dried fish in the jungle, making his fire, without thinking about the matter, at the foot of a clump of rattan palm of the species known as *rotan kĕrai* (*Daemonorops geniculatus*). As a result of this a violent thunderstorm came up before he had finished eating. On realizing what he had done, he took his working-knife and cut his foot with it (presumably with the intention of propitiating the Spirit of the Storm by a blood-offering); then, on the blood gushing out, the storm stopped. He had only intended to make a superficial cut, but he found that he had wounded himself so badly that he had to be carried home by his companions.

Thunderstorms caused by the infractions of one of these prohibitions are called *terlaik dok*^{n}, which seems to mean *Bĕrok* lightning, or *Bĕrok* storms, possibly owing to the fact that it is thought that they can be brought on by teasing *Bĕrok* monkeys.

While I was with the Behrang Senoi I had an opportunity of seeing how they behave during a storm, for on two successive evenings there arose a high wind, with distant thunder and lightning. On the first, while the wind was blowing in violent gusts, I heard the people in the next house—I was living in the settlement—calling out loudly, and I asked Katil, who was with me, what they were saying. I did not, however, go into the matter deeply then, as I thought that he might be reluctant to talk about the storm while it was still raging. On the second occasion most of the people of the village were in the hut in which I was staying when the wind came sweep-

ing down from the hills. They were obviously rather frightened and one old woman kept angrily shouting out orders to the storm to stop, not leaving off until it had almost done so. On that evening and on the next morning I got Katil to tell me a good deal about his people's ideas with regard to storms.

It appears that these Senoi believe that during bad storms of this kind the spirits of the old dead (*kemoit rah*) and the spirits of those who have died more recently (*kemoit pai*, new ghosts) are roaming over the earth.

The spells, if they may be called so, which the Sakai shouted out to compel the storm to cease were as follows:

1. "*Sidang!*" a Malay word meaning "to abate."
2. "*Kipas sa'blah!*"[1] meaning "fan to one side."

I was also told that the Behrang Senoi frequently call out to the *buntal* fish (a fish which is capable of distending its body) to suck up the storm ("*Isap buntal!*"[2]) and that sometimes they cry, "*Wok mat! Wok lemoin!*" In this last I understand the meaning of the individual words, but I cannot attempt a translation. *Wok* means either "shadow" or "spirit," *mat* means "eyes," while *lemoin* is "teeth." As far as I could find out from Katil, the expression is something to do with the belief that loud laughter will bring on a bad storm. I imagine, therefore, that the charm is used for neutralizing the effects of previous laughter.

During very bad storms indeed, I was told that the Behrang Senoi assemble under the house and burn *jadam* (extract of aloes (?)) and evil-smelling rubbish to scare away the storm.

Among the Sakai of the Ulu Kampar, too, owing to fear of disastrous storms, it is tabu for anyone to roast an egg in the fire, to laugh at a snake if one is met with in the jungle, or to pull a jungle leech off the body and burn it in the fire. In this district, when a bad thunderstorm comes on, the Sakai climb down from their houses to the ground, strike their working-knives into the earth, and leave them there, while

[1] A Malay phrase. [2] Malay.

they also take the stones which support the cooking-pots and throw them out of their doors. Both these actions are thought to be helpful in dispersing the storm, and the hot stones from the hearth, symbolically at any rate, dry up the rain.

Should anyone in the house, for instance a child when playing, break off the tail of a lizard, each person cuts off a piece of hair from his, or her, head, burns it in the fire, and then collecting the ashes, blows them through the hands, placed trumpet fashion before the mouth, saying, "*Usah, usah gelebih!*" ("Don't any more!"). If this were not done the house would be struck by lightning.

The Sungkai Senoi have very similar ideas and beliefs about storms caused by tabued acts to the Ulu Kampar and Behrang people. Among them it is forbidden to take a jungle leech off the body and put it into the fire, to tease a cat or dog, to tease a monkey, or dress it up like a human being and laugh at its antics, or to put *malau* into the fire.

Yōk Pataling, a Senoi man of a settlement near Jeram Kawan, in the Ulu Sungkai, told me that if a child breaks the tabu with regard to teasing domestic animals, and a storm comes up soon afterwards, its mother cuts some hair from its head, wraps it up in a piece of thatch, goes out of the house, and places the parcel on the ground, where she strikes it with a working-knife or a billet of wood. Up-country Sakai, also, he told me, whenever a thunderstorm overtakes them in the jungle, cut pieces of hair from their friends' heads, place them on the ground, and strike them with a knife. Some hot springs near Jeram Kawan are said to have arisen owing to the infraction of a storm tabu by some Sakai many generations ago, and a Senoi man[1] told me the following legend about them:

Long ago, a man who had three wives, all sisters, lived on the present site of the hot springs. He was a *halak* (magician). One day he shot a *Bĕrok* monkey[2] with his blow-pipe, and was just going to roast it when his father-in-law came to his house and, seeing the monkey, said, "If you are really a *halak*

[1] Yōk Pataling, if I remember rightly.

[2] The Pig-tailed Macaque.

don't roast that monkey, but bring it to life again!" For a long time the *halak* refused, but, as his father-in-law insisted on it, he at last went and pulled the poisoned dart out of the monkey, and drew the venom out of the wound with his fingers. The monkey came to life again, and they dressed him in a coat and trousers, and gave him a sword; then he danced on the ground outside the house. After a time the *halak* wanted to stop the monkey dancing, and said to his father-in-law, "That is enough"; but his father-in-law, who was very much amused, told him to let the game continue. When the performance had gone on for a little while longer, the father-in-law, two of the *halak's* wives, and the people who had come together to see the sport all laughing at the monkey, the *halak* got ready his carrying-basket, and going into his house to the wife of whom he was fondest, who had neither gone outside to see the monkey dance, nor laughed at it, rubbed her between his hands so that she became a pebble; and this he put into his carrying-basket. Then he lay down on his mat as if he were going to sleep.

When his father-in-law, his two wives, and the rest of the people stopped laughing at the monkey, there immediately arose a great storm, and, as soon as this began, the *halak*, taking his basket, came down from the house and went off into the jungle, leaving his two other wives, his father-in-law, and the rest of the people behind him. Thereupon his house was struck by lightning and his father-in-law and the people who had come to watch the monkey were killed. As for the *halak* he fought the lightning, stabbing it with his spear, while his familiar spirit helped him by biting at it. At last the *halak*, finding that he could not win the fight, ran farther off into the jungle and escaped. The two wives, whom the *halak* had left behind at the house, were not struck by lightning and ran away to Bukit Ubai Baleh (Two Maidens' Hill). Here they saw something which looked like a big tree-root, but which was really a dragon; so, plucking some *bĕrtam* fruits, they put them on the "root" and cut them open with a working-knife. When they had done this, they were immedi-

ately drawn in under the "root" (the dragon's body) and died. The dragon has now become a stone on the side of the hill and the two wives' dresses of leaves have also become smaller stones and lie near the dragon's body. (The hot springs, of course, welled up on the site of the *halak's* house when it was struck by lightning[1].)

The Sungkai of the Ulu Sungkai, like the Behrang Senoi, attempt to stop a bad storm by reciting certain formulae or verses. I collected the following examples at Jeram Kawan:

i. To try to stop a bad storm which has already begun, a man will call out:

"Gar ingar, eng sengoh!"
"Don't thunder (?), I am frightened!"

ii. For the same purpose:

"Poi sur! Chongkajok!
Chongburbur!
Sur kinjok nor laut!"
"Go wind (?)!
Creepers and rattans!
Go clouds to the sea!"

iii. For the same purpose:

"Brou gek-gek-gek!
S'lak berjut!
S'lak n'rik!
Srek asut!"
"Stop a little!
Leaves of the *běrjut* (a kind of creeper)!
Leaves of the *chapa* (*Blumea balsamifera*)!
Stop (?) altogether (*asut* means dry)!"

iv. *"Lors patehgi!"*
"Go back there!"
(The Malay *balek ka-sana.*)

[1] The Orang Dusun of the Tempassuk District of British North Borneo have a legend somewhat similar to this, and show a hill that they say was formerly a house, which, together with its inhabitants, was transformed into its present state because the people who lived in it dressed up a monkey and made fun of it.

After repeating this (iv) the face is turned towards the direction from which the storm comes, the right hand is put in front of the mouth, trumpet fashion, and blown through, "Puah," the hand almost at the same moment being sharply moved away from the mouth in a horizontal direction, and the fingers opened.

v. To be used when thunder is heard coming up in the distance:

"Garoh, Garoh, Garoh! (Supposed to represent the sound of thunder.)
Makoh menrit pek jadi."

I could not obtain a proper translation of this charm, but was told that "*makoh*" is "pregnant," *pek jadi* meaning "Don't let it happen" (the Malay *jangan jadi*).

vi. For the same purpose:

"Garoh, Garoh, Garoh!
Sa'hari ini kamarau
Sa'hari esok pek jadi!"

"Let the weather be hot to-day,
And don't let it rain to-morrow!"

(Literally—"To-day hot weather. To-morrow don't let it become (rainy)!").

This charm is, of course, almost entirely in the Malay language, the only Sakai word being *pek*.

vii. Used when the sound of coming rain is heard by people on a journey in the jungle:

"Orang sini gulai kaladi;
Orang sana gulai tapah!
Orang sini jangan jadi!
Orang sana biah basah!"

This charm again is entirely in Malay, and means:

"The people here eat curried *kaladi*;
The people there eat curried *tapah* (a kind of fish)!
Don't let it rain on the people here!
It does not matter if the people over there get wet!"

The Bĕra Sakai-Jakun[1] of Pahang, too, think, like the Behrang and Sungkai Săkai of Perak, that storms involving the destruction of villages and their inhabitants can be brought about by breaking certain tabus. These disastrous and man-caused storms, known as *terlain* (*terlaik* among the Sakai of South Perak), are thought to be brought on by imitating the notes (when heard) of three species of birds, which I could not identify, the *Ngat-ngok*, the *Terkul* and the *Patuit*; by burning lice in the fire; or teasing cats, dogs, or tame monkeys. A female being, named Ger-ang-ah, is said to watch for infractions of these tabus, and, on seeing someone commit an offence against them, to inform her father, Itai Malim, who punishes the tabu-breakers by sending one of these storms of rain, thunder and lightning accompanied by a subsidence of the ground, which swallows up their houses.

Some Kemaman Sakai-Jakun whom I met near the Tekam River (Pahang) in 1917, told me that they were very much afraid of storms, especially when accompanied by high winds, for on such occasions the souls of the dead embark in boats and set sail in the sky, travelling from the west towards the east. The light gleaming on the varnish of their boats is seen on earth as lightning.

The belief in disastrous and village-destroying storms, caused by the infraction of a storm-tabu, is found among the Kemaman Sakai-Jakun as well as among the Bĕra aborigines.

For fear of such storms it is forbidden to burn lice in the fire, or to dress up a monkey and laugh at it.

It is said that a village "above Jeram," on the Pahang River, was once swallowed up because a storm-tabu had been broken, only a single post being left to mark its former site.

According to some Sakai-Jakun whom I met on the Tekai River (Pahang[2]) in 1914, thunder is caused by a spirit called

[1] The men from whom I got my information with regard to the customs of the Bĕra Sakai-Jakun were the children of a Dyak man and a pure-blooded Bĕra woman. They told me that they knew nothing of Dyak beliefs.

[2] They said that they came from Pulau Tawar.

Nenek[1], who makes a noise in his armpits by banging his arms against his body.

Lightning is caused by his flashing a thin board about, which is attached to the end of a string[2].

The Sun, the Eclipse of the Moon, the Rainbow

The occurrence of a lunar eclipse naturally causes a good deal of perturbation among the aborigines. In connexion with this phenomenon I was told a couple of legends by Sungkai Senoi which I give below, the second legend being, perhaps, complementary to the first:

The sun is angry with the moon because of an old quarrel. Formerly both the sun and the moon had many children, but the moon said to the sun, "Men cannot stand the heat of your children. If you will eat yours, I will eat mine!" So the sun ate his children, but the moon hid hers (the stars), and afterwards, producing them, refused to carry out her part of the bargain. So that is why the sun is angry with the moon and fights her when they meet (thus causing an eclipse).

When the moon is quenched, it falls to the earth. Presently, a *halak* (magician), always the same man, comes to the place where the moon has fallen to the earth, and asks, "What are you doing there?" The moon replies, "I have fallen down. I came down to get food for my children, the stars. If you do not help me to get back again to the sky all you men upon the earth will die!" "Wait," says the *halak*, and, as it is night, he goes to sleep. While he is sleeping, his familiar spirit comes to him and says, "Help the moon to get back or all men will die." "How can I help the moon to get back?" says the *halak*, "I cannot do it." "Get ready a round medicine-hut," says his familiar spirit. So the *halak* calls together his people, and they prepare the medicine-hut and make music with bamboo stampers (*berchetog*) and go through magical rites (*berjualak*) there for seven days and seven nights, calling on the familiar spirit to help them to get the moon

[1] A Malay word which means "ancestor."

[2] A bull-roarer (?).

back to the sky. At the end of this time the familiar puts the moon back.

There would also seem, though, to be another accepted explanation of the phenomenon, since I was also told by the man who gave me the above legends that when an eclipse occurs the Sakai call out:

"O Rahu, perjuk gechek jik!
Jik mong kulit dunia!"
"O sky, give me back my moon!
I am still upon the crust of the world!"

Rahu is really, however, the moon-swallowing demon or dragon of Indian, Malay and Siamese mythology.

The Negrito-Sakai of the Ulu Temengoh region in Upper Perak say that when the moon is eclipsed, it is being swallowed by an animal or spirit called *Pud*, and the Pulau Tawar (Pahang) Sakai-Jakun, whom I have referred to above, think that a lunar eclipse portends sickness. The rainbow, according to them, is a dragon in the sky, while they state that the sun is held by a scaly ant-eater, and that when he rolls his body round it, and the light is no longer seen, it is night; but when he unrolls himself, the sun shines clearly and it is day.

The Behrang Sakai believe that the rainbow is the shadow which arises from the body of a great snake, which lives in the earth. The red of the rainbow is its body, the green its liver, and the yellow its stomach.

According to the Sakai of Jeram Kawan (Sungkai), however, when there comes a shower followed by sunshine, the rainbow springs up from a place where a tiger has been sick.

The Abode of the Dead and their Journey to it

I have not been able to get a very great deal of information from the Sakai with regard to this subject, though the following account, which seems to contain some non-Sakai (Malay?) elements, does, at any rate, profess to give some description of the soul's journey to the land of the dead. I got it from the Senoi of Jeram Kawan:

The spirits, which leave their bodies at death by the whorl of hair at the back of the head, pass to the west and try to get into heaven

by the gate at which the souls of Malays enter. This they cannot do, so they go round by another way, until they come to a large iron cauldron full of hot water. The cauldron is spanned by a bridge called *Menteg*[1], which looks like a tree-trunk from which the bark has been removed. Below the cauldron is a great fire. The souls of little children pass safely over the bridge, for they are without fault, but those of full-grown people fall into the hot water. Yenang takes these souls from the cauldron and plunges them into the fire until they are reduced to powder. Then he weighs them in a pair of scales. If they weigh lightly he passes them over into heaven, but if they are heavy, he puts them into the fire again until they are sufficiently purified.

Both the Besisi of the Kuala Langat District of Selangor and the Behrang speak of the Island of Fruits to which the souls of the dead go, and where they live in perfect bliss amid groves of ever-fruiting durians and other trees. This Island of Fruits is, of course, comparable to the *Mapik* tree of the Negritos, and as the fruit season is the period of the year at which the pagan tribesmen most enjoy themselves, it is scarcely to be wondered at that they should believe that the fruit season persists continually in their heaven. I do not know though that such beliefs are held by the pure Sakai: so far my evidence comes only from Sakai-Jakun groups.

Thus, the Bĕra people, too, said that the souls of the dead go to the under-world which is governed by two beings called *Gayak*, a male and a female, and that it is like the world above, but the trees there bear fruit all the year round.

Some Tekam Sakai-Jakun whom I once met near the Tekai[2] River told me that there are dragons in the under-world and a single old woman. She makes her house and her belongings from the bones of people who have died upon the earth. Their ribs become the floor of her house, their leg-bones the posts, and their skulls water-vessels. This woman, when she has reached the limits of old age, becomes young again. Her name

[1] Cf. the Paradise Bridge of the Negritos, *supra*, p. 156. The Malays also have a story of a bridge over a cauldron full of hot water, though as other peoples, who are not Mohamedans, have such beliefs I do not, necessarily, mean to say that the pagans have adopted the beliefs from the dominant race. Probably, however, in the case of the Sungkai Senoi, some details of the story have been taken from the Mala[illegible]

[2] Both the Tekai and Tekam Rivers are [illegible] Pahang, the former being a tributary of the Tembeling.

is Arud. The dragons, who have horns, are her playthings. One of them is her special pet and sits close to her.

To revert again to the Behrang Senoi and their belief in the Island of Fruits (*Pulau Bah*). In this island they say that men, when they are old, become children and again grow up. *Pulau Bah*, like the paradise of the Negritos, is situated in the west[1], but the Behrang Sakai also gave me some other information, which, unless it is merely the gate of paradise that is in the west, does not seem to agree very well with what I have recorded above. They frequently speak of human beings as being *mai papat tujoh*—"people of the seven boards." It appears that the earth is thought to consist of seven layers or boards, while the region above the earth consists of six (*papat anam*), as does also that under the earth. Both the regions above and below the earth are occupied by spirits who look like human beings. The *kemoit* (ghosts of the dead) live in the region above, while, like men, some are blind, and some are lame. Possibly they, too, may be the inhabitants of the under-world, but I omitted to make inquiry with regard to this point. The *mai papat tujoh* are said to be *beket* (hot) and, therefore, die; the people of the *papat anam* are *senam* (cold) and do not die.

The Pulau Tawar people whom I met near the Tekam River told me that the souls of the dead became white butterflies, and that it was, therefore, tabu to kill these insects.

The Shaman

The shaman is found among most, if not all, of the pagan tribes, whether Negrito, Sakai or Jakun, and among the Malays as well, who term him *pawang*.

The Sungkai Sakai credit the shaman (*halak*) with the power of becoming a were-tiger. Hasan, an old Malay, who was living at Jeram Kawan at the time of my visit, declared that he had seen a *halak* named Bekoh, who had died about five years before, grow a large pair of canine teeth. These, at Bekoh's request he had taken hold of and shaken in order

[1] *Vide* the folk-tale on p. 251, *infra*.

to prove that they were genuine! Some *halak* are also said to be capable of splitting joints of bamboo without touching them, their familiars entering the bamboos and breaking them into halves.

Katil, a Behrang Senoi, told me that a *halak's* spirit rose, usually on the fourteenth day after burial, and became a tiger.

Among many, probably most, Sakai or Sakai-Jakun tribes the shaman performs his conjurations within a round hut, or the semblance of one, or a magic circle of some kind. The following account is of a performance which I was lucky enough to get a *halak* to give while I was living in the Ulu Sungkai in 1914.

While stopping at Jeram Kawan, I arranged with Jahaia, the headman of the down-stream settlement, Ungkun, to hold a magical performance on the night of May 26th. I left Jeram Kawan by boat at about 3 p.m. and arrived at Jahaia's village —where I was to sleep the night—some time before dark. Here I found the women busy cutting up and plaiting leaves, which were to form the ceremonial decorations; and getting ready bamboo stampers with which an accompaniment is played to the *halak's* chants. Jahaia was becomingly modest and said that he would do his best, though he could not claim to be a proper *halak*, and only knew how to perform a little. Some time after dark, the sound of the bamboo stampers from a neighbouring house announced that the performance was about to begin. Making my way to this, and up the tall ladder, I found the hut crowded by the inhabitants of the whole settlement, who were engaged in chatting, *sireh*-chewing and slapping themselves in order to obtain some relief from the swarms of sand-flies which infested the village.

The *halak's* apparatus consisted of a circular frame of rattan cane, with a diameter of about four feet, hung all round with a fringe of *bĕrtam* leaves, cut into strips some three feet long. This frame was suspended at a distance of about four feet above the floor of the house, the ends of the hangings thus being roughly a foot from it. The frame was held in position by three straps of tree-bark, which were

attached to it at regular intervals, and were all tied together to a roof-beam of the house. Close to the frame, and about five feet above it, was hung one of those trays of offerings[1] which are used both by Malays and aborigines. This was decorated with ceremonial hangings of cut and plaited leaves and the scented inner bark of some tree. At the side of the hut was tied a sheaf of the large leaves of the *salak* palm (*Zalacca edulis*[2]).

Jahaia reserved his exhibition till late in the evening, and the first performer was a youth who, I was given to understand, did not possess a familiar spirit, but hoped to cultivate one in time. He wore a loin-cloth, and, on his head, a wreath of shredded leaves studded with flowers, which had a sort of ornamental brush of stiff leaves standing up from it at the back. Two garlands of cut leaves on a foundation of tree-bark were worn crossed over his chest and, in his right hand, he carried a switch of *lĕbak* leaves.

He took up a squatting position on the floor within the circle of the hangings attached to the rattan frame, and another young man, wearing a wreath of flowers on his head, and dressed in a loin-cloth, also entered the circle as his assistant.

When the hut had been partially darkened by tying up *salak* leaves in front of a lamp of mine—hung near the door—the women, each with a bamboo stamper in either hand, took their places behind a log of wood, which had been placed near one side of the hut. The young *halak* then commenced a chant in a Sakai dialect, each line being taken up and repeated by his assistant, and an accompaniment played by the women with their stampers on the log of wood. Every

[1] The Malays call trays of this kind *anchak*.

[2] Probably this sheaf, together with the rattan circle, represent the round medicine-hut which some tribes build in the jungle. I would suggest that not only has the circle a magical significance, but also that the round beehive hut may have been the first evolved type of Sakai and Sakai-Jakun house. Beehive huts are still sometimes built by the Negritos for use for a considerable length of time. I have also seen Sakai-Jakun construct them as a protection when caught in a rain storm. In the latter case they were made by planting a number of palm (?) leaves in a circle.

time the *halak* raised his voice he brought the switch of *lĕbak* leaves smartly down on the palm of his left hand, and he also frequently flourished it over his right shoulder. The chant was, I understood, an invocation to a familiar spirit to come and obey his commands.

Presently two or three other youths came and crouched under the circle of hanging leaves, those who could not get entirely inside it, managing, at any rate, to squeeze in their heads and shoulders.

After the performance had gone on for some time it was brought to a close, and Jahaia, with a single assistant, took his place within the circle. Jahaia having inherited—as I was told—his familiar from his father, who had been a Malay-speaking Selangor aboriginal[1], proceeded to call upon it in that language. His chant was taken up by his assistant, and after a while, a Sakai, who was squatting next to me, told me that his familiar had come. Jahaia then stood up, and grasping the circular rattan frame with his hands told it to dip towards me, which it immediately did—not a very wonderful thing, as Jahaia had hold of it on either side of his body. After this I left the hut, as it was 2 a.m., and I was told that the rest of the performance would be similar to that part of it which had already taken place. I was, unfortunately, unable to catch sufficient of the invocation to be able to write it down, but I heard the phrase "*mari ka-ujong jalan*" ("come to the end of the path") frequently repeated, and, from what I could make out of the rest, it seemed to be a prayer to the familiar to come to Jahaia. I left Ungkun early the next morning, so I had no opportunity of getting Jahaia to recite his spells again, so that I might take them down.

Shortly before my visit (in 1917) to the Behrang Senoi, Katil, the headman, had been performing some magical rites

[1] There is a considerable amount of Sakai-Jakun (mixed) blood among the Senoi of Jahaia's tribe. The founders of it were, I believe, chiefly Selangor pagans, who were sold from that state into slavery among the Sungkai Malays, and, on gaining their liberty married local Senoi women. Jahaia's father evidently belonged to one of the Selangor tribes who, like the Kerling people, speak Malay as their mother-tongue.

for his own benefit—he was suffering from a bad cough. He told me, however, that he could not claim to be a true *halak*, since he did not possess a *gunik* (familiar spirit), but that he merely followed ancient custom in "playing" a little to try and cure his complaint. The rites had been carried out in a small one-roomed house, especially built for the purpose. The walls of this only reached half-way up to the thatch, and a doorway at the back opened on to a small boat-shaped platform (*balai lendut*), about eight feet long, and on a level with the floor of the house. This was supported on three trestles, made of six small trees, felled at the roots, and crossed in pairs beneath it. Their lower limbs had been trimmed away, but their upper parts, still bearing small branches, projected above the platform to a height of about seven or eight feet on either side. Two rails had been lashed to the trunks of the saplings about three-and-a-half feet above the flooring, while a rattan cord girdled the trees near their tops, either extremity of it being attached to the end wall of the house. The upper branches of the trees, when the structure was first erected, had been covered with green leaves, but, at the time of my visit, the foliage had withered and fallen. A number of long water-bamboos of large diameter, ornamented with wavy double lines running longitudinally, were placed at the far end of the platform, leaning against the rattan cord. Katil pointed out that one of these was longer than the others, having seven internodes as compared with six. This long bamboo was used by the *halak* for ceremonial bathing; the others by the rest of the people. The lower ends of the bamboos were slightly ornamented with carving.

Hanging on the rails of the platform and suspended from the roof within the house were various ceremonial ornaments. Some of these were made from palm-leaves plaited into fanciful shapes, among them being decorations for which the Sakai gave me the following Malay, or partly Malay, names, *gĕlang giring, gĕlang rantai, burong dĕnak, tali dendan, tali liong* and *tali sawit*. Other decorations of the same class for which I obtained Sakai terms were *layang-layang hut* (ascending

swallows); *tuk keh-ep* (centipedes' feet); *semrong tumpi* (?) and *pleh jeh-or* (fruit of the coconut-palm). Two small pyramidal structures, of slightly different types, made of *bĕrtam* pith, each with a doorway and model steps leading up to it, were suspended inside the house; these were called *balai sagi* and *balai krauk* (*krauk* is equivalent to *kĕrawang* in Malay). The *balai sagi* was the more ornamental of the two and was crowned by a figure of a bird (*chiap cheralah*), model *tampoi* and *rambai* fruits (*pleh tampoi* and *pleh rami*) and decorations called *sarak luie* (*i.e.* bees'-nests). Other ceremonial objects were shaved sticks (*chendrok*), the shavings standing out from the stems in circles at short but regular intervals; hanging ornaments called *patong salang*, made of two small pieces of thin board intersecting at right-angles, and others, *patong gimbar* made of four small pieces of board intersecting at right-angles so as to enclose a square, and having their ends projecting; two types of head-dress (*chungkuie bulang* and *chengkul lepang*) made of leaves; two *halaks'* switches—used in calling the familiar spirit—one made of *lĕbak* leaves (*s'lak selebok*), the other of leaves of the *bĕrtam* (*s'lak bertok*); and bands of tree-bark (*tempok luat*) with rough patterns drawn on them in yellow or black.

The *halak's balai* (a circular frame of rattans with a thick fringe of finely shredded leaves depending from it[1]), within which he chants his spells, was also hung from one of the beams of the "medicine-house."

Katil told me that among his people the *halak* performed by torch-light, while the Slim Valley Sakai held their séances in total darkness[2].

He also said that the rites, which had been celebrated before my arrival, had gone on for six consecutive nights, and that ceremonial bathing from the decorated water-bamboos (*kenas*) took place shortly before daylight on every occasion. The

[1] Very similar to that, already described, which I saw at Ungkun, on the Sungkai River.

[2] I have noted above that the Sungkai people covered up a lamp which I had brought with me into the hut in which the *halak* was about to perform.

hut, with its projecting platform, had been specially built for the purpose.

Among the mixed tribes (Sakai-Jakun) of certain parts of Selangor and Negri Sembilan the shaman's hut is sometimes a beehive-shaped structure of palm-leaves—probably the oldest and most typical form of the "medicine-hut"—which is built on a bamboo platform. A specimen which I came across far away in the jungle, while on a journey from Dusun Tua in Selangor (*via* the Pahang boundary) to Kongkoi in Negri Sembilan, was of this kind. It was a beehive hut of *bĕrtam* leaves with a crawl-in entrance, erected on a bamboo staging, so as to leave a sort of small platform in front. On this were lying several bamboo stampers, such as are used to beat time to chants. Inside the hut, which had evidently been abandoned, was suspended a tray of plaited bamboo decorated with hangings of fibre and bands of pandanus leaf decorations called *tagak* or *jari lipan*[1], bunches of *lebak* leaves, and plaited ornaments known as *subang* (ear-rings). On the floor was a grass (?) whisk, which the *poyang*[2] holds in his right hand and swishes backwards and forwards when calling his familiar. My coolies (aborigines) remarked that only a big *poyang* would have his hut so far away from the village.

I subsequently saw other shamans' huts, both in the Ulu Langat and also near Kongkoi, but in these cases an incomplete beehive of *bĕrtam* leaves had been erected within an ordinary hut of the village.

The headman of a Sakai settlement near the Kampar River and above Gopeng, told me that the *halak's* medicine-hut is, among his people, built within a dwelling-house and consists of seven leaves of the *bĕrtam* palm, plaited together and fastened to form a circle within a rectangular frame of wood, which is attached to the supports of the shelves over the fire-

[1] "Centipedes' feet."

[2] The shaman is called *poyang* by many of the Sakai-Jakun tribesmen, especially by those whose mother-tongue is Malay. *Poyang* is probably a variant of *pawang*, the ordinary Malay term for the shaman. The word *poyang* is used by some of the Sumatran Malays, but not by those of the Peninsula.

place and to some of the posts of the house. The bodies of dead *halak*, according to my informant, were formerly left unburied in the houses where they had died.

The Semang-Sakai of the Ulu Temengoh district of Upper Perak also appear, from what they told me, to use some sort of a round hut for magical performances.

There are, however, it seems, some groups among whom the round medicine-hut, or its semblance, is not in use. Some Kemaman Sakai-Jakun whom I met near the Tekam River in 1917, for instance, do not seem to know anything of it. The *poyang* of the settlement had been holding some séances for the benefit of a sick person shortly before my arrival and had placed a seven days' tabu upon the hut in which he was lying, prohibiting anyone who had not taken part in the magical performances from visiting him.

These rites had been carried out in a wall-less hut close to the sick man's dwelling, the *poyang* sitting on a mat while chanting his spells. A musical accompaniment was played on a most primitive kind of stringed instrument which I saw and photographed. This was a rectangular frame made from four small branches of trees, with the ends of a couple projecting downwards to form feet. A mat was enclosed in the frame and was held in position by being slipped between rattan strings in pairs, which ran vertically, and were attached to the framework at top and bottom. A stick, for tightening the strings, was pushed between them at the top, and passed behind the uprights of the frame. To play this instrument, which is leant against a wall of the house, the performer squats facing the frame and pulls and releases the strings on the exposed face so as to make a "ticker-tack" noise on the mat.

Among the Bĕra Sakai-Jakun, as I was told, magical performances are kept up until the fowls leave their perches in the early morning.

Oaths

The only example of a Sakai form of oath that I have collected, other than that of the Sungkai Senoi which I have

already given above[1], I got from the Behrang Sakai. It shows some similarity with regard to the punishments which are invoked upon a liar to that in use among some of the Orang Dusun of North Borneo[2]. It runs as follows:

"Dideh mat-jish eng sumpah[3]! Kalau[3] eng pemohok,
"This eye-day I swear If I liar,
Eng chiloh en teheu chak bahayak;
I go down into water eat crocodiles;
Eng chib darat[3] chak keuk[n], timpak karuk!"
I go land eat tiger, hit by rotten tree!"

"This is the sun that I swear by! If I lie, may a crocodile eat me when I go down to the river; and when I travel on land may a tiger eat me, or may I be struck by a falling tree."

Ideas and Observances with regard to Sickness

Presumably the pagan jungle-dwellers of the Malay Peninsula believe that all, or almost all, sickness is caused by evilly disposed spirits.

Among the Behrang Senoi the ghosts of the dead are termed *kemoit* and a person's soul *wok*, or sometimes *bayak* (cf. the Malay *bayang*, a shadow), for the soul and shadow seem to be regarded as either being one, or as being very closely connected. The *wok* is said to leave a man's body during sleep, but does not usually go very far afield, in case it should not be able to return. *Kemoit*, as I have already stated, are supposed to be roaming over the earth when violent winds are blowing. They are evilly disposed and hunt the souls (*wok*) of human beings, which take the forms of animals—especially of the barking-deer. This is known because people in their dreams have seen *kemoit* thus engaged. Those whose souls have been hunted fall sick.

Diseases are, the Behrang people told me, thought to be caused by spirits which come from the direction of the sea, and, in the case of epidemic disease at any rate, the idea is

[1] P. 199.

[2] Some of the Malays of the Peninsula too, when swearing an oath, will say, "If I lie, may I be struck by a rotten tree!"

[3] Malay words. *Pemohok*, *bahayak* and *timpak* are Sakai forms of the Malay words, *pembohong*, *buaya* and *timpah*.

partly supported by reason, since small-pox especially—one of the most dreaded ailments—reaches the Sakai through the Malays.

As spirits are responsible for illness and other misfortunes encountered by mankind, it is, therefore, necessary to avoid places which they are known to frequent. Thus travellers in the jungle, the Behrang Sakai told me, should not sleep for the night in passes between hills, these being spirit-paths.

A man belonging to a Sakai-Jakun tribe from the Serting River district of Pahang, part of which I found living near Bahau (Negri Sembilan) in 1914, said that an illness was caused by a spirit lying in wait for a human being and striking his shadow with a club, and the Sakai of the Ulu Kampar (Perak) believe that if a man sits down on a spot where the roots of two trees interlace, he will fall sick; for places of this kind are the abodes of spirits[1]. For a similar reason, they say, too, that if a man leans against a tree which has a creeper twining about it, he will become ill, but will recover if he returns and cuts through the creeper.

Though medicinal remedies are used to a certain extent, the belief that illness is caused by spirits makes it necessary to call in the shaman whenever anybody is sick.

In this connexion the Serting Sakai-Jakun, whom I have mentioned above, described to me how the shaman (*poyang*) managed to set free a person's soul, when it had been carried off by a spirit of disease. After describing the magician's ceremonial beehive hut in the jungle, and the decorations of plaited leaves (*jari lipan*) which hang within it, he said, "The *mambang*[2] live on the hills, and the shadows of the *jari lipan* stretch out to the hill-tops and form a path for the *mambang* (in this case the *poyang's* familiar) to descend to the hut at the *poyang's* behest. When the *mambang* has come down into the hut the *poyang* tells him to go and look for the soul of the sick person. The *mambang*, obeying the *poyang's* com-

[1] For a similar belief among the Negritos *vide Pagan Races*, II, p. 230.

[2] The *mambang* are a class of spirits of whom the Malays speak. One, the *Mambang Kuning*, is the spirit of the sunset glow.

mand, goes back to the hills by the road that he came, and, when he reaches them, journeys to the houses of the evil spirits who live on the hill-tops. Outside these are the souls of many people hanging up in cages, and, if he finds the soul for which he is looking, the sick man recovers; but if the evil spirit has carried the soul into his house, he is unable to release it and the sick man dies."

Illness may, it appears, sometimes be caused by sympathy, for the Sakai of the Ulu Kampar (Perak) said that if a man, while out in the jungle, suffers from a sensation of swelling at the stomach, and remembers that he has thrown a cigarette-end or some remnants of food into a pool, a bamboo stump, or any other place containing water, he will return to search for, and remove, what he has thrown away, thus ensuring his recovery.

Again, in the same district, if a young child should suffer from any itching complaint, the navel-cord, which appears to be usually buried under the house, is dug up and inspected. Should this have been attacked by ants, they are killed with hot water, and it is re-buried in another spot.

Similarly, if a man is on a journey in the jungle and is troubled with a rash, or with itching sensations in his body, he will return to his last camping place, and dig up the ground on which he lay, to see if there is an ants'-nest in the soil.

Sometimes, too, if a man becomes ill when on a journey, and recollects that he has left a pole of the shelter, in which he spent the previous night, standing in the ground, he will return and pull it up, thus insuring his recovery.

While I was living at Jeram Kawan on the Sungkai River a Sakai man fell from a tree and hurt himself rather badly. On hearing of the accident, I asked one of the patient's companions what they had done for him, and was told that they had made a bed of leaves for him to lie on until he had recovered a little, and had then taken repeated strides backwards and forwards over his body. When asked why this was done, my informant replied that he did not know, but that

it was customary to do so when a man fell from a tree, and that the action was supposed to help the patient to recover[1].

Another rather curious little observance came to light owing to the same accident. It appears that the Jeram Kawan Sakai had sent to another settlement (Ungkun) farther down the river, asking that any women who were skilled in medicine should come up to treat the sick man. On the day after the mishap, I was sitting outside the hut in which I was staying, when three Sakai women and two youths, evidently on their way to the patient's house, went by, walking quickly in single file. As I was acquainted with two of the party, I called out and asked them if they were going to treat him, but was rather surprised to get no answer. On thinking for a minute, however, I concluded that there was probably a tabu against speaking, binding on persons going to treat a sick man, and, on subsequent inquiry, I found my surmise to be correct.

Birth-Customs

I have but little information with regard to birth-customs among the Sakai and Sakai-Jakun tribes, but what little I have been able to learn about the subject, is, perhaps, worth putting on record here.

By an Ulu Kampar Sakai I was told that spells are said over a woman after she has given birth, and when this has been done, that she is allowed to eat all kinds of food, with the exception of chillies, which are forbidden to her for six days.

I have already alluded to the custom of burying the afterbirth under the house which seems to be common among the Ulu Kampar Sakai. The Behrang Senoi, on the other hand,

[1] Probably this is the reverse process to putting bad luck on an object by stepping over it (*e.g.* the beliefs of the Malays of Ijok in Perak with regard to stepping over a fishing-rod, p. 269, *infra*), for, if ill-luck can be put on anything by performing this action, surely ill-luck which has already befallen a thing (or person) can be taken off, or alleviated, by doing that which, in ordinary circumstances, would be culpable.

(The man who met with the accident is also referred to again on p. 237, *infra*.)

frequently hang it on a branch of a tree, and have a curious belief that within three days it becomes a scaly ant-eater, the navel-cord forming the animal's tail.

Two Sungkai Senoi of the Jeram Kawan settlement told me that among their people the expectant mother is isolated in a small hut of leaves, built on the ground not far from her own house, it being tabu for a birth to take place in an ordinary dwelling. Here she is attended by the midwife, and after the child has been born she goes through a three days' purification ceremony in the hut, bathing under a decorated bamboo spout, into which water is poured from a long water-bamboo. When the purification is over, the mother returns to her own house, and the midwife ceases attendance. No fish or chillies may be eaten by a woman for two months after she has given birth to a child, and salt and the "cabbages" of all palm trees which have thorny stems are forbidden for several days. The midwife must be present and eat with a woman when she takes fish or flesh with her rice for the first time after her delivery. A similar heating treatment to that employed by the Malays seems also to be undergone by the women after their confinement.

The Semang-Sakai of the Ulu Temengoh (Upper Perak) said that when a woman is about to give birth to a child a small hut is built on the ground[1], and in this the event takes place. For three days after her delivery the mother may not eat rice and fish; millet and tubers (tapioca) are, however, allowable.

Similarly among the Besisi (Sakai-Jakun) of the Selangor coast, a woman who has given birth may not eat salt, chillies, fish, or the flesh of wild animals for three days after delivery.

Twins seem to be disliked by most of the aborigines, though I have never been able to obtain any other reasons for this than that there was more likelihood of the mother dying in child-birth than if she had a single baby, or that one of the twins nearly always died.

The young women, among the Behrang Sakai, will not eat

[1] Not raised from the earth like an ordinary dwelling-house.

double bananas as they believe that if they did so, they would give birth to twins.

The custom of nominally changing the sex of a child in order to deceive evilly disposed spirits is not unknown. While camping near the Tekam River[1] in 1917, I made the acquaintance of a youth named Siti, who was living with some Kemaman Sakai-Jakun, though he claimed to belong to a Sakai-Jakun tribe which is native to the Tekam River District[2]. I noticed that he had had his ears bored for ear-studs, but that none of the other male aborigines whom I met had undergone the operation. On my asking the reason for this, he replied that his mother had had several male children before his birth, but that all of them had died. She, therefore, said that should she have another son, she would pretend that he was a girl, in order that he might survive. So when he was born his mother had his ears pierced as if he were a girl.

Marriage

There seems to be little, if anything, of a ceremony at aboriginal marriages, though there is often a feast. The Besisi of the Selangor coast told me that among them the man gives the girl whom he is to marry, money to buy clothes and food for the wedding feast. Formerly[3] the woman waited at her mother's house on the wedding day. The man was carried from his own house to that of the woman, and might not leave it for one or two days. Sometimes the couple stop at the house of the woman's parents, sometimes the husband builds a new house after three or four months.

The Serting Sakai-Jakun said that marriages, which are celebrated with feasting, usually take place between members of the same tribe, but that occasionally they are contracted with strangers.

I think that I may state that, speaking generally, among the Sakai proper and the mixed tribes monogyny is the rule,

[1] Pahang.

[2] He showed very strong traces of Negrito blood, though the men of a section of the tribe whom I met had no such characteristics.

[3] Probably the custom still obtains.

and though bigamy is tolerated among the Besisi, the Ulu Kinta Sakai, and probably among other tribes as well, it seems to be an unheard of thing for a man to supply himself with more than two consorts.

There seems to be, in some cases, rather a tendency for marriages to take place at the fruit season, which, as I think I have remarked previously, is a time for general rejoicings, but Malay marriages also, in some districts, are largely celebrated after the rice harvest, partly, I presume, because that is the season of the year at which the people are in the easiest circumstances, partly because there is then little work to do.

The poverty of the aboriginal tribes, and their semi-nomadic habits, to which their poverty is largely due, have militated against the development of the bride-price to any great extent, and the only case in which I have come across anything like a fixed payment being made to the bride's relations is that of the Krau Sakai-Jakun of Pahang, a man of which tribe told me that the price paid to a girl's father for her hand in marriage was twenty old and worn-out spears, "*dua-puloh batang lĕmbing yang burok*," as my informant said in Malay.

Death and Burial

Most of the Sakai and Sakai-Jakun tribes place food, water, tobacco or other articles on the graves of the newly-buried. An Ulu Kinta (Perak) Sakai, for instance, told me that food is placed on a new grave, and a fire lit there, for seven consecutive mornings[1]. The belongings of the deceased are placed either in or on the grave, and are purposely damaged; a blow-pipe, for example, being broken in the middle, and a dart-quiver split down the side[2]. I asked my informant for an explanation of this custom and was told that if an adze in good condition was placed on a grave, it would look bent or crooked to the ghost of the dead man, but if one that was

[1] There is probably some idea of the ghost haunting the neighbourhood of its o'd home for seven days, as among the Negritos. *Vide* p. 156, *supra*.

[2] Probably, taking the Sakai's explanation into consideration, in order to set free the souls of the damaged articles for the ghost's use, a method of making offerings not unknown in other countries.

bent or broken was put there, it appeared straight to the spirit.

When a death occurs the Sakai of the Kerbau Valley and those of Ulu Kinta desert their settlements, but the people revisit the clearing at intervals to take away any crops which may be ripe.

Two sets of ideas, perhaps both present at the same time, seem to have entered the Sakais' heads with regard to the death of friends or relatives, firstly, that the souls of the dead may do them some evil—probably not wilfully, but through the contagion of death[1]—secondly, that the place where anyone dies must, of necessity, have been spirit-haunted before the event occurred, for, if it had not been, nobody would have been attacked by disease and died. In addition, some of the tribesmen seem to believe in spirits, of what origin I do not know, who are of a ghoulish tendency, and collect together at newly-made graves to feed on the offerings which are placed there. Thus, Katil, headman of the Behrang Senoi, a fairly civilized community, told me that it used to be customary to desert a settlement when a death occurred, but that this is now not usual. The reason for the desertion was that, as one person had died there, it was thought that the locality must be haunted by spirits, and, therefore, unlucky. The Senoi were not frightened of the ghosts of their friends, but of the evil spirits which had attacked them and caused the fatal illness.

Besides the ordinary spirits of the dead (*kemoit*) the Behrang Senoi believe in grave-ghosts, *dana kubor* (equivalent to the Malay *hantu kubor*), which haunt the neighbourhood of places of burial.

Similar ideas are also known to the Sungkai Sakai, and I was told that a spirit in the form of the dead person, but not his, or her, actual spirit or soul, haunted the grave. My informant said that for the first five days after a burial, food is placed on the grave every day, and for six days numbers

[1] I am inclined to think that fear of the dead man's soul was the original idea.

of evil spirits collect there and feast. For this reason children are not allowed to go out after dark during the whole of that time.

The following, also from the Sungkai people, is an account of how the *halak* deals with a troublesome grave-ghost:

An evil spirit in the guise of the dead person haunts the grave. It has its face turned backwards on its body, while its eyes are rolled upwards, till only the whites are visible. When an evil spirit of this kind catches hold of a human being, the part touched withers. If the familiar spirit of a *halak* warns him in a dream that there is an evil spirit at a certain grave, they go to the place together, and hiding behind a tree watch the evil spirit feasting with the companions that he has called together. Now the evil spirit's companions are chiefly those whom the *halak* has conquered, and who are afraid of him. After watching for some time, the *halak* and his familiar rush out, and the latter seizes the spirit, while the former stabs it with a bamboo spear. When the *halak* stabs the spirit, the other ghosts all vanish, being frightened of the *halak*, whereupon the mouth of the grave opens and the spirit, pursued by the familiar, jumps into it. The *halak* and his familiar go to the corpse, and the *halak* strokes its face to see that all is well. Then the bottom of the grave opens below them and they find their way to heaven (*surga*[1]), passing over the bridge called *Menteg*. After this the *halak* returns to earth by some unknown road. When he has got back to earth, he makes a "medicine-hut" and decorates it with sweet-smelling flowers, *lĕbak* leaves and long bamboo water-vessels ornamented with patterns and full of water. When night comes he performs magical rites, and, in the early morning, the spirit whom he wounded comes outside and hurls the spear with which he was stabbed through the wall of the hut. The *halak* seizes the spear and goes to sleep: then, whatever offerings the spirit asks of him in his dreams, such as rice coloured with turmeric, or toasted rice in the husk, he throws out of the hut into the jungle. The

[1] The Malay (Arabic) *shurga*.

spirit takes the rice and throws back a few grains as a sign that he wishes to be friendly with the *halak*. So, after this, the spirit becomes the *halak's* friend, and helps him to cure sick people, and aids him in other ways.

Among some of the Sakai-Jakun tribes of Pahang it appears that not only is a settlement deserted when a death occurs, but the corpse is left unburied. Thus, part of a group which I met near the Tekai River—the Pulau Tawar people that I have alluded to above—said that they did not bury their dead but left them in the abandoned houses, for if they put a corpse into the ground, the spirit would not be able to make its escape upwards. Food, tobacco and personal belongings are, I was told, placed near a corpse, and the hut in which it lies is often fenced round.

From the Bĕra people I learnt that a settlement is generally deserted when a death occurs. The ghosts of the dead, according to their account, return to their old homes and may be heard complaining if there is no rice and water for them. Should they not be exorcized, they will cause sickness among their surviving relatives.

I obtained a curious little story with regard to the occurrence of deaths from Katil, the headman of the Behrang Senoi. According to it, when anybody dies, two spirits, which are known as *Baleh Ḇusud* (Virgins of the "Ant"-hill) and look like little girls, are seen sitting on a "male[1]" nest of the termite. One of them is heard to laugh as she rolls the dead person's skull down the mound, and the other says to her, "*leuk jik jangan chikak!*" ("Don't 'colic' my food!").

The Behrang Sakai, Katil said, build a hut of the lean-to type over a new grave and under the shelter of this are placed various articles, such as adzes and blow-pipes, which—as among the Ulu Kinta Saḳai—must be either bent or broken before thus disposing of them. Food is placed on the foot of the grave morning and evening (sometimes only in the morning), for the first fourteen days, the spirit of the deceased being thought to feed on what is put there for him. On the

[1] "Male" nests are those which are long and pointed.

fourteenth day the relatives hold a feast, and, according to old custom—now, I understand, somewhat neglected—no ornaments should be worn, or singing indulged in for two months after the death. Katil's people do not bathe a corpse before burial because his father's newly-dug grave was destroyed by a heavy rain storm before the body was placed in it, this being ascribed to the fact that the corpse had been washed.

The body is wrapped in white cloth or mats and placed in the grave lying face upwards. The orientation of the grave is such that the head points towards the east.

An 'Ulu Kinta Sakai told me that the bodies of the dead are buried with their heads pointing in the directions in which they lay when death took place, and that the graves are dug to a depth of about a foot more than that of a sitting figure[1], in order that the corpses might be able to sit up. It appears that a mound is heaped up over each body and that this is protected by a slight hut of some kind.

Among the Sungkai Senoi I had no opportunity of visiting any graves, but I made a good many inquiries about burial customs at Jeram Kawan and also from a youth of Jahaia's settlement—Ungkun—whom I subsequently took home with me for a couple of weeks. According to my Jeram Kawan informant, the body of a dead person is buried lying on the left side with the head pointing towards the west and the face looking north. To make a grave a rectangular pit is dug to a depth of a man's breast and a cave-like excavation, sufficient to contain the body, is then made in one side of it. The corpse, which is wrapped in mats, is put into this, and the mouth of it closed up by driving stakes into the bottom of the pit and stretching a sheet of tree-bark between the stakes and the mouth of the burial niche. The hole is then filled in and the deceased's personal property together with food and tobacco placed on the grave. On the other hand, the Ungkun youth told me that the corpse was placed on its

[1] Probably really squatting, the Malay word that they must have used is *dudok*.

back in the grave with its head pointing towards the east. It is quite possible, however, that both my informants are correct for the Ungkun people are of mixed blood—partly Selangor Sakai-Jakun—so that their customs may very likely differ in some respects from the Senoi of Jeram Kawan[1].

While living with the Behrang Sakai, I had an opportunity of inspecting several graves, which were situated in the jungle at a little distance from the settlement and at the base of a hill. None of these graves, which were close together, was very recent—the newest was, I believe, at least a couple of years old, probably more. Their sites were marked by narrow mounds, about as long as the bodies of those buried below. In two cases the mounds had undressed upright stones set up at the head and foot of them, one being covered, in addition, with water-worn pebbles from the river. Another grave had small *Sungkai* trees planted round it, while in a fourth the mound had partly fallen into the burial chamber below. Katil, the headman, told me that, as noted above, slight huts of lean-to type are erected over new graves but no remains of these were, however, to be seen at the graves that he showed me, and he explained that they had rotted away. He demonstrated, by means of a plan scratched on the ground, that a grave is dug to nearly the required depth and the bottom then divided into two sections by a line running parallel to its sides. The left-hand section (when looking towards the head of the grave) is next carried down to a sufficient depth below the right-hand, to receive the corpse. When the body has been placed in this deeper section, stakes are placed slantwise across the bottom of the grave, their points being driven into the shallower (right-hand) part, and their ends abutting against the side wall adjacent to the excavation in which the corpse lies. A covering of tree-bark or of sheets of bamboo is then placed over the stakes, the body thus being protected by a sloping roof. After this earth

[1] *Vide* also the evidence given above (p. 228) that the corpse among the Behrang Senoi is buried with the head pointing towards the east. The Behrang Senoi have a strong Sakai-Jakun strain owing to inter-marriage with the Kerling, Selangor, group who speak Malay as their mother-tongue.

is piled up on the covering until the grave is full and a mound formed.

The Giving of Names

Children, among the Behrang Senoi, are given names as soon as, or soon after, they are born, but these are frequently changed. A child may be named from some event which happened at about the time of its birth, from the river near which it was born, from the settlement in which its parents were living, or from some peculiarity of person or habit.

Thus, one youth was named Jernang from the river near which he was born, but was more usually known as Si Kork from a fancied resemblance to a certain kind of bird, the *tentork* (racquet-tailed drongo).

A baby girl was given the name of Tenyuk, because her parents were keeping a bear-cat (*tenyuk*) as a pet at the time of her birth.

The father of this child, whose name was Sagap (meaning "ready" (?)) was so-called because his birth was expected to occur some time before it actually took place, and thus everything was ready much before it was necessary.

A little girl was called Krek (cockle) because her chin was thought to resemble a cockleshell in shape; another Puntok ("burnt log"), or Puntong (the Malay form of the word), because she always liked playing about among the ashes of the cook-house fire.

The Jeram Kawan Senoi have some curious customs with regard to names, which greatly resemble those found in certain parts of Borneo[1]. When a married couple have had a child they are frequently not called by their own names, but are simply known as father (*Bek*) or mother (*Ken*) of So-and-so. The word *Yōk* ("male" (?)) is frequently prefixed to the ordinary names of men and *Han* to that of women. The following list of Sakai names, obtained at Jeram Kawan, illustrates these peculiarities fairly well:

[1] They are not unknown among the Dusuns. A man is often known as "Grandfather of So-and-so" among the Tuaran Dusuns.

Males

1. Yōk Simbok.
2. Yōk Dalam.
3. Yōk Pataling (or Bek Landas).
4. Yōk Tangkop.
5. Yōk Jahaia.
6. Yōk Sagap.
7. Yōk Integ.
8. Yōk Angong.
9. Yōk Batiwau (or Bek Sunyap).
10. Yōk Gok (or Bek Kidai).
11. Yōk Intan.

Females

Han Gamak (or Ken Landas).
Han Landas.
Han Un.

The Pulau Tawar Sakai-Jakun, whom I met near the Tekai River in 1913, told me that names were frequently changed, mentioning as a case in point a man who was then known as Itam, but who had formerly been called Ketiel.

Social Tabus

The prohibition with regard to mentioning the names of some near relations, either by blood or marriage, so common in the Malayan region in general, is also found among some of the Negrito-Sakai and Sakai-Jakun tribes, if, which I am not sure about, it is not also known among the Sakai proper. A man of a Sakai-Jakun tribe which was living close to Kuala Tembeling in Pahang told me that it was forbidden among his people to mention the names of fathers-in-law, mothers-in-law, brothers-in-law or sisters-in-law, while a man from near Pertang in Jelebu, Negri Sembilan (also a Sakai-Jakun), said that the people of his tribe did not dare to mention the names of their fathers because they were afraid of being struck by the indwelling power (*daulat*[1]) of that relation. The Serting River Sakai-Jakun, too, will not mention the names of father, mother, father-in-law or mother-in-law. Among the Negrito-Sakai (or Northern Sakai) of the hills in the Ulu Temengoh region of Perak I was informed that avoidance of the mother-in-law was strictly observed and that it was not allowable to speak to her, directly, to pass in front of her, or even to hand her anything. Among these people, too, there seems to be a prejudice against a person mentioning his own name.

[1] A Malay word. The regalia of Malay sultans are credited with having *daulat*, and in some cases may not be handled by commoners. If anyone does so it is said that he will die. *Vide Malay Magic*, pp. 23–24, 38–42.

The Behrang Senoi told me that they are much afraid of committing incest (*sumok*). In this connexion the chief rule which seems to govern marriages, apart from the prohibition of marriage between near relations, is that persons belonging to different generations may not marry. The penalties for committing *sumok* are that one of the offenders will be struck by lightning, and the other taken by a tiger. I have, unfortunately, mislaid my notes connected with this subject, but I remember that I was told that the person who married into a younger grade than himself (or herself) would incur one of these penalties while the offender who married into an older grade would incur the other, but I cannot now be certain how the punishments were apportioned.

Customs and Tabus connected with Food

Among the Behrang Senoi it is forbidden to mention the usual names of certain animals when their flesh is being eaten. Of the secondary and almost invariably descriptive names, I give a list below, together with their meanings:

English name	Ordinary Senoi name	Name applied to animal when being eaten
1. Deer (*Cervus concolor*)	*Rusa*	*Leuk pos*
2. Pig-tailed Macaque	*Dok*^{n}	1. *Leuk sabat* 2. *Leuk karuk*
3. Crab-eating Macaque	*Rau*	*Leuk kempuk*
4. Siamang (*Hylobates syndactylus*)	*Hul*	*Leuk gantok*
5. White-handed Gibbon (*Hylobates lar*)	*Tauh*	*Leuk gantok*
6. Bear	*Běruok*	*Leuk tebul*
7. Porcupine	*Kus*	1. *Leuk chenor* 2. *Leuk pachor*
8. Wild pig	*Gau*	*Leuk teh*
9. Bear-cat (*Arctictis binturong*)	*Tenyuk*	1. *Leuk senyup* 2. *Leuk bakok*
10. Lotong-monkey	*Besik*	*Leuk danum*
11. Bamboo-rat	*Lekat*	*Leuk tengkak*
12. Soft tortoise (*Trionyx*)	*Pa-as*	*Leuk teheu*
13. Tortoise (the species which the Malays call *Baning*)	*Sīl*	*Leuk gersuk*
14. Tortoise (the species which the Malays call *Kura*)	*Kurak*	*Leuk hok*

The following are the meanings of the various secondary names, so far as I could obtain them:

1. *Leuk pos.* *Leuk* in all these names, which I have translated meat, signifies substances, other than condiments, eaten with rice (meat, fish or vegetables). It is exactly equivalent to, and obviously of the same derivation as, the Malay word *lauk.* The stag is called *Leuk pos* (*i.e.* "wind meat") because of its swiftness in running.

2. *Leuk sabat* means "*sabat* meat," the *sabat* being a kind of spirit which is thought to inhabit the bodies of some kinds of animals. It is, perhaps, comparable to the *badi* of the Malays.

The second name of the Pig-tailed Macaque, *Leuk karuk* (*i.e.* "rotten branch meat"), is due to its habit of breaking off and throwing down rotten branches. The Sakai told me that this was chiefly done in the early morning in the trees among which the monkeys had slept.

3. *Leuk kempuk* ("lowland meat" (?)). I could not get an exact translation of the word *kempuk,* but it seems to refer to the fact that this species of monkey haunts the jungle of the lowlands.

4, 5. *Leuk gantok*[1] ("hanging meat") from the habit of these two species of hanging from branches by their hands.

6. *Leuk tebul* ("*kelulut* meat"). This name denotes the fondness of the bear for robbing the nests of bees, especially of a small kind which the Malays call *kelulut.*

7. *Leuk chenor* or *Leuk pachor* ("thorny meat"). Refers, of course, to the porcupines' spines.

8. *Leuk teh* ("earth meat"). Refers to the wild pig's habit of routing up the soil in quest of edible roots, etc.

9. *Leuk senyup* ("dark meat"). Refers to the Binturong's nocturnal habits.

10. *Leuk danum.* I could get no proper translation of *danum,* but it seems to refer to the habit of individuals of this species sleeping together in companies during moonlight nights—like fowls in a fowl house, as the Sakai said.

11. *Leuk tengkak* ("root meat"), the name being given

[1] Cf. the Malay *gantong,* "to hang."

owing to bamboo-rats making their holes in the bases of clumps of bamboos.

12. *Leuk teheu* ("water meat"). The soft tortoise live in ponds and rivers.

13. *Leuk gersuk* ("stone food"), because this species of tortoise may easily be mistaken for a stone, if seen from a little distance.

14. *Leuk hok* ("coconut-shell meat"), because its carapace looks like a coconut-shell.

The calling of any of these animals by their ordinary names while their flesh is being eaten will cause the offender to suffer from colic. I fancy, however, that these observances are becoming somewhat neglected by the Senoi of the Behrang Valley.

Another belief with regard to food is that a man whose food is played with will suffer from colic (*vide* the belief with regard to the *Baleh Busud*, *supra*, p. 227).

Katil, the headman of the Behrang Senoi, told me that among the Sakai of the Slim Valley women and children did not eat the heads of *Bĕrok* and *Kĕra* monkeys (*Macacus nemestrinus* and *M. cynomolgus*) because of the *sabat*, the spirit mentioned above, which resides above the eyes in these animals. Infractions of this rule, it was thought, would cause them to suffer from violent pains in the head, which might even be a cause of death. This custom is not observed by the Behrang people.

Some other beliefs and customs of the Behrang Senoi with regard to food are as follows:

It is not allowable to cook turmeric with pig's flesh; the breaking of this rule will entail the transgressor's falling ill with jaundice and fever.

Animals shot with the blow-pipe must not be eaten with turmeric or acid fruits; otherwise the poison used on the darts in the blow-pipe will prove ineffective when the people next go hunting.

The Sakai of the Ulu Kinta region[1], too, like the Behrang

[1] The people living above Tanjong Rambutan. They are "Northern Sakai" with, probably, a slight Negrito strain.

people, will not mention the names of certain animals while their flesh is being eaten. Thus, the bamboo-rat, ordinarily called *takator*, when being eaten, is referred to as *nyam*[1] *awin* or "bamboo meat"; the porcupine (*chekos*) as *berjalak* ("the thorny one"); while the bear (*ta'pus*[2]) becomes known as *mes mat*, "little eyes"; the *Bĕrok* (*dok*) as *hoi wet* or *hoi ket*, which is said to mean "no tail"; and the fowl (*manuk*) as *chep*, which simply means "bird." A monkey of some kind, probably a leaf-monkey, is ordinarily called *senalu*, but is given the tabu name of *bersentak*, "the tailed one"; the muntjac (*jet*) becomes known as *penyel* (said to mean "red"); while the mouse-deer (*bichok*) is dubbed *relok*, which, I was told, meant "big eyes." The tabu name of the *Rusa*-deer is simply *nyam*, meaning "meat," while its ordinary style, *tata-jeruk*, is derived from its long legs or from its speed, for *jeruk* in the local dialect means "far." As well as these, the wild pig (*heyhak*) and the rhinoceros (*tata-guru*) have tabu names, the former being called *amboit* and the latter *tata-menu*, but I was not able to find out the meanings of their secondary appellations.

It is not customary for the Ulu Kinta Sakai to eat fowls which have been reared in the village, though they will consume birds brought from outsiders provided that they have not kept them for a day or two. They told me that the reason for this was that they had pity on animals which they had brought up themselves.

If a man, in cutting up the flesh of an animal which has a tabu name, wounds his hand, he must not leave the house for four days, or he will be seized by a tiger.

Peppers may not be eaten with the flesh of birds or mammals, as, if this is done, traps set in the jungle will catch no game. The prohibition does not, however, apply to fish.

In the foregoing paragraphs I have given some details with

[1] *Nyam* seems to be equivalent to the Malay word *lauk*, which means anything, other than condiments, eaten with rice, *i.e.* fish, flesh or vegetables.

[2] *Ta'pus* is a contraction for *tata tĕpus*. *Tata* seems to signify "big animal," or something of the kind; and the bear is called *tata tepus*, *ta'apus*, or *ta'pus*, owing to its fondness for *tĕpus* fruits.

regard to the customs which obtain among the Ulu Kinta people in the case of flesh food: there appear to be also some connected with fish. For instance, I was told that while fishing for *těngas* (a common species in up-country rivers) it must not be called *kak* (a common Sakai word for "fish") but *ikan*, its Malay equivalent. Similarly, it is forbidden to refer to *těngas* as *kak* while being eaten.

When tabu food of any kind is being consumed, lice may not be cracked, nor hair burnt in the fire. The breaking of this prohibition would entail the penalty of the offender being taken by a tiger.

We now come to some curious food prohibitions which refer only to women or children[1]. Tabus of this kind as well are in force among the Ulu Kinta Sakai, and the following animals are usually not eaten: the Muntjac, the *Rusa*-deer, the Mouse-deer, the Fowl, and a species of tortoise which the Malays call *Baning*. The reason given for the avoidance of these articles of diet by women is that if they ate them their children would suffer from convulsions, but considerable laxity in the observance of the custom seems now to be common—I have seen a woman devouring venison—and I was told that nowadays a woman pleases herself as to whether she observes all, or any, of the prohibitions. It seems to me that such customs may have possibly arisen owing to a desire on the part of the men-folk to reserve the greatest delicacies for themselves.

The women of the Sungkai Senoi, suffer from very similar diet-restrictions, and the flesh of the following animals is eschewed: the *Sĕladang* (*Bos Gaurus*), the *Bĕrok* monkey (*M. nemestrinus*), the *Bĕnturong* (*Arctictis binturong*) and the *Rusa*-deer. In the case of the last-named, I was told that women and children may not eat, cook or touch deer flesh, nor may they go near the body of a dead deer. The flesh of elephants is tabu, to both men and women.

Among the Negrito-Sakai of the Ulu Temengoh region of Upper Perak, the women do not eat the meat of the *Rusa*-

[1] For similar prohibitions among the Negritos, *vide supra*, p. 175.

deer, the Muntjac, or the wild pig, since, if they did so, it would cause sickness either in themselves or in their children.

I will now deal with some very curious beliefs and ideas which are closely connected with food, drink or narcotics. They are known among the Semang-Sakai, the Sakai proper, the Sakai-Jakun, the Jakun and also among some of the Malays.

It is thought that some misfortune will overtake anyone who goes out into the jungle with some craving unsatisfied. Thus, it is said that a man who thus tempts ill-luck will be bitten by a snake or centipede, stung by a scorpion, or will suffer from fever or from swellings in the groin.

At Jeram Kawan, on the Sungkai River, I came across a case in which a man was thought to have met with an accident because of his neglect to chew *sireh*—which he had wished to do—before going out. Being in a hurry, however, he had omitted to satisfy his want. The man in question, Yōk Dalam, fell from a tree owing to a branch breaking and was considerably bruised and shaken, but, I believe, eventually recovered. The Senoi who told me about the accident said in Malay that Yōk Dalam had "*kĕna*[1] *punan*" (better, *kĕna kĕmpunan*) owing to his omission. Now this phrase is distinctly difficult to translate, but if a jungle Malay, in a district where such beliefs are known, is asked what it means he will reply, "to be bitten by a snake, or a centipede owing to going out with a desire for food, tobacco or *sireh* unsatisfied[2]." Where these ideas are unknown he will probably say, "to be seized by a desire such as pregnant women have"; so, in its least interesting aspect *kĕna kĕmpunan* may simply mean "to be seized by an inordinate longing." Now as all, or almost all, misfortunes are thought to be caused by spirits of one sort or another the presumption is that ill-luck, owing to an unsatisfied craving, is also due to spirits, though possibly there may be an underlying idea that the person who meets

[1] *Kĕna* may be roughly translated "to be hit by."

[2] A Spanish proverb is quoted in one of Dumas' novels which runs, as nearly as I can remember, "To go out fasting is to let the devil in." The idea seems much the same.

with disaster has lost soul-substance and thus loses resistance to the attacks of some of those supernatural beings who are supposed to constantly lie in wait for mankind.

I have questioned many Malays about the matter, but from them I have never yet got an explanation of *why* misfortune should follow upon an unsatisfied craving, except from one man who said that misfortunes occurred because the soul was lacking in strength. Among some of the pagans, however, I met with somewhat greater success. Thus, some Sakai-Jakun whom I visited near Pertang in Negri Sembilan, although they did not acknowledge—in fact they denied—that spirits were connected with the ill-luck consequent upon an unsatisfied craving, yet gave me information which, I think, makes it fairly obvious that they must believe that they are so. They told me that before starting on a journey it is necessary to burn incense to *Punan*, and that the man who cooks for the rest of the party in the jungle, must also burn a little incense each time that he prepares food; while if a stranger passes when cooking is going on he must take a little rice or water from the pot and call *Punan* to partake of the offering that he is making, at the same time smearing the rice or water on the back of his neck or on his left forearm. If *Punan* is not appeased, some calamity is sure to happen, the person or persons who have failed to make the customary offerings will suffer from fever, or from swellings in the groin, or will be bitten by centipedes or snakes. It is said that *Punan* stabs those who have offended (and thus causes their illness).

The Serting Sakai-Jakun (of Negri Sembilan and S.W. Pahang) have identical beliefs. For fear of *Punan*, water is taken from the rice-pot when cooking in the jungle, the man who is making this offering calling out, "*Punan, Punan, Punan!*" at the same time stretching out the arm on which he has smeared the rice-water.

I have evidence with regard to these ideas, too, from the Negrito-Sakai of the Ulu Temengoh region of Upper Perak and from the Sakai of the Ulu Kinta. In connexion with the

belief they make use of a word, *shelantap* or *shelentap*[1], of which I have not been able to get a translation. One Sakai (an Ulu Kinta man) to whom I had been talking about these matters, having been given a couple of biscuits shortly afterwards, went round among his companions, who were squatting near my tent, and chiefly, I think, with a view to giving me a practical illustration of how the customs were carried out, broke off a bit of biscuit for each man, saying as he gave it to him, "*Shalantap!*" Apart from greediness, I am inclined to believe that some idea of this kind may be the reason why, if one Sakai is given something to eat, all the others expect to receive a little too, even if they see that your stock of that particular article is almost exhausted.

The Bĕra Sakai-Jakun (Pahang) have *Punan* beliefs as well, and the Kemaman Sakai-Jakun whom I met near the Tekam River in 1917 told me that for fear of *Punan* it was customary for anyone who is offered food, but does not want it, to take a little and rub it between the base of the thumb and the first finger of one hand, or on the inner side of one big toe. Sometimes both thumbs and both big toes are treated in this manner.

Katil, the headman of the Behrang Senoi, was able to throw considerable light on the question of why an unsatisfied desire should bring bad luck in its train, for he told me that his people acknowledge a *Dana Punan* (Desire Spirit) who is responsible for the misfortunes met with by those who have given it an opportunity of causing them trouble[2].

A rather curious custom with regard to food is found among the Sungkai Senoi. If a man drops a piece of food and says "*Peninah,*" which is, seemingly, an oath of some kind, he considers that the food which has fallen is tabu to him and will not pick it up and eat it. To do so would be to court dysentery.

[1] It may be connected with the Malay *santap* which means "to eat," but is only used with regard to a Raja Rajas *santap*, commoners and others *makan*. Both words mean exactly the same.

[2] For further discussion of *kĕmpunan*, *vide* Appendix B.

Customs connected with Agriculture

By a Sakai of the Ulu Kampar I was told of a very curious method of divination which used formerly, and may be still among the more uncivilized tribesmen, to be employed to find out whether the Earth Spirit (or spirits) would allow the people to fell the trees on a piece of land which they were desirous of cultivating. When a suitable piece of ground had been chosen, the Sakai went to the site proposed for the new clearing and repeated some spells. They then swept all rubbish from a small piece of ground and enclosed it within a frame of four pieces of wood, each of which was about a foot and a half long. The pieces of wood were called *galang dapor*[1]. Incense was burnt within the square, and if much smoke arose from it this was regarded as a sign that the padi crop would be plentiful. Next, little cups, made of *lĕbak*, leaves containing incense, water, *lĕbak* leaves and rice-flour were placed within the square. The man who performed the ceremony then covered the square over with leaves and everybody went home. If on that night he dreamed that the place was not good[2], another site was chosen for the clearing. Providing, however, that his dreams were favourable, the Sakai went on the next morning to the site for the clearing and uncovered the square of ground which they had swept. If the soil under the covering of leaves was undisturbed they looked upon this as a sign that they might make the proposed clearing, but if any adventitious substances were found under the leaves, such as rubbish of any kind, or scraps of wood, another site had to be chosen and the performance repeated. If some rubbish had merely fallen on the leaves covering the square, the clearing might be made, though this was regarded as a sign that somebody from another settlement would die in the house. If, however, a clearing were to be made after the rubbish had been found under the covering leaves, it was

[1] A Malay phrase.

[2] Dreams about fire or of a piece of wood wrapped in a mat (*i.e.* a body ready for burial) were unfavourable.

thought that this would result in the death of one of their own people.

Care is taken by the Ulu Kampar Sakai to avoid angering the Earth Spirit and, for this reason, nobody must knock on the ground with a billet of wood.

The Besisi of Selangor, too, have somewhat similar ideas. When a new clearing is being made a working-knife must not be left sticking into the top of a tree stump. If this is done, or anyone turns back his coat over his head, animals will come and eat the crop, or it will not grow properly.

We now come to certain customs in connexion with the felling of jungle in preparation for sowing dry-growing rice.

The Behrang Senoi told me that (as is always the case) the brushwood is cut away before the large trees are felled. When making a clearing they work for three days at cutting down the undergrowth and then rest for a day. This rest-day is called *pahantak kernor*, that is, the cutting of brushwood tabu (*kernor*, I was told, is equivalent to *tĕbas* in Malay). When the undergrowth has been disposed of, the people set to work on the big trees for three days and then take another day's rest for *pahantak gani*, the felling tabu (*gani* has the same meaning as the Malay word *tĕbang*). In sowing dry-growing rice, too, the fourth day from commencement is also a rest-day for *pahantak menugal bah*, the padi-sowing tabu.

The Sakai of the Ulu Kampar have identical customs with regard to the fourth days of cutting away the brushwood and felling the big trees being tabued, and they also told me that during the first three days of clearing undergrowth it is forbidden for anyone else to touch the working-knife of a man who is engaged in this operation. Similarly, during the first three days of felling, an adze, which is being used in the work, must be touched by nobody but its owner. Tabu signs (*gawar-gawar*[1]) are hung up across the approaches to the clearing and outside the houses on the first day of sowing to warn the people from other settlements that they must not enter, but the tabu period is only for one day.

[1] A Malay word.

The Běra Sakai-Jakun also have a rest-day on the fourth day of cutting the undergrowth, which they call *pantang mot wai* ("the knife-blade tabu"), and a rest-day, *pantang mot beliong* ("the adze-blade tabu"), after three days' work at felling the big trees. Similarly, too, the fourth day from that on which sowing is begun is tabued for all manner of work.

From the Besisi, of the Selangor coast, I have only a little evidence, but it helps to confirm what I have written above of other tribes, for they too, they told me, have a rest-day after they have worked for the first three days at making a new clearing.

We now come to what appears to be a rather important agricultural custom among many of the pagan tribes, namely, the taking of the rice-soul, and this, and the foregoing references to rice sowing tend to open up the question, which I cannot pretend to answer definitely, as to whether rice planting is truly native to any of the pagans, or whether it has been introduced at a comparatively recent date. Skeat, at any rate, seems to rule the Malays out of court as being the introducers of rice cultivation to the aborigines, for he says, "Mr Blagden has shown that there are several non-Malay names for rice in the Peninsula, and this fact, coupled with the existence of varieties of the grain special to the aborigines, and the generally aboriginal character of the harvest rites[1], argues against such words being borrowed from the civilised (Mohamedan) Malays." Of course what he says does not deny the possibility that the cultivation of rice may have been introduced by the somewhat mysterious Mon-Annam people (or peoples) who have exercised so great an influence on all the aborigines—with the exception, perhaps, of the purest Jakun tribes—of whom, I am inclined to believe, the Sakai may be either primitive forerunners, or degenerate descendants, probably the former.

With regard to present day rice planting among the abo-

[1] I am not at all sure that the harvest rites are of a generally aboriginal character The Malays take the rice-soul, for instance, as well as most of the aboriginal tribes.

rigines, however, it is worth noting, with a view to elucidating the matter, that it is chiefly dry-growing varieties of padi which are planted, clearings being made for sowing on the hill-sides, while "wet-rice" cultivation is somewhat rare among the pagans, even in localities where the ground is suitable for the purpose. Furthermore, the tendency seems to be for such rice as is planted to be consumed quickly after harvest and regarded as somewhat of a luxury, while the root crops, and especially *kăladi*, are looked to as the mainstay of life.

The Behrang Sakai, according to Katil, take the rice-soul, which consists of seven ears, on the first day of reaping. The fourth day of reaping is a rest-day, *pahantak kenod bah*, "the tabu at the reaping of the rice." On this day things must not be carried down from the houses to the ground, though anything may be taken up into them. If an article were removed from a house the rice-soul would follow it and be lost.

The Ulu Kampar Sakai said that at the time of the reaping of the padi crop the settlement is laid under certain tabus for a period of six days. During this period cigarettes may not be smoked, and blow-pipes and fish may not be brought into the houses. Tabu signs of palm-leaves are hung up as a warning to outsiders not to visit the clearing. On the first day of reaping seven ears of padi—the rice-soul—are tied up, and incense burnt to them. These seven ears are left till reaping is finished, and round them sufficient padi to fill two or three reaping baskets, this being the rice-soul's companion. The rice-soul is finally reaped, and incense is burnt for six days under the place where it is suspended. After this the grain from the rice-soul and its companion is taken and mixed with the seed padi for the next sowing. The season for planting padi is when the *pětai* fruits are ripe and the *durian* and *pěrah* nearly so.

By the Bĕra Sakai-Jakun I was informed that the rice-souls consisting of seven ears, are cut by the *poyang* (magician or shaman) of the tribe after general reaping is finished. He carries them to the house in his arms, as if they were children, and walks slowly and carefully so as not to disturb them. On

arrival there, they are placed in a basket and covered with a mat. Noises must not be made in the house for three days, for fear of frightening the rice-souls away, and, in order to prevent their escaping, thorny stems of the brinjal-plant are placed on the threshold of the house for three days. Rice is left in the cooking-pots for their benefit, and the necks of the pots are tied up with cord made from the bark of the *Tĕrap* tree[1]. The *poyang* is supposed to call seven rice-souls from the lower world, one to take possession of each ear of rice. At the time of the next sowing the rice-souls are pounded to flour and sprinkled over the crop.

The people of the Ulu Temengoh (Negrito-Sakai) take, they told me, the millet-soul, for they grow this cereal on the slopes of the higher hills. On the first day of the proceedings, before reaping has been begun, an old woman goes into the crop and cuts about a *gantang* measure of the heads of grain, and on the second day she again takes the same amount. On the third day no reaping must be done, but on the fourth harvesting is started. Flowers, water and *sireh* are placed near the millet-soul, which is hung up in the house. The millet-soul is finally mixed with the grain reserved for seed purposes.

The Sakai-Jakun of Titi Ramai, near Pertang in Negri Sembilan, said that they took the rice-soul when hill padi was planted, an old woman going into the crop before the commencement of reaping and cutting seven ears. Three days after the taking of the rice-soul (*sĕmangat padi*[2]), general reaping may be begun. The *sĕmangat* is placed in a basket and hung up in the house. It is finally mixed with the seed for the next sowing.

The following account of the taking of the rice-soul among the Besisi of Selangor was given to me by a man of that tribe:

At the end of the harvest season the shaman asks the people if they have all finished reaping, and if they answer,

[1] *Artocarpus Kunstleri*.

[2] A Malay phrase. The Titi Ramai people speak a Malay dialect as their mother-tongue.

"Yes," he says, "I will take the rice-soul early this morning." A patch of padi, about as large as could be enclosed by the two hands, if the points of the two index fingers and the two thumbs were placed together, has previously been left in the clearing. The shaman, taking a knife, reaps this patch. He puts his reapings into a small bag and hangs it up in his house. Then he burns incense under it. Nobody but the shaman may touch the rice-soul. When the new planting season begins the shaman takes the rice-soul and scatters it in the clearing before anyone else has sown. On the next day, or the day following, general padi sowing begins.

The Besisi appear to have, too, a number of tabus connected with agricultural operations besides those which I have mentioned above. For instance, when padi is being planted no one must fold his coat back over his head, for, if the tabu is broken, rats will eat the crop. After planting (sowing?) also, a man who is going into the jungle must both leave the clearing, and return to it by the same path; otherwise deer and pig will enter the crop by one path, and, after going all through it and damaging it, will leave by another way.

The Sakai of the Ulu Kinta have certain tabu days when work on the clearing is prohibited. Thus, I was told that no work must be done when:

1. The moon falls at the rising of the sun (three days' tabu).
2. The moon is at the full and looks swelled (three days' tabu). The moon is said to be about to give birth.
3. The moon is beginning to decline and is "notched like a reaping-knife." (Three days' tabu. It has given birth.)
4. The old moon is about to die (two days' tabu).
5. The new moon appears (two days' tabu).

If work is done when the moon is about to die, somebody in the house will die. If work is done at the new moon, pigs will come and damage the crops.

Various Customs and Beliefs

In this section I have placed some rather disjointed notes on Sakai customs and beliefs which will not fall readily under any of the above headings.

In connexion with the magician or shaman I have already given some details with regard to his supposed ability to turn himself into a tiger. The Behrang Sakai have some beliefs connected with tigers which may, or may not, be of the semi-human variety[1]. It is said, for example, that tigers set snares for people in the jungle and that if a man cuts through the spring-stick of one of these (probably some *liana*) he must not pass on by that path, or he will be caught in an invisible noose. If blood, too, is seen on leaves in the jungle, it must not be touched, or the person who does so will be taken by a tiger.

The Sakai of the Ulu Kinta have some curious ideas about breaking a promise to go on a journey. Thus, I was told that if three men have planned to go on a journey, or to fell jungle together, but one man remains at home without saying anything (*i.e.* excusing himself from going), it is thought that, if one or other of his two friends fall sick, he is the cause of the illness. In such a case, the two who have started on their journey will immediately return, and the third man must say spells for the recovery of the patient. If, however, before his companions start, the man who stops at home makes some excuse for not going, no ill-fortune which they encounter can be ascribed to him.

The Behrang Sakai have almost identical beliefs and Katil, the headman, told me that they say that there is a *Dana Sirlok*, or "Promise Spirit[2]." This spirit attacks persons to whom promises have been made and broken. Thus, if a man has agreed with another to go on a journey, and subsequently leaves his friend in the lurch, the *Dana Sirlok* will accompany the traveller in his friend's place (being presumably at first invisible) and will attack and kill him in the shape of an elephant, a tiger or a snake.

Folk-Tales

The Behrang Sakai, probably the most intelligent aboriginals whom I have met, have a large number of folk-stories, of which

[1] For all I know all tigers may be thought to be human beings who have assumed an animal shape.

[2] The Malay phrase that he used was *Hantu Janji*.

I obtained several. Two of those given below appear to be truly indigenous, while, of the other two, that of *Budak Yoid Intoie* seems to show some non-Sakai elements, and the tiger story may possibly be of Malay origin. Folk-stories, Katil informed me, should be told at night, as this brings good luck in hunting animals in the jungle. A man who told folk-stories during the day-time would, he said, hurt his foot against a stump. I gathered, however, that this latter was a popular saying rather than a strong belief. It may be remarked that it is always the youngest-born son (*bonsu*) who is the clever man in these Senoi tales.

The Cockroaches' Village

Told by Katil

There was once a man who had seven male children. Their names were Sulong, Tengah, Alang, Ruh, Penangkap, Bumbun and Bonsu Api.

One day the eldest son (Sulong) went off into the forest to hunt for game, and far away from his home he came upon an *ara*-tree (*Ficus* sp.) in fruit. He sought out a convenient place at some distance from the tree to make a shelter for the night, and there he slept.

Early in the morning he went to the tree and climbed up into it with his blow-pipe to shoot the monkeys, birds and squirrels, which came in hundreds to eat the fruit.

The tree was on the top of a hill, and below the hill, on one side, though hidden from view, was a clearing. While he was in the tree he heard people laughing and the cries of children coming from the clearing. So he came down from the tree, and, making his way towards the sounds, eventually arrived at the clearing. He entered a patch of sugar-cane and came across a fowl which cackled loudly. Next he came to a house and saw a mortar in which he had heard somebody pounding padi. Then he called aloud, "Hoi, sister! Hoi, sister!" but nobody answered, and going up into the house he found that the people had vanished. He saw food ready cooked there and said to himself, "What am I to do, for I am hungry?

If this is spirits' food it will be savourless, but if for human beings it will be salt." So he tasted the food and found that it was salt, and, thinking it safe to do so, ate until he was satisfied. After this he took water and drank it, and then he took *sireh*, which was also set out there, to chew. Now the first quid that he chewed tasted sweet, the second rich, the third intoxicating, and the fourth sweet. Then, feeling giddy, he lay down on some mats which were spread in the house. When he had fallen into a stupefied sleep, the people of the house, who were all women, but who had become cockroaches at his approach, came out of their lurking places and ate his body till little remained to him but his life. At last, on his awaking, they killed him with billets of wood.

Now, as he did not come home, the second brother set out to look for him, and came across the hut in which he had spent the night. Here he slept, and, in the morning, he went to the *ara*-tree where, on the previous evening, he had found his brother's blow-pipe, dart-quiver and spear, together with the rotting bodies of the animals that he had shot. He, also, climbed up into the tree and shot some of the animals and birds which were eating its fruit, and, towards midday, while still in the tree, he heard the sound of people pounding rice and of laughter coming from the place where the clearing was situated. So he said to himself, "Perhaps that is where my brother went." Then he climbed down from the tree, and heaping together the bodies of the beasts that he had shot, he left them there with his blow-pipe and working-knife, and went in the direction of the sounds. When he got to the patch of sugar-cane the hen clucked loudly (and, as before, the people of the house became cockroaches and hid themselves). He, too, on coming to the open space in front of the house called out, "Hoi, people! Hoi, sister!" but nobody answered him.

So he went up into the house and found no one there, but food and *sireh* set out ready. He waited for some time, but as nobody came, and he felt hungry, at last he said, "If this is spirits' food, it will be savourless, but if for human beings

it will be salt." Then he tasted the food, and, finding it salt, he ate his fill. Next, he drank water, and after this he took *sireh* and chewed it. The first quid that he chewed tasted sweet, the second rich, the third intoxicating, and the fourth sweet. And he, also, felt dizzy and went to sleep. Upon this the cockroaches came out and ate him up; and they hid his bones under a big cauldron, just as they had done with those of his brother.

Now when he did not come home either, the third brother took up the search, and met with the same fate, as did also the fourth, fifth and sixth.

At last, the youngest brother, Bonsu Api, said to himself, "How is it that my brothers do not come home?"

That night his grandfather came to him in a dream, and he asked him how it was that his brothers had not returned, and where they had gone.

The grandfather replied that they had not come home because they had been killed by the Cockroach Demons (*Rengkasi*[1] *lipas*).

"What am I to do about them," said Bonsu Api, "and how am I to kill them?" "You must give *chĕnduai*[2] to them," said his grandfather.

Then Bonsu Api awoke and, remembering his dream, thought that he, also, would follow his brothers. So he told his father and mother of his desire, and, having made his preparations, on the next morning he set out.

He, too, came to the hut where his brothers had slept and found the fruit-tree where they had left their blow-pipes and quivers. The heap of rotting game under the tree was as big as a large ants'-nest, and the quivers and blow-pipes which had been left there by the brothers who had preceded him were already partly destroyed by "white-ant."

Then he thought of what his grandfather had said to him in his dream. So he, also, climbed up into the tree and shot the birds and animals that were feeding on the fruit. After

[1] *Rengkasi* is equivalent to the Malay *Gĕrgasi*.
[2] A herb from which the Sakai make love-charms.

a while he, too, heard voices from the clearing, and, coming down from the tree, noticed that the track made by his brothers led in the direction whence the sounds arose. Now when he neared the clearing he lit a cigarette, into which he had put *chĕnduai*, and observing from where the wind was blowing, found that it was from him and towards the clearing. Then he went carefully in that direction and came to the house, where he heard the people complaining and saying that they could not keep awake; for they were made sleepy by the fumes of the *chĕnduai* that he kept blowing towards them as he smoked his cigarette.

Then each woman in the house left her work and fell asleep, and Bonsu Api went up into the house and found the floor covered with women lying there; for they had not had time to become cockroaches when they were overwhelmed by the fumes of the *chĕnduai*.

So he went through all the rooms of the house, and at last, in an upper storey, he found a beautiful princess, who was awake, since the *chĕnduai* fumes had not reached her. Then he threatened to kill her, but she besought him to relent, asking him why he should wish to do so. Thereupon he told her that her followers had killed his brothers, and she replied that, if it were true, she knew nothing of it, for she seldom left her room.

So he pardoned her on condition that she should find out what had been done with the bodies of his brothers, but the people below slept on, and could not be awakened. However, the princess at last found the bones of the six brothers below the cauldron.

Then Bonsu Api took the bones and heaped them together in front of the house. And he told the princess to follow him, saying that he would kill her if she did not. So she consented, and made ready for the journey. Now when she had come down from the house, Bonsu Api shut the door and set fire to the walls and roof, so that all the people inside began to be burnt. And Bonsu Api spoke to them and said, "If you wish to live, become cockroaches for ever, not sometimes cock-

roaches and sometimes human beings; and in future eat the fragments of food that are left by mankind." So they became cockroaches. As for Bonsu Api he brought his brothers to life again and went home, taking them and his princess with him.

Bonsu and Tak Kemoit

Told by Katil

A youth named Bonsu (youngest-born) was once wandering in the jungle. He came from the going down of the sun, the Island of Fruits (*Pulau Bah*). As he was journeying he came to a *tampoi* tree on which the fruits were light-coloured and unripe. He took off his dart-quiver and his chopper and, putting them and his blow-pipe down against the tree, went to sleep.

He slept on and on, until the fruit of the tree was ripe, and at last a single fruit fell on his chest and awoke him with a start. So, seeing that the fruit had ripened, he climbed up into the tree and ate a little of it. Then he called aloud, saying, "If there is any one in this country let him come and eat fruit"; but nobody answered him. He ate some more fruit, and again called out, and this time he heard a voice answering him from the direction of the going down of the sun, "Where are you, grandchild?" "Here I am, grandfather," said he. Thus they kept on calling and answering each other until the newcomer was close at hand. Then Bonsu saw that the stranger was an old man with red and deeply sunken eyes.

Now the old man began to eat the fruit, swallowing it, branches, leaves and all, and, when he had satisfied his hunger, he said to the youth, "Your grandfather wishes to relieve himself." Then Bonsu replied, "If grandfather wishes to relieve himself, let him go far away down-stream." So the old man started off, and after a while he called out, "Where shall I relieve myself?" and Bonsu answered, "Far away down-stream." In a little while he called again, asking the same question, and Bonsu answered him as before, for he was frightened that the old man would eat him, having seen

how he had swallowed the fruit, branches, leaves and all. Thus they went on calling and answering until neither could hear the other.

Then Bonsu came down from the tree, and ran away till he saw a plain by the edge of the sea, where a *pinang dara*[1] and a *birah* plant[2] were growing side by side near the shore. When he reached them he called to him wild pigs, woodpeckers and porcupines, and they came. So he told them that if the old man, the Red-Eyed Spirit, came to the place and climbed up into the *birah* plant to follow him, they were to wait till it had grown up to the sky, and were then to cut it down. This they promised to do. Then Bonsu climbed into the *pinang* tree and sang,

"Tinggi, tinggi batang pinang!
Tinggi, rĕndah puyoh Mĕlaka!
Aku takut Hantu Merah Mata[3]*!"*

And the *pinang* tree immediately grew up into the clouds carrying him with it.

Not long afterwards the Hantu Merah Mata came to the spot and, seeing that Bonsu had gone up to the clouds on the *pinang* tree, climbed into the *birah* plant and chanted,

"Tinggi, tinggi batang birah!
Tinggi, rĕndah puyoh Mĕlaka!
Aku takut Hantu Merah Mata!"

And the *birah* plant immediately grew upwards carrying the Red-Eyed Spirit with it. But the Red-Eyed Spirit could not catch Bonsu because he had reached the sky. Whereupon Bonsu called out, "Ancestor[4], open the door." Then his ancestor opened the door, and he went in and shut it again. Upon this the pigs, the woodpeckers and the porcupines cut

[1] A betel-nut palm which has not yet borne fruit.
[2] A kind of aroid.
[3] A Malay verse (*pantun*):

"High, high is the *pinang* trunk!
Tall and low are the quails of Malacca!
I'm frightened of the Red-Eyed Spirit!"

[4] This is Ungku (Turul), who governs thunder and lightning. Bonsu of this story is not, of course, Ungku's brother of the same name.

away the stem of the *birah* plant so that it fell into the sea carrying the Red-Eyed Spirit with it, and he was drowned.

Budak Yoid Intoie

A folk-story of the Behrang Senoi

(Katil, the Sakai who told me this story, declared that it had been handed down among his people for generations. There seems to me, however, to be good reason for thinking that, at any rate, parts of it must have been adopted from the Malays, or, if the tale is really old, from some fairly civilized people with whom the Sakai were in contact before the time of the invasion of the Peninsula by Malays.)

There was once a youth called Budak Yoid Intoie (Youth of the Big Knife) who was the youngest of seven brothers. His six elder brothers were famous smiths, and one day, when they had finished work, Budak Yoid Intoie asked them for some iron in order to try his hand, but his brothers refused to give him any. So he said to them, "How am I to learn, if you won't give me any iron?" Then he collected the odds and ends and scales of iron that they had left, beat them out into a huge knife as large as a *birah* leaf, and made a handle for it as large as the bole of a coconut tree.

When it was finished, he said to his father and mother and his brothers, "I am going on a journey." So he made ready, but before starting he planted a certain kind of flowering shrub, with a single blossom upon it, in the level space in front of the house, saying to his mother, and to his brothers, "See, O mother, see, you, my brothers, this shrub of mine! If the blossom on it withers entirely I shall be dead, but if it shuts and then opens again, I shall still be alive."

Then he set out, taking his knife with him, and made his way through jungle, cutting down as he went the big and small trees that stood in his path. And the sound of the great trees being cut and falling was, "*Prung punggau, prung punggau, prung punggau!*" Now a man who happened to be walking towards him, hearing the noise of the trees falling, and being frightened that one of them might kill him, began to call out, "*Ai! Ai! Ai!* I am coming towards you and shall be struck by a tree!" "What is your name?" said Budak Yoid Intoie,

and the newcomer replied, "My name is Rah Serpik[1] (Pull-the-canes)." Then answered Budak Yoid Intoie, "If your name is Pull-the-canes, well, pull the canes!" So Rah Serpik pulled the canes out with one hand. "Well," said Budak Yoid Intoie, "if you can do that, you are rightly named Rah Serpik." So they stopped to chew betel-nut, and Rah Serpik asked his companion what his name was, to which he made reply, "Budak Yoid Intoie." "Why, if that is so," said Rah Serpik, "where's your knife?" "I don't know," said Budak Yoid Intoie, "I have not got one; its only my name." Now he had hidden his knife in a large tree.

He, in his turn, asked Rah Serpik if he had a knife, and Rah Serpik replied, "If I carried a knife my name would not be Pull-the-canes." Then he again asked Budak Yoid Intoie for a knife, as he wanted to cut up the betel-nut, and Budak Yoid Intoie said, "I have put it into the big tree over there. If you can lift it, I will become your follower, but, if you cannot, you shall become mine."

So Rah Serpik went to get the knife, but was unable to raise it, and Budak Yoid Intoie said, "Very well, you shall be my follower."

Then he got up and fetched it himself, and they chewed betel-nut, and, when they had finished, set out on their journey together, Rah Serpik following Budak Yoid Intoie, while Budak Yoid Intoie cut down the trees that stood in the way, *toalang* trees, *kĕmpas* trees, *mĕrbau* trees, *mĕranti* trees, or whatever they were, "*Prung punggau, prung punggau, prung punggau!*"

Soon another man cried from in front of them, "*Ai! Ai! Ai!*" just as Rah Serpik had done before. So Budak Yoid Intoie called the newcomer to him and asked him his name, and he replied, "Tinju Tebik^{n} (Thump-the-Banks)." Then said Budak Yoid Intoie, "Well, if your name is Thump-the-Banks, just thump the banks of this river!" So Tinju Tebik^{n} thumped the banks of the river with his fist, and they fell down and blocked the stream.

[1] *Runtun manau* in Malay. *Rotan manau* is a very useful kind of rattan cane which is collected by the Sakai for sale to the Chinese.

Then Tinju Tebik[n] asked Budak Yoid Intoie his name, and he told him. "If that is your name," said Tinju Tebik[n], "where is your knife?" "I don't know," replied Yoid Intoie.

So they sat down to chew betel-nut, and Budak Yoid Intoie asked Tinju Tebik[n] if he had a knife to cut the nut into pieces with, but Tinju Tebik[n] answered, "If I had a knife, my name would not be Thump-the-Banks." After a little, Tinju Tebik[n] asked Budak Yoid Intoie if he had not got a knife, and Budak Yoid Intoie told him where it was hidden, making him promise, just as he had done with Rah Serpik, to become his follower if he could not lift it. But Tinju Tebik[n] was not able to raise the knife any more than Rah Serpik, and Budak Yoid Intoie went and got it himself.

When they had finished chewing their betel-nut, they set out again, Budak Yoid Intoie being in front, with Rah Serpik and Tinju Tebik[n] following him; and the sound of the trees being cut and falling before Budak Yoid Intoie was, "*Prung punggau, prung punggau, prung punggau!*"

After a little time some one cried out from in front as before, and again Budak Yoid Intoie called the newcomer to him. "What is your name?" asked Budak Yoid Intoie, and the stranger replied, "Lingkong Benua (Push-the-Country-Round)." "Oh," said Budak Yoid Intoie, "if your name is Push-the-Country-Round, just push the country round!" So Lingkong Benua pushed the country round till its back was broken, and Budak Yoid Intoie said to him, "Your name is rightly Lingkong Benua."

So they sat down to chew betel-nut and Lingkong Benua asked Budak Yoid Intoie for his knife, and was not able to lift it any more than Rah Serpik or Tinju Tebik[n] had been able to do.

After a while they continued their journey, and at last they came to the sea and wished to cross it; and Budak Yoid Intoie said to his companions, "Wait here, while I go and search for a bridge." So he searched, but could not find any. Then he took his knife, and said to it, "*Tohoit yang sah! Eng sindrang sah! Eng saihih! Eng putau! Eng nujum! Eng blian!*

Yoid eng jadi papat[1]," and the knife in its sheath became a bridge on which they could cross the sea. But a large dragon came up from below and waited under the bridge.

Then they went across, Budak Yoid Intoie's companions being in front of him; and, when they came to the other side, Budak Yoid Intoie drew his knife from its sheath, and cut off the dragon's head: and it floated away until it came to a Raja's bathing-place, and there it remained.

Now the Raja complained because the head was rotting and polluting the river, and ordered all his followers, from the mouth of the river to its source, to come together and remove the dragon's head; and they came together.

Meanwhile, Budak Yoid Intoie and his companions went on their way until they came to a house, the owner of which was an old man named Tak Tempait Bungah (Grandfather Patterned Jar).

Tak Tempait Bungah asked them whence they came, and they replied, "From the neighbouring country." Then they climbed up into the house, which was situated up-stream from the Raja's palace; and there they stayed.

Now the Raja had given it out that whoever could remove the dragon's head should marry his daughter, who was shut up in an inner room and enclosed by a seven-fold fence of ivory; but nobody could do it, for the dragon's head was as big as a mountain.

One night Budak Yoid Intoie asked Tak Tempait Bungah what was the trouble from which the Raja wished to be set free, and Tak Tempait Bungah told him how the dragon's head had stranded at the Raja's bathing-place.

Some nights afterwards a follower of the Raja's came to the house, and Budak Yoid Intoie said in his hearing, "Why, if I only pushed the dragon's head with my finger, I could remove it."

When the Raja's follower got home, he told the Raja that

[1] I could not get a true translation of some of this charm. "*Tohoit yang sah*" seems to be an invocation of some kind. *Eng sindrang* (I luck-bringing). *Eng nujum* (I astrologer). *Eng bhan* (I were-tiger) *Yoid eng jadi papat* (Knife I become plank).

he had met four men at Tak Tempait Bungah's house, one of whom said that he could remove the dragon's head with a finger. So the Raja ordered the four men to be called, and when the messenger told Budak Yoid Intoie the Raja's order, he said, "How can we go to the Raja's palace in these clothes, which are all covered with mud?"

The messenger returned to the Raja and told him what Budak Yoid Intoie had said, and he thereupon sent clothes and everything necessary to Budak Yoid Intoie.

So Budak Yoid Intoie set out, leaving his companions behind him, and when he arrived at the palace, the Raja gave him food and betel-nut.

After he had fed, the Raja asked him from where he came, and he replied that he came from the country across the sea, and asked why he had been sent for. Thereupon the Raja told Budak Yoid Intoie how he had heard that he (Budak Yoid Intoie) could remove the dragon's head with one finger and promised him, that, if he could do so, he should have his daughter in marriage.

Now Budak Yoid Intoie went alone to the river to see the dragon's head, and gave it a slight push, which sent it floating down-stream; then he returned to the house where he was staying, without the Raja knowing about it.

After a time some of the Raja's people came down to the river and found that the dragon's head was gone; and, when the Raja was informed of this, he called Budak Yoid Intoie to his palace and wished to give his daughter to him in marriage; but Budak Yoid Intoie excused himself, saying that he wished to travel more and see other countries before he married. So Budak Yoid Intoie gave the Raja's daughter to Rah Serpik as wife.

Now the Raja's daughter was betrothed to Bonsu Jangkah Benua[1], the son of another Raja, and was to have married him in three months.

One day Bonsu Jangkah Benua drew his sword, the blade of which was as large as a banana-leaf, and the hilt like the

[1] Youngest-born-Strides-Over-Country (?).

bole of a coconut tree, and said, "Why, the rust on my sword-blade is like a 'male' ants'-nest[1]; perhaps someone has married my betrothed!"

Then he got ready his ship, loaded it with weapons of all kinds, and set sail.

When the Raja saw Bonsu Jangkah Benua's ship approaching he thought to himself, "Perhaps this is my daughter's betrothed." And Budak Yoid Intoie and his four companions were in the palace at the time.

As soon as the ship came to land, Bonsu Jangkah Benua went straight to the Raja's palace and called from below the steps, "Whoever has taken my betrothed, come down!"

Now when the Raja had heard the music of the gongs and the flutes coming from Bonsu Jangkah Benua's ship, as it approached, and the noise of the cannon being fired, he had ran away into an inner room, and had hidden his head in a single-ended drum.

Budak Yoid Intoie heard Bonsu Jangkah Benua below the steps, and he called to him to come up into the palace to chew betel-nut, acknowledging that there had been a fault in the matter of the princess marrying. But Bonsu Jangkah Benua refused to chew betel-nut with him, and said that he would cut in two the man who had stolen his betrothed.

Then Budak Yoid Intoie took a censer and burnt incense, saying,

"Chiloh	*tak*	*pedak*^{n}	*eng*	*mar*	*slak*	*bah."*
Come down	ancestor	sword	I	size	leaf	rice.

Whereupon the sword came down from the sky, and it was of the size of a rice-leaf. And he told Bonsu Jangkah Benua to return to his ship, but he refused.

So Budak Yoid Intoie came down from the house, and when he had reached the lowest step Bonsu Jangkah Benua aimed a blow at him with his sword; but Budak Yoid Intoie leapt aside, and Jangkah Benua's sword cut the step in two. Thus they fought, but Budak Yoid Intoie did not attack and avoided the blows of Jangkah Benua's sword; when he

[1] Tall and pointed nests of the termite are called male nests.

smote low, jumping high; when he smote high, bending low.

At last Budak Yoid Intoie leant against a tree, and Jangkah Benua stabbed at him, and broke his sword in the tree as Budak Yoid Intoie jumped aside. Next he took a *kĕris*, and that also broke against a tree; and then, in turn a *sundang*, a *lamang*, a *tumbok lada*, a *golok*, a *badek*[1] and a gun, but each in turn became useless.

Then he took a cannon and fired at Budak Yoid Intoie for seven days and seven nights, so that the village and everything in it was destroyed.

After this Bonsu Jangkah Benua had no more weapons left, and the fight stopped, Budak Yoid Intoie, up till this time, having made no attack.

Then Budak Yoid Intoie began to dance the war-dance (Malay *gayong*) and made a feint at Jangkah Benua; but the latter taunted him, asking him how he expected to kill a man with a sword the size of a rice-leaf. Again Budak Yoid Intoie made a feint at Jangkah Benua, and again Jangkah Benua taunted him. Then said Budak Yoid Intoie, "I have made two feints at you, if I make another, just see if you don't remember it!" and he made another feint at him from far off. But Jangkah Benua continued to jeer at him, saying, "You fool, how can you expect to reach me with your sword from such a distance?" "If you don't believe that I have touched you," said Budak Yoid Intoie, "just bow your head," and on Jangkah Benua doing so, his head fell off and he died.

Then Budak Yoid Intoie collected all Jangkah Benua's weapons, and those which were bent became straight, and those which were broken became whole.

Next he brought Jangkah Benua to life again, and gave him back his weapons, and sent him away in his ship.

(Budak Yoid Intoie then goes through exactly similar adventures at the courts of two other Rajas to whose bathing-places the dragon's head drifts, and marries his two remaining followers to their daughters; just as he married Rah Serpik to that of the first Raja.)

[1] Different kinds of swords, knives and daggers.

Now, after the last of his three followers (Lingkong Benua) had married, Budak Yoid Intoie planted a shrub, bearing a single blossom, in the open space in front of each of their houses, just as he had done in front of his father's house before he set out on his journey; and telling them that he wished to travel again, explained how, if he died, the flowers would wither.

Then he set out towards the open sea, and at last he came to a city called Bandar Benua, which lay close to the shore: but he found no people dwelling there; not even any animals.

At length he came to the Raja's palace, and, going up into it, he called aloud three times, but nobody answered him.

So he searched the house, and, after a while, came upon a single-ended drum, and, on sitting down to beat it, heard someone calling from inside it. Then the person in the drum came out, and he found that it was a beautiful princess; and she told him how the country had been laid waste by an enormous twice seven-headed Roc[1] which came every evening from the *Pauh Janggi*[2], that grew on the shore near the palace.

Then the princess gave him food, but towards evening she hid herself in the drum again, and Budak Yoid Intoie went out on to a platform in front of the palace and burnt incense, calling to his ancestor to let down his sword from the sky, for it had vanished after each of the fights with the three Raja's sons. Upon this the sword came down to him, and it was not long before the Roc came and perched on the *Pauh Janggi*; and every head croaked, "*Laur! Laur! Laur!*"

Then Budak Yoid Intoie cut off the heads of the Roc, till only one remained, and when he cut off this as well, the Roc fell forward, dead, pinning him under one of its wings.

Now at about this time Budak Yoid Intoie's followers observed that the flowers on the shrubs that he had planted had withered. So they set out to search for him, and at last they came to Bandar Benua, and there they met the princess,

[1] The Sakai name for this bird is *Panger*; the Malay name, *Garuda*.

[2] The *Pauh Janggi*: a tree believed by the Malays to grow on a sunken bank in the centre of the ocean (Wilkinson's Dictionary).

who told them how Budak Yoid Intoie had been pinned beneath the Roc for seven days and seven nights. Then they cut away the Roc's body and released him. So Budak Yoid Intoie married the princess and lived at Bandar Benua, but his companions returned to their homes.

A Tiger Story

Told by Katil

A large tiger once took up its quarters in a deserted house. One day four men came to the place; for they had formerly lived there. They looked in at the door, and the tiger called to them, "Come children and play!" So they came up into the house and said, "What does Nenek (ancestor) want to play at?" "Oh," said the tiger, "we will sing a little." Then the four men winked at one another, and two of them went down the steps, and passed underneath the house, while the other two remained inside. Now the tiger's tail hung down under the house through a crack in the flooring. The tiger began to sing:

"Dua chĕrtang! dua chĕrgi!
Dua petang! dua pagi![1]"

"For," he thought to himself, "I'll eat two this evening and two in the morning."

Then the four men replied,

"Dua chĕrkam, dua chĕrkul!
Dua mĕnikam, dua mĕmukul!"

(*i.e.* two to stab him and two to hit him).

Now one of the two men below the house had put bindings (Malay, *simpai*) round the tiger's tail and tied it to a post of the house, while the other held it firmly. Meanwhile, the song went on, the tiger singing "*dua chĕrtang, dua chĕrgi,*" and the men replying, "*dua chĕrkam, dua chĕrkul.*" Then, when everything was ready, and the tiger's tail firmly tied, the two men came up from below the house, and two of the

[1] The second line is Malay and means, "Two in the evening, two in the morning." The first line, I was told, is Sakai, and means just the same as the second. I am rather doubtful, however, whether *chĕrtang* and *chĕrgi* are genuine words at all.

four stabbed him, while the other two beat him about the head, just as they had said they would do in the song. Thus the tiger died.

The Mai Mensud

(This rather disconnected story was told to me by a Senoi of Jeram Kawan on the Sungkai River)

The Senoi used to be attacked by a race of men called Mai Mensud[1] (Mensud men), who came from Pahang. These had hair all over their bodies, arms and legs. They used to come into people's houses, and after feeding there (as guests), seize some of the inhabitants in their arms, as they were sitting round the fire, and fly off with them to the mountains. After travelling for some time they used to come to a great marsh called Paya Lekut. (The sticky marsh: *lekut* = Malay, *lekat*.) Here they told their prisoners to sit down and rest, and when they did so, they seized them and threw them into the middle of the swamp. As soon as the prisoners had sunk into the marsh, there arose from its surface spears, working-knives, adze-heads and blow-pipes. These the Mai Mensud collected and took home with them. If the Mai Mensud seized children they sold them as slaves. Sometimes a Mensud man used to take a *halak* (magician) with him and go to a cave. They placed a little *kijar*[2] near the mouth of the cave, and a snake came out of the hole, smelt the *kijar*, and then went back again. After this, dollars and beads appeared from out of the cave. These they gathered up, and then went home.

(I was told that one man, named Bek Jawil, who was still alive, had been seized by the Mai Mensud about three years before, but had managed to make his escape.)

(iii) SOME BELIEFS AND CUSTOMS OF THE JAKUN

Granting that the Jakun belong to the Malay race and formed an earlier wave of migration from Sumatra than the Malays proper, a view which is very generally accepted, we

[1] The Mensud and Temir Rivers, on which they were said to live, were stated to be tributaries of the Bertang (or Bertam) River in the Ulu Jelai District of Pahang.

[2] An unidentified substance.

may, I think, with reason, expect to find them in their greatest purity in the state of Johore—which they must have easily reached in canoes *via* the Archipelago which lies between Singapore, just south of Johore, and their original home—and away from much possibility of contact with Sakai tribes. As I have remarked above, I have included in the foregoing paper on the Sakai many tribes (such as the Besisi and the "Biduanda" or "Mantra") which Skeat classes among the pagan Malays (Jakun) and, no doubt, these Sakai-Jakun, as I have termed them, do, physically, tend more to the Malay type than to that of the Sakai; but, while some of them speak Sakai dialects and some Malay, they mostly have the Jakun system of chiefs. In spite of these facts, however, I have placed them with the Sakai as, in their customs and religion, they seem to have a not inconsiderable affinity with them.

In the present paper, I deal with some communities which appear to be essentially similar in customs and ideas. These, though I do not know quite how far their territory extends inland, are found about the mouth of the Pahang River, and in the coastal regions, and up the different rivers that reach the sea between the Pahang and the Endau River, which, in its lower reaches, forms the boundary between the states of Pahang and Johore. They are closely related, too, to the "Orang Laut[1]" (Sea People), who, leading a more or less nomadic life in their boats, haunt some of the islands off the coasts of Pahang and Johore, and were formerly to be found in the bays, creeks and estuaries at the extreme south of the Peninsula and on and around Singapore Island. Furthermore, there is, seemingly, little difference between them and the majority of the pagan tribes of Johore[2], and it is for this reason that I have labelled them "Jakun." My experience of them, however, is not extensive and is limited to a few

[1] They are of the same race as the "Orang Laut" of the West Coast of the Peninsula who are found in the neighbourhood of Trang in the Siamese States.

[2] Judging by the accounts of the Jakun of Johore which have been given by various writers. I have never visited any of the Johore tribes, with the exception of the Endau Jakun, who move backwards and forwards between Johore and Pahang.

visits to some of their settlements during an expedition, of about a month's duration, which I made to the Rompin and Endau Rivers in 1917, and to a few somewhat desultory conversations that I had with them while resident in Pekan[1], the royal township of the state of Pahang—while I was doing temporary non-ethnographical work there during parts of the years 1918 and 1919, when the nature of my duties did not give me much opportunity of becoming intimately acquainted with them: consequently my notes are but scanty.

Deities

My inquiries have not, hitherto, brought to light any evidence with regard to a belief in a deity, or deities, among the Jakun of Pahang. A Malay friend of mine, however, Inche Abubakar, Malay Secretary to H.H. The Sultan of Pahang, tells me that he thinks that there is some reason for supposing that the people of the Ulu Rompin[2] pray to the sun, for, on one occasion, though he did not pay much attention to the matter, he saw several men staring intently at that luminary, and, apparently, going through rites of some kind.

The Shaman

The shaman, who is called *poyang*[3] by the Jakun, is, as among the Sakai and Negritos, a person of considerable importance. According to an Endau man the *poyang* possesses a familiar spirit which he may have either obtained by inheritance, or which may have come to him in a dream. My informant gave me the names of the familiars of several *poyang* with whom he was acquainted, these being, *Bujang Bĕrawan* (Youth Encircled by Clouds), *Rantai Bunga* (Chain of Flowers) and *Bujang Pĕlangai* (Rainbow Youth).

[1] Some few miles from the mouth of the Pahang River.

[2] These people may, perhaps, be Sakai-speaking people of mixed race (*i.e.* what I have termed Sakai-Jakun). I heard that there were "Orang Semlai"—a term commonly in use among Malay-speaking groups to denote those whose dialects belong to the Sakai group—far up the Rompin River.

[3] This word, a variant of the ordinary Malay term *pawang*, is also in use in certain parts of Sumatra.

The *poyang* is called in to expel the spirits which cause diseases, and when a sick man is under treatment the house in which he lies is placed under a tabu, no strangers being allowed to visit the patient. During the tabu period, too, the length of which is such as the *poyang* may fix, nothing made of iron may be brought into the house, or if it should be inadvertently, it must not be taken out again for three days after the removal of the ban. Furthermore, nobody must break a gourd or a plate in the sick man's house, tap or beat its threshold, or indulge in quarrelling[1].

The Rompin Jakun told me that the dead bodies of *poyang* are placed on platforms, and their souls go up to the sky, while those of ordinary mortals, whose bodies are buried, go to the under-world.

The *poyang* of the same "tribe" use switches of *palas* leaves in calling their familiars, and small tambourines, made out of half a coconut-shell covered with the skin of some kind of fish, are beaten during the performance of the magical rites[2].

The Pekan Jakun told me in 1918, that among them the *poyang* sits facing the east when he is holding a séance and that he flourishes his switch (or whisk) over his right shoulder[3]. Furthermore, he uses the article for brushing the bodies of the sick. A performance for the benefit of anyone who is ill, they said, extends over three consecutive nights.

Burial and Existence after Death

Though I have but little evidence with regard to Jakun ideas concerning existence after death, yet it appears from the fact that the Rompin Jakun think that the souls of the dead go to the under-world, and from the custom of placing food, etc. on the graves of the newly buried, that there must be some fairly well-developed beliefs connected with the subject. Furthermore, when a death occurs, according to the Rompin Jakun, the clearing and the houses of the settlement

[1] The information in this paragraph is from the Endau Jakun.
[2] I was lucky enough to obtain a specimen of both of these articles.
[3] *Vide*, for the sake of comparison, p. 213, *supra*.

are deserted for from ten to fifteen days, the friends and relations of the dead person being frightened of his ghost; and the house in which the death took place is usually not reoccupied.

The Endau Jakun said that the dead are buried lying face upwards, with their heads pointing to the west, and this also seems to be the custom of the Jakun who live near Pekan. A Rompin man, on the other hand, told me that his people also bury the dead lying on their backs, but with their heads pointing to the east.

For seven days after somebody has died, it is tabu among the Endau Jakun to beat drums, to trade, or to try to collect debts. If a creditor attempts to collect a debt during this period, the debt is considered cancelled, and, if he asks for his money arrogantly, he is fined, nowadays, I was told, twenty-five dollars, but formerly one hundred and eight plates[1].

The Endau Jakun said that they placed food on a new grave on the day of burial, on the morning of the third day after it, and again on the morning of the seventh day, while a Jakun man from the neighbourhood of Pekan stated that food is placed at the foot of a grave every afternoon for the first three days after the corpse has been interred, and that feasts are held on the third, seventh, and hundredth days[2].

A description of a Jakun grave mound (with a sketch) has already been given by Hervey, and is quoted by Skeat[3], but an account of such an erection which I got from the Jakun of the Anak Endau—I did not see a grave—may perhaps be of interest. I was told that a post, about five feet high, is set

[1] Judging from what I have seen of the Endau Jakun, such fines, if inflicted, could not possibly be paid. Perhaps large amounts may be mentioned merely as marks of displeasure The custom of fining so many plates is interesting, *vide* Logan (*J.I.A.* I. 274), who states that among the Binut "binuas" the fine imposed upon a murderer used to be sixty plates.

[2] I suspect, that if these feasts really take place, they are copied from the Malays, but I am inclined to think that the Jakun was merely trying to make out that he was practically a Malay—*i.e.* a man of a superior people. Among the Malays such feasts are celebrated on the third, seventh, fortieth and hundredth days.

[3] *Pagan Races*, II 114–115. The sketch is also reproduced.

up at the foot of the grave. This post has fourteen notches cut in it, seven running up one side, and seven down that opposite. It is called the *tangga sĕmangat* (soul-ladder), and I was given to understand that the seven ascending notches represent the surviving relatives, while the descending notches represent, or are for the use of, the dead person's soul. Two other posts, called *nisan* (grave-posts), which diverge at an angle of about forty-five degrees, are, my informant said, planted close together on the top of the grave.

This account differs in some particulars from that given by Hervey, and from the details in his sketch. He calls the notched posts—of which he shows two—*nisan*, and the smaller posts, which, according to my account, should be *nisan*, he dubs *tangga sĕmangat*. Probably difference of locality may account for the discrepancies, though his notched post might, without much difficulty, be taken to be conventional representations of double house-steps, while the small uprights are placed just like Malay grave-posts (*nisan*).

Various Customs and Tabus

The custom of calling a man who has had a child, "Father of So-and-so," found among the Sakai of South Perak, in Borneo, and in other parts of the Malayan region, is also common to the Endau Jakun and to those who live in the neighbourhood of Pekan. The Endau people told me that on the birth of his first child (male or female) a man becomes known as "Father of So-and-so." If his first-born child dies he is still known as "Father of So-and-so," provided that he has another living child, the name of the second child being, of course, substituted for that of the first; if, however, he has no other he is known as *Mantai*. Should his wife and all his children die he is known as *Balu*, and, on marrying again, this style is still retained until he has a child, when he again becomes "Father of So-and-so." Similarly, a woman who is, or has been, married is known as *Mak Anu* ("Mother of So-and-so"), *Mantai*, or *Balu*. My informant about these matters was one, Pak Dedup, *i.e.* Father of Dedup. Among the Pekan

Jakun these customs do not seem to be so well developed, but a man who has lost all his children is known as *Pak Merat*, and a woman as *Mak Merat*.

Jakun womenkind, when expectant, as do some of the Sakai, observe certain restrictions with regard to food and other matters, and some of these are binding on their husbands as well. Thus, a woman of the Endau Jakun who is five months gone in pregnancy, may not kill animals of any kind, and a man, whose wife is in this condition, may not kill anything from the time when his wife gives birth until the child is seven days old. When a child is born, both husband and wife refrain from eating the flesh of the *Rusa*-deer, and of two species of mouse-deer (*pĕlandok* and *kanchil*)—the husband till the child is seven days old, the wife as long as the child is "small." It is said that if the woman were to eat deer flesh, she would go mad and run wild like a deer.

(iv) MISCELLANEOUS NOTES ON MALAY CUSTOMS AND BELIEFS

The following disconnected notes on some Malay beliefs and customs, collected at various times, and in various parts of the Peninsula, during the years 1912–1921, may possibly be of interest, since I do not remember having seen many of them recorded before. In each case I append the name of the district to which my informant belonged:

i. Houses should not be built on promontories, either those which jut out into rivers or rice-fields, as such places are frequented by spirits.

(From a man of Kampong Linggi, Negri Sembilan.)

ii. If you hear a noise at night in the jungle, it is forbidden to call out and ask your companions what is making it.

(From a man of Kampong Linggi, Negri Sembilan.)

iii. A small species of house cricket, which is known to the Malays as *Sĕmangat rumah* (*i.e.* house-soul), is said to indicate the good or evil fortune of the owner of a house. If the cricket is first heard low down in the wall, but gradually makes its way up higher, it is considered to imply that the householder

will become rich. If, however, its sound is first heard high up, and then lower down, monetary losses will be incurred.

(From a man of Kampong Linggi, Negri Sembilan.)

iv. Nests, either of a large species of black ant or of the termite, are sometimes thought to be the dwelling places of spirits.

(Awang, a Malay smith of Lenggong in Upper Perak, asked me one day to desist from poking a termite's nest[1], which stood close to his forge, with my walking-stick. On my asking the reason for his doing so, he replied that there was a spirit in it. Questioned as to his grounds for thinking so, he said that if there were not, he did not see how such a tall mound could have arisen.)

v. It is unlucky to step over a fishing-rod which has been left lying on the bank of a river with the line in the water. Mothers scold their children if they do this when a family party is out fishing, as they think that no fish will be caught.

(From a Malay of Ijok, Selama District of Perak.)

vi. Women, while making the yeast (*ragi*) for *tapai* cakes, must not see a corpse, or, when the cakes are being made, fermentation of the flour will not ensue.

(From a Malay of Kampong Linggi, Negri Sembilan.)

vii. According to Province Wellesley Malays fireflies are the clippings from people's finger-nails.

viii. If you think that you have seen a ghost you must spit three times, in order that no evil results may follow.

(From a Province Wellesley Malay.)

ix. A couple of nights after the death of the late Sultan Ahmad of Pahang (May, 1914) there was a bad storm of wind at Taiping in Perak. This was considered by all the Malays living in the town to be a sign of the Sultan's passing[2].

x. If a cock and a hen copulate on the roof of a Malay

[1] Those called male nests (*busud jantan*), which are tall and roughly cylindrical, but come to a point at the top, are credited with spirit tenants.

[2] For a similar idea in England *vide The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, Oct. 19th, 1662. "Waked with a very high wind, and said to my wife, 'I pray God I hear not of the death of any great person, this wind is so high!' fearing that the Queen might be dead."

house, they are caught and killed. Both are then skinned and the skins placed on slender poles planted in the ground, one on either side of the way at a place where paths cross. A small horizontal supporting bar is often tied to each pole a little way from the top, in order that the skin of the body may be spread over it, while the head and neck of each bird rest on the ends of the uprights.

(I saw two or three instances of crucifixion of this kind in Upper Perak in 1913.)

xi. If a man washes his hands, and, in shaking the drops from them (to dry them), splashes a companion, the latter says, "*Lĕpas-kah?*" (*i.e.* "Do you release me?"). To this the man who has been washing himself must reply "*Lĕpas*" (*i.e.* "I release you"). If this were not done the sins (*dosa*) of the man who washed his hands would cling to the man who was splashed.

(I saw a man so splashed, and heard the above question and answer in 1916. The explanation was given to me by a Province Wellesley Malay, one of the men concerned.)

xii. After the *boria* performances (connected originally with the deaths of Hasan and Husain, but now more or less comic entertainments given by bands of Penang or Province Wellesley Malay youths, who visit the houses of the wealthy in the month Muharram) all those who have taken part in them go, after the last performances have been given, to bathe ceremonially, in order to rid themselves of the bad luck (*buangkan sial*) which attaches to them as having taken part in a dramatic performance. At Taiping in Perak the *boria* performers bathe at the Waterfall, and, after this, partake of a curry feast. The washing of the body should be done with seven dippers of water in which limes and soap-root[1] (*sintok limau*) have been mixed till the water is full of suds. When the bathing is over the remains of the soap-root and the limes are thrown away, each man as he thus disposes of them saying, "*Satu, dua, tiga; buang!*" (*i.e.* "One, two, three. Throw them away!"). The "soap" is, of course, washed off afterwards

[1] The root or fibre of *Cinnamomum sentu*.

in the ordinary way. Before the feasting begins a handful of food—all the kinds to be eaten are included—is taken and placed below a tree in the jungle. The *boria* is performed only by Penang and Province Wellesley Malays, and is said to have been adopted originally from Indian troops stationed in Penang.

(Information obtained from Awang, a Province Wellesley Malay.)

xiii. If you go to bed with a grain of rice sticking to your clothes or body, you will dream that a tiger is hunting you.

(From a Malay of Kampong Linggi, Negri Sembilan.)

xiv. Filings from a porcupine's tooth, if drunk in water, are a remedy for poison taken internally.

(From a Malay of Kuala Krau, Pahang.)

xv. When women go down to the river to get water for use in *berhantu* ceremonies (spiritualistic séances) held for the benefit of a sick person, they must not speak to any one while carrying it. Furthermore, they must cover the mouths of the full vessels with leaves, and, in filling them, must let the water trickle in slowly, and not enter with a gurgling sound.

(From a Malay of Pulau Tawar, Pahang. My informant, seeing a woman on the banks of the Pahang River carrying up a water-pot whose mouth was covered with leaves, gave me this note.)

xvi. If you are afraid that some mischance will befall you because you have left your village without satisfying a craving for tobacco or food[1], put the third finger of your right hand into your mouth and suck it three or four times. You will thus avert misfortune.

(From a Malay of Pulau Tawar, Pahang.)

xvii. There is a deep round depression near the Pahang River, not far from Jerantut, but on the opposite bank, which is called Lebor Chupak. It is said that a village once stood on this site, but was overwhelmed by a storm and swallowed up by subsidence of the ground, because a man placed two half coconut-shells—*chupak* measures—like caps on the head

[1] *Takut kĕna kĕmpunan. Vide* Appendix B.

of a dog and a cat, and laughed at them in company with other villagers[1].

(From a Malay of Pulau Tawar, Pahang.)

xviii. To bring rain the cooking-pots and their cane stands must be washed, and a cat given a bath[2].

(From a Malay of Kampong Linggi, Negri Sembilan.)

xix. Scrapings of an incisor tooth of a bamboo-rat, when applied to wounds in the feet caused by bamboo-stumps, will effect a speedy cure.

(From a Malay of Kampong Perak, near Batu Kurau, Perak.)

xx. Wood must not be chopped on the threshold of a house or the owner will be bitten by a snake or centipede when he goes to the jungle.

(From a Malay of Kampong Perak, Batu Kurau, Perak, whom I heard rebuking his wife for thus chopping firewood.)

xxi. Nobody should lie with legs sprawled out of a doorway, or a tiger will come to the village.

(From the same Malay as the above, who had occasion to rebuke his wife in my hearing for breaking this tabu also.)

xxii. If the owner of a gun constantly uses it for shooting big game, he should not keep, or place it, in a leaning position; otherwise, animals that he shoots, if mortally wounded, will not fall dead for some time.

(From the same Malay as numbers xx and xxi.)

xxiii. "Sheet" lightning is called *kilat gajah* (elephant lightning) as it is thought that when sheet lightning is seen elephants are journeying through the jungle in the distance.

(Malays of Batu Kurau, Perak, and also those of Pekan, Pahang.)

[1] I have obtained stories of the dreadful fate which overtakes those who dress up animals and laugh at them from Sakai in several districts, but this is the first time that I have heard of such a belief among the Malays. The word used in the neighbourhood of Pulau Tawar for a bad storm followed by a subsidence of the ground is *kelebor*, *lebor*, seemingly, being the name given to places where such subsidence is thought to have occurred. *Chĕlau*, a term frequently used by Sakai (when speaking Malay) to describe these storms caused by impious actions, has a very similar meaning.

[2] *Mandikan pĕriok*, *mandikan lĕkar*, *mandikan kuching*.

xxiv. If hornets build a nest on a house, it is a sign that the occupants are about to leave it.

(Malays of Batu Kurau, Perak.)

xxv. A riddle from Pekan:

Ia ia; tětapi bukan ia; tětapi ia mati kěrana ia.

The answer to this is an artificial spinning-bait (*kachau*) which is often made in the shape of a fish, the material usually being mother-of-pearl.

A rough translation of the riddle is:

"It's it, but not it, but they die because of it[1]."

xxvi. *A rain charm.* This is recited by children of Pekan, Pahang, when a storm appears to be approaching. The object being to drive away the threatening rain.

Very probably the formula may once have been used by grown-ups in all seriousness.

Sana kěpala běruang; sini kěpala itek.
Sana bahagi tuang; sini jangan sa-titek[2].

(v) MALAY FOLK-TALES

Why the Bear has no tail[3]

(A folk-story of the Pahang Malays obtained near Kuala Kěrau)

A very thin buffalo was once feeding in a meadow. To him came a tiger and said, "I am going to eat you." The buffalo, however, besought him to wait for seven days, "For," said he, "I am very thin, and if you wait for seven days, I shall have an opportunity of growing fat." To this the tiger agreed.

Now on the morning of the seventh day the buffalo was wandering disconsolately along, when a crippled monkey, who was sitting in a tree, called to him, and asked him why he

[1] *I.e.* "It's a fish, but not a fish, but they die because of it."

[2] "There the head of a bear; here the head of a duck.
Let it pour there; but don't let's have a drop here."

[3] A variant of this story, translated by G. M. Laidlaw, in which the mouse-deer plays the parts of both the buffalo and the monkey, is to be found in *J.R.A.S., S.B.*, No. 48, pp. 86–89.

was looking so sad. So the buffalo related how he had promised to meet a tiger, who wished to eat him.

"Very well, I will see if I can't help you," said the monkey, "but you must carry me on your back."

Thus they started off in search of the tiger, with the monkey sitting on the buffalo's back; and before very long they met him.

Now as soon as the monkey saw the tiger, he began to munch two brinjal fruits, which he had brought with him, exclaiming loudly as he did so, "My word, this tiger's head tastes good!"

The tiger, who heard what the monkey said, became frightened, and ran away as fast as he could. While he was still running he came upon a bear, and told him about the monkey that ate tigers' heads.

Then he tried to persuade the bear to go and investigate the matter, but the bear replied that it was not his affair; still, if the tiger wished it, they could go together. Then, as each was afraid that the other would run away, it was agreed that they should tie their tails together.

[At this time the bear had a fairly long tail, and the tiger's was shorter than it is now.]

So they tied their tails in this manner, and set out. After a little while they came to the place where the buffalo was waiting, and saw the monkey still crunching up the "tiger's head." Thereupon, being frightened, they both tried to escape forgetting that their tails were tied together

At length, as they struggled one against the other, the bear's tail broke off short, and they both ran away.

The next time that the tiger met the bear, he said, "Your loss is my gain; for you have lost your tail, while mine has become longer."

So that is the reason why, to the present day, the bear has only a stump instead of a tail.

Awang Durahman

(I took down the following little story—very quaint when told in Malay, but most difficult to translate into English—from Pandak Leman of Kampong Perak in the Batu Kurau *mukim*[1] of Larut, in December, 1917. I have tried to follow the Malay as closely as possible, and to preserve the jerky method of narration, which is intended to represent the flight of Awang Durahman's thoughts.)

Awang Durahman was sitting one day in a tumble-down hut in the rice-fields, while his mother was weeding among the young crop. He took two cents from his mother's *sireh* wallet, and, as he held them in his hand, he said to himself, "With this money I'll buy two eggs, one a male; the other a female. After a time what a lot of fowls there'll be—thousands! These fowls too many! If so, sell these fowls. Buy ducks. Make a big pond; place for ducks to play. Ducks also many. '*Pak*[2]' up-stream, '*Pak*' down-stream! 'Whose ducks are these?' 'The ducks of Awang Durahman.' Ducks eat people's padi. Sell ducks; buy goats. Many goats go and eat people's crops. Very much trouble! 'Whose goats are these?' 'The goats of Awang Durahman!' Sell goats; buy oxen. Oxen not a few. '*Boh*[3]' up-stream, '*Boh*' down-stream! 'Whose oxen are these?' 'The oxen of Awang Durahman!' Sell oxen; buy many buffaloes. Milk them. That old woman[4] drinks lots of milk; eats lots of curd! 'Whose buffaloes are these?' 'The buffaloes of Awang Durahman!' Sell buffaloes; buy elephants. Elephants '*Ruh*[5]' up-stream, '*Ruh*' down-stream! Get into peoples' villages. 'Whose elephants are these?' 'The elephants of Awang Durahman!' Young male elephant with tusks just enclosing its trunk[6]. I tell mother to load it with dollars and bring it to the Raja's house, asking the hand of his daughter. Raja gives it. Raja builds a house for the marriage. When I have married, I sit in the *balai*[7]. Play chess. Princess comes, 'Come my lord and eat rice.' I don't want to. I give checkmate[8]. She comes again. She wears anklets, '*Chĕrong*,

[1] Parish.
[2] The quacking of the ducks.
[3] The lowing of the oxen.
[4] His mother.
[5] The noise made by the elephants.
[6] *Gading apit bĕlalai.*
[7] Audience Hall.
[8] *Sahya sah sahaja.*

chĕring[1].' 'Come my lord and eat rice.' I don't want to. I give checkmate[2]. She catches my hand. Digs me in the ribs. Dig *her* in the ribs! *Chōkŏk, chōkŏk, chōkŏk, chōkŏk, chōkŏk, chōkŏk!*[3]"

And as Awang Durahman dug himself in the ribs, first on one side, and then on the other, wriggling the while, the posts of the hut gave way, and he came to the ground cutting his legs on a tree-stump. "What's the matter with you, Awang Durahman?" said his mother. "The Raja's daughter dug me in the ribs," answered Awang Durahman. "Where's the Raja's daughter?" asked his mother. "Oh, I was only thinking about her," replied Awang Durahman.

(vi) MALAY BACK-SLANG

The following are some examples of the kind of Malay back-slang, *chakap balek* (obtained from a Linggi Negri Sembilan Malay), which is used by bad-mannered Malay children when they wish to talk secrets before their elders and betters, or before uninitiated companions. The first stanza is a *pantun*[4] in ordinary Malay; the second the same converted into back-slang. A beginner is supposed to learn both of these by heart in order to acquire a facility in this secret means of communication. There do not seem to be any very well-defined rules for converting ordinary words into back-slang by this method, except that in those of two syllables, the syllables are generally transposed. In three-syllable words, letters or syllables may be inserted, and the original letters or syllables transposed, but the last syllable, in many cases, remains unchanged.

Rioh rĕndah bunyi-nya burong.
Burong tĕrbang dari sĕbĕrang.
Hinggap sa-ekor atas bumbongan (tulang bumbong).
Mĕnĕgoh bumbongan hanyut dari ulu.
Pĕrisek pĕkasam udang.
Anak rimau jantan mati jĕrongkong.

Yori yarah nubi nĕrubong.
Nĕrubong tĕrbarung rida sĕrabung.

[1] The sound of the anklets.
[2] *Sahya mat sahaja.*
[3] Awang's hysterical exclamations.
[4] Poem, verse.

Ngahip jikau latung u-ung.
Mĕgonoh latung u-ung nyor-at rida luhu.
Pĕsingik pĕsangum dahung.
Nahak mori tajan tima jikorong.

Further examples of ordinary Malay with back-slang equivalents:

(1) *Angkau hĕndak ka-mana?*
(1 *a*) *Angkangau nahak kĕnĕma?*

(2) *Aku hĕndak pĕrgi Taiping.*
(2 *a*) *Kua nahak giper Payteng.*

The next example was given to me by a Province Wellesley man. In it the insertion of the letter *s* either with, or without, a vowel before, or following, it seems to be the chief feature. There appear to be many different methods of talking back-slang.

(1) *Hang 'nak pĕrgi ka-mana.*
(1 *a*) *Has nasak pĕrasgisi kas-mas-nasa.*

(Other specimens of back-slang were added to my original paper[1] by Mr H. C. Robinson, who obtained them from a Selangor Malay. These, however, I omit, as I did not collect them myself.)

(vii) SETTING UP THE POSTS OF A MALAY HOUSE

While staying at Pianggu on the Endau River in 1917 I was lucky enough to be present at the ceremony of setting up the posts of a Malay house. When I arrived at the site of the new dwelling the holes for receiving the posts had already been dug, while the posts themselves, conveniently disposed, were lying in pairs with cross-beams attached, ready to be set up. The proceedings were begun by a large piece of *kundor*—a kind of gourd—and a fragment of a small silver coin, wrapped in white cloth, being thrown into each hole.

Ceremonial bands of plaited coconut (?) leaves—called *jari lipan* (centipedes' feet) from their shape—to which were attached little square closed-in plaited boxes (*kĕtupat*) of the same material and filled with rice, were then bound round each post in about the middle.

[1] *Journal of the F.M.S. Museums*, VII. 116.

After an orthodox Mohamedan prayer had been said by a *lĕbai*, and incense burnt, the men who had come to help in erecting the house partook of a meal of rice dyed with turmeric (*pulut kunyet*), parched rice (*bĕrteh*), bananas and *pulut* (*Oriza glutinosa*) wrapped in leaves, which was served to them on the recumbent posts. When they had finished eating, a man, who had been chosen by the *pawang*[1] as his assistant, brought water and poured it along every post, walking clockwise round the house-site. After him came the *pawang* with a sprinkler made of the leaves of several kinds of plants[2], in his right hand, and a brass bowl of ceremonial rice-flour mixed with water (*tĕpong tawar*) in his left. Then, having murmured a spell at the first post, he sprinkled the *tĕpong tawar* along the posts, and into the holes which were to receive them.

After the *pawang* had performed this rite, the workmen gathered round to raise the first pair of posts, which they did with loud shouts of "*Mohamed Rasul' Allah*," the officiating *lĕbai* reciting a prayer meanwhile. The rest of the posts were then similarly erected; and the ceremony was at an end.

On meeting the *pawang* subsequently, I asked him to tell me the spell which he had said over the first post, when about to sprinkle it with the *tĕpong tawar* or "neutralizing flour"; and he gave the two following verses, which wish prosperity to the new house and its inhabitants:

Tĕpong tawar, tĕpong jati;
Tĕpong awal mula mĕnjadi.
Dapat mas bĕrkati-kati.
Lagi idup sampai ka-mati.

Tĕpong tawar, tĕpong jati:
Surok batang mali mali.
Sa-lengkak daun pegaga.
Salamat ambil-lah galah.
Minta dayang sini.
Salamat puji bahagi Allah.

[1] Medicine-man, or shaman.

[2] *Ribu-ribu* (*Lygodium scandeus*), *gandarusa* (*Justicia gandarusa*), *jenjuang* (?) and *sapulĕh* (?).

(viii) *BĚLA KAMPONG*

Běla kampong is an annual ceremony which is performed by the Malays of the Endau—and, I believe in other parts of the country as well—in order to avert misfortune and disease. It is difficult to give a suitable translation of the Malay name for these rites, and the nearest approach that I can make is "rearing (or cultivating) the village." The ceremony is purely pagan and, as such, is frowned upon by the more orthodox Malays.

While I was stopping in Kampong Pianggu, on the Endau River, in August, 1917, a *běla kampong*, which was to have been held, was postponed owing to the presence of three Dyaks, who were with me. These men were engaged in shooting birds and mammals and in collecting insects and botanical specimens; such actions being tabu while the ceremony is being performed.

The Dyaks having left me temporarily, I tried to persuade the *pawang* to perform the rites while I was in the village, and before my men should return from up-stream. This, however, appeared to be impossible, as he each day made some excuse; that there was a wedding on, or that someone had died, and that it was not allowable to hold the *běla kampong* in consequence. As I had already made arrangements for leaving the Endau, I was unable to postpone my departure until the *pawang* should fix upon an auspicious day; nevertheless, by dint of questioning him, and others, I got some details which are, perhaps, worth placing on record.

According to old customs, while the *běla kampong* is being celebrated, the village is laid under a five days' tabu by the *pawang*, and during this period strangers may not enter it, nor may any of the inhabitants shoot animals, pick coconuts or *sireh* leaves, leave the village, dig their land, use abusive language, or make a loud noise (*e.g.* beat gongs as at weddings).

The day chosen for the beginning of the rites depends largely on the *pawang's* dreams. Should he intend to hold the *běla kampong* on a certain day, he will put it off if he has an unlucky dream during the night before—that he is being chased

by a tiger, for instance, or that somebody is angry with him; but will hold it if his dreams are lucky (*e.g.* that he has been given many presents).

The signs that a village is under tabu are white rag tied to cords at the bathing-places (*jamban*), if the settlement is on the main river; but, if it is on a side-stream, a cord from which white rags are suspended is frequently stretched from bank to bank.

Nowadays, only a one-day's *bĕla kampong* is allowed at Pianggu, and the prohibitions with regard to persons arriving at, or leaving, the village are no longer in force.

It appears that the ceremony is performed rather with a view to keeping the local spirits of the soil in a good temper, and gaining their aid against invading evil than with a view to banishing troublesome and evilly disposed supernatural beings, a not uncommon practice in many parts of the Malay region, and one which is resorted to on the Endau if epidemic diseases appear, when the villages are placed under a seven days' tabu and spirit-ships launched. These are supposed to carry away the spirits which are causing the trouble.

On my mentioning the custom of the yearly purification of villages by means of spirit-boats to the *pawang* of Pianggu, he said, "*Lain pawang, lain adat*" (Other *pawang*, other customs).

I obtained very few details with regard to the ceremony proper, but it appears that the *pawang* makes a round of the village, collecting small offerings of food from each householder, and that, towards evening on the third day, he places the offerings, or hangs them up, in the jungle, and invokes the spirits to protect the village throughout the ensuing year.

(ix) CUSTOMS OF THE CAMPHOR-HUNTERS AND *BAHASA KAPOR*

The tabu language, used by Malay and Jakun collectors of camphor in Johore and South Pahang, which is called *bahasa kapor* (camphor language), *chakap bĕrkapor* ("camphoring talk"), or *pantang kapor* (camphor tabu), has been

dealt with at various dates, and in the order given below, by Logan[1], by Miklucho-Maclay[2], by Hervey[3] and by Lake and Kelsall[4].

While paying a visit to the Endau River in August, 1917, I made a list of tabu words (mostly obtained from Malays) and elicited any further information that I could with regard to the customs of camphor-hunters.

The most complete vocabulary of the *bahasa kapor* yet published is that of Messrs Lake and Kelsall, which was collected in the Endau District of Johore. Some, at any rate, of Logan's material is from the neighbourhood of the Endau River itself. The present paper traverses in part the work of others, but where it does so, I trust that my evidence may be not without interest for purposes of comparison. A few of the words in the vocabulary are[5], I believe, new, and also the story of the Camphor Princess with a considerable amount of information about customs and beliefs.

My informants, with the exception of a Jakun man from whom I obtained a few words of *bahasa kapor*, were Malays; one being a *pĕnghulu kapor* (leader of camphor-seekers), another a man who had been hunting for camphor in a subordinate capacity. Very little, if any, camphor seems to be collected nowadays in the vicinity of the Endau River.

The followers of a *pĕnghulu kapor* are known as his "Sakai." He and his "Sakai" must use the *bahasa kapor* while working in the jungle, and, besides this, they have to observe tabus of various kinds, which are more numerous and important in the case of the *pĕnghulu* than in that of his followers.

The Spirit of the Camphor (*Bisan*) is female and assumes the form of a *cicada*. She requires propitiation by the camphor-seekers, or they will return empty-handed. A sacrifice of a white cock is made by the *pĕnghulu* and his "Sakai" just

[1] *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, I. 263–266

[2] *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Soc., Straits Branch*, No. 1, pp. 39, 40.

[3] *Ibid.* No. 3, pp 112–115; No. 8, pp. 100–102; No. 9, pp. 167–168.

[4] *Ibid.* No. 26, pp 39–56.

[5] My vocabulary originally appeared in a compilation of *bahasa kapor* words made by R O Winstedt. *Vide Journal of the F.M.S. Museums*, IX. Part I, p. 59 *et seqq.*

at dusk on the first evening when they have arrived at their headquarters and built their hut, after which they partake of the bird and of *pulut* (*Oriza glutinoza*) which is also offered to the *Bisan*. The *pĕnghulu* must eat in moderation of the feast and may not make a second meal from its remains, if there are any. His "Sakai" are, however, not prohibited from doing so, provided that what is left over is hidden from the *pĕnghulu* and that he has no knowledge of the matter.

Before the feast takes place, "when the fowls go up to their perches and the *Cicada* (*Bisan*) is heard"; the camphor-seekers call out (*bĕrtĕriak*) to the camphor spirit as follows:

Bisan, O Bisan!
Bisan ulu ayer, hilir ayer,
Pĕngadap chindir, pĕnĕkan chindir;
Koh mambong minta 'mbin kapor yang sa-pĕnoh isi.
Koh mambong minta 'mbin kapor Sieng-Pĕngĕlat,
Sieng Kalu, Sieng-Pĕnĕpang,
Koh minta lau pada ai,
Bih buleh bih, tongkat tĕrang.

This invocation is chiefly in the *bahasa kapor*, though it may be noted that the ordinary Malay word for "water" (*ayer*) is used instead of the *bahasa kapor* word *sĕmpĕloh*. It may be translated in this manner:

Bisans, O Bisans!
Bisans of the headwaters, *Bisans* of the lower reaches,
In front of the hut, behind the hut:
We ask you to give us camphor (trees) with full contents.
We ask you to give us camphor of Singapore.
Trengganu and Pahang.
We ask you to give us,
Without fail, to-morrow morning.

After this the *pĕnghulu*, who has gone out of the hut, throws into it some handfuls of rice in the husk, while his "Sakai" remain quietly within.

When the feast is finished the *pĕnghulu* recites an imaginary conversation between a *Bisan* (camphor spirit) and her mother, as follows:

1. *Bisan.* "*Mak! Mak! Apa pichim dalam sĕmpĕloh?*"
2. *Mother.* "*Yak-lah, dayang, sĕluang lari.*"
3. *B.* "*Apa sĕbab sĕluang lari?*"

4. *M.* "*Itu, dayang, bĕrnama sĕbarau bujang.*"
5. *B.* "*Mak! Mak! Apa pichim mĕnĕkoh batang kayu?*"
6. *M.* "*Yak-lah, dayang, 'dopan Pĕnghulu Muda.*"
7. *B.* "*Amboi, lĕmbut-nya, mak, pinggang Penghulu Muda!*"
8. *M.* "*Yak-lah, dayang, aik jamu Pĕnghulu Muda ĕmping bĕrkuah.*"

This may be translated:

1. *B.* "Mother! Mother! What thing is that in the water?"
2. *M.* "That, maiden, is a *sĕluang badak.*"
3. *B.* "Why does the *sĕluang* fly?"
4. *M.* "Because, maiden, of the *sĕbarau bujang.*"
5. *B.* "Mother! Mother! What is it that eats the trunks of the trees?"
6. *M.* "That, maiden, is the livelihood of the Pĕnghulu Muda."
7. *B.* "Good gracious, how pliant (thin), mother, is the waist of the Pĕnghulu Muda!"
8. *M.* "Yes, maiden, you must feast the Pĕnghulu Muda on *ĕmping* with sauce."

One or two points in this recitation call for an explanation. Lines one, two, three and four seem to be purposeless. The *sĕluang badak* is a kind of small fish, and the *sĕbarau* is a large sort which preys upon such small fry. *Sĕbarau bujang* (bachelor *sĕbarau*) is, perhaps, a distinct variety or species. The fifth and following lines, however, are not without meaning. The *Bisan* asks what is cutting into the tree-trunks, and her mother replies that it is the *pĕnghulu kapor's* axe (his livelihood). The *Bisan*, seeing the slight haft of the axe, says to her mother, "How thin the *pĕnghulu's* waist is!" To this her mother replies, "Yes, you must feed him well with *ĕmping* (crushed rice) in sauce" (*i.e.* camphor).

After the feast, certain verses are sung, this ceremony being known as *berpiu*. The *Pĕnghulu Kapor*, Dolah bin Mapak, from whom I got a portion of my information, said that he could not recite them for me, as it was tabu for him to do so. If he did, he would not get any camphor when he went in search of it again. Furthermore, he seemed to be afraid that, if he broke the tabu, the camphor spirits might afflict him with sickness or some other misfortune. My chief informant, Dolah bin Udah, the former "Sakai," told me that the *pĕnghulu* must chant the verses in the hut, and that if he hears one

of his "Sakai" singing them at any other time he fines him a chopping-knife, an adze-blade, and an adze-haft. From him I obtained the only fragment of the *berpiu* verses that he could remember:

Dari Pauh[1] *ka-pĕmatang,*
Singgah mĕrapat ketam[2] *kĕmudi.*
Dĕri jauh sahya datang,
Dangar Bisan murah budi.

From the Pauh-tree to the ridge,
Call in and pass close to the rudder-board (?).
I come from afar,
Hearing that *Bisan* is generously disposed.

I have mentioned above that there are certain restrictions by which both the *pĕnghulu kapor* and his "Sakai" are bound, but that they are more numerous in the case of the *pĕnghulu* than in that of his followers.

For the first three days of the search for camphor, none of those employed in it must bathe, have intercourse with a woman, or put oil on their hair; moreover, during the whole time that he is occupied in camphor-seeking, the *pĕnghulu kapor*, whether in the jungle or at home in his village, must not tell a lie, steal "even a cent" or have connexion with a woman. It is regarded as an offence if one of the "Sakai" sleeps on after the *pĕnghulu* and his companions are astir, and he is forced to drink a little of the *pĕnghulu's* urine, or some water containing pounded chillies.

The *pĕnghulu* relies upon his dreams to afford him an indication of the lucky or unlucky result of the search, while should he, before starting, consider his dreams unfavourable, he will defer the expedition till he is satisfied that it will have a lucky outcome.

It is thought that if the *pĕnghulu kapor* dreams of carrying rice, or of a princess, a tree full of camphor will be found; if of carrying salt in a back-basket, or of diving into a river, that the party will be chased and stung by wasps; if of fighting, or of a woman being in love with him, that somebody will be

[1] Possibly a village. The *Pauh* is a kind of wild mango.
[2] Or, I believe, *gĕtang* in the Kedah dialect.

taken by a tiger; if of a child wounded over the eyebrow, that little camphor will be obtained.

According to a legend there were originally seven *pĕnghulu kapor*, each of whom employed a different method of ascertaining whether a tree contained camphor and spoke a slightly different *bahasa kapor*. Nowadays, all the *pĕnghulu kapor*, I was told, test a tree by smelling a chip of its wood, but it is said that differences in the tabu language of certain *Pĕnghulu* are due to this seven-fold origin.

According to one account the seven *pĕnghulu*, who were brothers, were named as follows: Pĕnghulu Chium, who tried a tree by smelling it; Pĕnghulu Sulor, who, I understand, inspected the trees with a torch; Pĕnghulu Bubok, who looked for round lumps of camphor (*bubok*) exuding from the tree; Pĕnghulu Puar, who looked for small slits in the bark (*puar*) which might contain camphor; Pĕnghulu Kepang, who cut notches in the trees and smelt them; Pĕnghulu Pandang, who knew at sight whether a tree contained camphor, and Pĕnghulu Bongsu, the youngest brother.

Another version has it that the seven were named Pĕnghulu Jangkar, Pĕnghulu Batang, Pĕnghulu Dahan, Pĕnghulu Ranting, Pĕnghulu Daun, Pĕnghulu Tunggul and Pĕnghulu Jala. Pĕnghulu Jangkar tried a tree by smelling its roots (*jangkar* in the tabu language); Pĕnghulu Dahan the branches; Pĕnghulu Ranting the twigs, Pĕnghulu Daun the leaves, Pĕnghulu Tunggul the base of the tree, while Pĕnghulu Jala caught the tree in a casting net (*jala*) if it fell into a river.

I give below a story about these seven men, which was told to me by *Pĕnghulu Kapor* Dolah bin Mapek. The first list of names is his.

The Legend of the Camphor Princess

All these seven *pĕnghulu* once went to the jungle, and six of them worked at camphor-getting; but the seventh and youngest, Pĕnghulu Bongsu, did nothing but sleep in the hut day and night. The six brothers came back, bringing with them three or four katties each evening, but the seventh did nothing.

When they had been in the jungle for about fourteen days, the six brothers returned to their village, leaving the seventh behind.

After they had gone home, Pĕnghulu Bongsu, who had set off by himself to fish, espied a princess bathing in the stream at a place where it plunged down from a mountain.

He walked carefully, so that she should not know of his presence, and caught her by her hair, which was seven cubits (*hasta*) long, while she was bathing in the stream.

Then the princess said to him, "Do you wish to follow me?" Pĕnghulu Bongsu replied, "I wish to follow you, that is why I caught you by the hair!" "If you wish to follow me," said the princess, "do not speak."

Then she took him up into a camphor tree—her house.

Now, after Pĕnghulu Bongsu had been with her for seven days, the princess asked him why he looked so sad, and Pĕnghulu Bongsu replied that he was thinking of his wife and children—for he was married.

So the princess told him to bring his carrying-basket. She combed her hair over it, and, as she combed, the camphor fell from her hair into it until it was full.

Then the princess said to Pĕnghulu Bongsu, "When the people of your village ask you where you have been, keep silence."

After this she pointed out the way to the village and Pĕnghulu Bongsu, leaving her in the jungle, returned home, carrying the camphor with him; but when his brothers asked him whence he had got it, he was silent.

He sold the camphor and paid his debts; then, when seven days had passed, he returned to the jungle, according to a promise that he had made to the princess. He stayed with her for seven days, and at the end of that time persuaded her to go back to his village with him.

When the princess arrived at the village she told Pĕnghulu Bongsu to build a house for her in which she could keep herself shut up in safety, "For," said she, "if the Raja hears about me he will kill you and try to take me for himself, though I shall be able to fly away."

Now the princess was living in the new house that Pĕnghulu Bongsu had built for her, and shortly after she had given birth to a female child, the Raja called Pĕnghulu Bongsu to his palace; but before he started the princess said to him, "Whatever the Raja orders you to do, do, unless he tells you to chant the magical camphor-chants (*bĕrpiu*) which I have taught you."

Pĕnghulu Bongsu presented himself before the Raja and the Raja ordered him to show him how he searched for camphor, and to recite the magical verses.

Pĕnghulu Bongsu at first refused, but on the Raja threatening to kill him, he began to sing the camphor-chants. He had not sung more than three verses, when his wife, leaving the child in its swinging cradle, flew out of the house, in which she had shut herself up, through a small hole, and perched in a coconut tree to wait for him[1].

On Pĕnghulu Bongsu's return, not finding his wife in the house but hearing the noise, "kok-kok-kok," which she made in the trees, he took his child on his back and followed the sound made by the princess as she flew off into the jungle; after which he was never seen again.

[While he was cutting his way through the undergrowth in the jungle, he accidentally wounded his child above the eyebrow with his chopping-knife. And that is the reason why, if anyone dreams of a child wounded in this way, he will not get much camphor.]

[1] She became a *cicada*.

VOCABULARY

(With some remarks thereon)

L. and K.'s[1] No.	English	Malay	Bahasa Kapor
56	Chopper	parang	pĕranchas
249	Adze	bĕliong	pĕmuting
42	Elephant	gajah	sagentir
346	Tiger	harimau	sĕlĕmah
75	Star	bintang	pĕnabor pĕnĕrang
225	Pig	babi	sĕmongkor
220	Crocodile	buaya	bagin
132	Water	ayer	sĕmpĕloh
86	Mother	mak	ĭbu bisan
248	Axe	kapak	pĕnĕngar
253	House	rumah	chindir
4	Eye	mata	pĕnĕngok
199	Ear	tĕlinga	pĕnĕngar
208	Nose	hidong	pĕnchium
	Head	kĕpala	tĕlombong
448	Umbrella	payong	pĕngĕmbang
	Wound	luka	chĕlĭhir
	Camphor	kapor barus	kapor barus
33	Tooth	gigi	pĕngĕrĕp
33, 36	Ivory	gading	pĕngĕrĕp
39, 40	Foot	kaki	pĕnĕgap
143	Hair	rambut	pĕnurun tĕlombong
	Skirt	sarong	sarong pumpun
232	Coat	baju	pĕrĕsok
231	Headcloth	saputangan, detar	pĕmilit tĕlombong
179	Coconut	kĕlapa	buah pulau
92	Companion	kawan	kaum (*i.e.* family)
180	Rice, cooked	nasi	buah rumput
180	Rice, husked	bĕras	buah rumput
180	Rice, in husk	padi	buah rumput
195	Boat	pĕrahu	lopik (cf. Malay *lopi*)
66	Wind	angin	pĕnyup
456	Gambir	gambir	pĕngĕlat, gĕtah pahit
	Lime	kapor	aseh
	Sireh-box	bĕkas sireh	lopik
256	Tobacco	tĕmbakau	pĕngayar
233, 383	Cooking-pot	bĕlanga	bingkai
233	Cooking-pot (for rice)	pĕriok	kawat
383	Cauldron	kuali	pakau
203	Arm	lĕngan	pĕnganak
227	Snake	ular	akar
	Gong (kind of)	tĕtawak	jauh pĕnĕngar
	Wasp	pĕnyĕngat	tajam buntut
295	Cooking-place	dapor	balan
	Firewood	kayu api	pĕlakat

[1] Messrs Lake and Kelsall's numbers in their Bahasa Kapor vocabulary. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Straits Branch*, No. 26, pp. 39–56.

L. and K.'s No.	English	Malay	Bahasa Kapor
20	Fire	api	pahangat
	Rice (*O. glutinosa*)	pulut	buah rumput mohut
	Log (half-burnt)	puntong	pĕlakat pahangat
	Fowl	ayam	jongkar
	Steamer	kapal api	lopik pahangat
253	Hut	pondok	chindir
	Sugar	gula	pĕmanis
181	Salt	garam	pĕmasin
38	Fish	ikan	pĕngumpan
	Bear	bĕruang	chingkrat
84	Bird	burong	bisan bĕrsayap
291	Hungry	lapar	rĕngkai
	Satisfied (with food)	kenyang	rĕngkai
164	Cold	sĕjok	siap
198	Body	badan	isi
	Mosquito-net	kĕlambu	chongkob
	Boot	kasut	pĕnĕgap pĕnapak
144	Moustache	misai	pĕnurun pĕngĕrep / pĕnurun pĕmamak
187	Paddle	pĕngayoh	chuie
187	Oar	dayong	chuie sayap, pĕmaut
64	Pole (for punting)	galah	pĕnĕkan
206	Mouth	mulut	pĕmamah
30, 31	Many	banyak	kon
	Matches	goris api	flin (Eng. flint?)
	Ox	lĕmbu	chiweh boh
228	Buffalo	kĕrbau	chiweh uak
	Mouse-deer	pĕlandok	pasing pĕnimbok
	,,	kanchil	pasing tonjing
	Tortoise	baning	tomang
	Bat	kĕlawar	bisan bungkus
	Stone	batu	choh-ut
259	Rattan	rotan	pĕngikat ("binder")
259	Rattan (kind of)	rotan layar ("sail rattan")	pĕngikat bĕrsayap ("winged binder")
,,	,, ,,	rotan tunggal ("solitary rattan")	pĕngikat sa'mambong ("one fellow binder")
,,	,, ,,	rotan batu ("stone rattan")	pĕngikat choh-ut ("stone binder")
224	Dog	anjing	chiweh kieng, ninchor
229	Goat	kambing	chiweh 'mbek
22[illegible]	Deer	rusa	sĕbalieu
226	Rhinoceros	badak	sagĕntir bih pĕngĕrĕp (*i.e.* "elephant no tusk")
167	Black	hitam	mĕrsik
	Dream	mimpi	ehlamat
	Unlucky	sial	joh-ut
	Peck, to	patok	tĕkoh
	Poisonous	bisa	pĕdas ("hot")
	Poisonous, is it?	bisa-kah?	pĕdas-bih?
420	Bring, to	mĕmbawa	'mbin
1	See, to	tĕngok	jĕngok
260	Thorn	duri	niniar
	Yellow	kuning	mas
	Cook rice, to	bĕrtanak	mĕmangat
	Get up, to	bangkit	mĕnyingkat

L. and K.'s No.	English	Malay	Bahasa Kapor
408, 409	Go back, to	kĕmbali	bĕrlipat
49	Lie down, to	baring	mĕmantir
150	Sleep, to	tidor	mĕrapat
327	Climb, to	mĕmanjat	tingkat
324	Cap (Malay)	songkok	chongkop tĕlombong
366	Dig, to	gali	pichodok
	Pudenda muliebria	puki	chĕnĕga
	Eat, to	makan	mĕnĕkoh
23, 24, 25	Walk, to	bĕrjalan	bĕtĕroh
48	Fell, to	tĕbang	mĕmantir
	Drink	minum	mĕnĕkoh sĕmpĕloh
	Water	ayer	sĕmpĕloh
453	Rain (rainy weather)	hari hujan	sĕmpĕloh mĕlau
73	Night	malam	tongkat gĕlap
	Go before, to	bĕrdahulu	bĕrjok
60	Afterwards	kĕmudian	pĕnĕkan
71	Sun	mata hari	pĕnĕgok tongkat tĕrang / tongkat tĕrang
73	Moon	bulan	pĕnĕgok tongkat gĕlap / tongkat gĕlap
71	Daylight	siang hari	tongkat tĕrang
	Water, to pass	kĕnching	mĕlau sĕmpeloh
368	Singapore	Singapura	Sieng-Pĕngĕlat
	Bark, to	mĕnyalak	bĕrkĕpang
	Johor	Johor	Sieng-Jor
372	Kelantan	Kĕlantan	Sieng-Alu
	Jakun	Jakun	Kaum Sieng
90	Malay	Mĕlayu	Kaum Masin
276	Village	kampong	sieng
210	Jungle	utan	sieng
373	Trengganu	Trĕngganu	Sieng-Kalu
370	Pahang	Pahang	Sieng-Penepang
	Stool, to	bĕrak	mingkai
90	Male organ	zakar	ajul
	Copulate, to	bĕrjamak	bĕrbayong
	(Coarse abuse)	butoh angkau	ajul ai
	" "	puki mak	chĕnĕga ibu
99	A numeral coefficient	sa'biji	mambong
81	Woman	pĕrĕmpuan	bisan
109	I	sahya	koh mambong

In *Pagan Races* there will be found a considerable amount of information with regard to the derivation or formation of words in the *bahasa kapor*, but a few further remarks anent them may, perhaps, not be out of place. Many of the tabu words, are, of course, merely periphrases: thus, the nose is called "the smeller"; the eye, "that which sees"; the ear, "the hearer"; wind, "the blower"; a gong, "that which is heard afar"; a wasp, "sharp behind"; sugar, "the sweet thing"; a fish, "that which takes a bait"; the mouth, "the

chewer"; a moustache, "that which comes down over the chewer" (or over the teeth); poisonous becomes "pungent," a snake, "a root"; *gambir*, "that which is astringent" or "bitter gum"; hair, "that which descends from the head"; rice, "grass fruit"; companions, "family"; fire, "that which is hot"; an axe, "a hearer," because the blade is ear-shaped; yellow, "golden"; an adze, "that which has a tang"; rattan cane, "the binder"; etc.

It has been recognized that the *bahasa kapor* also contains certain words, which cannot be derived from Malay. These are, in some cases, still in every-day use among the Jakun; in others they appear to be obsolete words which have been preserved only in tabu speech. Those in my list for which I cannot find any ordinary Malay derivation, seem, therefore, likely to belong to these two classes. Among them are:

Elephant	*sagĕntir*	Head	*tĕlombong*
Tiger	*sĕlĕmah*	Lime	*aseh*
Pig	*sĕmongkor*	Cooking-place	*balan*
Wound	*chĕlihir*	Fowl	*jongkar*
Tooth	*pĕngĕrep*	Hut	*chindir*
Mosquito-net	*chongkob*	Dog	*ninchor*
Bear	*chingkrat*	Deer	*sĕbalieu*
Paddle, a	*chuie*	Black	*mĕrsik*
Many	*kon*	Unlucky	*joh-ut*
Tortoise	*tomang*	Bring, to	*'mbin*
Stone	*choh-ut*	Lie down, to	*mĕmantir*
Thorn	*niniar*	Go before, to	*bĕrjok*
Pudenda muliebria	*chĕnĕga*	Water	*sĕmpĕloh*

APPENDIX A

PUAKA

In Tregear's *Maori Comparative Dictionary* is to be found a work *poaka*, meaning a pig, a hog, and it is stated that the term, commonly supposed to be a corruption of the English word "porker," is genuinely Polynesian.

Poaka is found, in varying forms, in many Polynesian dialects and languages. Thus, according to Tregear, we have Samoan—*pua'a*; Tahitian—*puaa*; Hawaiian—*puaa*; Tongan—*buaka*; Rarotongan—*puaka*; Marquesan—*puaa*; Mangarevan—*puaka*.

Outside Polynesia proper, too, but not outside the bounds of Polynesian linguistic, and other influences, we have such examples as *vuaka* (Fiji); *puaka* (Rotuma).

Now to anyone who knows Malay, the word *puaka* (or *puwaka*) is, of course, quite familiar. It is not at all uncommon to come across places, often where there is some big tree, which are said to be *bĕr-puaka, i.e.* haunted by a *puaka*. The Malay has, however, as far as I have been able to find out, absolutely no idea that *puaka* has anything to do with "pig," a *puaka* being apparently, according to Malay belief, a spirit, either a tree-spirit or a *genius loci*[1].

Among the Dusuns of British North Borneo[2] the *puaka*[3] is said to be a spirit which has the form of a pig. The *puaka* go in companies, hunt human beings, and have the peculiarity—like many spirits—that they cannot cross water with im-

[1] "The locally presiding earth-demon" (*puaka*). *Malay Magic*, p. 144.

"Ayer bĕrputar jangan chebok,
Puwaka bĕsar dudok mĕnunggu

don't take your water from an eddy, a mighty demon dwells there to guard it." Wilkinson's *Malay Dictionary*.

[2] Those of Piasau in the Tempassuk District.

[3] The word was, by mistake, written *pukou* in a folk-story which I collected in Borneo. I am nearly certain, however, that the spelling *puaka* is correct. For the folk-story *vide J.R.A.I.*, 1913, p. 452.

punity. If they do so, they die, through licking all the flesh from their bones with their sharp tongues.

In Hawaii, besides being commonly used as the ordinary word for pig, *puaka* either by itself, or in combination with some other word, may mean a spirit of some kind, often a spirit in the form of a pig; thus, we find in Tregear's dictionary the statement that "*puaa*" seems to have been originally the name of any large quadruped, but (was?) afterwards restricted to hogs. The word occurs frequently in old legends and myths as descriptive of monsters, etc. Kama-puaa was a goblin, worshipped as a god, half man and half hog. Poo-puaa was one of the gods in a temple; his head resembled a hog. Kane-puaa was the god of husbandry: *He akua kowaa o Kanepuaa*—"a furrow making god was Tanepoaka."

Now the pig, as is well known, played, and plays, an important part in agricultural rites in Europe[1], and, to gain some idea of this, it is only necessary to glance through that part of "The Golden Bough" which is named "Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild." Furthermore, there is a close connexion between tree or vegetation spirits, *genii locorum*, and those of agriculture.

To return, however, to the word *puaka*, I have shown that in Polynesia and in Borneo[2] the word can mean a pig-bodied or pig-faced spirit, and that in Polynesia it can mean pig only.

Now there can be no doubt that the word is of identical origin in Polynesia, in Borneo, and in the Malay Peninsula, seeing that the languages of Polynesia and Indonesia all belong to one group.

The Malays have no idea that *puaka* in any way refers to

[1] Possibly the fact that wild pig often rout up large pieces of ground in search of worms or roots, so that they almost look as if they had been ploughed, may have had something to do with the respect in which the pig is held in connexion with agriculture; *vide supra*, the epithet "furrow making." Furthermore, the wild pig takes a great interest—an inimical interest—in agriculture. The Sakai tribesmen of some parts of the Malay States believe that the earth-spirits, if offended, will appear as wild pigs, and come in droves to devastate the crops. The Dusuns of the Tempassuk District of North Borneo, too, tell how the people (spirits?) from certain villages far away become pigs in order to plunder the ripe padi.

[2] *Puaka* is not the Dusun word for either the domestic or the wild pig.

the pig, but consider a *puaka* to be a tree-spirit or a *genius loci*. It seems probable, however, that *puaka* actually did mean pig in Malay at one time, or, if not, a pig-like tree-spirit, vegetation-spirit, or *genius loci*[1]; but that nowadays—very likely owing to the introduction of the religion of Mohamed—the connexion of pig with *puaka* has been forgotten (suppressed) and there merely remains the belief that the *puaka* is a tree-spirit or *genius loci*.

APPENDIX B

KĔMPUNAN

In a paper of mine in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* (XLVIII. 193), I gave an account of certain beliefs of the Sakai with regard to persons going into the jungle while some craving of theirs (for food, tobacco, etc.) remains unsatisfied. Ill-luck is thought to pursue those who thus expose themselves to the dangers of the forest, and they will be fortunate if they are not bitten by snakes or centipedes, or stung by scorpions.

A Malay man who has met with such a misfortune, and ascribed it to the above-mentioned cause—for the Malays also have these beliefs—will say that he has *kĕna kĕmpunan*.

As far as I have been able to find out, the ill-luck occurs owing to loss of soul-substance due to the unsatisfied craving[2]. One Malay—the only man from whom I have been able to get a "reasonable" explanation of these beliefs—told me that the misfortune happened because "the soul was lacking strength," due to the craving, and, of course, anyone whose soul-substance is not in an active and healthy condition easily falls a victim to the attacks of evil spirits.

[1] The *genii locorum* in a jungle-covered country like the Malay Peninsula would probably be those of the jungle, *i.e.* of trees, especially of those which were large, or in any way remarkable.

[2] *Vide* also *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, "Indonesians," 4.

The Editor has added a footnote to my paper in the *Journal*, explanatory of the word *kĕmpunan*. I remarked that the meaning of the word, as given in Wilkinson's *Malay-English Dictionary*, was "a dilemma," but that "this does not give the whole meaning which the word conveys to the majority of Malays." If a country Malay is asked what *kĕmpunan* means, he will generally reply, "To get bitten by a snake or centipede through going out into the jungle with a craving for food, or tobacco, or *sireh* unsatisfied."

Now the Editor would derive *kĕmpunan* from "*Ka-ampunan*, signifying to 'ask pardon' (for leaving the table), as one has to do if one leaves in the middle of a meal." He says, therefore, that *Ka-ampunan* would easily come to mean "to go craving."

Not being absolutely satisfied with this explanation, and knowing that certain Jakun tribesmen talk not of *kĕmpunan*, but simply of *punan*[1], while the Sea Dyaks also use the expression *puni* in exactly the same sense as *kĕmpunan*[2], it occurred to me that, the word being, seemingly, fairly widely used by Malays and Indonesians, I might possibly come across something of interest in connexion with it in that store-house of good things for those interested in the Malayo-Polynesian area, Tregear's *Maori Comparative Dictionary*. There I found under the heading "*Punipuni*," a large amount of most interesting information, of which the following paragraph contains the most important items:

"*Punipuni* (Maori). Samoan—*puni*, a place enclosed to catch fish; *punipuni*, to shut, to close. Tahitian—*puni*, to be enclosed; *pupuni*, to hide oneself[3]; *atipuni*, to be besieged[3]. Hawaiian—*puni*, to surround, as water does an island; to enclose; to be hemmed in, as one person by multitudes, to encircle; *punihei*, to ensnare. Tongan—

[1] The Behrang-Valley Senoi of the Perak-Selangor boundary, who are Sakai with a Selangor Sakai-Jakun strain in them, speak of a *Dana Punan*, or *Punan*-spirit, who is responsible for ill-luck met with by those who have given it an opportunity of causing them trouble.

[2] *Seventeen Years Among the Sea Dyaks*, p. 320. Very similar customs with regard to touching unwanted food are found among some Sakai-Jakun tribes.

[3] The connexion between "to hide oneself," *i.e.* to shut oneself up, and to be besieged, enclosed or surrounded, *i.e.* to be shut up, is obvious.

buni, closed, shut; *tapbuni*[1], to close up, to shut; *tabu*[1], prohibition. Mangaian—*puni*, to hide. Paumotan—*punipuni*, refuge, to take shelter. Malay—cf. *buni*, to hide."

I think, then, that in view of the obviously intimate connexion between *kĕmpunan* of the Malays, *punan* of the Jakun, *puni* of the Dyaks and such Polynesian words as *puni*, *buni*, etc., the Editor of the *Journal's* derivation of *kĕmpunan* will, unless very remotely, scarcely hold good. It will be noted that the meanings of the Polynesian forms of the word, such as "to be shut in," "to be enclosed," "to be hemmed in," are very similar to those given by Wilkinson for *kĕmpunan*, which, *in extenso*, are as follows, "a dilemma; a difficulty caused by every course open to one having its disastrous features. '*Lĕpas deri kumpunan*' (*sic*): 'to escape from an awkward fix.'"

[1] The identity of the words *tapbuni*, tabu, and the Malay *buni*, "concealment," "hiding," is interesting.

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