

Shields of Island Southeast Asia and Melanesia



EDITED BY ANDREW TAVARELLI

BOSTON COLLEGE MUSEUM OF ART

INDONESIAN SHIELDS

Steven Alpert, Dallas, Texas

The Indonesian and East Malaysian shields in this exhibition were chosen primarily for their aesthetic content. As a connoisseur of Indonesian art, I particularly welcome this selection of fine shields. It accords well with my own sense of what are aesthetically pleasing objects, while at the same time displaying a number of important themes found in this region's ritual art.

Throughout Indonesia, even today, the concept of adat, the way of one's ancestors, still greatly influences village life. Adat and historical isolation are among the reasons many shield-making communities continued living much as their ancestors had for centuries until the imposition of colonial rule. With only several exceptions, the exhibited shields were the product of the region's more historically isolated tribal groups. From among those groups, this exhibit includes superb examples from the Dayak, Toraja, and Mentawai peoples.

EUROPEAN CONTACT AND SHIELDS

During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Indonesian shields appear in western collections in increasing numbers.1 That period also marked the final phase of consolidation of the Dutch East Indies into what would become present day Indonesia. A western sense of manifest destiny, the right to pacify, absorb, and "civilize" native populations inadvertently encouraged the collecting and exhibiting of native arms, not only as tangible symbols of conquest, but also as objects that subtly suggested a savagery and inferiority of conquered peoples. The Sa'dan Toraja shield (no. 8 pl. I) in this exhibition was collected by no less an important fighting man than Major General van Heutzs, the subduer of the intractable Achinese of North Sumatra.2 Reflecting the spirit of that time, Heutzs' collection of militaria, including this shield, was given to the Leger Museum in Leiden in honor of Queen Wilhelmina.3

By the early twentieth century, the pacification of remote areas, by men like van Heutzs, had rendered the use of shields obsolete as implements of war. Both the number of types and the aesthetic embellishment of shields became greatly diminished as



fig. 7

Enggano shield
Collection Royal Tropical
Institute (K.I.T.)
Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam,
acc. no. 244-4



fig. 8

Leti Island shield

Collection of Rijksmuseum
voor Volkenkunde, Leiden
Photo courtesy of Nico de Jonge

they lost their function and protective powers. Many shield traditions simply disappeared.

On the other hand, a careful inspection of museum inventories reveals that this was when most of the very finest surviving shields were collected. Also, it is in these older museum collections that one usually finds examples of rare pieces from now extinct traditions. The painted shields from Enggano and Leti Islands (figs. 7, 8) are illustrations of seldom seen shields that do not exist in either American museum or private collections. In a few cases, shields have been recently located in Indonesia that are unknown in older European collections. One such piece, where no other example can be found in a museum context, is an unusual shield from Ataoro Island that I collected in Timor as recently as 1980, illustrated in Indonesian Primitive Art (Barbier 1984:130-131). This shield had been lovingly kept by an elderly kepala desa, or village headman, under his bed. Formerly, it was used in a victory dance that celebrated the homecoming of a victorious war party.4

During the era of colonial administrations, until approximately the eve of World War II, old shields, and finely made new ones, were collected by a small number of colonials. Somerset Maugham, in more than one of his stories set in Borneo, described walls in a colonial's bungalow that were decorated with native

weapons and shields painted with "grotesque" faces. Even in the nineteenth century, Dayak shields were already popular collectibles.

There are examples of shields in museums from this period which appear to have been freshly made by villagers at or near the time of their encounter with an expedition or an early collector. Consequently, it is not always easy to ascertain whether a shield was intended for native use, made to be traded, or sold as a curio. Comparing this exhibit's two Pagai Island shields, the Peabody shield (no. 13) is less carefully made than the more complex and evocative ex-Groeneveldt Collection shield (no. 14 pl. II). Is the Peabody shield simply the work of an inferior hand? Perhaps, but there are other anomalies that characterize this piece as being different. The headless creature with no tail, and the shield's number of spirals, do not pictorially correspond to any other early documented specimens in Dutch museum collections. Even more unusual is the technique used for applying the designs to the Peabody shield. On it, those designs are freely drawn. On the other shields, the spirals are traditionally applied using a piece of coiled vine as a stamping device (personal communication, Schefold 1995).

Headhunting did not cease in Mentawai until about 1915. Even though the Peabody shield was received by the Museum in 1901, there is still the distinct possibility that it was made for sale and never used by a Pagai Islander in combat. That this shield still strikes us as elegant reflects the fact that it was made at a time when there was still a vibrant tradition of shield making on Pagai Island.

In other areas where shields did not disappear soon after colonial contact, the designs begin to reflect a general process of acculturation. A good comparison for noting change in the design content on shields can be seen on the two incised shields from the Toraja of Central Sulawesi. The older one (no. 8 pl. 1) is a classic piece whose design is well integrated and uses traditional motifs. The other (no. 7) is from the final phase of this group's traditional shield making, c. 1925, and depicts a surprising new element, the Dutch royal crown.

On any given island, one of the first orders of business for the Dutch was to curtail tribal warfare. In matters calling for bloodshed, tribal law was soon replaced by Dutch law. As an adopted symbol of power and authority, the Dutch crown is rather commandingly placed at the center and top of the second shield. Sitting on stylized buffalo horns and flanked by a very traditional design of pa'bulu londong, or cock feathers, the crown adds potency to the traditional lexicon of Toraja symbols found on this shield. Interesting as this may be, from a strictly aesthetic point of view, composition and the character

of individual images becomes altered on newer shields. Shields made after colonial subjugation are not as fine as those made prior to prolonged contact with Europeans.

TRIBAL INDONESIANS AND THEIR SHIELDS

In the western sense, shields were never perceived by their makers as being beautiful works of art. Rather, a traditional shield maker probably would have experienced a sense of fineness or completeness that emanated more from the act, or process, that existed between the craftsman and his material than the resulting object. If this "process" went well, then the product was good, and admired by others.5 Ethnographer Reimar Schefold notes that Mentawaian artistic creations express the "fulfillment of an object's essence" (Taylor and Aragon 1991: 29). In this traditional process, an individual's creativity was of minor importance. The wide range of quality of shields in tribal Indonesia reflects the fact that there was not a class of professional shield makers, although some successful artisans did make shields for others on a barter basis.

A fine shield would have been praised primarily for its usefulness. When commenting on the deficiencies of Dayak armor, Brooke Low, an early observer, wrote in 1848 that a Dayak's "reliance is placed upon the shield" (*Roth 1896:128*). By carefully looking at the Indonesian shields in



fig. 9

Nias warrior replete in his
golden splendor

Collection Royal Tropical Institute
(K.I.T.) Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam

this exhibit, and by considering form and function, one can begin to appreciate their technical subtleties. For example, shields from Nias are tapered in such a way that allowed well armored warriors the space to throw spears and then use the shield as a balanced parrying device against an enemy's sword. Note the grip on the Nias shield (fig. 1, no. 11). It is carefully cut in the manner that a glove might be tailored to an individual's hand. This tight fit cushioned an opponent's blows and lessened the likelihood that the shield would be knocked away in hand-to-hand combat.

Diverse martial strategies also fostered an ingenious repertoire of shield types. For instance, the Dayaks used large shields to protect their bodies as they attempted to set fire to the pylons of besieged long houses (Mundy 1848 II:69). They also employed small, light-weight ovoid shields (no. 1), effective against blowpipe attacks and close encounters that permitted limited space for maneuvering. The most common form of Dayak shield is the kliau (nos. 2, 4, 5 pl. III, no. 6 pl. IV). This type of light, wooden shield was "not meant to receive a spear point, but to divert the spear by a twist of the hand" (Low 1848:212). Referring to swordplay, John Dalton, another early eyewitness to native combat. wrote in 1828: "The Diaks in fighting always strike and seldom thrust" (Moore 1837). Thus, the horizontal rattan bands on *kliau* not only

strengthened the shield, but allowed a clever combatant to snare an opponent's mandau, or sword, in its bindings. According to Bishop McDougall, this act provided the brief moment necessary to dispatch an enemy's head from his body (McDougall 1863:ii32).

In his book, Ten Years In Sarawak, Charles Brooke describes hundreds of Dayaks dressed in their war costumes and bent on revenge "vociferating at the top of their voices, declaring that they would rest with their forefathers, or die, rather than not have the blood of the enemy. Their spitting and spluttering of vengeance was astonishing" (Brooke 1866:351). Looking at the elaborate costumes and martial habits of the Dayak peoples, it is not difficult to understand why nineteenth century writers, such as Henry Ling Roth, romantically equated Dayak warfare with Homeric combat (Roth 1896: 121-124). Indeed, many early European observers, despite their horrendous bias, commented on the courage and fighting ability of the warriors whose shields we now appreciate.

Shields and weapons were part of a warrior's personal ensemble that might also include a distinctive war jacket, ornaments, and elaborate headgear depending on his prowess or social rank. Old photographs of these warriors show them to be strikingly fierce and dignified (fig. 9). Imagine confronting a host of

similarly arrayed warriors gesturing with shields and weapons in an attitude of display and intimidation.

Besides intimidation, the elaborate costumes of tribal Indonesians reflected a mental state where there was no division between the world of humans and the spirit world. As mentioned, form and function were the primary and practical forces behind the creation of a fine shield. Yet, as evidenced by the iconography of the three shields described below, the most visually compelling pieces are those whose painted themes bridged the natural and supernatural worlds of their makers.

EMBLEMS OF PERSONAL DISPLAY: A KAYAN DAYAK SHIELD

Like many Dayak shields, the painted outer imagery on this Kayan shield (no. 5 pl. III), was meant to psychologically confuse and repel an enemy. The most common design on painted kliau are demon-like faces surrounded by tufts of hair assembled from the dispatched heads of enemies (no. 4). However, this Kayan shield's imagery, an early example of the genre from central Sarawak, is much more rare. Its composition reflects a fragmented mythical creature with a riveting cyclopean eye. In the heat of battle, did a Davak warrior see the beast emerging, dissolving, or reinventing itself? However perceived, in any of its forms, such an ethereal uncertainty must have made a most terrifying and arresting visage to opponents for whom transformation was a literal and common event. Conversely, if the front of a Dayak shield displayed aggressive visual imagery aimed at an enemy, what did the inside designs signify? Were those images for personal reflection, or did they in some way represent a form of supernatural power that was intended to protect, aid, or extort a warrior to valor and victory? The back of this particular Kayan shield (no. 5) depicts two slightly different dragon-like beasts interfacing with one another. These mythical beasts, called aso, are commonly found in Davak art and were generally thought to confer protection upon those who possessed this image. Other shields depict rows of humanlike figures or abstract anthropomorphic designs. Sadly, without the long departed painters' explications, we will never know the deepest meanings of their designs.

The designs on certain textiles bear interesting comparison to the designs on some shields. Among the Iban Dayak, the most sacred of all textiles are those known as pua sungkit.6 These blankets were only used in conjunction with head hunting.7 Traditionally, pua sungkit were displayed when sending a warrior off to battle, and for receiving a warrior's capture of a pala, or fresh human head. Ibans honored these blankets with ritual offerings and with pantun, or sacred chants. By identifying with the central theme or image on a pua sungkit, a warrior



Pua sungkit with coiled, dragon-like beasts (detail)
Courtesy of Dallas Museum of Art, the Steven G. Alpert Collection of Indonesian Textiles, Gift of the Eugene and Margaret McDermott

Fund, 1988, 124.McD

could expropriate its power in his quest for heads. Two of the rarest forms of pua sungkit depict cinta ngabau, dragon-like beasts in coitus surrounded by food offerings (fig. 10), and gajai antu, which are giant spirit beings.8 As well as being protective, these themes served as potent talismans for their owners. Drake states that the dving of textiles is called kayau indu, or "women's war," because "weaving ceremonial textiles and headhunting are perilous and parallel ventures" (Taylor and Aragon 1991:166). Given their collateral association with head hunting, there are correlations between the similar designs found on both pua sungkit and on the reverse of similarly painted war shields.

HEAD HUNTING: A PAGAI ISLAND SHIELD

While the front of the Kayan shield presumably telegraphed visual messages to an opponent, the story depicted on both sides of the Pagai Island shield (no. 14 pl. II) would seem, by the nature of its scale and fine drawing, to have been primarily for the benefit of its owner.

On the reverse side, two plumed warriors reach for their *parittei*, or curved-handled daggers, their postures suggesting the inception of an aggressive confrontation. The impact of this face-to-face encounter is further dramatized by the figures' placement within a womb-like space which is vibrantly framed by repeating bands of chevrons.

Conversely, this shield's front depicts a pair of monitor lizards and a gibbon monkey. The Mentawai Islanders dislike monitor lizards because they steal chickens. Gibbons perpetrate a more chilling style of thievery. As the nocturnal companions of forest spirits, gibbons can become jungle sirens, who, with their alluring voices, steal souls. Spiralling designs. or pagalak, whose meaning are now obscure, are said to represent the beak of a parrot. In former times, however, these symbols were associated with head hunting (personal communication, Schefold 1995).

In general, in Indonesia, the taking of heads was believed to promote fecundity, and to enrich life through death. Other noted motives included revenge, land disputes, providing servants for a deceased notable, allaying epidemics, and insuring the success of important rituals and funeral rites.

RITUAL THEMES: A TORAJA SHIELD

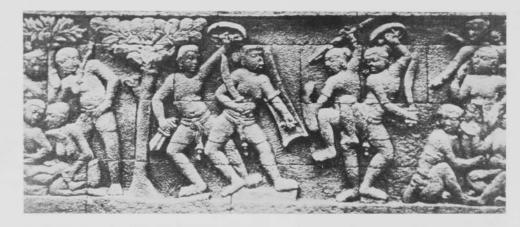
For the Sa'dan Toraja, the making of shields, and the application of certain designs, reflected a highly ritualized culture. The Sa'dan divided their world into east and west. Ceremonies of the east reflected life, rice-growing, heat, and light. Ceremonies of the west reflected death, cold, and darkness. It is a common notion among Indonesian tribal groups that oppositional forces must be properly propitiated and ceremonially balanced in order to

re-establish an individual's, or village's, sense of harmony.

Shields, or balulang, were generally associated with the west; the realm of darkness. A Sa'dan war shield could only be fashioned from the hide of a sacrificial buffalo procured at a death feast (Nooy-Palm 1986:315). On this Toraja shield (no. 8 pl. 1) the upper band depicts a pair of eye-like sun disks that are separated by a vertical row of black hens and roosters. These "upper world" creatures face west as a sacrifice to the ancestors. The central panel evokes a martial theme or story. Below, in the lowest band, the central human figure was a notable of prowess and wealth. This is indicated by his helmet which is decorated with tanduk gallang that imitate buffalo horns. For the Toraja, buffalos and pigs are the most important sacrificial animals. While the actual identity of this figure and the meaning of this panel are lost, in its earthiness it exalts status. wealth, and ritual feasts.

SHIELDS: OTHER USAGES

In Indonesia, there is also a long history of shields being used by warriors engaged in mock combat or martial dances. A thousand years separate a frieze from Borobudur, c. 800 A.D., (fig. 11) showing warriors with shields engaged in mock combat, and a lithograph (fig. 12), depicting the Dutch resident of Buru Island observing the performance of two contestants handling parrying



shields. Note that the combatant's shields are similar to the Moluccan shield (no. 10) in this exhibition. Even today, among some Dayak groups, men perform dances with shields and swords accompanied by sweetly melodic lute playing or pulsating gongs. When the dancer is a particularly talented old timer, both he and the audience become enraptured, as if hypnotically transported back to the days of endemic warfare, heroes, and head hunting.

Images of shields are occasionally seen on other items that had protective connotations. For example, an unpublished and very unusual Iban Davak pua kombu, or ceremonial blanket (fig. 13), now in the Fowler Museum of Cultural History, has rows of faces that are very similar to those found on the Kenyah shield (no. 4). In addition to weavings, shields are also depicted on gold and silver Sumbanese house treasures (Rodgers 1985:185, 294, 295; Holmgren and Spertus 1989:32, 33), and on a few surviving examples of traditional wooden statuary from the Nias and Dayak peoples (Taylor and Aragon 1991:83; Feldman 1990:

fig. 11
Frieze depicting mock combat
Borobudur Temple, Central Java
c. 800 AD
Photo: Claire Holt



fig. 12

Presentation of mock combat
on Buru Island
Voyage de la Corvette l'Astrolabe
lithograph
Paris, 1833
J. Dumont Durville



fig. 13

An Iban Dayak ceremonial weaving displaying shield images Courtesy of Fowler Museum of Cultural History, Los Angeles, no. X81-1452

224). This having been said, the incorporation of the shield motif in weaving, jewelry, and statuary is quite uncommon. Bertling's well known photograph from Nederlandsch-Indie Oud & Nieuw of a large Apo-Kayan figure is one of the few images in situ of a shieldbearing statue in a protective posture (Bertling 1927-28:XII). A unique Iban figure that I collected in 1981 in Betong, Sarawak, illustrated in Indonesian Primitive Art (Barbier 1984:94-95), likewise grasps a shield in a manner that powerfully conveys a sense of protection. Like a sentinel guarding his post, this charm was said to protect the occupants of a longhouse by "walking" the ruai, or the dwelling's interior verandah, at night.9

Given the shield's physical and psychological association with protection, its use, or the use of its image, understandably appears in the shamanic practices of tribal Indonesians. For example, in Mentawai, people who died during head hunting expeditions have souls that paddle their spectral canoes across the sky. Contact with the water dripping from their paddles, lujan panas, is extremely dangerous to the well-being of the living. A shaman, or kerei, must create a makeshift shield in order to protect his patients from any contact with lujan panas. Only at this point can the kerei begin to sing a ritual song that will send the malevolent waters back to the heavens (personal communication, Schefold 1995).

In the 1970s, while traveling in the tribal areas discussed in this article, I was interested in shields, but rarely saw them *in situ*. When a decaying and faded shield was taken down from the soot encrusted rafters for a closer view, it was quite an unusual sight. Once, surrounded by a ring of crouching and curious Iban, I was handed just such a shield. To everyone's amazement, and to my own consternation, the wood was so friable that it literally disintegrated as it was passed from one hand to another.

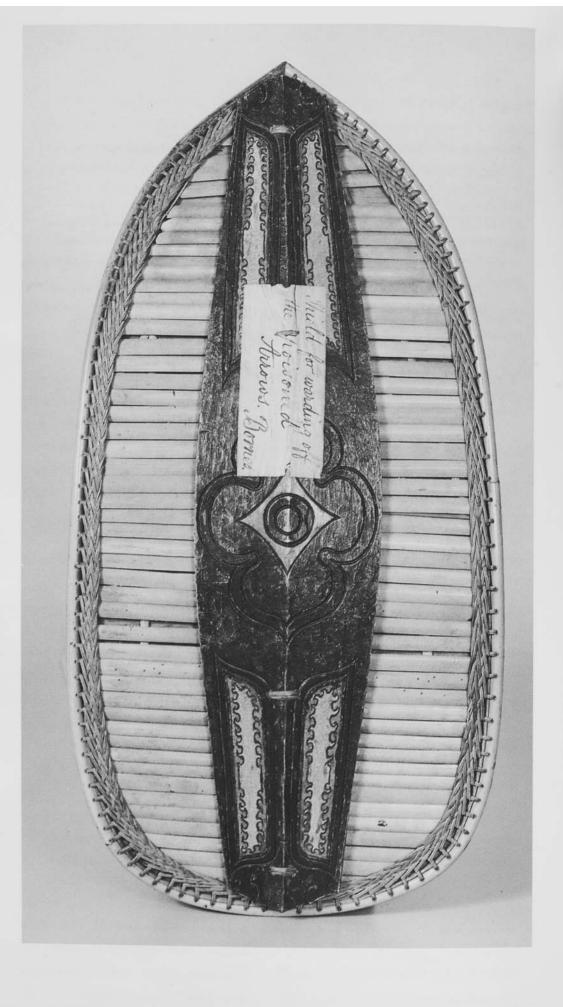
For most of tribal Indonesia, the last warriors used shields some 70 to 100 years ago. Thinking about that era, I am reminded that a deceased warrior in Mentawai could be memorialized by having an image of his hand carved onto his former shield. For the living, seeing such an image helped to keep the warrior's memory alive. In turn, when those who had remembered him died, and the shield was no longer associated with any one particular person, it was simply thrown away. Unlike the fate of those discarded Mentawai shields, Protection, Power and Display offers a rare opportunity to glimpse the stylistic range and the aesthetic quality of a few of this area's shields. I was fortunate to know a few elderly warriors who as youths had thrown spears at the invading Dutch, or had actually taken a head in battle. They are gone, but the artistic vitality of these shields remain as an eloquent reminder of their once colorful and now vanished world.

NOTES:

- ¹ The earliest collection date for a shield that I could find from Indonesia was 1710, a Moluccan shield now in the Danish Royal Museum. The British Museum lists 127 Indonesian and Malaysian shields in its records. The earliest entry was made in 1855. Of their shields, 44 were received by the Museum in the nineteenth century, 62 arrived in the twentieth century, and the date for 21 specimens is unknown. According to J.H. van Brakel, Head of Collections at the Tropenmuseum in Amsterdam, the oldest shields in their collection date from the end of the nineteenth century (personal communication, van Brakel).
- ² Johannes Benedictus van Heutzs (1851-1924). After the Ajeh Wars ended in 1903, Heutzs became the Governor General of the Dutch East Indies (1904-1909).
- ³ The Leger, or Army Museum, is no longer in Leiden and is now housed in Delft (personal communication, Mr. Loed van Bussel). Queen Wilhelmina (1880-1959) was Queen of the Netherlands from 1890-1948.
- ⁴ Transcribed from the notes of Mr. Goh Jin Liong of Kupang, Timor, by S. G. Alpert, 1980.
- 5. A few expert old weavers were still alive in Sarawak in the early 1970s. When we would gather to discuss the merit of a particular blanket, the discussion would turn to the process of weaving: its difficulty, the dying, and the design. While we may have initially approached the blankets from different points of reference (my sense of beauty versus their sense of a difficult, yet finely-made design) we invariably appreciated the same pieces.
- ⁶ There are three pua sungkit, one sungkit jacket, and two sungkit used for receiving human heads in the Steven G. Alpert Collection of Indonesian Textiles in the Dallas Museum of Art. Sungkit pieces were rarely seen until the 1970s. Because they were sacred, these textiles are usually absent from older collections.
- 7. Weaving a pua sungkit was an arduous and dangerous task. Only special persons who obtained spiritual permission (having had the fortitude to communicate with the universe) could fabricate these textiles (personal communication, Sutlive 1995).
- 8. The Dallas Museum's pua sungkit (acc. no. 1983.131) from the Katibas River in Sarawak depicts rows of human figures and repeated gajai antu. Before I was given permission to acquire this piece, I had to sleep with it and report my dreams the next day to the owner's assembled family. This was deemed proper as the blanket's owner was a very old lady whose husband had been a manang, or shaman, of some renown. Dallas' sungkit jacket (acc. no. 1983.134,) was named: "Buah gajai antu kenah ngayau laban Kayan" or "The jacket of eight giant spirits (gajai antu) for battle against the Kayan," (field notes, S. G. Alpert 1980).
- ⁹ In describing this figure's locomotion along the longhouse's ruai, Iban elders used the word jalai, or to walk, (field notes, S. G. Alpert 1981).

no. 1

Malaysia, Borneo, Sarawak, Iban people Collected by Reverend Arms, 1837 Wood, rattan and bamboo H: 24.75 in. Courtesy Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Mass., acc. no. E53465 Photo: Mark Sexton







no. 2 (front: left, back: right)
Malaysia, Borneo, Sarawak, Dayak
Wood, pigment and rattan
H: 48 in.
Collection of Dr. and Mrs. Albert
Yellin, Santa Monica, Calif.



no. 3
Malaysia, Borneo, Sarawak, Dayak
Wood and pigment
D: 14.5 in.
Collection of Taylor A. Dale,
Santa Fe, New Mexico
Photo: Richard L. Faller





no. 4 (front: left, back: right)
Indonesia, Borneo, Kalimantan,
Kenyah people
Former collection of W.D. Webster,
collected c. 1910
Wood, pigment and human hair
H: 46 in.
The Field Museum, Chicago,
neg. no. A11269, acc. no. 89671
Photo: D. A. White



no. 7

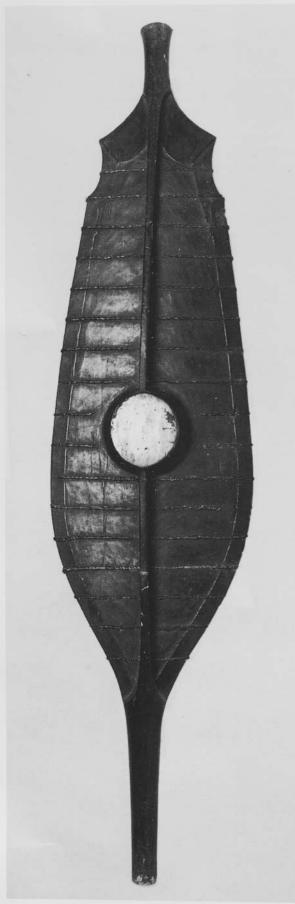
Indonesia, Sulawesi, Sa'dan Toraja people Leather and pigment H: 33.5 in. Collection of Taylor A. Dale, Santa Fe, New Mexico Photo: Richard L. Faller Indonesia, Sulawesi, Lake Poso Area Wood, inlaid shell, goat hair and pigment H: 42 in. Collection of Thomas Murray, Asiatica-Ethnographica, Mill Valley, Calif.





no. 10

Indonesia, Moluccas Wood, shell and pigment H: 25.5 in. Collection of Thomas Murray, Asiatica-Ethnographica, Mill Valley, Calif.



no. 11 Indonesia, South Nias. Bawomataluo village Wood, blackening and rattan H: 52 in. Collection of Rodger Dashow, Boston, Mass. Photo: Stephen Vedder, Boston College

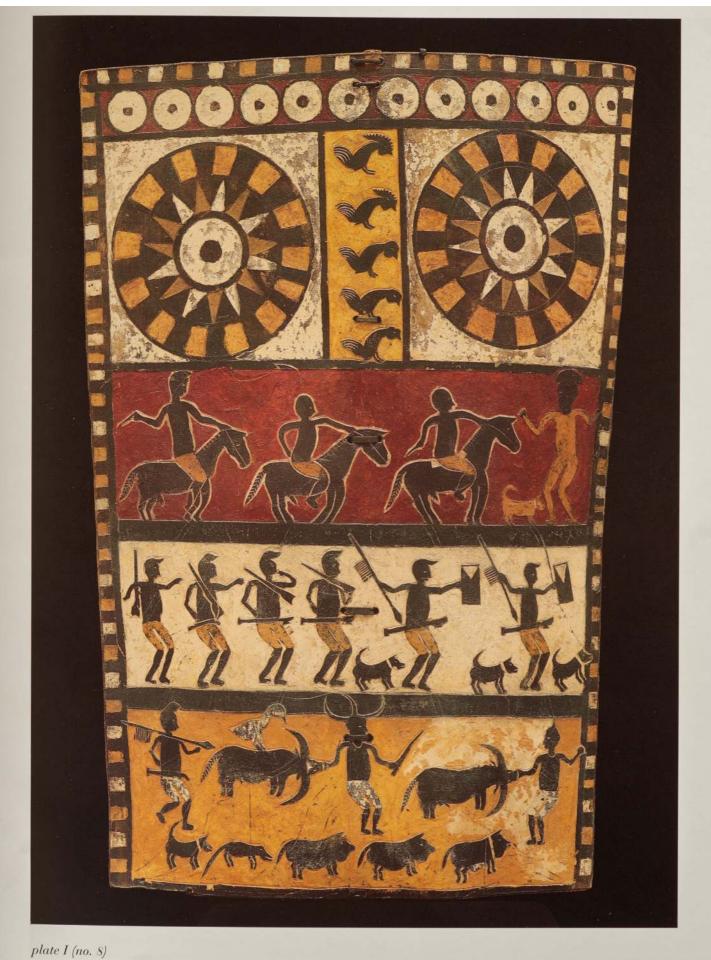


no. 12 Indonesia, Simeulue Collected by Dr. W.L. Abbott, before 1902 Wood, ray skin, nails and cloth D: 11 in. Smithsonian Institution, Department of Anthropology, Washington, D.C., acc. no. 216291





no. 13 (front: left, back: right)
Indonesia, Mentawai, Pagai Island
Collected by Professor A.E. Burton, 1901
Wood, pigment and gourd
H: 40 in.
Courtesy Peabody Essex Museum,
Salem, Mass., acc. no. E4228
Photo: Mark Sexton



Indonesia, Sulawesi, Sa'dan Toraja people Leather and pigment Former collection of Major General van Heutzs H: 26.75 in.

Collection of Dr. and Mrs. Albert Yellin, Santa Monica, Calif.

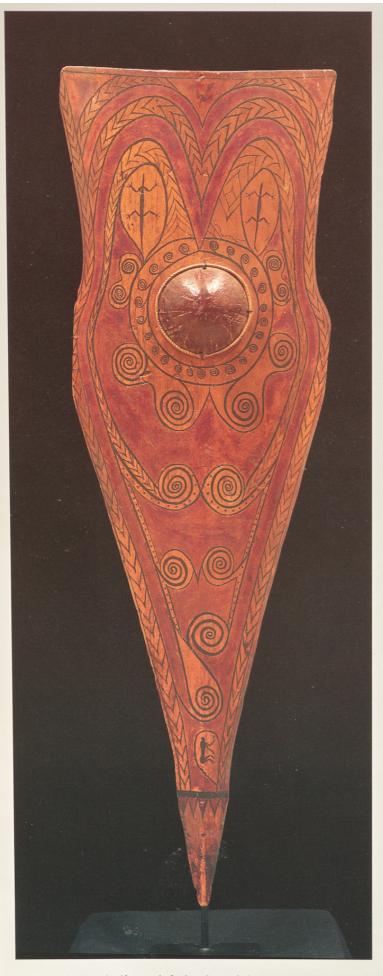


plate II (no. 14) (front: left, back: right) Indonesia, Mentawai, Pagai Island Wood, pigment and coconut shell H: 36.5 in. Collection of Dr. and Mrs. Albert Yellin, Santa Monica, Calif.



Label reads: "Parisai Orang Pagai Sinjata barat peperangan." "A Pagai islander's shield used in battle against western arms." Trans. by S. Alpert

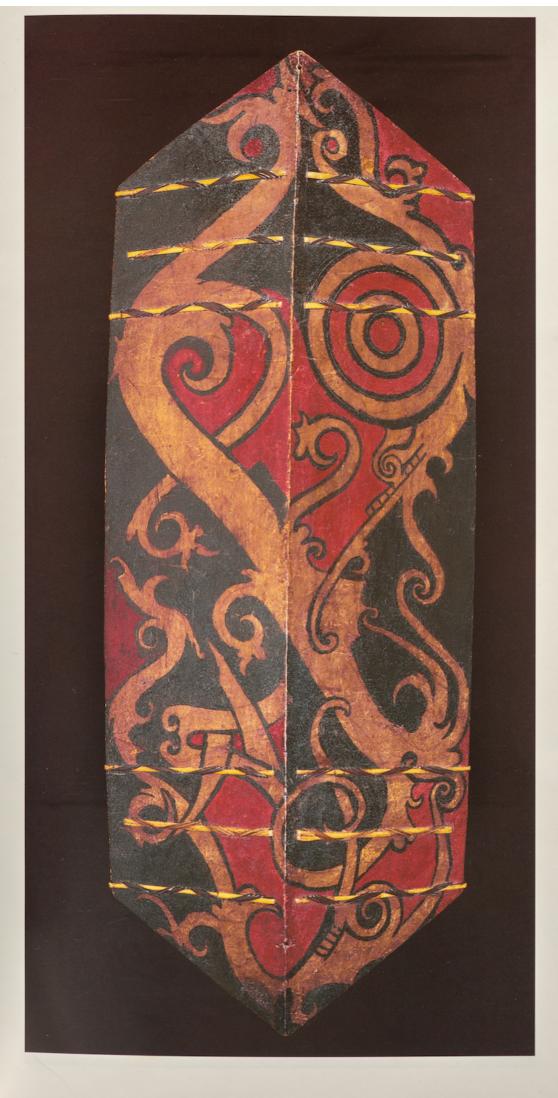


plate III (no. 5)

Malaysia, Borneo, Sarawak,
Kayan people
Wood, pigment and rattan
H: 50 in.

Private Collection

plate IV (no. 6)

Indonesia, Borneo, Southeast Kalimantan, Dayak Wood, pigment and rattan H: 46 in. Private Collection Extremely rare type of shield. Inscription on reverse reads, "Dayak Shield. BT. Of Webster. Oct. 1896. P. 1339."

