

THE PADJU EPAT MA'ANJAN DAJAK
IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

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In earlier issues of *Indonesia*, the reader will have become acquainted with the Ma'anjan Dajak of Padju Epat through my wife's "Letters From Kalimantan." In this issue I would like to leave the contemporary scene which she has described and attempt to trace the Padjo Epat past to the death of the great chief Sota'ono in 1894, which marks the point at which events lie within the memory of persons still living. The history of such a Dajak group is not to be found in books, and indeed little direct documentary evidence of any sort is available, especially for the period before the middle of the nineteenth century. Thus, the account that follows is as dependent on the interpretation of linguistic evidence and oral traditional history as it is on written sources.

The evidence seems to indicate that until the mid-seventeenth century, various Ma'anjan groups occupied the fertile Hulu Sungai district of what is now part of the province of South Kalimantan. Their subsistence, then as now, was based on the cultivation of dry rice in shifting ladang (swidden) plots. To supplement their subsistence economy, the Ma'anjan grew pepper and gathered various forest products. These commodities found their way into the international market through the mediation of Bandjar Malay traders who were based in the port towns of the southern Kalimantan coast. Of these centers, Bandjarmasin came to be the most important. As the Dutch pepper monopoly gradually expanded over much of Indonesia in the seventeenth century, the international demand for Bandjar pepper increased to the point where it could not longer be met by the supplementary efforts of Dajak cultivators. As a result non-Dajak farmers, mostly Bandjar immigrants and Javanese refugees from Mataram aggression against the city-states of the north Java coast, moved into the Hulu Sungai as full time pepper cultivators. The Ma'anjan retreated to the northwest, with several subgroups settling in different areas following the river systems. The forefathers of the Padju Epat Ma'anjan established a small community on the banks of the Telang River, from which various new settlements hived off periodically as the population expanded.

Since a number of readers may be unfamiliar with the south Bornean scene, I shall begin by setting the geographical and cultural stage before taking up the details of Padju Epat history.

Padju Epat lies in the southeastern basin of the great Barito River (see Map 1). The territory of this drainage is bounded by the Meratus Hills on the east, by the Barito on the west and by the Java Sea to the south. The northern perimeter is somewhat nebulous, but I will place it just above the Karau River area, first, because the effects of the southeast foehn begin to diminish here; second, because it represents the approximate linguistic border between the Northeastern and Southeastern Barito groups;¹ third, because my personal knowledge ends there.

The greatest natural feature of the Southeast Barito Basin is the river itself. It flows southward from its headwaters in the Müller Range to the Java Sea, with a total length of more than 350 miles. More important in a region noted for poor communications, the Barito serves as the principal link between the coast and the more remote interior; it is navigable about 200 to 250 miles inland, depending on the season. A number of tributaries, running west or southwest from the Meratus Hills, flow into the Barito. The most important of these are the Martapura, with its two branches, the Riam Kanan and the Riam Kiwa; the Negara, with its own tributary system formed by the Meram, Amandit, Alai, Balangan, and Tabalong Rivers; and the Paminggir; the Patai; and the Karau complex. All of these rivers are navigable to a greater or lesser extent throughout the year.

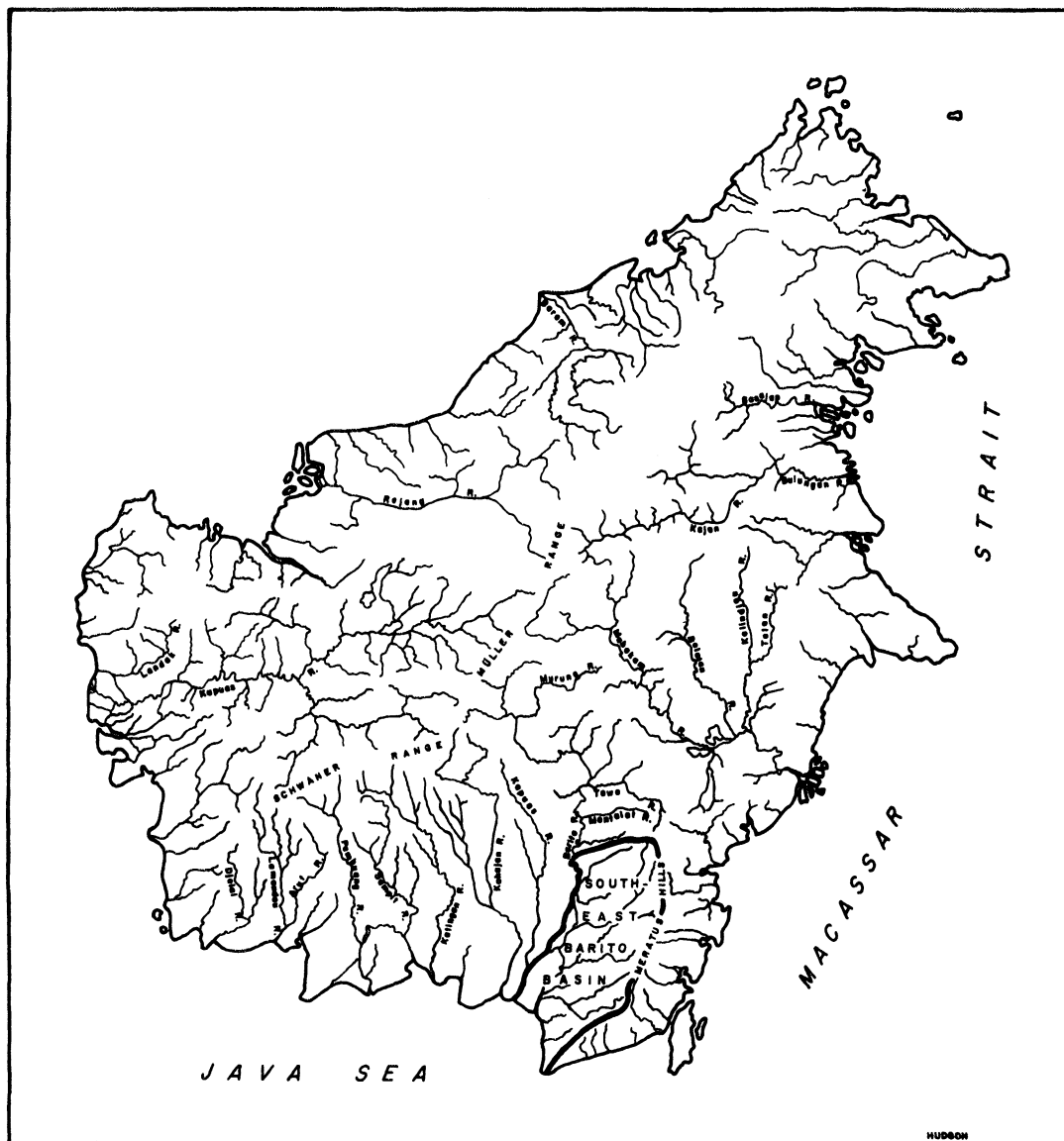
The southeast Barito Basin may be divided into two sections on the basis of ethnic, historical, and political criteria, the line separating them running roughly between the Paminggir and Patai rivers (see Map 2). I will call the area to the northwest of this line the Dajak region, and that to the southeast the Bandjar region.

The Bandjar Region

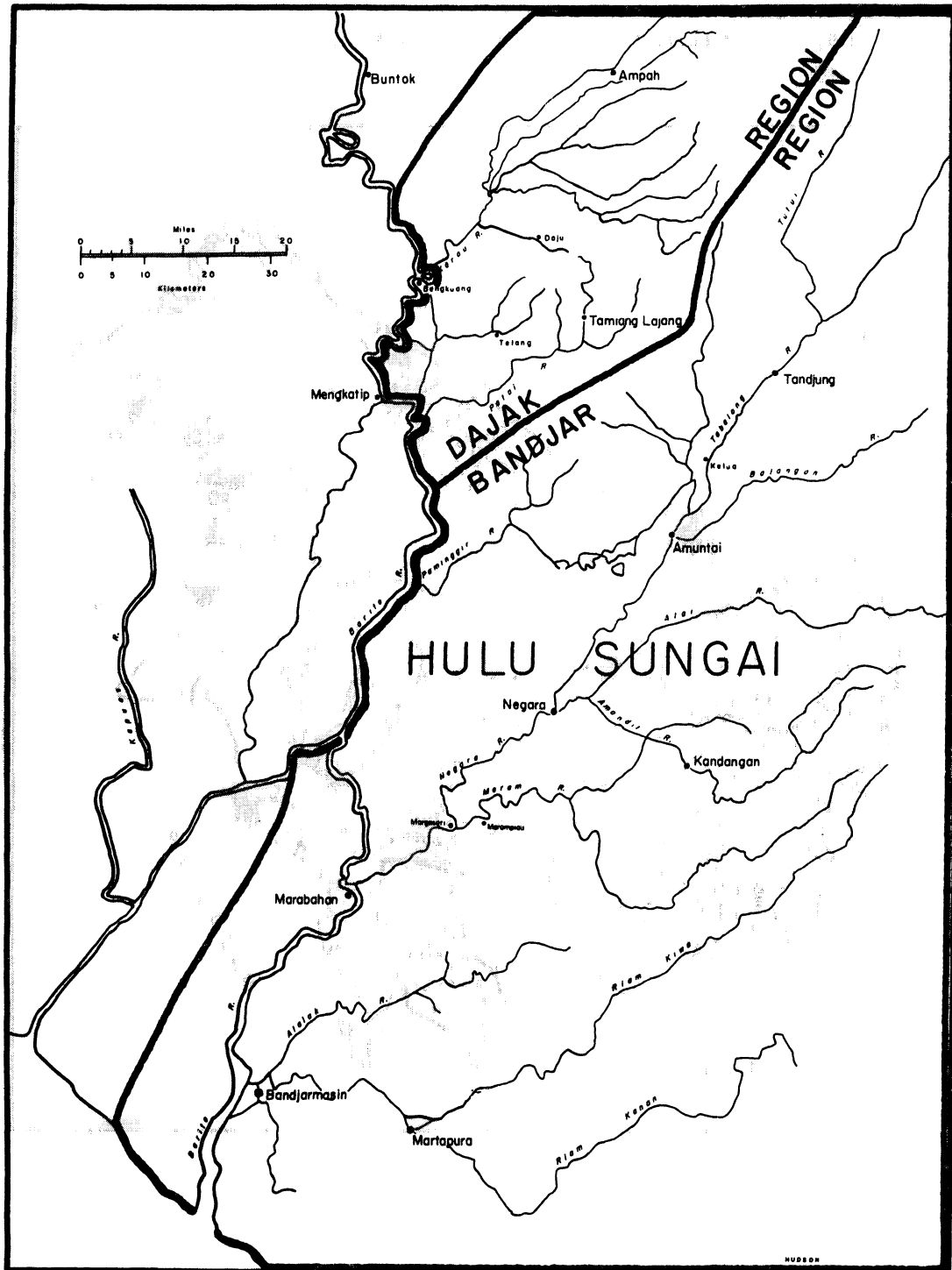
The Bandjar region lies in the province of South Kalimantan. Its topography is generally flat and low, but the land rises gradually in the east as it approaches the Meratus hills, and in the north it steepens at the headwaters of the Tabalong River. This region is relatively populous, with a number of cities and large towns, ranging from Bandjarmasin in the south--the provincial capital, with a population of more than 200,000--to Amuntai and Tandjung in the north. These urban centers are linked by fairly serviceable roads and, less directly in some cases, by river. The rivers in the area are large enough to permit the passage of motor boats and large barges for a considerable distance upstream.

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1. See Alfred B. Hudson, The Barito Isolects of Borneo (Ithaca: Cornell Southeast Asia Program Data Paper No. 68, forthcoming) on the classification of south Bornean Dajak languages.

Map 1: Kalimantan and the Southeast Barito Basin



Map 2: The Southeast Barito Basin



The subsistence economy of the Bandjar region is based upon rice cultivation, although not all parts of it are equally suitable for agriculture. The two main river systems, those of the Martapura and the Negara, are both quite lengthy but of unequal agricultural value. Much of the territory of the former is covered by extensive stretches of savannah land filled with alang-alang grass, as well as by stands of secondary scrub forest. Apparently some ladang or shifting rice cultivation is still carried on here, and a limited area is devoted to sawah (wet rice) cultivation.

The primary wet rice area is located in the flat alluvial flood plain on the middle reaches of the Negara River, in the area between Negara and Tandjung. This area is called the Hulu Sungai (literally "the upper course of the river"). The Hulu Sungai has been an important agricultural region for hundreds of years, and according to traditional history it was the heartland of the early kingdoms of Negaradipa and Negara Daha, forerunners of the later Bandjar kingdom. As the center of sawah cultivation in the Bandjar region, the Hulu Sungai is able to support an average population density of 150 per square mile, reaching 360 per square mile in the central Hulu Sungai region of the Alai and Labuhan Amas rivers. This is a much heavier concentration than that supported by the Martapura drainage, which bears "only" 85 people per square mile.²

In 1961 the total population of the Bandjar region of the Southeast Barito Basin was about 1.3 million, occupying an area of 9,500 square miles and thus giving an average population density of 137 per square mile. The Bandjar, who are the dominant ethnic group in the area, fall into the "coastal Malay" category and speak a language that is an amalgam of Malay and Javanese. They are devout Moslems who contribute as many as a thousand participants a year to the Mecca pilgrimage. Although agriculture is their primary economic occupation, the Bandjar stress the specialized roles of artisan and merchant, a trait which sets them off from the peoples indigenous to the Dajak region to the northwest.

The Dajak Region

The Dajak region lies in the province of Central Kalimantan. Here the terrain presents a typical aspect of gently rolling, low-lying hills, almost nowhere exceeding an altitude of 200 meters above sea level. At the northeast perimeter of the area,

2. Population densities derived from population figures in Biro Pusat Statistik Republik Indonesia, Sensus Penduduk 1961 Republik Indonesia (Djakarta: Biro Pusat Statistik, 1962); regional areas computed from a map by the author.

the land gradually rises to form more rugged country.

The population of the Dajak region may be divided into several categories along geographic and linguistic lines. On the Barito itself there are towns, such as Mengkatip and Teluk Betung, with populations belonging predominantly to the Kapuas Dajak ethnic group, who speak a Southwest Barito language. These Kapuas towns are found on the Barito's west bank, the eastern extremity of the West Barito linguistic area. There are other towns, such as Bengkuang, with strong Islamic population consisting of Bandjar and Bakumpai.³ And there are some places, like Kelanis, that are considered to be purely Bandjar. Of course, there is a certain ethnic admixture to the populations of all these settlements, but each has a core population belonging to one of the groups described above.

The drainages of the Patai, Telang, and Karau rivers to the east of the Barito form a territory occupied by Dajak who speak East Barito languages. Because the lower reaches of these rivers lie within the swampy Barito flood zone, Dajak villages are seldom found closer than ten miles to the east bank of the Barito; usually they are located along the upper courses where the land is somewhat more elevated. Between the Barito and the Dajak region may be found small Bandjar settlements, such as Tampulangit and Telang Baru. The inhabitants of most of these villages engage in subsistence and commercial fishing and frequently act as middlemen between the Barito river trade and the inland Dajak villages. Some of these fishing villages are built entirely on floats to allow for accommodation to flood conditions.

The region of the Patai, Telang, and Daju rivers is home territory for the Ma'anjan Dajak, while the Paku Dajak, who also speak a Southeast Barito language, inhabit the area of the Paku River. In the uppermost part of the Karau drainage, where the land finally begins to rise into more rugged country, live the Lawangan Dajak, a "hill" tribe speaking a Northeast Barito language. In addition to the indigenous Dajak population, a number of Bandjar have filtered into the region, primarily as artisans and merchants.

The total population of the Southeast Barito Basin Dajak region in 1961 was about 30,000 distributed over 1,800 square

3. The Bakumpai are a Dajak tribe, speaking a Southwest Barito language and indigenous to the central western Bandjar region, that was converted to Islam in the eighteen century. The tribe has been assimilated to Bandjar culture but has maintained an independent identity. See J. Mallinckrodt, "De Stamindeeling van de Maanjan-Sioeng-Dajaks der Zuideren Ooster-Afdeeling van Borneo," Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië (LXXXIII), 1927, pp. 578-579.

miles, giving an average population density of 17 per square mile. In contrast to the Bandjar region, the Dajak area has no real urban centers. The only towns with populations in excess of 2,000 are Ampah (4,289, of which over 60 percent are Bandjar), Tamiang Lajang (2,529), Dja'ar (2,308) and the river towns of Mengkatip (2,078) and Bengkuang (2,024).⁴

Almost the entire Dajak population engages in ladang or shifting rice cultivation, which in the Telang-Patai region has resulted in the almost complete destruction of the primary forest. Rubber tapping and rattan gathering are fairly widespread, but these are mostly secondary economic activities practiced by people who are primarily swidden farmers. The soil in the Telang River region is sandy and fairly poor, and there are extensive marshy areas which are not suitable for agriculture. The upper Patai area is slightly more elevated and distant from the Barito flood basin, and its soil is somewhat more fertile. The Telang River supports a population density of only 15 per square mile, while the Patai has 30 per square mile. However, in the Daju, Paku, and Karau drainages, which in the past had a quite low population density, there still remain considerable primary forest and relatively fertile soil. The upper reaches of these two rivers form a transition zone between the "hill" peoples, speakers of Northeast Barito languages, and "lowland" peoples who speak Southeast Barito languages.

Historical Account

Prior to the Dutch period the Bandjar kingdom, ruled successively by radjas and sultans, supported a "court" culture with a literate historical tradition. Foreign accounts dealing with the Southeast Barito Basin prior to the sixteenth century are almost nonexistent. Between the sixteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries reports gradually became more numerous, although for the most part they discussed trade conditions and had little to say about the inland regions, since the Bandjar sultans, who controlled trade in the area, followed a policy of preventing foreign access to the interior. For these reasons most of the historical materials relevant to the area of the Southeast Barito Basin concentrate on the Bandjar to the neglect of the Dajak, a bias which will necessarily be reflected in the account presented here.

From the Ma'anjan standpoint, the picture that emerges from a consideration of the linguistic evidence, Dajak oral

4. Figures compiled from raw data collected during the 1961 Indonesian census and kindly made available to me by the Central Kalimantan Census Bureau at Palangka Raja.

traditions, and historical records is one of Dajak retreat in the face of Bandjar expansion. Linguistically, the present discontinuous distribution of the Southeast Barito isolects (see Map 3) seems to indicate that Dajak swidden cultivators formerly occupied the whole of the Hulu Sungai district of the present Bandjar region. According to their oral traditions, all the Ma'anjan peoples trace their origin from a settlement located near the present town of Amuntai in the Hulu Sungai district. The encroachment of Bandjar peoples on the fertile Hulu Sungai region forced the Ma'anjan to disperse to the northwest area they presently occupy. The historical evidence seems to indicate that pepper cultivation in the Hulu Sungai was in the hands of Dajak swidden farmers until the closing decade of the seventeenth century, at which time the increasing demand for export pepper brought great numbers of Bandjar sedentary cultivators into the Hulu Sungai and forced the Dajak out. Periodic Bandjar raids into the Ma'anjan refuge area in search of slaves and forest products alienated the Dajak people from their more powerful Islamic neighbors, and their disaffection was increased by Bandjar competition for their land,⁵ by the economic exploitation of the Dajak, and by attempts at coercive proselytizing among the fragmented Dajak communities. This antagonistic Dajak-Bandjar relationship is still an important dynamic element in south Borneo society.

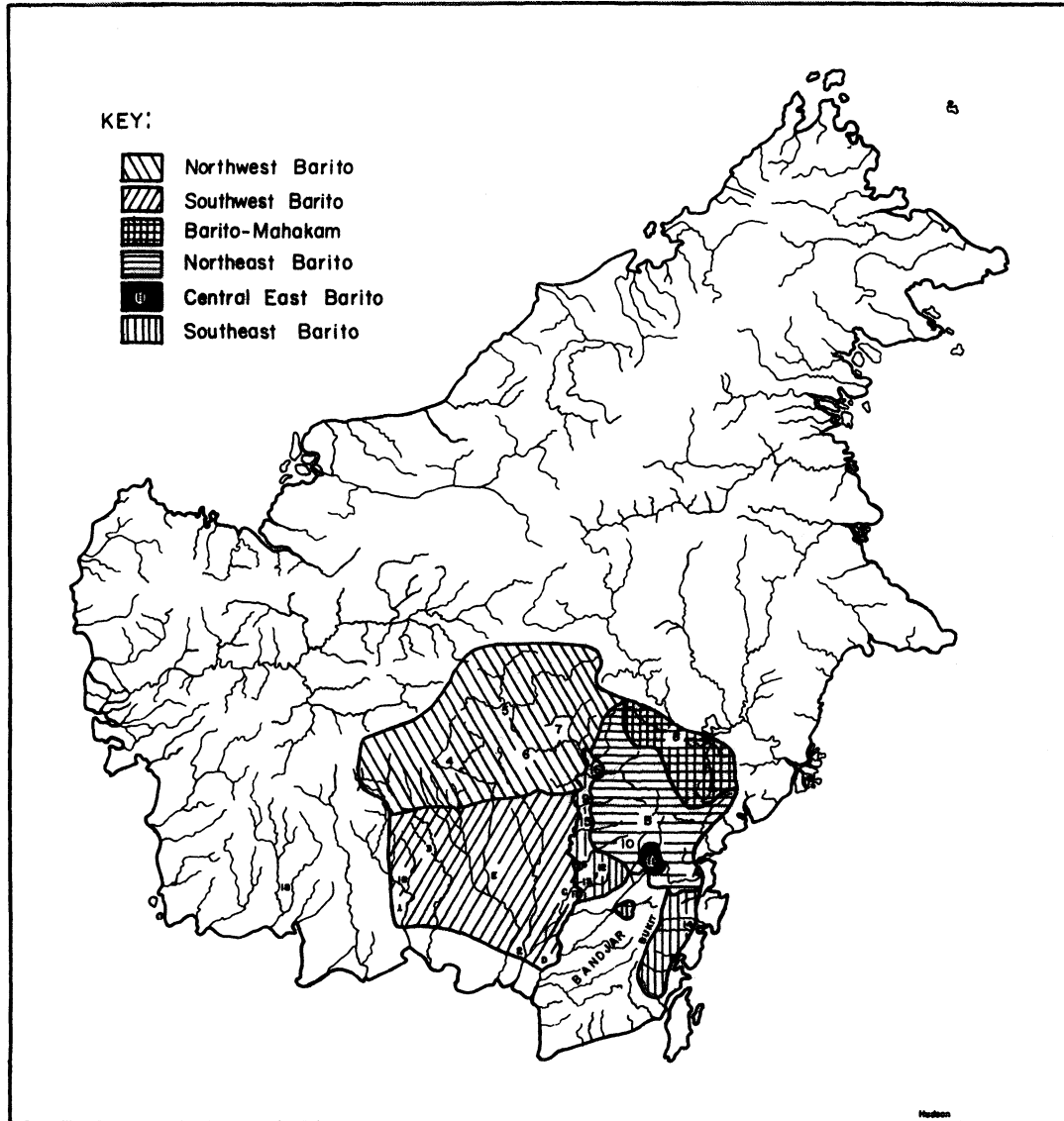
The Late Prehistoric Period

In an earlier publication I set forth a classification of sixteen languages, or isolects, spoken by the Dajaks of southern Kalimantan.⁶ I assigned these languages to several linguistic subgroups, all of which belong to a larger association that I have termed the Barito Family. The languages used in the classification, and the subgroups of the Barito Family to which they were assigned, are given below in summary. The numbers appearing before the language names indicate the location of the natal village of the informant as indicated on Map 3. Letters indicate related dialects. The numbers 17, 18, and 19 on the map indicate the respective home villages of informants speaking Bandjar, Delang, and Tamuan, three coastal Malay languages.

5. Bangert, for instance, noted in 1857 that, "At present the Bandjars, in a process that has probably been going on for some time, are trying to crowd out the Dajaks in the Pattai region." C. Bangert, "Verslag der reis in de binnenwaarts gelegene streken van Doessoen Ilir," Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (IX), 1860, p. 173.

6. Hudson, The Barito Isolects of Borneo.

Map 3: Dajak and Malay Language Groups of Southern Kalimantan



Northwest Barito:

- 4 Dohoi
- 5 Murung-1
- 6 Murung-2
- 7 Siang

Barito-Mahakam:

- 8 Tundjung

Northeast Barito:

- 9 Tabojan
- 10 Lawangan
- A Pasir
- B Bawu

Central East Barito:

- 11 Dusun Dejah

Southwest Barito:

- 1 Ba'amang
- 2 Kapuas
- 3 Katingan
- C Mengkatip
- D Bakumpai
- E Kahajan

Southeast Barito:

- 12 Paku
- 13 Ma'anjan
- 14 Samihim
- 15 Dusun Witu
- 16 Dusun Malang

A glance at the language distribution pattern indicated in Map 3 shows a discontinuous distribution for the languages of the Southeast Barito group, of which Ma'anjan is one constituent member. It appears that speakers of Bandjar Malay have intruded into an area in the Hulu Sungai district that was formerly the territory of speakers of Southeast Barito Dajak languages. We can hypothesize, therefore, that before the arrival of Bandjar peoples in southeastern Borneo, speakers of Barito languages had a continuous distribution throughout the whole area of the Southeast Barito Basin. There are still a few pockets in the Hulu Sungai where Ma'anjan is spoken and it is possible that the extensive stretches of savannah land existing in the present Bandjar area have resulted from the too-intensive practice of shifting cultivation by former Dajak inhabitants.

The Negara Kingdom

Sometime before the middle of the fourteenth century, an inland kingdom was established in the upper Hulu Sungai. Our information regarding this kingdom is derived mostly from the traditional chronicle Hikajat Radja Bandjar dan Kotawaringin ("Tale of the Kings of Bandjar and Kotawaringin").⁷ As with many such sources, there is much legendary material mixed in with the historical narrative, especially in the early period. According to the Hikajat, the founders of the inland kingdom,

7. Two versions of this chronicle are presented in A. A. Cense, De Kroniek van Bandjarmasin (Saantpoort: C. A. Mees, 1928).

Empu Djatmaka and his son Lembu Mangkurat, were said to be from Keling, which is identified with the Indian state of Gujerat.⁸ They established the first settlement at Marampiau, near the confluence of the Negara and Meram rivers. Empu Djatmaka's two military commanders were dispatched to conquer the upper Hulu Sungai region; one took a force and subdued the area of the Tabalong and Balangan rivers, while the other campaigned in the region of the Amandit and Alai (see Map 2, above).

Both expeditions were successful and the conquered chiefs were led before the ruler. They were placed under the authority of the two army commanders, and every year had to come and pay the required tribute. After being royally treated the chiefs returned to their homes, with the injunction not to murder each other any more.⁹

The new kingdom of Negaradipa was proclaimed, and two monuments were set up to commemorate the occasion, one at Marampiau, called Tjandi Laras, and one at the site of the present Amuntai, called Tjandi Agung. A port was established at Margasari. It is not clear just where the capital of Negaradipa was located, but it was probably on the Negara River, somewhere between the present cities of Negara and Amuntai.

Although Negaradipa was thus ostensibly founded by traders from northwest India, its rulers were said to have introduced a court ceremonial system modelled on that of Madjapahit:

. . . the state institutions of the ruler of Madjapahit were taken as examples, and Javanese customs and clothing were copied. The ruler even expressly forbade the future use of Malay, Keling, or other forms of clothing.¹⁰

After the death of Empu Djatmaka, the Hikajat relates, the succession passed not to his son, Lembu Mangkurat, but to a woman of mysterious origins, Putri Tundjung Buih.¹¹ Lembu Mangkurat was appointed prime minister, a position he held through several successive reigns and in which role he is

8. Cense, op. cit., pp. 108-109.

9. Ibid., p. 10. All excerpts translated by the author.

10. Ibid., p. 12.

11. According to the Hikajat, Lembu Mangkurat, following instructions received in a dream, found Putri Tundjung Buih enveloped in the foam of a river whirlpool. Ibid., p. 15.

depicted by the Hikajat as an astute, loyal, Gadjah Mada-type figure. Putri Tundjung Buih and Raden Surjanata, a Madjapahit prince brought from Java by Lembu Mangkurat, were married and became the progenitors of the Bandjar royal line.

Four generations later, according to the chronicle, there was an Oedipal mix-up in which one ruler, Putri Kalungsu, inadvertently married her son, aden Sari Kaburangan. The latter became the new ruler when his mother-wife felt it expedient to retire from public life. She remained at Negaradipa, while Sari Kaburangan moved the seat of government to Negara Daha, the site of the present town of Negara.¹²

Raden Sukarama, the son and successor to Sari Kaburangan, passed over his own sons and designated a grandchild, Raden Samudera, as his heir. The crown prince was still a minor at the time of his grandfather's death, and after some fraternal infighting one of the neglected sons, Pangeran Tumenggung, emerged as the victor, had himself elevated to the throne, and moved his capital to Danau Punggung in the lake district of Hulu Sungai. To ensure his safety Raden Samudera was smuggled away from the court by his supporters and hidden in various remote places. Eventually he found his way to the town of Bandjar¹³ in the south. Subsequently Bandjar became the center of a movement to put Raden Samudera back on the throne, and a civil war broke out.

In the course of the ensuing struggle Raden Samudera requested help from the Islamic state of Demak, which had become the paramount power in Java after the fall of Madjapahit in the first quarter of the sixteenth century. Demak sent troops, which were added to the other--apparently considerable--forces supporting Pangeran Samudera. When the opposing armies of Samudera and Tumenggung faced each other at the confluence of the Alai and the Amandit rivers for what was to be a decisive battle, it was agreed that many lives would be saved if the two pangeran met in single combat to decide the succession. Pangeran Tumenggung, who was an old man by this time, felt some qualms about doing battle with the young Samudera and declined to fight his nephew. There was a reconciliation, and Pangeran Samudera was proclaimed ruler and vested with the insignia of office. He moved the seat of government to Bandjarmasin and left his uncle in control of the Alai-Amandit region. Pangeran Samudera repaid his debt to Demak by agreeing to send an annual embassy to pay homage to the Sultan of Demak and by allowing the

12. Ibid., pp. 33 and 109.

13. This "Bandjar" does not appear to have been located in the same place as the present Bandjarmasin. It was probably situated on the east bank of the Barito opposite Pulau Kembang, at the mouth of the Kuin River.

Penghulu of Demak to convert the inhabitants of Bandjar to Islam.¹⁴ Samudera himself converted to Islam and was invested with the title of Sultan Surian Allah or, according to some sources, Sultan Suriansjah. Thus the period of the Negara kingdom concluded and the period of the Bandjar sultanate began.

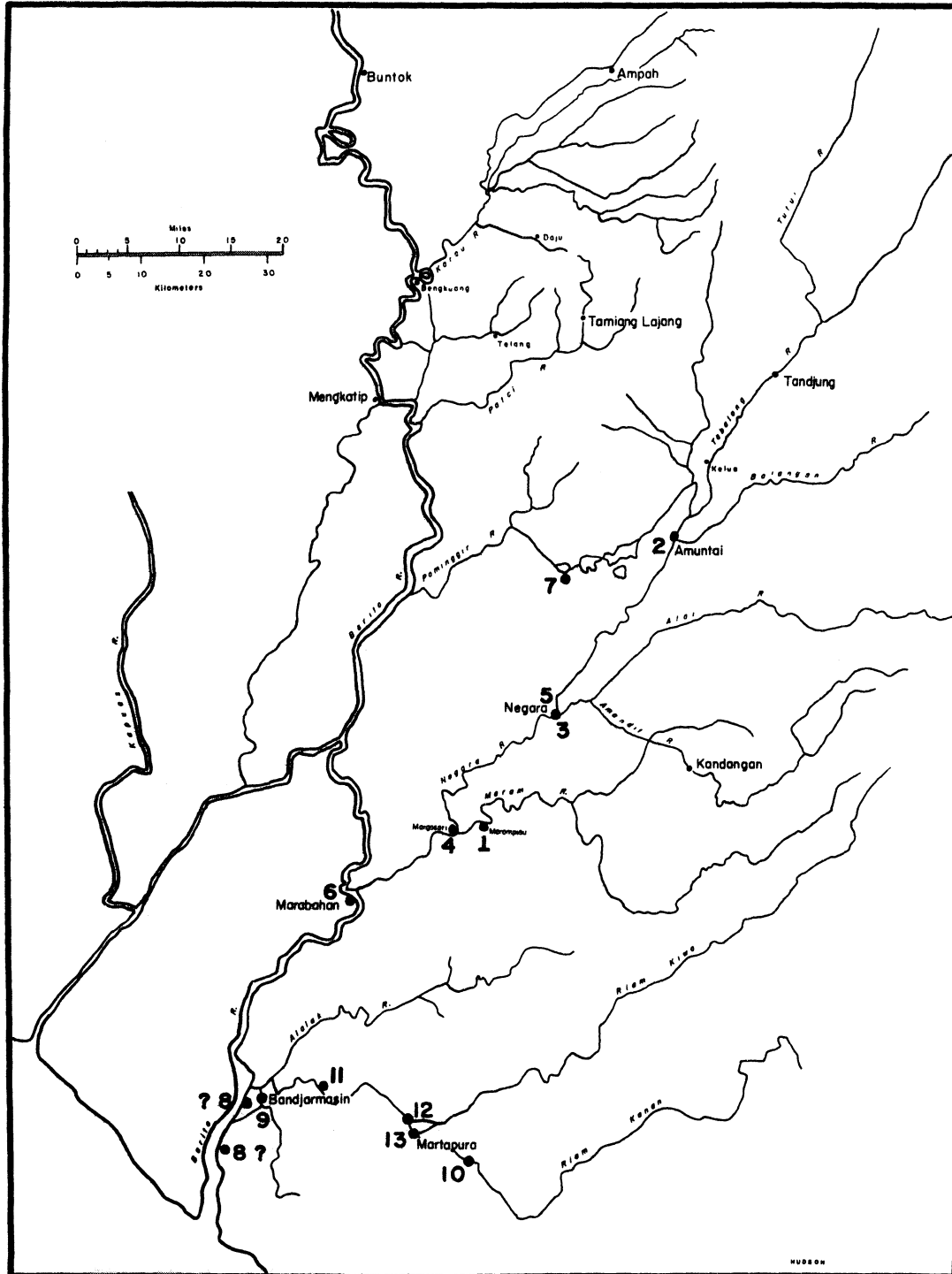
This account presents the barest outline of the story told, with some variations, in the different versions of the Hikajat Radja Bandjar dan Kotawaringin.¹⁵ Only the most approximate sort of dating can be applied to the events described in the chronicle, especially the early ones. It appears that a kingdom was already established in the Negara region by 1365,¹⁶ but that Bandjarmasin had not yet risen as an important trading center by the middle of the sixteenth century.¹⁷ Islam was introduced into Southeastern Borneo no later than 1588, when Demak fell to Mataram, and most likely considerably before, possibly around 1530.¹⁸

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14. From Demak's point of view, the Islamization of the Bandjar region was another step in its effort to deny the Portuguese access to ports on the Moluccas route. See John F. Cady, Southeast Asia: Its Historical Development (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964), p. 180.
 15. I have left out many details which are obviously fabulous in nature. The genealogy of the Negara rulers presented in the chronicle may be of interest for its instances of purported uncle-niece and aunt-nephew marriages.
 16. Tabalung is named as a tributary state of Madjapahit in Canto 14 of the Nagarakrtagama. Pigeaud places this Tabalung near Amuntai, where the river Tabalong still reflects the older name. See Th. Pigeaud, Java in the Fourteenth Century (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1962), IV, p. 32.
 17. In 1530 Castanheda did not list Bandjarmasin in his account of important Bornean ports (see Cense, op. cit., p. 110). Maps appearing between 1558 and 1568 showed the inland city of Alabio, located between the present Negara and Amuntai, but not Bandjarmasin. See Jan O. M. Broek, Place Names in 16th and 17th Century Borneo (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Department of Geography, 1959, mimeo), p. 22. Bandjarmasin did not begin to appear on European maps until 1598 (Ibid., pp. 8-9, Fig. 2).
 18. On the basis of a study of graves in Old Bandjarmasin, Palm put the date of Sultan Suriansjah's death around 1550. See J. C. Noorlander, Bandjarmasin en de Compagnie in de Tweede Helft der 18de Eeuw (Leiden: M. Dubbeldeman, 1935), p. 188.

KEY TO MAP 4: PLACE NAMES IN EARLY BANDJAR HISTORY

1. Tjandi Laras (c. 1400?)
2. Kuripan; Tjandi Agung (c. 1410?)
3. ? Negaradipa? (c. 1438?)
4. Marampiau-Pabaungan (Negaradipa's port)
5. Negara Daha (c. 1530?)
6. Kota Arja Taranggana (Negara Daha's port)
7. Danau Punggung (c. 1588?)
8. Bandjarasih (Kuin) (c. 1595?)
9. Tatas
10. Kaju Tangi (1612)
11. Pamakuan (1630)
12. Batang Mangapan (1650)
13. Martapura (1771)

Map 4: Historical Sites in the Southeast Barito Basin



The Bandjar Sultanate

In contrast to the Negara kingdom, the Bandjar sultanate was basically a commercial state. True, even Negara had maintained ports and some interest in international trade, for according to the Hikajat, when the capital was moved from Negaradipa to Negara Daha, ". . . a port was made at Muara Bahan, where many foreign merchants quickly established themselves: Gujerati, Chinese, Malay, Makasarese, and Badjau. Only a few remained at the old port at Muara Rampiau."¹⁹

In the sixteenth century the tempo of trade in the region increased somewhat due to a shift in Chinese trading practices. Portuguese administration of Malacca after their capture of that port in 1511 was found to be unsatisfactory by the Chinese merchants,²⁰ who began instead to call at southeast Bornean ports in increasing numbers. The Chinese brought the locally prized large earthen jars decorated with a dragon motif and other ceramic wares. They exported ". . . rhinoceros horns, peacocks, parrots, gold dust, crane crests, wax, rattan mats, dragons-blood [a type of resin], nutmegs, deer hides, and so on."²¹ The Portuguese, too, came to Bandjarmasin to trade in camphor, diamonds, and bezoar stone (a concretion found in the alimentary organs of monkeys and believed to have magical properties).²²

The transfer of the capital from Negara to Bandjarmasin in the mid-sixteenth century was a logical response to this increased trade. The port of Bandjarmasin provided a better location to exploit the trade than Marabahan, port of Negara Dipa, since it controlled access to the Martapura River as well as to the Barito and Negara drainages. There is some indication that Marabahan was too closely under the control of the capricious Bakumpai Dajak (a Southwest Barito-speaking group known as Biadju in the early literature) for the liking of the international trading community.²³ It also appears that the transfer may have been motivated at least partly by a Bandjar desire to minimize contacts between foreign merchants and the Dajak people

19. Cense, op. cit., p. 33.

20. Cady, op. cit., p. 180.

21. W. P. Groeneveldt, Historical Notes on Indonesia and Malaya Compiled from Chinese Sources (Djakarta: Bhratara, 1960), p. 107.

22. Cense, op. cit., p. 92.

23. See J. Mallinckrodt, Het Adatrecht van Borneo (Leiden: M. Dubbeldeman, 1928), I, p. 578.

of the interior who produced the export commodities.²⁴ The Islamization of the kingdom that accompanied the relocation of its capital probably also played a part in the gradual rise of Bandjarmasin's importance by facilitating trade with the Islamic coastal states of Java. However, it was the introduction of commercial pepper cultivation into the Bandjar sultanate in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries rather than its conversion to Islam in the sixteenth that led to the growth of Bandjarmasin's importance in the Indonesian trade sphere.

In the 1620's Mataram, the major inland kingdom of Java, embarked on a campaign against the coastal states that conquered one port after another, and forced an exodus of Javanese traders to southern Sumatra, Makasar, and especially to Bandjarmasin.²⁵ At the same time, the international competition for Sumatran pepper was becoming more intense with the arrival of Dutch and English merchants and the attempt by Atjeh to implement monopolist policies in the pepper trade. Bandjarmasin had begun planting and exporting pepper on a small scale at the beginning of the seventeenth century in response to the needs of Chinese traders who were finding it increasingly difficult to secure pepper at Patani and Banten, the ports they had previously utilized.²⁶ In 1625 Bandjarmasin was still not supplying a great deal of pepper, at least not to the Dutch;²⁷ but the influx of refugees from the Java coastal states in that decade stimulated the Bandjar trading community to take a more vigorous interest in the crop. Pepper planting increased throughout the Bandjar realm, often, apparently, at the expense of subsistence crops, so that henceforth Bandjarmasin was forced to import rice from Java and Makasar.

24. Such a policy was still in force at least as late as the early eighteenth century. See Daniel Beeckman, A Voyage to and from the Island of Borneo (London: T. Warner, 1718), pp. 44-45; and Bernard H. M. Vlekke, Nusantara (Bandung: W. van Hoeve, 1960), p. 202.

25. B. J. O. Schrieke, "The Shifts in Political and Economic Power in the Indonesian Archipelago in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century," Indonesian Sociological Studies (The Hague, Bandung: W. van Hoeve, 1955), p. 79; and R. Suntharalingam, "The British in Bandjarmasin; an Abortive Attempt at Settlement 1700-1707," Journal of Southeast Asian History (IV, 2), 1963, p. 36.

26. Suntharalingam, op. cit., p. 36; Noorlander, op. cit., p. 19; and Schrieke, op. cit., pp. 29-30. The first European reference to Bandjarmasin in 1596 does not list pepper among the products available at that port. See Cense, op. cit., p. 92. However, the author of this report did not visit Bandjarmasin in person.

27. Schrieke, op. cit., p. 202.

There was probably a small Bandjar-Malay core living permanently in the interior of the Negara drainage at the beginning of the pepper period, but the population of the Bandjar sultanate outside the port towns was at that time still predominantly Southeast Barito Dajak. These people engaged in subsistence swidden agriculture and were not willing to allow secondary pursuits to interfere with the task of rice cultivation. This Dajak reluctance to become overly dependent on a cash or trading economy at the expense of subsistence agriculture continues to the present day and is one of the economic and psychological characteristics that sets the majority of the Southeast Barito Dajak off from their Bandjar neighbors.

The Dajak had supplied the forest products that were the Bandjar stock in trade up to the end of the sixteenth century. They also grew commercial pepper as a part of their swidden complex, and continued to do so up to the end of the seventeenth century in some interior regions.²⁸ The Dajak cultivators were probably able to fill Bandjarmasin's pepper export demand in the early days of the trade. However, during the seventeenth century the Dutch gradually extended their pepper and spice monopoly throughout the archipelago, and other pepper ports were closed to merchants of other nations. Malacca fell in 1641; the Moluccas were under Dutch control by 1663 and Makasar by 1667; Mataram was a Dutch vassal by 1677, and by 1678 the Sumatran pepper ports had largely come under Dutch control. As rival ports declined in number, the demand for Bandjar pepper increased proportionally, and ships from many nations, including England, the Netherlands, Denmark, Portugal, and China called at Bandjarmasin in search of pepper. Up to the eighteenth century the Chinese held the advantage in this competition because of the great Bandjar demand for Chinese goods.²⁹

As part-time pepper cultivators the Dajak were not able to meet the increasing demand for production, and at the same time, as we have seen, they were not willing to give up their traditional way of life to become full-time commercial farmers. The result was that elements of the Bandjar-Malay population began to move inland from the coast and to displace the Dajak in the best interior pepper-growing region, which was in the upper Negara drainage above Amuntai.³⁰ By the end of the eighteenth century, pepper was being cultivated in more or less permanent

28. Suntharalingam, op. cit., p. 46.

29. Ibid.

30. L. C. D. van Dijk, Neerlands Vroegste Betrekkingen met Borneo, den Solo-Archipel, Cambodja, Siam en Cochîn-China (Amsterdam: J. H. Scheltema, 1862), p. 38; and Cense, op. cit., pp. 100-101.

plots in the Hulu Sungai; there were inland pockets in the region with relatively high population densities,³¹ from which we may infer that the Dajak, with their shifting cultivation, had given way to Bandjar-Malay sedentary farmers.³²

The Ma'anjan Exodus and Padju
Epat Proto-history

According to Padju Epat oral traditional history,³³ all the Ma'anjan originated from a settlement, Sarunai, which was said to have been located near the present town of Amuntai in the Hulu Sungai district of the Bandjar region, which now lies in the province of South Kalimantan. One of the main cultural characteristics differentiating the Ma'anjan of this time from other Dajak groups was their practice of periodic mass lustration of the bones of their dead in a ceremony called idjambe. Each Ma'anjan settlement had a special structure, called a papuian, that was the locus of the bone burning. Although Sarunai was the principal Ma'anjan settlement in the region, there are reputed to have been a number of other Ma'anjan villages in what is now Bandjar territory, each with its own papuian (see Map 5 for the reputed locations of former and present papuian).

Sarunai was attacked and destroyed by people from Tandjung Djawa (literally "Cape Java"),³⁴ and the heads of the slain

31. Noorlander, op. cit., p. 124.

32. For a continuation of the Bandjar historical account through the Dutch and Indonesian periods, see Alfred B. Hudson, "Padju Epat: the Ethnography and Social Structure of a Ma'anjan Dajak Group in Southeastern Borneo" (Diss., Cornell University, 1967), pp. 68-83.

33. This Padju Epat version of Ma'anjan history agrees in its general outline with that of other Ma'anjan groups.

34. It is difficult to assess the significance of the name Tandjung Djawa. Padju Epat's foremost authority on traditional history claims that its people were Lawangan Dajak from the hills to the north. That the recounted destruction of Sarunai was ostensibly the work of Dajak is confirmed from internal evidence within the story: the victors removed the heads of the dead Ma'anjan. Another point that might support the Lawangan thesis is the present existence of a village named Tandjung Djawa on the east bank of the Barito, a few miles north of Buntok; this could very well have been a Lawangan village in the period before Bandjar and Southeast Barito Dajak moved northward along the Barito. On the other hand, tandjung is a common toponym

KEY TO MAP 5: PAPUIAN SITES

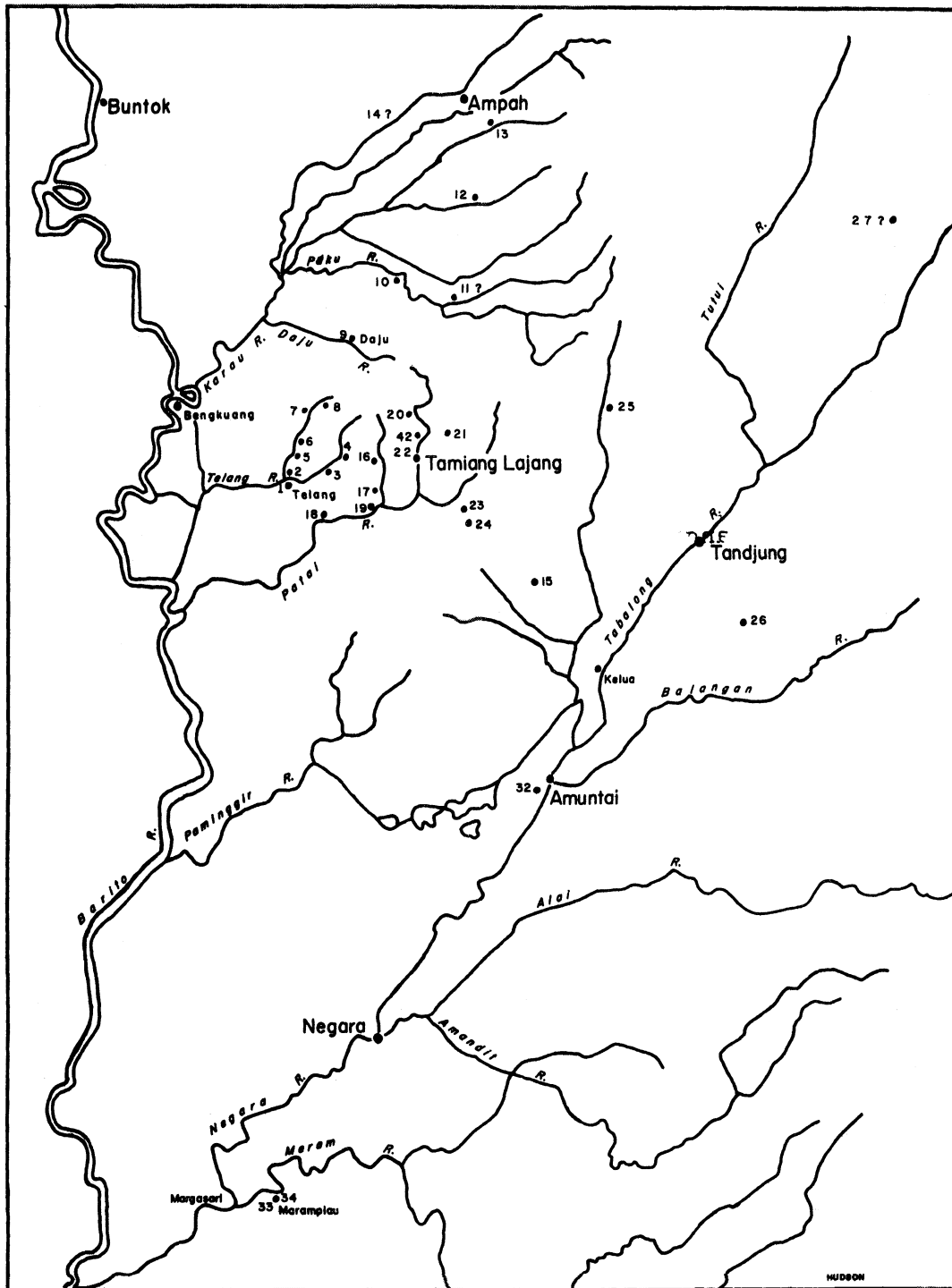
1. Telang
2. Siong
3. Murutuwu
4. Ganting
5. Kararat
6. Maipe
7. Djamu
8. Balawa
9. Daju
10. Tampa
11. Paku
12. Patung
13. Rodok
14. Karau
15. Diwalang (near Bagok)
16. Sarapat
17. Tanjut
18. Patai
19. Harara
20. Haringin
21. Karanglangit
22. Tamiang Lajang
23. Dja'ar
24. Sangarasi'
25. Bentut
26. Waruken
27. Pimpingen
- *28. Bondar (on Lake Bondar, above the Ajuh drainage)
42. Meganding

Papuan in Sarunai

- *29. Sarunai Lusun
- *30. Sarunai Raja
- *31. Batang Helang Ranu'
32. Sandi Agung
33. Sandi Laras (owned by Datu Padauhlangit)
34. Sandi Laras (owned by Datu Mangarejan)
- *35. Sandi Wurung
- *36. Dangka' Amu'
- *37. Dangka' Nangkai
- *38. Kupang Sundung
- *39. Danau Ki'eh
- *40. Bahurung
- *41. Sanambak

* Indicates sites not located on the map.

Map 5: Present and Former Papuan Sites



Ma'anjan were taken. According to Ma'anjan traditional law, a headless corpse could not receive idjambe, so a new type of death ceremony, not involving mass lustration, was devised for the victims of the raid. Two forms developed, kedaton, a seven day ceremony, and mia, which lasted three days.³⁵ After the destruction of Sarunai, the Ma'anjan gradually withdrew northwest to the territory of the Patai, Telang, and Daju river drainages. The Bandjar took possession of the fertile Hulu Sungai region, but several Ma'anjan villages, such as the one at Waruken (Map 5, papuan site 26), still remain in Bandjar territory as vestiges of former Sarunai settlements.

During the exodus from Sarunai, the Ma'anjan broke up into four different groups, each under a separate leader titled Uriah,³⁶ each settling in a different region, and each diverging from the others on minor points of customary law and dialect. Each subgroup had a name which was primarily descriptive: the Daju segment occupied a number of villages along the Daju River; the Padju Sapuluh ("ten villages") segment located in the Patai

format and may have indicated some area to the south of Sarunai that was becoming associated with the seventeenth century refugees from Java. If the deed was perpetrated by Lawangan, we must ask why they were raiding so far to the south. The answer could well be that the Lawangan raid was instigated by the Bandjar. It may be of some significance that in the gradual retreat following the alleged destruction of Sarunai, the Ma'anjan moved to the north and west, which was toward Lawangan territory and away from Bandjar territory. However, this is simply conjecture.

35. See A. Hudson, "Death Ceremonies of the Padju Epat Ma'anjan Dayaks," in T. Harrisson (ed.), Borneo Writing and Related Matters (Kuching: Sarawak Museum, 1966), pp. 401-402.
36. As one expects in a traditional history, there is little internal consistency among different accounts of a given episode, or even among accounts given by the same individual at different times. According to some versions of the story, there were seven uriah who led the different groups away from the Sarunai region, and only some of these groups were Ma'anjan. Thus, Uriah Napulangit is said to have led the Padju Epat group, Uriah Biring the Padju Sapuluh group, Uriah Magal the Banua Lima groups, and Uriah Renda the Daju group. At the same time, Uriah Pulanggiwa led a group to the Kapuas-Kahajan drainage and Uriah Rentau a group to the Karau region, thereby accounting for the origins of the "tribes" of the Southwest and Northeast Barito groups respectively. However, no two accounts of this type agree on all the uriah names nor their destinations. There is another version of the uriah story in which they represent nobles of the Bandjar courts who had received the various Dajak regions in appanage and who periodically toured their domains to look after things.

River drainage; the Banua Lima ("five villages") settled in the eastern portion of Ma'anjan territory and occupied villages along parts of the Uwie and Tutui rivers of the Tabalong River drainage in what is now the province of Central Kalimantan; and the Padju Epat ("four villages") contingent found a home in the drainages of the Telang and Siong rivers, at the western extreme of the Ma'anjan region. (See Map 6 for the traditional areas occupied by the Ma'anjan subgroups in post-Sarunai times.)

Each new Ma'anjan village established its own papuan, transferring a bit of earth from the site of a previous cremation structure, and maintained its own ritual paraphernalia for idjambe. But, according to the traditional account, a fanatic named Labai Lumiah, an Islamic convert of Ma'anjan origin, sought to demonstrate his zeal for the new religion by Islamizing the Ma'anjan, and as a first step set about eradicating all their papuan and idjambe paraphernalia. As a Ma'anjan, he knew where each papuan was located and precisely what objects to destroy. Forces were apparently put at his disposal by the Bandjarese sultan, for within a short time Labai Lumiah had swept through the Ma'anjan territories and had destroyed all the cremation structures but five, those in the Padju Epat villages of Telang, Siong, Murutuwu, Balawa, and Maipe. Labai Lumiah approached Padju Epat from the east, but in a pitched battle at Murutuwu that is the glory of local tradition he was repulsed by a combined force from the five villages, and the remaining papuan were saved.

In the Ma'anjan villages that had been ravaged, no attempt was made to rebuild the demolished papuan or to replace the ritual apparatus required for the performance of idjambe. After the campaign of Labai Lumiah, Padju Epat was the only Ma'anjan subgroup to maintain the custom of mass burning of the bones of the dead. The other groups made use of mia and kedaton, the death ceremonies that had been devised for the headless victims of Sarunai following the Tandjung Djawa raid.

As traditional oral history, it is hard to tell when the recounted events took place, or whether they occurred partly or not at all as they are now told. However, the Padju Epat Ma'anjan burn the bones of their dead, and the other Ma'anjan do not; the former refer to this tradition to account for the difference.³⁷ Aside from its territorial identity, the custom

37. It might be argued that the Labai Lumiah story is a particularistic tradition peculiar to the Padju Epat Ma'anjan, and that in actuality the other Ma'anjan groups had never shared the idjambe culture trait. I have not been able to determine this with certainty, but I have been assured by present and former demang (district adat heads) that the traditional histories of other Ma'anjan groups also describe the Sarunai origins, the original idjambe death ceremony, and relate the story of the destruction of the papuan to account for the absence of idjambe today.

of idjambe remains the most significant tangible characteristic setting off the Padju Epat segment from the other Ma'anjan groups.³⁸

In explaining why the expedition of Labai Lumiah finally met defeat at the hands of the Padju Epat Ma'anjan, while other groups had failed to stop it, some credit must go to the physical character of Padju Epat and especially to its isolated, swamp-bounded location. The Ma'anjan areas of Banua Lima and Padju Sapuluh were certainly much more easily accessible to an invading Bandjar force, and this is probably why the villages of the latter two Ma'anjan areas did not attempt to reestablish the idjambe death ceremony. The vulnerability of the Banua Lima and Padju Sapuluh groups is indicated by the fact that the former was actually incorporated into the territory of the Bandjar sultanate (indeed, its villages were administered even by the Dutch as part of the Bandjar Hulu Sungai district). The latter was forced to pay a rather onerous tax to the Bandjar sultan as was noted in 1857:

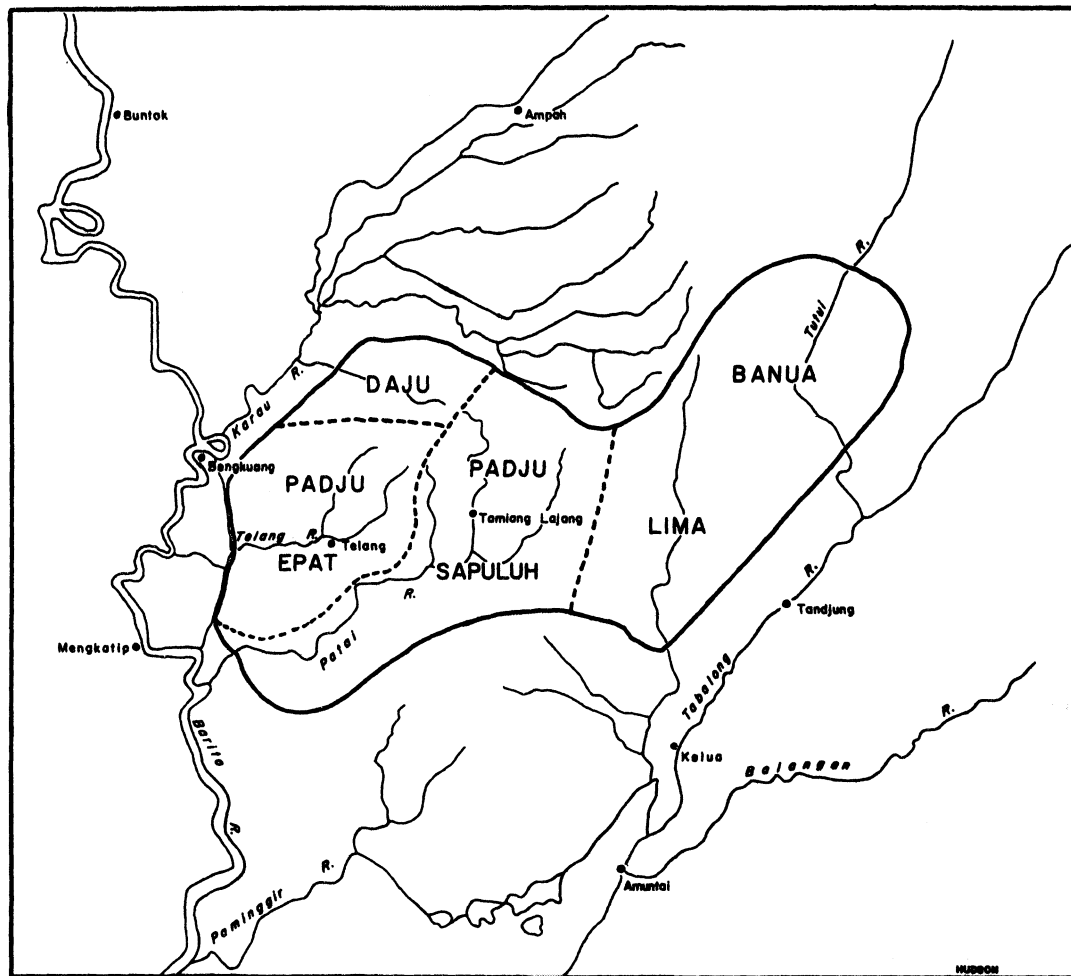
The Pattai [Padju Sapuluh] is the only one in the area where the people do not pay the normal per capita tax in cash. Everywhere else every able-bodied man pays a 200-duiten head tax each year. In place of this, 1000 ironwood pillars are demanded from the Pattai each year for the benefit of the Sultan's deer park. I do not know the origin of this custom; it is not fixed by contract as far as I know; it seems to be a vestige of the period before the establishment of Dutch control. If the delivery of this tax continues, it will hit the population rather severely. The chiefs of the area find the collection and removal of the pillars a great burden, and what is even more serious, according to their statement, is that the population still imagines that it is partially under the authority of the Sultan, even though their territory is administered on behalf of the Dutch government. The true situation is still not clear even among the chiefs. The fact that Pattai lies on the border of the Sultanate, and also that a certain Pangeran Achmad of Bandjarmasin still comes to stay here for a few days each year, contributes to the confusion prevalent among the populace on this matter.³⁹

No such burden was ever placed upon the isolated people of Padju Epat.

38. I say "tangible" advisedly. There are slight dialect and adat differences separating the various Ma'anjan groups, but idjambe is the most distinctive feature of Padju Epat. In the intangible realm, however, one must recognize the psychological discrimination that each Ma'anjan makes between his own and the other groups.

39. Bangert, op. cit., pp. 174-175.

Map 6: Territories Occupied by Ma'anjan Subgroups



The Settlement of the Padju Epat Villages

As we have already seen, the oral tradition recounts that Uriah Napulangit led the Padju Epat contingent in the retreat from Sarunai. His son, Dambung Napulangit, established the first Ma'anjan settlement in Padju Epat on the south bank of the Telang River near present-day Tampulangit. This first village was called Manewung, Bu'ih, or Hawatang according to different versions of the story. On the manner of settlement there appears to have been some consistency of view over time, for the version of early Padju Epat history that Bangert received a century ago shows considerable agreement:

Concerning the origin [of the Padju Epat inhabitants] as a people, they state that they came from the east, on the other side of the easterly watershed, under the command of a royal personage whose title was Aria. At the same time several such emigrations had taken place, also under the command of [various] Arias. Then their ancestors settled on the site of the present Tampo Langit. Indeed, not far from that village one finds a stretch of ground that is littered with the sandong of extinct families.⁴⁰

Sandong is the Southwest Barito equivalent of the Ma'anjan tambak, an elevated ironwood receptacle for the ash residue remaining after lustration. Just how the evidence presented by these "ancient" tambak remains should be interpreted is not clear. My own experience in dating such relics indicates that visible evidence of ironwood posts like those used to support tambak would not survive more than seventy or eighty years of neglect in that climate. This would put the abandonment of Manewung no later than about 1775, which seems too late on the basis of other evidence.⁴¹

After Manewung was abandoned a new settlement, called Halaman, was established farther upstream under the leadership of Patinggi Baris, reputedly the son of Dambung Napulangit. Halaman was located a half mile or so west of the present village of Telang. Because of the relatively poor soil in the Padju Epat area, a comparatively dispersed settlement pattern

40. Bangert, *op. cit.*, p. 156. It seems evident, however, that Bangert did not see the sandong remains himself.

41. For example, Bangert reported that Siong, which was reputedly founded some time after the abandonment of Manewung, "lies on a beautiful hill that is studded with fruit trees, especially durian, of enormous size" (*op. cit.*, p. 147). The Siong Uhang durian trees, which I have seen, could not have attained the majestic size indicated by Bangert in a mere eighty years.

was necessary, and, as the population grew, there was a periodic hiving off from Halaman, as individual notables led groups of settlers in the establishment of new, independent villages. Five general areas of settlement were established in this manner (see Map 7).

The first area of immigration was Siong, to the north of the Telang River and west of the lower course of the Siong River. The first village established there was at Siong Uhang ("withered" or "old" Siong), just across the river from the current site of Siong village. From Siong Uhang various other settlements were established at Renga', Bengkungan, and Potong Kaliwen (the location of the last is unknown). These three sites have long been abandoned as permanent villages, and the descendants of their founders make use of the Siong idjambe facilities. The site of the village of Siong was moved from Siong Uhang across the river to its present location in 1909 after a smallpox epidemic.

A second area of relocation was Murutuwu, on both sides of the middle and upper course of the Telang River. From Halaman, villages were established at Murutuwu, Tutui, and Pararo. Later Tutui and Pararo were abandoned, and their people merged to form the new village of Ganting, located about a half mile northeast of Murutuwu. Eventually, in 1932, Ganting residents moved their houses to a position contiguous to and just to the east of Murutuwu. This placed them in a more convenient location, astride the road connecting Telang with Tamiang Lajang. The whole settlement is now known as Murutuwu, but with only one or two exceptions the people of Ganting origin live east of a center line marked by the ceremonial hall (balai adat) and the people of Murutuwu origin west of it.

Inhabitants of Halaman also moved to the Telang area, south of the Telang River between the Napu River in the west and the limits of the Murutuwu area in the east; and between the Telang and Siong Rivers above their confluence, north to the limits of Maipe, and east to the limits of Murutuwu. This emigration occurred later and less voluntarily than the two described above, for, after spawning the villages of the Siong and Murutuwu regions, Halaman had to be abandoned. Its people had fought a defensive engagement in which they defeated a band of marauding Lawangan in the locally renowned Battle of Djuwung Salele.⁴² According to the story:

In the days when Patinggi Walek was chief of the village of Halaman, he had two famous warriors, the

42. Djuwung Salele (djuwung, "an extensive patch of desert-like sand") was a sandy region located immediately to the south of Halaman.

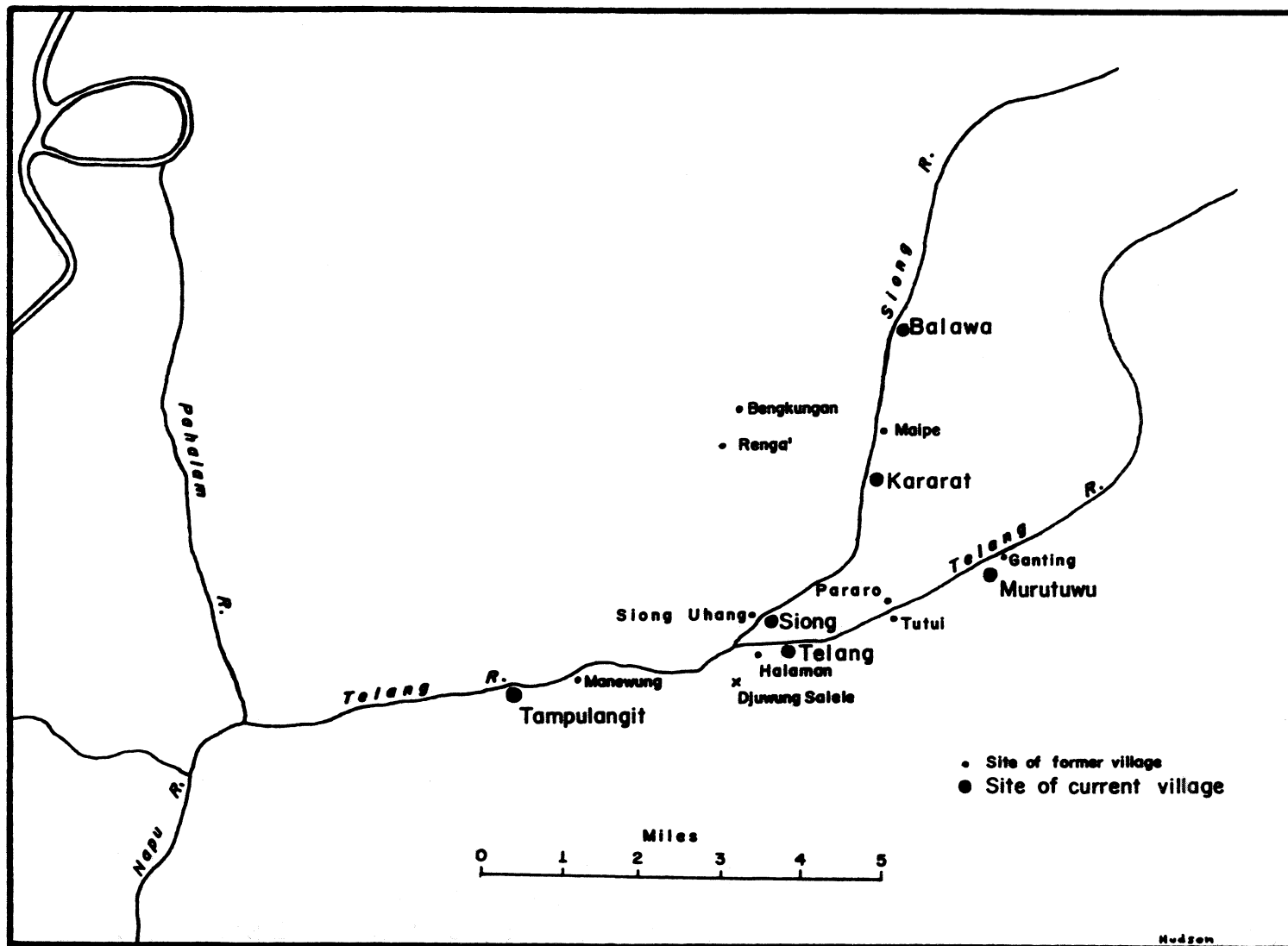
brothers Makulaju and Maku'ulai. When a band of ninety-nine Lawangan, led by one Marangau Pitau, swept down on the settlement they were met, against their expectations, by Makulaju and Maku'ulai. In the fierce battle that followed, the brothers slew the ninety-nine warriors, but their leader escaped.

Marangau Pitau wandered about the area, tired, thirsty and hungry, and when he came upon a house at Tutui, he approached and asked for some food. Unknown to him, the owner of the house was a cousin of Makulaju and Maku'ulai. This cousin said that all he could spare was a little "cold rice" (nahi' risak), which in reality was the title of his spear. As Marangau Pitau climbed the ladder to the house, he received his "cold rice." When Patinggi Walek heard of what had transpired, he feared the wrath of the spirits of all the Lawangan dead and perhaps reprisals from the living as well. He decided that the village should be moved to a more propitious site. After wandering in the forest, he found a spring from which clear, fresh water bubbled. He chose this spot for the new village, and since the spring was located in an extensive grove of bamboo (telang), he renamed the village Telang.

The fourth and fifth areas of settlement were those of Balawa and Maibe, in which villages were founded by emigration from Telang. Reportedly, the leaders of the founding expeditions were grandsons of the warrior Maku'ulai: Balawa was settled by Djaksatuha', the elder of the two, and the establishment of Maibe was led by Bajantuha'. Maibe occupied the area on both sides of the middle course of the Siong River, and Balawa both sides of the upper course. Although they had their own boundaries, until the early part of this century they followed a common adat, which differed somewhat from that of Telang, Siong, and Murutuwu. From Maibe, a non-independent village branch was established a half mile downstream at Kararat. There are no longer any houses on the original Maibe site, but two remain at Kararat, by which name the settlement is now locally known. Maibe's memory is preserved, however, in government records, which do not list Kararat; in the 1961 national census the inhabitants of that settlement were assigned to Maibe.

This accounts for the origin of all the Ma'anjan villages in Padju Epat, at least according to local narratives. There is, however, one other settlement within the traditional borders of Padju Epat--the village of Tampulangit whose population is not Ma'anjan but Bandjar.

Tampulangit lies on the south bank of the Telang River, about three miles downstream from its confluence with the Siong. The length of the time this Bandjar enclave has been situated



Map 7. Village Sites in Padju Epat.

there and its reason for being there at all are difficult to determine. It seems certain that the village has been located in its present position for the better part of two centuries, for Bangert described Tampulangit as quite well established at the time of his inspection trip:

This village is inhabited wholly by Malay and has a population of 90, of whom 18 are able-bodied men. In contrast to the Dajak, among the Malay each house is inhabited by only a single family. There are 8 houses in Tampo Langit. The head of this village is Pembakkal Gembong, a quite able man who has held this position for a good twenty years and has given no cause for dissatisfaction. The Malay of Tampo Langit are a good type of people who live on the best of terms with the Dajak and are entirely submissive to the rule of Suta Ono [the Padju Epat district chief]. They have little in common with the Malay in the south, carrying on little trade and maintaining themselves mostly by rice agriculture and fishing, as do the Dajak. One of the villagers, an old man, Tuan Gusti Amid, has held the post of religious leader for the last thirty years.⁴³

It should be noted also that this Bandjar community has been living in close association with the Dajak inhabitants of Padju Epat long enough so that a special role has been provided for them in the idjambe cremation ceremony.⁴⁴

There are several traditions explaining the Bandjar settlement at Tampulangit. There are two Ma'anjan renditions of the story, the first of which explains that in pre-Dutch times Padju Epat was under the suzerainty of the Bandjar ruler, who sent a contingent of Moslems to the area to assure its loyalty to the throne. A second version states that the people of Padju Epat petitioned the sultan to send some Bandjar to protect the idjambe ceremonies from intruders, the implication being that any intruders who happened along would probably be Bandjar and could best be dealt with by their own kind. The third explanation, one offered by both Ma'anjan and the people of Tampulangit, suggests that on request the sultan established a resident Bandjar force in Padju Epat to protect the area from Lawangan raids. Each of these versions offers the corollary that, since Moslems would not be happy living in a pig-filled Dajak village, the newcomers naturally set up their own village at a suitable distance from any Ma'anjan settlements.

43. Bangert, op. cit., p. 147.

44. See Hudson, "Death Ceremonies of the Padju Epat Ma'anjan Dayaks," p. 393 and n. 71.

Each of these explanations has a certain element of plausibility, but none can be substantiated. There is the added possibility that the founders of Tampulangit came for none of the above reasons but moved to Padju Epat of their own choice--perhaps as refugees seeking asylum after one of the frequent intra-Bandjar political squabbles--and, making it clear they were not looking for trouble, requested that they be allowed to settle. Bandjar emigration to areas like Padju Epat was not in itself remarkable; there are Bandjar settlements to be found along the lower courses of most of the rivers feeding into the Barito. What is clear is only that there has been a Bandjar settlement at Tampulangit for a long time and that, while its people have remained linguistically and religiously distinct, they maintain a close and harmonious relationship with the nearby Ma'anjan villagers. Most people of Tampulangit speak Ma'anjan fluently, though they use Bandjar at home; conversely, most Ma'anjan men, both inside and out of Padju Epat, can speak Bandjar.

Padju Epat in Historical Records

Padju Epat does not begin to come into sharper historical focus until the middle of the nineteenth century. In 1851, L. E. Denninger established a religious outpost at Murutuwu on behalf of the Barmen German Protestant missionary society.⁴⁵ He arrived in April 1851 with his wife and about twenty freed "Ngadju slaves" (they were actually Kapuas of the Southwest Barito group), thirteen of whom had been baptized. The redemption and baptizing of "slaves" was probably the most successful method in the mid-nineteenth century for obtaining Christian converts in the Southwest Barito, Kapuas-Kahajan areas.⁴⁶ This technique was not to be successful in the Padju Epat region, however, because there were few "slaves" of any kind to be found there.⁴⁷

45. For Denninger's reports on his work, see Berichte der Rheinischen Missionsgesellschaft, 1853, pp. 81-96, 113-128, 257-272; 1855, pp. 311-317; 1857, pp. 70-79; 1859, pp. 111-120. His accounts are unfortunately rather frenetic, and for a more balanced review of the work of the Murutuwu mission we must turn to H. Sundermann, "Die 'olon Maanjan' und die Missionsarbeit unter denselben," Allgemeine Missionszeitschrift, No. 26, 1899, pp. 472-475.

46. See Fridolin Ukur, Tuaiannja Sungguh Banjak: Sedjarah 25 Tahun Geredja Kalimantan Evangelis dan 125 Tahun Pekabaran di Kalimantan (Bandjarmasin: Geredja Kalimantan Evangelis, 1960), pp. 19-20.

47. Bangert, op. cit., p. 158.

Denninger worked under several handicaps other than the absence of servitude. He knew nothing of the Ma'anjan language upon his arrival and carried on all his mission activities through the medium of "Ngadju." Denninger's first convert died shortly after baptism, and poisoning was suspected. He also found an implacable enemy, real or imagined, in one Ineh Gobo, the widow of the former district chief. She tried to alienate his Ngadju "slaves" from him, tried to poison him, allegedly hired someone to murder him at night, and when all these stratagems failed even attempted to fix the guilt in a local murder case on the missionary. As it turned out, Ineh Gobo herself was implicated in this murder, and she was sent to prison in Bandjarmasin for six months. Thereafter she left Denninger alone.

Denninger was forced to close the Murutuwu mission in 1859, at the beginning of the Bandjar War, and the post was never reopened. During his eight years in Padju Epat, he had converted no more than twenty people to Christianity. It may be that he was unfortunate in his choice for the site of the first Ma'anjan mission. Murutuwu has an exceedingly strong traditional orientation, and while all other Ma'anjan villages in Padju Epat now have a fair number of Christians in their respective populations, Murutuwu remains almost one hundred percent Kaharingan ("animist"). Later, Barmen missionaries were to have more luck in the Padju Sapuluh town of Tamiang Lajang.⁴⁸

The first direct contact of the Padju Epat region with the Dutch colonial apparatus appears to have occurred in 1857, when C. Bangert, the civil administrator of the Bakumpai-Dusun district, made a tour of the Telang, Patai, Daju, and Paku-Karau drainages. He must have been a man of great capacity for he found the time to make terse but very informative notes on the course of his journey.⁴⁹ Soon thereafter, however, the Ma'anjan of the Padju Epat took an important role on the Dutch side, for during the Bandjar War they rendered valuable armed assistance on several occasions when the Dutch most needed it in their struggle to subdue the Bandjar.⁵⁰ This participation led to an unsuccessful retaliatory attack on Telang by forces loyal to the Bandjar leader Pangeran Hidajat. In these operations the Ma'anjan forces were led by Sota'ono, who was chief of the Padju

48. See Sundermann, op. cit., pp. 475-478, 531-535.

49. Bangert's comments on the Padju Epat region, which he called Sihong after the Siong River, are reproduced in translation in Hudson, "Padju Epat," pp. 553-573.

50. W. A. van Rees, De Bandjermasinsche Krijg van 1859-1863 (Arnhem: D. A. Thieme, 1865), II, pp. 42-43, 52; Amir Hasan Kiai Bondan, Suluh Sedjarah Kalimantan (Bandjarmasin: Fadjar, 1953), pp. 42-43, 46.

Epat region between the 1840's and his death in 1894. Sota'ono was the grandson (DaSo) of one Padju Epat district chief and the classificatory nephew (FaBrDaSo) of another; he assumed the position upon the death of the latter. He was an unusually able man, and he is still revered in Padju Epat. Bangert said of him that:

Although he is delicate and weak of body he has a not unpleasant demeanor; he is confident in social intercourse but is, nevertheless, extremely respectful. Towards his people he is honest and completely just; he is full of compassion and possesses self-respect. In the execution of government orders he is strict beyond compare and without provision that his special interests be served. . . . Concerning his disinterestedness, it should be noted that he, in his position as chief, has sought no monetary advantage whatever, and, in contrast to all the other district chiefs known to me, levies no fines nor accepts any gifts in connection with his legal decisions. . . . I feel that it is not too much to say that Suta Ono is the ablest native chief in my whole territory. During the five years that I have had civil command of these districts I have already observed the manifold marks of his good qualities.⁵¹

Bangert permitted himself an aside, however, perhaps tongue-in-check:

For all his better education and his fine talents, this chief has not yet converted to Christianity. He tries to accept and follow the spirit of Christianity, but when it comes to the dogmas he has second thoughts.⁵²

Even though a Barmen mission came to be located in his own village of Telang between 1875 and 1894, Sota'ono never converted to Christianity and probably never had any serious intention of doing so. Nonetheless, he saw the benefits to be derived from the educational program sponsored by the Christian mission, and from the start he encouraged the missionaries to found schools and the populace to attend them. He persuaded many adult members of the community to take instruction, and even pressed Denninger to extend education to girls.⁵³ While the proselytizing activities of the Murutuwu mission produced negligible results, the populace, in particular the young men, responded enthusiastically to the schooling provided. Training was given

51. Bangert, op. cit., pp. 145-146.

52. Ibid., p. 146.

53. Ibid., p. 158.

in reading, writing, and elementary arithmetic as well as in geography (primarily Biblical). Instruction was provided in both the Malay and Kapuas (Pulau Petak) languages, but not in Ma'anjan, which Denninger did not know well. Reading and writing were taught in Latin characters, although a few pupils acquired some facility in Arabic script, conventionally used by the Bandjar.⁵⁴ Bangert remarked that,

The school is visited by youth of various ages. The Dajak youth seems to be able to learn rather easily; the missionary has remarked on that facility and I have had several opportunities to convince myself of its truth. On my trip through the Sihong [Padju Epat] district, from time to time I saw troops of children sitting together, listening attentively as one of their number read something aloud. Sometimes they amused themselves by extemporaneously posing and answering small arithmetical problems. This latter pastime even seems to be coming into vogue among the adults.⁵⁵

It seems quite obvious that educational rather than religious considerations led Sota'ono to petition the Dutch government to encourage the establishment of a mission station in Telang in 1875. He apparently jollied the Telang missionary Tromp along for years by holding out the possibility of his own conversion:

At best, the missionaries saw that if Suta-ono, who had requested their presence, now made a beginning himself and turned to Christianity, then his people would follow him. At times it seemed as if he would fulfill the missionaries' hopes. Suta was very interested in God's word and knew the teachings well. But many ties held him fast to heathenism and he had not the courage nor the energy to break them. After some years he died as a heathen. The same held for his people, and among them all, only a pair of singular souls were baptized in Siong.⁵⁶

It seems quite likely that Sota'ono would not permit the mission to close down the Telang post, much as it wanted to, because of the educational services that it rendered (it finally was abandoned in the year of his death). All in all, the old Padju Epat leader seems to have played an astute game with the missionaries in order to bring education to the region. That this

54. Ibid., pp. 144-145.

55. Ibid., p. 144.

56. Sundermann, op. cit., p. 478.

policy had begun to have widespread effects even by the 1850's is attested by Bangert:

This education enlarges the intellectual horizons and contributes greatly to the formation of a more or less remote future generation. . . . Later, in my trip through the districts of Pattai and Daiju, I met young men who had learned to read and write tolerably well, and who had had no other teachers than their youthful relatives who had previously attended the school at Marantohu.⁵⁷

To this day, Padju Epat and the Ma'anjan region in general have a literacy rate much higher than the Indonesian average, which advantage they owe to the historical efforts of the mission-connected schools.

57. Bangert, op. cit., p. 145.