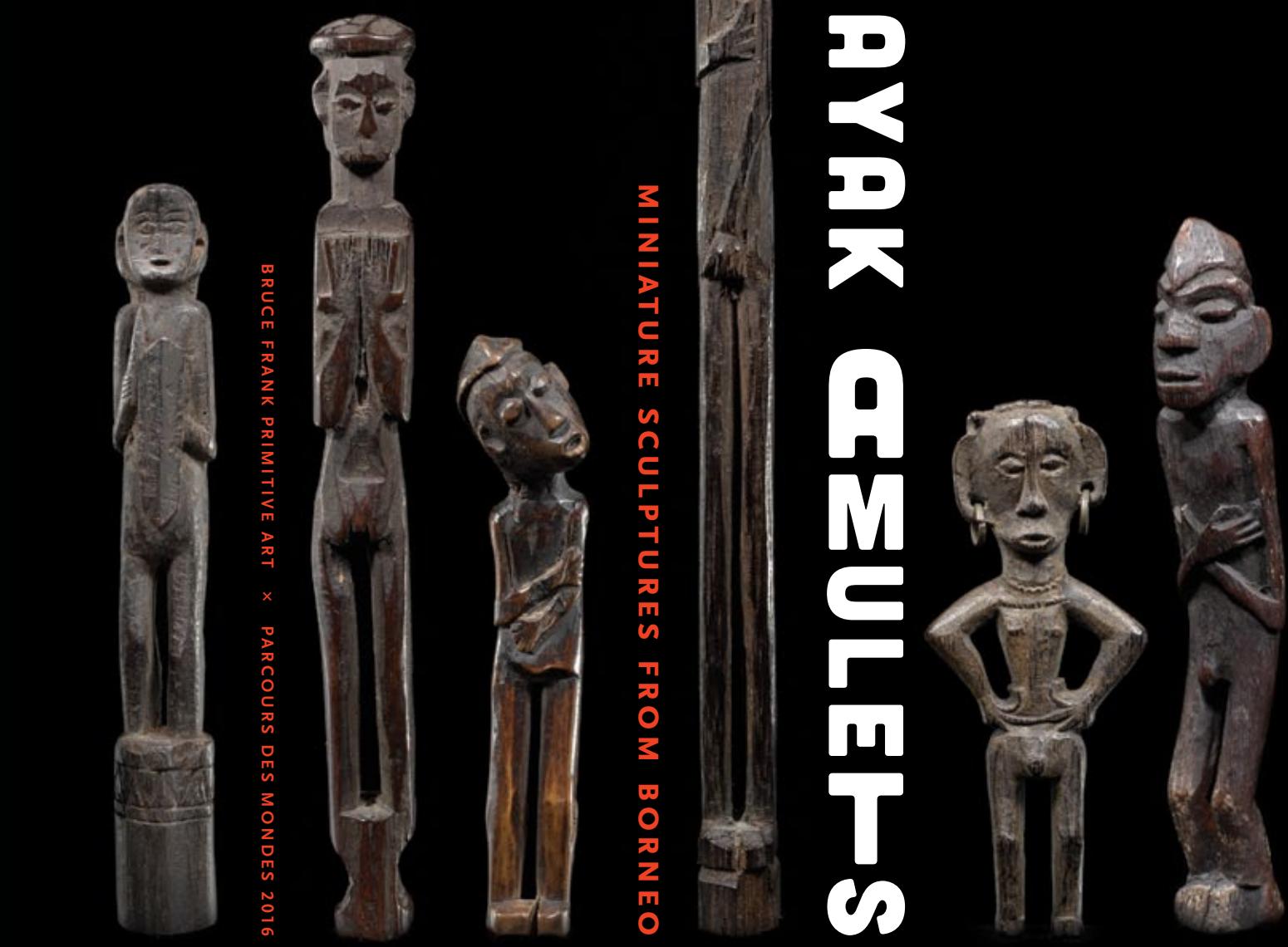


DAYAK AMULETS

MINIATURE SCULPTURES FROM BORNEO



BRUCE FRANK PRIMITIVE ART x PARCOURS DES MONDES 2016

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COAXING *the* SPIRITS

AMULETS, CHARMS AND MEASURING STICKS × By Arnold Wentholt

WHEN WE LOOK AT THE ISLAND OF BORNEO AS SEEN FROM OUTER SPACE, IT SEEMS TO HANG PERFECTLY IN BALANCE ON A STRING CALLED THE EQUATOR. Until recently, the green emerald island was covered by a lush jungle and divided by mountain ranges, crossed by rivers and their many tributaries. The alluvial coastal areas where rivers debouch in wide deltas are swampy and where mangrove and sago trees grow. This is the natural habitat of the Dayak.

HABITAT

Borneo, with a land mass of 750,000 square kilometers, is the third-largest island in the world. Originally, the mountainous landscape was covered with trees and jungle giants which can peak at 80 meters. Tropical rains, with an average rainfall of 200 to 400 centimeters a year, give birth to lush vegetation with 750 different tree species, 1,500 flower-bearing plants, 125 mammals, 400 bird species, 100 reptiles, 60 amphibians and 42,000 insects per square mile. No other comparable part of the world can boast such diversity. Because of the dense growth, little sunshine makes it to the ground and, consequently, there is extreme humidity. This applies in particular to the jungle lying between 900 and 1,200 meters in elevation, the habitat of the Dayak living in longhouses along rivers and tributaries. The abundant rainfall causes rivers to rise regularly and turns them into huge bodies of water, *banjir*, sweeping away everything in swirling currents. It comes as no surprise that these specific circumstances traditionally determined the character and psyche of the Dayak and found expression in their myths and iconography.

HISTORY

Borneo's culture is an old one that goes back in time at least 20 and perhaps even 40 millennia. The most important development for the present culture was the advent of the Austronesians, who originally set off from the East Asian mainland toward the Philippines before they alighted in Borneo 4,000 to 4,500 years ago. This Neolithic civilization brought with them a rice culture and the cultivation of other staple food like yam, taro and millet. Bronze came to the island by means of commercial connections with the Southeast Asian mainland, an era referred to as the Dong Son period (500 BCE–300 CE). In this period, large kettle drums, some with frogs adorning the tympan, were traded. These frogs were copied by the Lu(w)angan Dayak for application on their ritual plates, *sepatok*, used in healing ceremonies.¹ The so-called "soul boats" guiding the souls of the dead to their afterlife, an omnipresent iconographic theme in traditional Indonesian cultures, are also reminiscent of the depictions found on these drums.

Iron was imported from the Asian mainland during the same period. Archaeological records have shown that ironworks were in use in Sarawak by around 1000 CE. In the Apo-Kayan area, but also in Central and West Kalimantan, iron ore deposits have ensured that the Dayak have become seasoned blacksmiths. The mandau sword, for instance, may be considered as exemplary. The never oxidizing blades embellished with copper-crustations and engravings are fine pieces of ironwork.

¹ Heppell 2015, 32

The mastering of ironwork also affected carving; from then on, small and delicately cut objects, like masks, amulets and charms, were made possible.

In the course of time, Malay settlements arose along the coast, which were influenced by Hinduism and Buddhism originating from the Indian subcontinent.² Courts along the coast introduced these new religions and ensured the distribution of new images, whether cast locally or imported. The images are found deep in the interior, indicating that the influence was not limited to the coastal area. The kingdom of Sriwijaya near present-day Palembang on Sumatra and the kingdom of Majapahit in east Java are the torchbearers of these by-origin Indian religions and until the early 16th century influenced parts of Borneo's coastal areas through trade connections and by putting up vassal states and kingdoms, like Banjarmasin, Kutai and Pontianak. Iconographically Buddhist and Hinduist material heritage influences a large part of the Dayak cultures. The deterrent Kala head, a demon; the Garuda as a symbol of heaven; and the dragon depicted as a primeval snake symbolizing the Underworld have a similar connotation and are adapted to a local world concept.

COSMOLOGY

Although the Dayak consist of different cultural groups, there is a traditional homogeneous concept regarding the cosmology. In general, the world is vertically divided into three zones: the Upperworld, where divine beings and their helpers live; the Middleworld, where humans live; and the Underworld, the world of the waters associated with fertility and symbolized by reptiles and aquatic animals. Next to this vertical division there exists a world of spirits living in the jungle, which in a guise may haunt humans.

The divine origin of all things that live is a concept elaborated upon by the Swiss protestant missionary Hans Schärer, based on a long stay with the Ngaju Dayak in Central Kalimantan. His *Die Gottesidee der Ngadju*

² Malay is an ethnonym applied here for an Austronesian people who inhabit predominantly the eastern border of Sumatra and the coastal areas of Borneo as well as the smaller islands in between. The present-day Malay world consists of an ethnically diverse people from island Southeast Asia due to immigration, assimilation and intermarriage over hundreds of years. The ethnonyms "Dayak" and "orang Dayak" are Malay words meaning "an inhabitant of the inland."

Dajak in Süd-Borneo was for a long time the only worked-out concept of a Dayak culture on cosmological concepts and its effect on the material culture.³ According to Schärer, all divinities, mythological ancestors and their spirit helpers ensure that rules are taken into account in order to bring about universal harmony. Good and bad spirits in their totality form the unity of the ambivalent supreme godhead.⁴ Regulations must be obeyed, and transgressing the prohibitions results in spiritual retribution. In ceremonies, at regular intervals, rituals are enacted in gratitude of these powers and water buffaloes, pigs and chickens are sacrificed to request that the spiritual beings partake and bless the community. In South Kalimantan, ceremonies reenact the creation of the universe by putting up a tree of life as a principle and origin of life, composed of various materials that, analogous to the creation myths, eventually will be destroyed and from which new life arises.⁵ Every year has a cycle in which rituals are enacted in ceremonies guided by ritual specialists, or priests. The rice-growing cycle is determinative of their extent and duration and is itself a major occasion for celebrations which come full circle with the final harvest festival. In most Dayak cultures, rice is staple food and has to be handled with greatest caution; when rice is not properly cared for, the rice spirits can be offended, resulting in a partial or bad harvest. Sacrifices and rituals mirror the reciprocity. In performing rituals, the priest is assisted by spiritual helpers.

These spirit helpers are by nature ambivalent and one is not certain of its type when it reveals itself. It can be human or animal by origin and some ancestors have the capability to transform themselves into different kinds, which entails that daily life in the traditional sense is bound to strict rules, *adat*. The *adat* is divine in origin and is brought to the people by divine beings or by mythical ancestors who have received divine status. All adversity experienced by mankind is understood as being a result of violating the natural equilibrium that is granted from above. Transgressing borders determined by the *adat* has the effect of nature avenging through crop failures, miscarriages, sickness, etc.

³ Schärer 1963

⁴ Id., 21

⁵ Although the tree of life concept is known to some other Dayak groups, it is not staged with such grandeur as it is in the Ngaju ceremony.



View on the river Ayak at the village Long Ayak, Sarawak. Photo credit: Michael Heppell

TRANSFORMATION— THE SPIRIT DIMENSION

Ancestral spirits and nature spirits in which distant ancestors may manifest themselves belong to the mythology, and in mythological tales the stories of distant ancestors and their heroics are sung and retold by ritual specialists. The more distant genealogically these ancestors are from the social community which claims to descend from them, the more anonymous and dehumanized they are.⁶ The hunt and the killing of certain animal species, for instance, a crocodile, can be taboo as a result of the blood brotherhood of an ancestor, a marriage of a cultural hero or the transformation of an ancestor into an animal. This parallel relation draws the notion of a socio-religious world concept which is determined by what these ancestors have brought about in this world. However, this relation is not restricted to distant ancestors only, but can be revealed to more recently deceased ancestors as the following description

⁶ Couderc & Sillander 2012, 17

shows. It's about a commemorative statue depicting a village chief with beneath him a crocodile. "The hampatong shows Bapak Nadjir (about 1920–1979) as he liked to dress: with a hat, shirt, a pair of trousers and shoes, which at the same time contextually denote an intellectual person. The fact that he attended the Dutch school in Kasungan—a privilege open to only a very few people—made it possible for him to delve deeper into some areas of knowledge. Accordingly, his style [of dressing] is meant to set him apart from the common people. Below, to the right, there is a carving of a crocodile, which embraces him and looks at him in admiration, in memory and honor of his friendship with Jata,⁷ the crocodile spirit and ruler of the waters, which came into being at a certain point in his life. This happened when, at the end of a day of fishing, Bapak Nadjir found a baby crocodile in his nets and decided to take it home. The next night a woman

⁷ (Ngaju) Jata, the Underworld female god, represented by the snake; in objects, a crocodile or other aquatic or reptilian animals symbolize the Underworld.

Dayak Idols & Charms. Lithograph from *The Head-Hunters of Borneo*, 1881, by Carl Bock

appeared to him in a dream, told him that she had lost her baby, and asked him whether he might have seen it in the surroundings. When he awoke, Bapak Nadjir understood that the woman in the dream was the baby crocodile's mother, and he decided to release it back into the water. After reaching the river's edge (...) he put the animal into the water: and just when the animal took off swimming it lashed out with its tail, injuring his arm. (...) in the eyes of [Bapak Nadjir] it was the token of a friendship that grew out of a sense of recognition, since it was sealed with a blood covenant. From then on, Bapak Nadjir forbade his family to disturb, injure or kill crocodiles, since, from that time onward, crocodiles would protect them.⁸ What we may learn from this story is that the person in question

was important and that he through a dream came into contact with a spirit of the Underworld in the likeness of a human female. The Ngaju story above is in accordance with what Schäfer remarks on transformation and association with the animal world, which is restricted to prominent ancestors who by their wealth and their noble lineage are the true heirs of the deified first ancestors.⁹ This also applies to the Kayan traditional belief that noblemen and the most prominent among them could count on the assistance of the most renowned and potent spirit helpers.¹⁰

⁸ Schäfer 1963, 40. Although this applies to Ngaju and to a certain extent to the Kayan religion, not all Dayak hold to this concept of "first ancestors."

¹⁰ Rousseau 1998, 107–108

Distant ancestors have another relation to mankind than more recently deceased ones, who, when alive, held a prominent position in the community and may be depicted in a commemorative statue in the second funeral ceremony. They are incorporated into a lineage to which descendants are indebted by means of sacrifices. Distant ancestors, however, are put above this lineage and are genealogically affinal or lateral.¹¹

AMULETS AND CHARMS

The traditional worldview of the Dayak is, as we have determined, influenced by lush surrounding vegetation and fauna, which gave rise to an exuberant spirit world.

It is this spirit world that traditionally has helped mankind and to a certain degree framed the mind of the Dayak. When out on a perilous journey he may experience a world unknown to him and precautions have to be taken. At home malevolent spirits may threaten vulnerable babies and mortals. Disease is therefore the result of a spirit who has taken possession of the patient's soul. The soul is considered an entity which during a dream can roam, and when it does not return because, for instance, a bad spirit has led it astray so that it is unable to find the way back, the patient becomes ill. The patient may also have violated a taboo (*pali*). In short, the point is to live according to the rules of the covenant, and someone who is starting on a risky undertaking has to arm himself.

To help mankind, the supreme deities have given them small gifts, the so-called "divine gifts." These gifts, amulets and charms, are revealed in dreams and by means of special instructions. In dreams, materials, the places to find them and their forms are indicated. Nothing can be found without an indication that it is considered a "divine gift." Charms and amulets are gifts of the divine beings as tokens of trust in the community that it will obey the sacred covenant, and the community in turn pays homage to these beings through rituals and ceremonies by praising them and by ratifying this covenant. This covenant needs to be ratified again and again as proof of compliance.

¹¹ Couderc & Sillander 2012, 191. It is interesting to note that the difference between recently deceased and distant ancestors has marked the ancestor cults in various island cultures of the Austronesian diffusion.



Three bundles of Karuhei, magic charms to become rich, in the early 1950's in the possession of the priestess, balian, Indu Kuwik of the village Tumbang Takun, along the Kapuas, South Kalimantan.
Photo credit: Arnoud H. Klokke

In the past, amulets and charms were considered by Westerners as material phenomena of a belief in magic. Schäfer denies this concerning the Ngaju because these means were given to the community through divine interaction and they were not the result of human efforts.¹² Amulets are protective devices, whereas charms in a strict sense have the ability to entice.¹³ Without knowledge of the contextual application, it is difficult to assign them based on appearance only, and consequently all stones, teeth, shells, beads, and anthro- and zoomorphic figures are charms and amulets. Schäfer distinguishes two categories of "divine gifts," *karuhei* related to trade, wealth, plaiting, fishing and rice cultivation,¹⁴ and *penyang* associated with war, struggle in a broad sense and lawsuits. He goes on to describe the five most important *penyang*, the substances and their functions, but leaves out their appearances. There is, however, one type of *karuhei*, a *karuhei tatau*, with a clear indication of appearance, namely a "hampatong (little figure) carved out of wood."¹⁵ Amulets and charms, depending on the purpose for which they were made,

¹² Schäfer 1963, 122, note 62

¹³ Charms could also have the property to protect.

¹⁴ He mentions other medicines for happiness in general which are not *karuhei*: *emo*, *sangkalemo*, *panyuka* (in other regions called *jimat* (Malay) or *gimet* (Kayan)).

¹⁵ Id., 121

were smeared or immersed in sacrificial blood regularly to “feed” the potency of the piece. For example, the *penyang panggering bulu* was made effective by burning incense in front of it and smearing it with sacrificial blood. “Not only is the strength of the *penyang* then imparted to its owner, but the *penyang* itself takes part in the battle and paralyzes the courage of the enemy, however strong and feared he may be. Fear mounts in his heart so that his hair stands on end, and he can be easily overcome by the possessor of the *penyang panggering bulu*.¹⁶

Amulets were used as lucky charms, to ward off evil and disease, to protect against black magic and to not be overtaken by malevolent spirits whereof the forest abounds. The ritual specialist/priest will take them to request that the spirits assist him in his ventures in the spirit realm such as to look for strayed souls or to exorcise a sick person. Not in the least part is the priest in need of these talismans to protect him against rivals in this domain. One of the Tunjung priest’s paraphernalia was a *geragih*,¹⁷ a necklace composed of beads, wooden amulets, animal teeth and seeds. The most precious of these necklaces was the double-strung *samang sawit*, a double necklace worn crosswise over the chest with a flat *Conus* shell disc in the center.¹⁸ These necklaces belong to the heritage possessions, but they rarely appear on the market due to the fact that amulets were demounted; some of the strung amulets could be over two hundred years old.¹⁹ These old and very potent amulets could easily fetch a value worth up to four stoneware large jars, *martavans*.²⁰ It goes without saying that only the rich and upper-class members could afford these potent amulets.

So, amulets could be more than hundreds of years old before they were traded. Age and usage can be deduced from a dark, sometimes even crusty patina as a result of offerings that most of the small *hampatong* have. If one wants to be assured of its potency and continued effectiveness, a regular ritual “feeding” with sacrificial

¹⁶ Id., 124

¹⁷ Besides Tunjung priests, priests from various Dayak groups living between the Upper Barito and Middle Mahakam such as, for instance, the Luangan, Dusun and Benuaq, made use of these necklaces.

¹⁸ These chains were part of the dress in which Buddhist defenders of the law and certain initiated demi-gods were depicted.

¹⁹ Hopes 1997, 106; Lumholtz 1920, 332, regarding Ot Danum amulets

²⁰ Hopes id., 103; Kühr mentions a value (c. 1895) of 2,000 dollars for such a jar.



Bilians, or Priest-Doctors, at Tumbang Marowei. The one to the right is of the Dusun tribe, from the Barito River, the one to the left is a Murung. Photo credit: Carl Lumholtz

blood is necessary. Blood of a chicken sufficed normally, but the value of a sacrificed animal (in former times, slaves as well) is determining for the potency and effectiveness of the spirits with whom relationships are formalized.²¹

In a religion where not only nature but also objects are considered to have a “spirit/soul” or an associated spirit, it is no wonder that for every medicinal or protective efficiency, utter care is exerted in the choice of the right tree or scrub. It is then in combination with the figure that an amulet is effective. As a means of using it for a medicinal application, it may be immersed in a small water container. An alternative is scraping the amulet’s wood in the liquid, which is then swallowed (COMP. 14).

²¹ Id., 106

ASCRIBING AMULETS AND STYLE

In one of the earliest publications on Borneo in the colonial era in which pictures of amulets were included, Carl Bock’s travel account of 1881, there is no information concerning provenance. He crossed southeast Borneo, starting in Banjermasin along the debouchments of the Barito River, headed north over the river, paid visits to the Ngaju, Ma’anyan, Dusun, Benuaq and Tunjung Dayak, and ended his journey in Samarinda. The amulets published can only be ascribed approximately and there is no certainty regarding their real provenance. Migrations of Dayak people caused, for instance, by expansion, occurring in every period, and trade to other villages along the river and its tributaries contributed to the uncertainty about the origin of the amulets. Art styles will not render any support except for some rare cases where the provenance was documented. It is therefore more appropriate to speak of regions as provenance. The art of the Kenyah and Kayan Dayak is illustrative in this regard. Their art styles are so related that we speak of the Kenyah-Kayan complex, or Kayanic. This latter-day ascription was coined after the discovery of pieces of sculpture which were putatively found in riverbeds and caves in the last 35 years.²² Regarding regions of art styles, we could speak of the Barito-Mahakam River complex (the Tunjung, the Benuaq, the Luangan and Modang Dayak), and to a certain extent, of the Ngaju-Ut Danum style of Central Kalimantan.

Transformation is an essential property of “other world” creatures, which have taken shape in myths to explain and interpret the world as it presents itself. Metamorphosis is universal and in every mythology tales abound. For the people of inland Borneo, this has given rise to representation of cosmological figures cut out of perishable and sustainable materials, depending on the function and essence of the piece of sculpture. In addition to commemorative statues, statues to protect against and to ward off harmful spirits, posted near rice fields and entrances to the village, the amulets cut out of wood and to a lesser extent of deer horn are perhaps the most appealing to the imagination. The Ngaju call them *penyang* or *karuhei*, the Iban refer to them as *pentik*, the

²² The art forms thus unearthed could not be ascribed with certainty to the present people who have settled there. “Putatively” in the sense that age and style are until this day highly disputed.



Ut Danum man from the village Tumbang Mahoroi, in full traditional attire, on his waist a belt with amulets and below a belt with crocodile teeth. Photo credit: Arnoud H. Kloke

Tunjung and Benuaq call them *jurokng*, and the Melanau know them as *suk*.

One may wonder about the myriad postures and gestures in which these various talismans have found expression: standing, seated, squatting, even dancing (COMP. 74-76) or flying (COMP. 77). The cosmological layers to which all these spirit figures belong along with all of their attributes is best worked out by Schärer regarding the Ngaju religion, and one would wish such an iconographic treatment for all other Dayak subgroups. In the absence of a key, a Rosetta Stone, it is almost impossible to analyze configurations based only on an anthropological study of a certain Dayak subgroup. Up until now, starting in the 1970s, some cautious attempts were made, mostly based on Schärer’s account. Two monographs have been published with amulets as the subject. The first one, aptly titled *The Divine Gifts*, came

out on the occasion of a gallery exhibition. Building on Schärer, the gallery owner comes to the matter-of-fact conclusion that in the absence of additional ethnohistoric and linguistic research, the imagery cannot be decoded. "The traditional methodologies of ethnographers and art historians will inevitably need to expand to take into account the current preoccupations of social scientists in the fields of semiotics, ethnic visual perception, symbols, color taxonomies and linguistics."²³ Six years later, the cultural anthropologist Vredenbregt published a book dedicated to his own collection of amulets. He too bases his monograph on Schärer's account. Regardless of the provenance, he classifies the items according to their appearance in combination with any existing attributes mirroring the trichotomy Upper-, Middle- and Underworld. He emphasizes with reference to Schärer the ambivalence of various spirits, but ignores function, care and meaning.²⁴ With regard to amulets, it is fundamental to know from which wood it is cut before an image can be determined. The wood is apparently more determining than the figure itself, as Hopes noticed during his stay with the Tanjung and Benuaq Dayak.²⁵ In practice, this amounts to the wood and the associated spirit that determines whether it will have a protective or a medicinal efficacy, and not the figure itself, which is subservient. Figures which are similar to the eye may thus have different functions.

What we do recognize is an exuberance in forms of expression. This abundance of amulets may be the result of the natural lush and ferocious surroundings giving rise to a prolific spirit world not encountered on the more arid islands of Nusa Tenggara (Lesser Sunda Islands), where small carvings are the result of an ancestor cult only. Gestures and positions of the body are not chosen at random and pertain to certain categories of spirits, divine or less divine. A long history of influences found new means of expression.

²³ Goldman 1975, 31; he anticipates world art studies, a concept conceived of by art historian John Onians in the 1990s, which is multidisciplinary in its approach to analysis of visual images. This program is part of the curriculum of the School of Art History and World Art Studies of the University of East Anglia, Norwich, UK, and art history courses of the University of Leiden, the Netherlands.

²⁴ Vredenbregt 1981, 37–38

²⁵ Hopes 1997, 104–105

ORIGINS

One of the arm gestures present in this collection is the bent arms close to the chest with the hands rendered backward (COMP. 22, 37, 39, 52). This gesture is rarely if ever found in other cultures of the archipelago. It may have been an expression of veneration, greeting or obedience that has gone out of fashion in most other areas, as it is not unknown: a bronze standing lime spatula figure found in Java and dated to the Bronze Age Dong Son period has the arms and hands held in a similar fashion.²⁶

Possibly related is the gesture with one arm bent and the other along the body, sometimes with one hand covering the pubic area (COMP. 23, 34, 50, 51, 72 and a variant 23). There are two alternatives, but we do not know if this is gender related, as the sex is in most cases vague. This expression may relate to respect and receptivity. Hopes discusses seven figures belonging to a necklace that all have a similar arm gesture and all have a protective function. One of the discussed pieces has an attribute, a pointed head, which he therefore ranks among the evil forest spirits but with good intention (COMP. 34).

A lesser-known gesture is the one with crossed arms in front of the breast. This collection features five examples in two variants, one with the arms crossed close to the breast, the other with the hands touching the upper arms. This latter gesture is a known Hinduistic gesture which expresses a total surrender to a god with a superior position (*hastasvastika*), and in Buddhism it expresses respect and veneration (COMP. 13, 14, 44, 53, 57).²⁷ It is not only in language that Indian influence is found; in sculpture, gestures with Indian roots were adopted.²⁸ It is very plausible that dance positions, as seen in NUMBERS 74–76, are also derived from the Indian pantheon where, for instance, *dakini* and *yogini*, initiated demi-goddesses and mediators between two worlds, are depicted in this stance, which refers to the act of creation.²⁹ Another interesting and rare item that clearly draws on Indian-

influenced iconography is NUMBER 116, showing a figure with a turban-like headdress, seated in a tailor position and possibly dressed in a thin skirt of which a part is stacked under its left knee.³⁰

Cosmic beings appear in various guises and their physiognomy and attributes may reflect their origin. Some creatures are ambivalent by nature, which is reflected by anomalies in details, like four or six digits, long jutting-out tongue, one arm or their physiognomy. Examples are, for instance, NUMBERS 12 and 62. Both seem at first sight normal beings, but the first item, showing a master's hand in carving, with his head bent downward, has an opened mouth baring teeth and six fingers on each hand. The second item, a female, deduced from the sex but without breasts, also has six digits. The entities like forest spirits may extend a helping hand by fencing off malevolent intentions and in this propensity may be depicted in their most attractive appearance, yet by adding some details, the ambivalence of the figure becomes clear. With a two-tiered pointed headdress, bulging forehead and round cheeks, a nondescript weapon in his hands, figure NUMBER 63 is such an example. Among these cosmic beings, cultural heroes may be depicted, once renowned warriors and therefore aptly provided with shield and sword in a standing or squatting position (98–102).

Besides the more conventional types, some of them covered in a blood or incense-smoke patina, there are enigmatic figures which deviate in size and/or depiction. Unusually large in size, for instance, is a rather flat representation of a spirit figure with drooping limbs and fingers and toes like tendrils, enclosing a negative space. One can infer from the scrapings on the upper corners that it was considered a potent medicine (21). Unusual also applies to a flat squatting figure beneath an arch with a two-headed quadruped on top. In his raised hands he holds attributes, a sword and an indeterminate object. To his right, a bas-relief anthropomorphic figure is seen. We know this representation as a slave figure or as a godhead applied by the Dayak of Central Borneo. In this case, however, the figure may represent a heavenly spirit helper and not a slave, for he holds attributes in his hands.

²⁶ In Buddhist iconography this position is known as *virasana*, a meditation position in which buddhas and ascetics are depicted.

In that case, the unusual two-headed quadruped may be interpreted as a tiger, the avenger of trespassed taboos. The combination of the tiger spirit and the squatting figure as a semi-divine spirit helper could thus be interpreted as an emanation of the Upperworld to beneficial effect (30).

Extreme positions which radiate vitality possibly belong to another unusual category. They so deviate from the so-called "static" style of rendering anthropomorphic figures that these amulets pertain to the paraphernalia of the ritual specialists. It is even possible, as Vredenbregt proposes, that these positions represent the priests themselves exercising their profession, i.e., in retrieving strayed souls and in the practice of exorcizing malevolent spirits which have taken possession of a patient temporarily. In addition, they may represent the spirit helpers seconding the priests in their practices.³¹ The priests and their spirit helpers are analogs. Let us take a closer look at some figures to illustrate this. Amulet NUMBER 2 shows an anthropomorphic figure, his head topped with a high conical headdress and his right arm swung backward to grasp the back of a (strayed?) creature. The hands of both figures are represented by tendrils, which is a stylistic element of the Dayak of Central Borneo but also illuminates the "otherness" of this configuration. In NUMBER 32, we see this configuration again, but here rendered in a more elaborated fashion. The main figure holds an anthropomorph in his left arm. On the upside a quadruped is presented, a tiger as genius, above another anthropomorphic figure to the right of the main figure. The main figure seems to move upward, which is caused by the twisted bundling of the vines or branches. The *hampatong* is carved out of liana or rattan, both species of creepers or climbers associated in myths with the tree of life.

Other composite figures can take a dramatic form, even though it is not clear what is depicted. Figures with an anthropomorphic or zoomorphic appearance carry or hold an indefinable figure (COMP. 4, 9, 108, 109). They may carry on their back an anthropomorph upside down, sometimes with the head turned backward (8, 79, 81). In the latter case, this may be a variation of a face presented at the back of an anthropomorph for protection against magic attacks (COMP. 83).³²

³¹ Vredenbregt 1981, 33

³² Hopes 1997, 106

Also belonging to this group are **NUMBERS 29** and **31**, although we are not certain whether to allocate them to the amulets or to the charms. The first item is a well-known South Kalimantan concept—the tiger on top of a spirit head—which is applied by other Dayak groups as well. Two small alerting anthropomorphs, spirit helpers, are seated, one on the neck of the tiger, grasping its ears, and the other holding onto its tail. They look in opposite directions and by doing so they can scan the environs. In the second example, made of rootstock, the spirit head is prominent with a quadruped on top of it and, judging by its tail, a monkey. At the back another creature, probably a clambering monkey, is carved among other nondescript things. The spirit head and the monkeys evoke aptly the wildness of nature.

This protective quality is also assigned to the double figures, back to back, by the Tunjung and Benuaq Dayak, but not against spirit attacks (22–24). These double figures with arms holding each other or with hands close to the torso as described above and enclosing a diminutive anthropomorph in between them, are meant to guard one against killers and head-hunters.³³

Distorted body parts or deformed bodies also belong to the ambivalent sphere: **NUMBER 5**, a distorted squatting female with jutting tongue, crowned and a prominent sex, may represent a witch or an ogre. This applies also to **NUMBER 27**, a seated figure with deep and close-set eyes, one breast and whose anomalous body accentuates the “otherness.”

A zoomorph can crown an anthropomorph as a guardian spirit as seen in **NUMBER 6**, where a stylized dragon, aso, stands on all fours on top of a hunched figure while turning his head backward, but zoomorphs as a special feature are less common. When they do appear, an aquatic animal or a reptile is the most likely. These animals are equals to the dragon, which they may represent, and they belong to the Underworld, associated with fecundity and initiation. The examples shown in **NUMBERS 40** and **41** are rendered as reptilians with the lower half twisted, the carver’s solution to give these animals their otherworldly appearance, whereas **NUMBER 42** has a tail showing the aquatic aspect of the animal.

³³ Id., 108

All these small *hampatong* with myriad representations have been applied by various Dayak groups. They are true wonders of man’s imagination of how the spirit world can take shape in different guises, both benevolent and malevolent. In order to enhance their efficaciousness, every effort is made to do justice to the specific spirit addressed. When an amulet shows a thick, crusty layer, we can infer from this physical appearance the potency of the medium.

TUNTUN AND OTHER CHARMS

Contrary to the amulets discussed above, *tuntun* are real charms. The figure carved in the round on top of the sticks, depicting a spirit helper, most commonly in the squatting position, has the function of luring the prey to the trap and that is why it is rendered with its mouth opened: it calls out to the pig (or another prey animal).³⁴ They were used to measure the right height for the trip wire for the hunting spring trap, which was set to kill the animals that target the rice crops in the fields, such as pigs, deer and mouse deer. The word *tuntun* literally means “the right height.” This was revealed by the helping spirit Segenun, who, together with three other spirits, happened to meet with three Iban chiefs who were on a journey. Segenun spoke to the chiefs and asked them why the hunt was so unsuccessful and consequently why there was not much meat on the table when they were invited to join a party. And as is customary in myths, the Iban were taught how to make a good trap and how long a measuring stick had to be. It turned out that the right length was the size of the lower arm, measured from elbow to the tip of the middle finger.³⁵

The figures topping these measuring sticks are in the best cases delicately worked out and fine examples of stylistic expression. Several spirit figures can serve as examples for application upon the stick. In myriad myths, the “otherworld” figures are recounted, and in order to help the novice and the priest in lengthy myths, pictographs of the variously occurring spirits were carved on boards as prompts. In addition, they were used by the carver as examples to give expression to a certain spirit. So it is up to the carver to decide which embellishment is needed and to which standard he has to carve to make it aesthetically pleasing and thereby most effective.

³⁴ Besides the items shown here, all with figures in a squatting position, standing figures, figures on horseback and reptiles in the guise of warlike gods exist; see: Heppell 1988, 68, figs. 6 and 7.

³⁵ Heppell 2008, 165



Some of the *tuntun* have a piece of rectangular cloth inserted between the limbs of a squatting figure. It is the piece of cloth which was submerged in a bowl of water together with a piece of iron and the household charms to strengthen the *tuntun* as part of a “consecration” rite. The rite was performed to invoke the spirit present on the stick and was finished by smearing blood with the bloodied feathers of a sacrificed chicken or fowl onto the piece of cloth and the *tuntun*.³⁶

Not all *tuntun*, though, were carved with a figure on top. The Baleh Iban, for instance, used plain measuring sticks, and one can wonder whether these items preceded the figurative ones.³⁷ But these were not collected by the outside world. Only the *tuntun* from the Iban living near the Pantu, Saribas and Krian rivers have created those which aroused the collectors’ minds.³⁸ Of all these spirited expressions, the *tuntun* with a miniature representation of Segenun with concave limbs are considered true expressions of fine workmanship and consequently they are the most coveted ones (127, 129, 135, 137–139, 142, 143, 146).

Although most of the small statues in this catalogue are amulets, **NUMBERS 18** and **20** are undoubtedly charms. The Melanau carve them from bone or horn and use them as a luck charm for fishing and hunting. They come close to the *karuhei* of the Ngaju, luck charms. These *suk* (*sou*) bear a signature similar to the *bilum*,³⁹ spirit figures applied by priests in their efforts to heal a patient. The Melanau charms have not been studied as well as the *bilum* figures, but certain characteristics of the latter may also apply to the charms. *Suk* were used in fishing to attract the fish.

³⁶ Id. 1988, 66

³⁷ Id. 1988, 65

³⁸ Id. 66

³⁹ *Bilum* designates the spirit addressed and the carving itself. Chong 1987, 72, identified 10 generic groups of spirits in the Melanau Dalat area and each has its own attributes and postures.



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74 | 75 | 76



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98 | 99 | 100 | 101 | 102



103 | 104 | 105 | 106 | 107





114



115 | 116 | 117





118 | 119 | 120



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131 | 132



133 | 134





135 | 136



137 | 138





139



140 | 141





142 | 143 | 144



145 | 146 | 147



CAPTIONS**1 AMULET FIGURE**

Kayanic, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 3 7/8 inches / 9.8 cm – Wood
Provenance: Georgia Sales, Belvedere, CA.

2 AMULET FIGURE

Kayanic, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 3 1/4 inches / 8.3 cm – Wood
Provenance: Louis Wells, Boston, MA.

3 AMULET FIGURE

Kayanic, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 1 3/4 inches / 4.4 cm – Wood

4 AMULET FIGURE

Benuaq, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 4 3/4 inches / 12.1 cm – Wood
Provenance: Ten Houten, The Netherlands
Volkenkundig Museum Gerardus van der Leeuw, Groningen, The Netherlands

5 AMULET FIGURE

Benuaq, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 3 3/8 inches / 8.6 cm – Wood
Provenance: Irwin Hersey, New York
Published: *Indonesian Primitive Art*, pg. 49, fig. 31

6 AMULET FIGURE

Kayanic, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 5 1/2 inches / 14 cm – Wood
Provenance: Ten Houten, The Netherlands
Volkenkundig Museum Gerardus van der Leeuw, Groningen, The Netherlands

7 AMULET FIGURE

Tunjung, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 3 inches / 7.6 cm – Wood
Provenance: Louis Wells, Boston, MA.

8 AMULET FIGURE

Kayanic, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 3 7/8 inches / 9.8 cm – Wood
Provenance: Perry Kesner, Ibiza, Spain

9 AMULET FIGURE

Kayanic, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 4 1/4 inches / 10.8 cm – Wood
Provenance: Ten Houten, The Netherlands
Volkenkundig Museum Gerardus van der Leeuw, Groningen, The Netherlands
Published: *Borneo: The People of the Weeping Forest*, pg. 132

10 AMULET FIGURE

Kayanic, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 3 1/2 inches / 8.9 cm – Wood
Provenance: Irwin Hersey, New York

11 AMULET FIGURE

Kayanic, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 2 7/8 inches / 7.3 cm – Wood

12 AMULET FIGURE

Benuaq, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 4 3/4 inches / 12.1 cm – Wood
Provenance: Georgia Sales, Belvedere, CA.

13 AMULET FIGURE

Kayanic, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 3 7/8 inches / 9.8 cm – Wood
Provenance: Ten Houten, The Netherlands
Volkenkundig Museum Gerardus van der Leeuw, Groningen, The Netherlands

14 AMULET FIGURE

Tunjung, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 4 1/8 inches / 10.5 cm – Wood
Provenance: Philip Goldman, London
Published: *The Divine Gifts*, front cover

15 AMULET FIGURE

Ngaju, Central Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 2 1/4 inches / 5.7 cm – Wood
Provenance: Roberto Gamba, Milan

16 AMULET FIGURE

Tunjung, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 4 3/4 inches / 12.1 cm – Wood
Provenance: Philip Goldman, London
Published: *The Divine Gifts*, fig. 41

17 AMULET FIGURE

Kayanic, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 4 7/8 inches / 12.4 cm – Wood

18 FISHING AMULET FIGURE

Melanau, Sarawak, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 4 3/4 inches / 12.1 cm – Deer antler

19 AMULET FIGURE

Benuaq, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 3 5/8 inches / 9.2 cm – Wood

20 FISHING AMULET FIGURE

Melanau, Sarawak, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 3 1/2 inches / 8.9 cm – Deer antler

CAPTIONS**21 AMULET FIGURE**

Kayanic, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 6 1/4 inches / 15.9 cm – Wood

22 AMULET FIGURES

Kayanic, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 4 1/2 inches / 11.4 cm – Wood
Provenance: Irwin Hersey, New York
Published: *Indonesian Primitive Art*, pg. 49, fig. 31

23 AMULET FIGURES

Tunjung, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 6 inches / 15.2 cm – Wood
Provenance: Ten Houten, The Netherlands
Volkenkundig Museum Gerardus van der Leeuw, Groningen, The Netherlands

24 AMULET FIGURES

Benuaq, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 2 3/4 inches / 7 cm – Wood

25 AMULET FIGURES

Pasir, Southeast Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Heights: Both are 5 7/8 inches / 14.9 cm – Wood, metal inlay
Provenance: Roberto Gamba, Milan

26 AMULET FIGURE

Benuaq, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 5 1/2 inches / 14 cm – Wood

27 AMULET FIGURE

Kayanic, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 5 3/8 inches / 13.7 cm – Wood

28 AMULET FIGURE

Kayanic, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 9 1/2 inches / 24.1 cm – Wood
Provenance: Alain Schoffel, Paris

29 AMULET FIGURE

Ngaju, Central Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 8 1/4 inches / 21 cm – Wood
Provenance: Mark Johnson, Los Angeles

30 AMULET FIGURE

Benuaq, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 6 1/2 inches / 16.5 cm – Wood, cotton cloth
Provenance: Roberto Gamba, Milan

31 AMULET FIGURE

Benuaq, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 9 inches / 22.9 cm – Wood

32 AMULET FIGURE

Ngaju, Central Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 8 inches / 20.3 cm – Liana Vine
Provenance: Joel Greene, San Francisco

33 AMULET FIGURE

Tunjung, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 4 1/8 inches / 10.5 cm – Wood
Provenance: Francois Coppens, Sint-Niklaas, Belgium
Published: *Borneo, The Dayak in the Francois Coppens Collection*, pg. 31

34 AMULET FIGURE

Tunjung, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 4 1/2 inches / 11.4 cm – Wood

35 AMULET FIGURE

Tunjung, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 4 inches / 10.2 cm – Wood
Provenance: Francois Coppens, Sint-Niklaas, Belgium
Published: *Borneo, The Dayak in the Francois Coppens Collection*, pg. 31

36 AMULET FIGURE

Kayanic, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 3 3/8 inches / 8.6 cm – Wood
Provenance: Ten Houten, The Netherlands
Volkenkundig Museum Gerardus van der Leeuw, Groningen, The Netherlands

37 AMULET FIGURE

Tunjung, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 3 5/8 inches / 9.2 cm – Wood
Provenance: Francois Coppens, Sint-Niklaas, Belgium

38 AMULET FIGURE

Tunjung, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 6 inches / 15.2 cm – Wood

39 AMULET FIGURE

Tunjung, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 4 1/8 inches / 10.5 cm – Wood
Provenance: Francois Coppens, Sint-Niklaas, Belgium

40 AMULET FIGURE

Kayanic, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 3 3/4 inches / 9.5 cm – Wood
Provenance: Philip Goldman, London
Published: *The Divine Gifts*, fig. 76

CAPTIONS**41 AMULET FIGURE**

Kayanic, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 4 1/2 inches / 11.4 cm – Wood
Provenance: Philip Goldman, London
Published: *The Divine Gifts*, fig. 77

42 AMULET FIGURE

Kayanic, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 3 5/8 inches / 9.2 cm – Wood
Provenance: Philip Goldman, London
Published: *The Divine Gifts*, fig. 75

43 AMULET FIGURE

Tunjung, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 6 1/2 inches / 16.5 cm - Wood

44 AMULET FIGURE

Tunjung, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 2 1/8 inches / 5.4 cm - Wood

45 AMULET FIGURE

Tunjung, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 3 inches / 7.6 cm - Wood

46 AMULET FIGURE

Benuaq, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 2 1/2 inches / 6.4 cm – Wood

47 AMULET FIGURE

Benuaq, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 3 1/8 inches / 7.9 cm – Wood

48 AMULET FIGURE

Kayanic, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 2 5/8 inches / 6.7 cm – Wood

49 AMULET FIGURE

Kayanic, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 3 5/8 inches / 9.2 cm – Wood

50 AMULET FIGURE

Ngaju, Central Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 3 5/8 inches / 9.2 cm – Wood
Provenance: Philip Goldman, London
Published: *The Divine Gifts*, front cover

51 AMULET FIGURE

Benuaq, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 4 1/4 inches / 10.8 cm - Wood
Provenance: Philip Goldman, London
Published: *The Divine Gifts*, fig. 49

52 AMULET FIGURE

Tunjung, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 2 1/4 inches / 5.7 cm – Wood

53 AMULET FIGURE

Tunjung, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 3 3/4 inches / 8.3 cm – Wood
Provenance: Philip Goldman, London
Published: *The Divine Gifts*, front cover

54 AMULET FIGURE

Tunjung, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 2 7/8 inches / 7.3 cm – Wood
Provenance: Philip Goldman, London
Published: *The Divine Gifts*, front cover

55 AMULET FIGURE

Tunjung, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 3 1/2 inches / 8.9 cm - Wood

56 AMULET FIGURE

Tunjung, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 4 1/4 inches / 10.8 cm – Wood
Provenance: Francois Coppens, Sint-Niklaas, Belgium

57 AMULET FIGURE

Benuaq, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 4 1/4 inches / 10.8 cm - Wood
Provenance: Ten Houten, The Netherlands
Volkenkundig Museum Gerardus van der Leeuw, Groningen, The Netherlands

58 AMULET FIGURE

Tunjung, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 2 5/8 inches / 6.7 cm – Wood

59 AMULET FIGURE

Ngaju, Central Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 3 1/8 inches / 7.9 cm – Wood
Provenance: Philip Goldman, London
Published: *The Divine Gifts*, fig. 53

60 AMULET FIGURE

Bidayuh ?, West Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 2 1/2 inches / 6.4 cm – Wood

61 AMULET FIGURE

Ngaju, Central Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 5 3/4 inches / 14.6 cm – Wood
Provenance: Philip Goldman, London
Published: *The Divine Gifts*, fig. 55

CAPTIONS**62 AMULET FIGURE**

Tunjung, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 7 1/2 inches / 19.1 cm – Wood
Provenance: Philip Goldman, London
Published: *The Divine Gifts*, front cover

63 AMULET FIGURE

Pasir, Southeast Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 6 1/4 inches / 15.9 cm – Wood
Provenance: Ana and Antonio Casanovas, Madrid

64 AMULET FIGURE

Ngaju, Central Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 2 1/2 inches / 6.4 cm – Wood
Provenance: Philip Goldman, London
Published: *The Divine Gifts*, fig. 58

65 AMULET FIGURE

Benuaq, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 2 1/4 inches / 5.7 cm – Wood

66 AMULET FIGURE

Tunjung, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 3 1/4 inches / 8.3 cm – Wood

67 AMULET FIGURE

Ngaju, Central Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 1 7/8 inches / 4.8 cm – Wood

68 AMULET FIGURE

Benuaq, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 2 3/4 inches / 7 cm – Wood

69 AMULET FIGURE

Tunjung, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 3 5/16 inches / 8.4 cm – Wood

70 AMULET FIGURE

Tunjung, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 3 3/4 inches / 9.5 cm – Wood

71 AMULET FIGURE

Tunjung, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 3 1/8 inches / 10.5 cm – Wood

72 AMULET FIGURE

Tunjung, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 2 7/8 inches / 7.3 cm – Wood

73 AMULET FIGURE

Tunjung, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 3 7/8 inches / 9.8 cm – Wood
Provenance: Philip Goldman, London
Published: *The Divine Gifts*, front cover

74 AMULET FIGURE

Kayanic, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 2 1/4 inches / 5.7 cm – Wood

75 AMULET FIGURE

Kayanic, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 3 inches / 7.6 cm – Wood
Provenance: Ten Houten, The Netherlands
Volkenkundig Museum Gerardus van der Leeuw, Groningen, The Netherlands

76 AMULET FIGURE

Kayanic, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 1 7/8 inches / 4.8 cm – Wood

77 AMULET FIGURE

Benuaq, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 1 7/8 inches / 4.8 cm – Wood

78 AMULET FIGURE

Benuaq, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 2 5/8 inches / 6.7 cm – Wood
Provenance: Philip Goldman, London
Published: *The Divine Gifts*, front cover

79 AMULET FIGURE

Tunjung, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 2 1/4 inches / 5.7 cm – Wood

80 AMULET FIGURE

Iban, Sarawak, West Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 2 1/4 inches / 5.7 cm – Wood, glass beads

81 AMULET FIGURE

Benuaq, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 3 1/2 inches / 8.9 cm – Wood

82 AMULET FIGURE

Kayanic, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 2 5/8 inches / 6.7 cm – Wood

83 AMULET FIGURE

Benuaq, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 2 5/8 inches / 6.7 cm – Wood

84 AMULET FIGURE

Ngaju, Central Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 4 3/4 inches / 12.1 cm – Wood

85 AMULET FIGURE

Benuaq, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 3 1/2 inches / 8.9 cm – Wood
Provenance: Galerie Renaud Vanuxem, Paris

CAPTIONS**86 AMULET FIGURE**

Tunjung, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
 Height: 5 3/4 inches / 14.6 cm – Deer antler
 Provenance: Ten Houten, The Netherlands
 Volkenkundig Museum Gerardus van der Leeuw, Groningen, The Netherlands
 Published: *Borneo: The People of the Weeping Forest*, pg. 132

87 AMULET FIGURE

Tunjung, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
 Height: 3 3/8 inches / 8.6 cm – Wood
 Provenance: Louis Wells, Boston, MA.
 Published: *Squatting Figures of Borneo*, Orientations, January 1981, pg. 45. Fig. 3

88 AMULET FIGURE

Ngaju, Central Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
 Height: 3 1/2 inches / 8.9 cm – Wood
 Provenance: Philip Goldman, London
 Published: *The Divine Gifts*, fig. 64

89 AMULET FIGURE

Tunjung, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
 Height: 3 3/4 inches / 9.5 cm – Wood

90 AMULET FIGURE

Benuaq, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
 Height: 4 1/2 inches / 11.4 cm – Wood
 Provenance: Philip Goldman, London
 Published: *The Divine Gifts*, fig. 35

91 AMULET FIGURE

Tunjung, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
 Height: 4 3/4 inches / 12.1 cm – Wood
 Provenance: Philip Goldman, London
 Published: *The Divine Gifts*, front cover

92 AMULET FIGURE

Benuaq, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
 Height: 2 3/4 inches / 7 cm – Wood
 Provenance: Philip Goldman, London
 Published: *The Divine Gifts*, fig. 85

93 AMULET FIGURE

Benuaq, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
 Height: 3 7/8 inches / 9.8 cm – Wood
 Provenance: Philip Goldman, London
 Published: *The Divine Gifts*, fig. 37

94 AMULET FIGURE

Bahau ?, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
 Height: 3 1/2 inches / 8.9 cm – Wood
 Provenance: Philip Goldman, London
 Published: *The Divine Gifts*, fig. 81

95 AMULET FIGURE

Bahau ?, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
 Height: 4 1/2 inches / 11.4 cm – Wood
 Provenance: Philip Goldman, London
 Published: *The Divine Gifts*, fig. 84

96 AMULET FIGURE

Tunjung, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
 Height: 3 inches / 7.6 cm – Wood
 Provenance: Philip Goldman, London
 Published: *The Divine Gifts*, fig. 46

97 AMULET FIGURE

Benuaq, East Kalimantan, Borneo - Early 20th century
 Height: 2 3/4 inches / 7 cm – Wood
 Provenance: Georgia Sales, Belvedere, CA.

98 AMULET FIGURE

Kayanic, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
 Height: 4 7/8 inches / 12.4 cm – Wood
 Provenance: Philip Goldman, London
 Published: *The Divine Gifts*, fig. 38

99 AMULET FIGURE

Kayanic, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
 Height: 4 inches / 10.2 cm – Wood
 Provenance: Jack Sadovnic, New York

100 AMULET FIGURE

Kayanic, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
 Height: 7 inches / 17.8 cm – Wood
 Provenance: Philip Goldman, London
 Published: *The Divine Gifts*, fig. 40

101 AMULET FIGURE

Tunjung, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
 Height: 4 1/4 inches / 10.8 cm – Wood
 Provenance: Jack Sadovnic, New York

102 AMULET FIGURE

Kayanic, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
 Height: 6 inches / 15.2 cm – Wood
 Provenance: Philip Goldman, London
 Published: *The Divine Gifts*, fig. 39

CAPTIONS**103 AMULET FIGURE**

Tunjung, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
 Height: 3 3/4 inches / 9.5 cm – Wood
 Provenance: Francois Coppens, Sint-Niklaas, Belgium
 Published: *Borneo, The Dayak in the Francois Coppens Collection*, pg. 31

104 AMULET FIGURE

Tunjung, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
 Height: 2 7/8 inches / 7.3 cm – Wood

105 AMULET FIGURE

Tunjung, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
 Height: 5 inches / 12.7 cm – Wood

106 AMULET FIGURE

Tunjung, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
 Height: 2 5/8 inches / 6.7 cm – Wood

107 AMULET FIGURE

Tunjung, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
 Height: 3 1/2 inches / 8.9 cm – Wood
 Provenance: Philip Goldman, London
 Published: *The Divine Gifts*, fig. 87

108 AMULET FIGURE

Ngaju, Central Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
 Height: 3 5/8 inches / 9.2 cm – Wood
 Provenance: Philip Goldman, London
 Published: *The Divine Gifts*, fig. 42

109 AMULET FIGURE

Kayanic, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
 Height: 4 1/8 inches / 10.5 cm – Wood

110 AMULET FIGURE

Ngaju, Central Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
 Height: 3 3/4 inches / 9.5 cm – Wood
 Provenance: Philip Goldman, London
 Published: *The Divine Gifts*, fig. 47

111 AMULET FIGURE

Benuaq, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
 Height: 5 1/4 inches / 13.3 cm – Wood
 Provenance: Ten Houten, The Netherlands
 Volkenkundig Museum Gerardus van der Leeuw, Groningen, The Netherlands

112 AMULET FIGURE

Kayanic, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
 Height: 5 1/4 inches / 13.3 cm – Wood

113 AMULET FIGURE

Kayanic, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
 Height: 4 1/2 inches / 11.3 cm – Wood
 Provenance: Ten Houten, The Netherlands
 Volkenkundig Museum Gerardus van der Leeuw, Groningen, The Netherlands

114 AMULET FIGURE

Benuaq, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
 Height: 3 1/2 inches / 8.9 cm – Wood, fibers
 Provenance: Bruno Gay, Paris

115 AMULET FIGURE

Bidayuh ?, West Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
 Height: 3 7/8 inches / 9.8 cm – Wood

116 AMULET FIGURE

Ngaju, Central Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
 Height: 5 3/4 inches / 14.6 cm – Wood
 Provenance: Francois Coppens, Sint-Niklaas, Belgium

117 AMULET FIGURE

Bidayuh ?, West Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
 Height: 3 7/8 inches / 9.8 cm – Wood

118 NATURALLY SHAPED AMULET**IN THE FORM OF AN ASO**

Kayanic, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
 Height: 2 5/8 inches / 6.7 cm – Bamboo, fiber

119 AMULET IN THE FORM OF AN ASO

Kayanic, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
 Height: 2 3/8 inches / 6 cm – Shell

120 NATURALLY SHAPED AMULET**IN THE FORM OF AN ASO**

Kayanic, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
 Height: 2 inches / 5.1 cm – Wood

121 NATURALLY SHAPED AMULET

Kayanic, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
 Height: 4 1/2 inches / 11.4 cm – Liana Vine
 Provenance: Perry Kesner, Ibiza

122 AMULET FIGURE

Benuaq, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
 Height: 6 inches / 15.2 cm – Wood
 Provenance: Marc Pinto, Australia

123 AMULET FIGURE

Kayanic, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
 Height: 4 7/8 inches / 12.4 cm – Wood
 Provenance: Arnold Wentholt, The Netherlands

CAPTIONS

124 AMULET FIGURE

Benuaq, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 2 7/8 inches / 7.3 cm – Wood
Provenance: Philip Goldman, London
Published: *The Divine Gifts*, fig. 51

125 AMULET FIGURE

Benuaq, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 4 inches / 10.2 cm – Wood
Provenance: Philip Goldman, London
Published: *The Divine Gifts*, fig. 36

126 AMULET FIGURE

Benuaq, East Kalimantan, Borneo – Early 20th century
Height: 3 1/2 inches / 8.9 cm – Wood

127 TUN-TUN, PIG TRAP AMULET FIGURE

Iban, Sarawak, West Borneo, - Early 20th century
Height: 20 3/4 inches / 52.7 cm – Wood

128 TUN-TUN, PIG TRAP AMULET FIGURE

Iban, Sarawak, West Borneo, - Early 20th century
Height: 20 1/2 inches / 52.1 cm – Wood

129 TUN-TUN, PIG TRAP AMULET FIGURE

Iban, Sarawak, West Borneo, - Early 20th century
Height: 20 1/2 inches / 52.1 cm – Wood

130 TUN-TUN, PIG TRAP AMULET FIGURE

Iban, Sarawak, West Borneo, - Early 20th century
Height: 20 3/4 inches / 52.7 cm – Wood, fiber

131 TUN-TUN, PIG TRAP AMULET FIGURE

Iban, Sarawak, West Borneo, - Early 20th century
Height: 21 inches / 53.3 cm – Wood, fiber

132 TUN-TUN, PIG TRAP AMULET FIGURE

Iban, Sarawak, West Borneo, - Early 20th century
Height: 21 1/2 inches / 54.6 cm – Wood

133 TUN-TUN, PIG TRAP AMULET FIGURE

Iban, Sarawak, West Borneo, - Early 20th century
Height: 21 1/2 inches / 54.6 cm – Wood

134 TUN-TUN, PIG TRAP AMULET FIGURE

Iban, Sarawak, West Borneo, - Early 20th century
Height: 21 1/4 inches / 54 cm – Wood, fiber

135 TUN-TUN, PIG TRAP AMULET FIGURE

Iban, Sarawak, West Borneo, - Early 20th century
Height: 21 1/4 inches / 54 cm – Wood, fiber

136 TUN-TUN, PIG TRAP AMULET FIGURE

Iban, Sarawak, West Borneo, - Early 20th century
Height: 21 inches / 53.3 cm – Wood

137 TUN-TUN, PIG TRAP AMULET FIGURE

Iban, Sarawak, West Borneo, - Early 20th century
Height: 19 1/2 inches / 49.5 cm – Wood

138 TUN-TUN, PIG TRAP AMULET FIGURE

Iban, Sarawak, West Borneo, - Early 20th century
Height: 21 1/4 inches / 54 cm – Wood

139 TUN-TUN, PIG TRAP AMULET FIGURE

Iban, Sarawak, West Borneo, - Early 20th century
Height: 20 5/8 inches / 52.4 cm – Wood

140 TUN-TUN, PIG TRAP AMULET FIGURE

Iban, Sarawak, West Borneo, - Early 20th century
Height: 21 inches / 53.3 cm – Wood

141 TUN-TUN, PIG TRAP AMULET FIGURE

Iban, Sarawak, West Borneo, - Early 20th century
Height: 20 3/4 inches / 52.7 cm – Wood, fiber

142 TUN-TUN, PIG TRAP AMULET FIGURE

Iban, Sarawak, West Borneo, - Early 20th century
Height: 20 1/4 inches / 51.4 cm – Wood

143 TUN-TUN, PIG TRAP AMULET FIGURE

Iban, Sarawak, West Borneo, - Early 20th century
Height: 20 1/2 inches / 52.1 cm – Wood

144 TUN-TUN, PIG TRAP AMULET FIGURE

Iban, Sarawak, West Borneo, - Early 20th century
Height: 21 1/4 inches / 54 cm – Wood

145 TUN-TUN, PIG TRAP AMULET FIGURE

Iban, Sarawak, West Borneo, - Early 20th century
Height: 18 5/8 inches / 47.3 cm – Wood, fiber

146 TUN-TUN, PIG TRAP AMULET FIGURE

Iban, Sarawak, West Borneo, - Early 20th century
Height: 21 1/8 inches / 53.7 cm – Wood

147 TUN-TUN, PIG TRAP AMULET FIGURE

Iban, Sarawak, West Borneo, - Early 20th century
Height: 20 1/8 inches / 51.1 cm – Wood

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