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A. W. NIEUWENHUIS ACROSS BORNEO (1894-1994)

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Foreword

The few pages below are an English version of the introduction I wrote to an abridged edition in Indonesian of Nieuwenhuis' classic work in Dutch, *In Centraal Borneo* (1900), published by Gramedia in Jakarta and released in July 1994, on the occasion of the Third Biennial International Conference of the Borneo Research Council in Pontianak, West Kalimantan. References appended include Nieuwenhuis' publications on Borneo and Indonesia, other works concerning his three expeditions and their output, and some works of related interest concerning the regions and peoples he visited.

Colonial Exploration in Borneo

In the 19th century a new phase in colonial history unfolded that was rooted in developments dating to the mid-18th century when, by force or intimidation, the British and the Dutch were gaining a foothold in Borneo. A few adventurers – Alexander Hare in Banjarmasin (1812), James Erskine Murray in Kutai (1844), James Brooke (1842) and Robert Burns (1848) in Sarawak – tried to carve a kingdom for themselves, some with more luck than others. Others, like Müller (1825) and Dalton (1828), explored Borneo in their country's name.

Whereas the Dutch had hitherto neglected Borneo for other, more profitable islands, James Brooke's success in Sarawak triggered a renewed interest. In the south, during the 1840s, the Dutch forced trade contracts on the coastal sultans, later making them recognize the Dutch government's tutelage. The first explorations in the interior were then able to start in earnest: Schwaner on the Barito, van Lijnden, Veth, and von Kessel on the Kapuas, Weddik on the Mahakam.

By the mid-19th century the Dutch controlled the coasts and the trade at the mouths of all the larger rivers. Their military had to intervene against rebellious sultans, for example in the Banjarmasin War (1859-1863) and the subsequent Wangkang War (after 1870), and against bellicose upriver tribes, like the Ot Danum and the Tebidah (in the 1890s).

Meanwhile, the Brookes' raj was spreading at the sultan of Brunei's expense and conquering its own hinterland, fighting wars against the powerful Kayan (Great Kayan Expedition of 1863) and various Iban tribes (between 1868 and 1919). In Sabah, the British settled in Labuan in 1846. In the 1860s, Spencer St. John explored the Limbang and climbed Mt. Kinabalu, the highest peak between the Himalayas and New Guinea. The British North Borneo Chartered Company, taking over in Sabah in 1881, were challenged by local rebels – including the famous Mat Salleh. The discovery, in the 1880s, of petroleum and coal in Borneo prompted its integration into the wider world.

The colonial powers then found that controlling trade was no longer enough and that they needed real territorial control, requiring the establishment of administrative and military structures. It was in this new context, in the last quarter of the 19th century, that the great expeditions took place, in hitherto unexplored regions: the upper Rejang (Hugh Low, in the 1880s), the upper Baram (Charles Hose, between 1884 and 1907), the Mahakam (Tromp, in the 1880s), and the upper Kapuas (Nieuwenhuis, from 1893 onwards).

The last decade of the 19th century also marked, for the colonial governments, the close of all major armed conflicts. It should be recalled that 1894 was the year of the great peace-making that brought together about thirty Dayak groups to Tumbang Anoi in the upper Kahayan River (May through July 1894). More exploration was to follow in the new century's first years – by Knappert in the Mahakam basin, Enthoven in the upper Kapuas basin, Stolk on the Busang River, van Walchren in Apokayan – and more again until, in the 1930s, the whole of Borneo's interior had come under the actual control of the colonial powers, with the exception of a much reduced sultanate of Brunei.

The region of the watershed between the Kapuas and Mahakam Rivers is one of the most remote areas of Borneo. In the upper Mahakam, a region isolated by very dangerous rapids, the Kayan-Mahakam, the Busang (Uma' Suling and others), and the Long-Gelat (a Modang subgroup) occupied the fertile plains, while the Aoheng inhabited the western foothills. In the upper Kapuas, the small trade town of Putussibau was surrounded by Senganan (Moslems), Taman, and Kayan villages with, farther upstream, a couple of Aoheng and Semukung hamlets. In-between, a large mountain range reaching almost 2000 m was inhabited by nomadic Bukat and Kereho (Punan Keriau) and semi-nomadic Hovongan (Punan Bungan). The first foreigner to reach and cross this mountain range, Major Müller, did not live to retell his travels.

Major Müller's ill-fated 1825 expedition

Georg Müller, an engineering officer in the army of Napoléon I, went after Waterloo into the civil service of the Dutch Indies. Representing the colonial government, he made official contact with the sultans of Borneo's east coast. In 1825, in spite of the sultan of Kutai's reluctance to let the Dutch penetrate through and beyond his territories, Müller went up the Mahakam with a dozen Javanese soldiers. Only one of these soldiers made it alive to the west coast.

News of Müller's death fed a controversy that lasted well into the 1850s (van Kessel 1849-55, van Lijnden & Groll 1851, Veth 1854-56, Hageman 1855), to be episodically revived each time "new" information was made available (Molengraaff 1895b, Nieuwenhuis 1898 and 1900, Enthoven 1903). As late as in the 1950s, visitors to the area continued to inquire after its circumstances (Helbig 1941, Ivanoff 1955).

To this day these circumstances have not been quite clarified. Indeed, the region remained terra incognita until 1894. It appears, however, that Müller did cross the watershed into the Kapuas basin and was killed around mid-November 1825. The murder occurred, it is said, on the Bungan River, possibly at the Bakang rapids, where he would have had to build boats to paddle down to the Kapuas. He would then have been only a few days from safety. It seems likely that the murder was ordered by the sultan of Kutai – the order being relayed from one tribe to the next up the Mahakam – and finally carried out by members of some local group, perhaps the Pnihing, as Nieuwenhuis himself believes. As it occurred in the Kapuas

drainage, the sultan could not of course bear the blame for it.

In any case, when the Nieuwenhuis expedition first crossed the watershed almost 70 years later -- on the French national day of 1894 – this mountain range was given the name of Müller Mountains. Let us now talk of Nieuwenhuis.

A.W. Nieuwenhuis

Anton Willem Nieuwenhuis was born on 22 May 1864 in Papendrecht, The Netherlands. He studied medicine at the State University in Leiden from 1883 to 1889. In 1890, he took his doctoral degree in medicine at the Albert-Ludwigs University in Freiburg-im-Breisgau, Germany, with a thesis entitled "Ueber (On) haematoma scroti" – undoubtedly a fascinating medical question.

He joined the Armed Forces in 1890 and was, in 1892, stationed at Sambas, West Borneo, as a medical officer in the service of the Dutch East Indies Army. The Resident (an administrative officer under the Ministry of the Interior) of West Borneo (the administrative region of Westerafdeeling van Borneo), S.W. Tromp, took the initiative for scientific exploration of Borneo. Tromp was an old Borneo hand, having traveled in East Borneo earlier.

After lengthy considerations by its scientific commission (the Indisch Comité, acting as an advisory body), the Maatschappij ter bevordering van het natuurkundig onderzoek der Nederlandsche Kolonien (Society for the Promotion of Natural History Exploration in the Dutch Colonies) in Amsterdam decided to organize a first expedition, whose main objective was the scientific exploration of central Borneo, especially the region of the upper Kapuas and its main tributaries.

The First Expedition (1893-94)

This first, multidisciplinary, expedition (1893-94) included Johann Büttikofer, curator at the National Museum for Natural History in Leiden, for zoology; H. Hallier, assistant at the Herbarium of the Botanical Gardens in Buitenzorg (Bogor), for botany; G.A.F. Molengraaff, for geology; Nieuwenhuis, for physical anthropology and ethnography, and as medical doctor.

The expedition got underway in November 1893 and from its headquarters at Semitau, where all members finally gathered on 26 February 1894, it left for the Mandai River. Nieuwenhuis and Büttikofer stayed from March through May 1894 on the upper Mandai, in the village of Nanga Raun (later famous as the longest longhouse in West Kalimantan), among the Ulu Air Dayak (a branch of the Ot Danum who call themselves Orung Da'an). Meanwhile, Molengraaff made a geologic survey. Then Nieuwenhuis and Molengraaff went back to Putussibau to prepare for the journey towards the Mahakam.

Controleur van Velthuysen, the district officer of the Upper Kapuas, was appointed leader of the expedition, which included, besides Nieuwenhuis and Molengraaff, 19 *prajurit* (East Indies soldiers), 5 Malay coolies, 8 Batang-Lupar (Iban) Dayak in the special service of the controleur, and 85 Kayan Dayak from the Mendalam River as boatmen and porters. They departed Putussibau with 24 canoes on 15 June 1894.

They crossed over into the Mahakam basin on 14 July – the first time a European had done so since 1825. But the regional political situation had not changed much since Müller's times. Preparations were being made for a hostile reception by the tribes ahead – so went the rumour brought by a Dayak messenger returning from the Mahakam – and the controleur

decided to turn back on 15 July. The expedition was back in Putussibau by 22 July.

Molengraaff and Nieuwenhuis then parted ways. Molengraaff went south, crossed over to the Samba River, and went down the Katingan River (now part of Central Kalimantan), making geologic and ethnographic observations and reaching Banjarmasin in October 1894. Meanwhile, Nieuwenhuis settled among the Kayan at Tanjung Karang on the Mendalam for two months (August-September 1894). Seeing the Kayan as the key to the upper Mahakam, since they were on friendly terms with other Kayan groups there, he made them promise to take him across the watershed. They acquiesced on the condition that he would not take an armed escort.

The Second Expedition (1896-97)

In 1894, the Lombok war erupted and Nieuwenhuis was posted there as an army doctor. He returned to Batavia in 1895 and sailed for Pontianak in February 1896. A second expedition was organized, with the same objectives.

This second expedition (1896-97) had Nieuwenhuis as its leader and the participation of F. von Berchtold, for the zoological collections, and Jan Demmeni, the expedition photographer. Other members were two Sundanese from Buitenzorg, Jaheri and Lahidin, in charge of botanical specimens and collections, and Midan, Nieuwenhuis' personal aid and cook. Nieuwenhuis stayed in Tanjung Karang again from 7 April to 15 June to gain a better command of the Kayan language and learn the Busang lingua franca of the upper Mahakam. Demmeni, arriving in May, immediately started taking photographs (reproduced in *In Centraal Borneo*).

The expedition started on 3 July 1896 from Putussibau with twelve canoes and fifty Kayan boatmen. Following the southern footpath, it went up the Bungan and the Bulit Rivers, stayed put for a while to ascertain that no major problem was to be expected ahead, and then went down the Penane and Kaso Rivers on the other side. The party stayed first with the Pnihing – who really call themselves Aoheng – then with the Kayan-Mahakam, and spent in all some eight months on the upper Mahakam.

The Kayan from the Mendalam and their chief Akam Igau played a very important role in the favorable course of events. It is clear that, without Akam's help, Nieuwenhuis would never have succeeded. On the other side of the watershed, the part played by the Kayan chief of the Mahakam, Kwing (or Koeng) Irang, should certainly not be underestimated either.

In fact Nieuwenhuis had just landed in the midst of a complex political, as well as economic, situation in which the principal local actors promptly realized how they could use him as a new political tool available to them. The independent upper Mahakam tribes were caught between the sultanate of Kutai and the Iban of Sarawak. The sultan of Kutai was trying to bring them to acknowledge his authority and to force them to trade with him; and the Iban, especially after their 1885 massive attack on the Mahakam that destroyed all Aoheng villages and the large Kayan settlement of Koeng Irang, remained a constant impending threat. Koeng Irang, the most influential chieftain on the upper Mahakam, was striving to keep his region independent from Kutai, whose interference had done much harm among the tribes of the middle Mahakam area. Competing for prominence, Belare', one of the major Aoheng chiefs, had allied himself with the sultan of Kutai, who wanted to break Koeng's resistance, while another important Aoheng chief, Paron, had pledged allegiance to the sultan of Banjarmasin.

Belare', playing Kutai's game, was very probably behind the unrest that prevented the first expedition from entering the Mahakam drainage in 1894. It was Koeng Irang who made

the second expedition's success possible, as he soon became aware that the Dutch were powerful and could be his trump card in the local politics. He asked Nieuwenhuis, "on behalf of all the Mahakam groups," to petition the Dutch authorities to take direct control of the area. Nieuwenhuis could not have been happier.

The journey down the Mahakam ended on 5 June 1897, when the six members left Samarinda for Surabaya and Batavia. On his return to Batavia, Nieuwenhuis held talks with Government officials and convinced them to finance a third expedition, in order to explore ways and means of extending Dutch rule to the upper Mahakam and the upper Kayan regions to establish peace and security.

The Third Expedition (1898-1900)

This third expedition (1898-1900), thus, had mainly political aims. In addition, the same ethnological and medical goals were maintained. Again, it was led by Nieuwenhuis and included Jan Demmeni; J.P.J. Barth, a first-class controleur who had studied the Busang language; H.W. Bier, a topographer; Midan, Nieuwenhuis' cook; Sekarang and Hamza, two Javanese employees of the Botanical Gardens of Buitenzorg, for botanical collections; and Doris, a Javanese taxidermist, for zoological collections.

This time Nieuwenhuis took an armed escort of five East Indies troops to deal with possible roving bands of Iban. He had made a special trip to Singapore to buy glass beads and ivory bangles, unobtainable in Java. He decided to go, again, from West to East, because he knew the sultan of Kutai, who himself wanted to extend his influence into the interior, would obstruct him if he attempted to start from the East.

The expedition left Pontianak on 24 May 1898, for Putussibau, which it reached in June. But, because the Kayan of the Mendalam were busy with their agricultural chores, they were only able to leave Putussibau on 18 August, with 25 canoes and accompanied by Akam Igau and 110 men, mainly Kayan and some Bukat, Beketan, and Punan. On 15 September, this large party reached Pangkalan Howong (or Huvung), the starting point of the northern footpath, from a branch of the upper Bungan called the Mecai to the Huvung River of the Mahakam. There they ran short of food: the famous "rice equation" went wrong and they had to rely on sago. To make things worse, Demmeni came down with malaria. After some quick topographic work on the watershed, the party made for the first Aoheng settlement, which it reached on 24 September 1898.

Nieuwenhuis and his group spent eight months in the upper Mahakam area, studying the people, their customs and languages, the animals and plants, and climbing peaks for survey. Among other things, they produced a map of the region – still the best available in 1993 – and Barth composed a Busang-Dutch dictionary. Collections of material culture were also gathered, now to be found at the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde in Leiden. (It may be worth mentioning also Lumholtz's collections from the same region, now in Oslo).

What Nieuwenhuis did not know at the time was that the Aoheng chief Belare' had decided – and indeed, twice attempted – to kill him, probably on the sultan of Kutai's orders, as Lumholtz, visiting in 1916, later reported. Fortunately Koeng Irang, eager to secure Dutch assistance against Kutai and its allies, was able to prevent Belare' from succeeding. It was a close call, though, and Nieuwenhuis could have ended like Georg Müller.

The expedition finally went down the Mahakam and reached Samarinda on 9 June 1899. Barth and the escort, plus the two plant collectors, were sent ahead to Java. The plant

samples were shipped to Buitenzorg and the animal collections to the Museum in Leiden. Nieuwenhuis set off again very soon, on 17 June, for Koeng Irang's village of Long Blu'u, accompanied by Bier, Demmeni, Doris, Midan, five young Malay soldiers, and four Malay aids. From there he organized a survey trip to the sources of the Mahakam and to Lasan Tuyan (the pass at the border with Sarawak), starting on 30 September. On the way back, one of the boats capsized, fortunately with only material losses.

Nieuwenhuis' trip to Apokayan, scheduled for 1900, proved a difficult and lengthy endeavor. As the representative of the Dutch colonial government, he paid a formal visit to the sultan of Kutai, who objected to this second part of the expedition. From October 1899 till April 1900, Nieuwenhuis waited for ongoing talks with Kutai to reach a favorable conclusion, but the sultan meant to use every means to hinder the extension of Dutch rule to central Borneo. Besides, since the peoples of the upper Mahakam and the Kenyah were enemies, it proved difficult to find guides to go up the Boh River and across to Apokayan. In May 1900, Nieuwenhuis positioned his party in an advanced camp at Long Boh, where Bier and Demmeni later joined. After a dispute, Bier was ordered back. Still, Nieuwenhuis had to wait another three months.

Finally, in June, a telegram arrived: The upper Mahakam region had been formally placed under direct Dutch rule, and Barth was to be installed at Long Iram as its controleur. On 6 August the expedition finally set off from Long Boh with Koeng Irang, only to face another rice shortage en route -- leaving one to wonder at Smythies' praise of Nieuwenhuis as an "efficient and successful traveler," as a rice shortage is one sure and unforgiving way for an expedition to head straight for disaster.

The expedition remained two months in the Apokayan region. Much data was collected on the Kenyah people and their history. Often harassed by Iban raids from Sarawak, the Kenyah were quite responsive to Nieuwenhuis's offer of Dutch protection but worried that they might thus anger the Rajah Brooke, and they asked Nieuwenhuis to write to him. The Rajah replied that, since Nieuwenhuis was already there, Apokayan was no longer a concern of his.

The expedition, starting back down the Boh on 4 November 1900, reached Long Iram on 3 December, and Batavia on 31 December 1900. Nieuwenhuis was subsequently appointed the government's counsellor for Borneo affairs.

A few years later (in 1903), another controleur, E.W.F. van Walchren, went up the Berau River to Apokayan – where he stayed six months – and he went again in 1906 to settle a internecine feud among the Kenyah. In 1906, there were talks that Nieuwenhuis would return to Apokayan, but instead Captain L.S. Fischer went (June to October 1907), probably to prepare for a Government military outpost to be established in Long Nawang.

The Doctor's Later Years

In the meantime, Nieuwenhuis, who had managed to keep remarkably healthy throughout his travels, was in 1904 appointed professor of geography and ethnology (Land- en Volkenkunde) of the Netherlands Indies at the Royal University (Rijksuniversiteit) of Leiden, Faculty of Letters and Philosophy (Letter en Wetenschappen). His inaugural lecture, on 4 May 1904, was titled "Living conditions of peoples on a high and on a low level of civilization". He also became an editor of the important scientific journal published in Leiden, *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*. Eventually, the mountain range between the Baleh River of Sarawak and the upper Kapuas was given the name of Nieuwenhuis Mts.

After a long academic career as an expert on Indonesia, Nieuwenhuis decided to retire in May 1934. He was succeeded in his position in 1935 by J.P.B. de Josselin de Jong. Nieuwenhuis died in Leiden on 21 September 1953, leaving a large number of scientific works. Writing his obituary, Bertling acknowledged his important pioneer role in Indonesian anthropology, and Smythies did not hesitate to call him "a Borneo Livingstone".

The Expeditions' Significance

Nieuwenhuis' expeditions fulfilled their political goals by leading, in due time, to the establishment of the *pax neerlandica* in these regions plagued by wars and headhunting. Furthermore the controleurs, as soon as they were appointed on upper river basins, started supervising trade activities and ensuring that the Dayak groups were not systematically cheated in their barter deals with Malay and Chinese merchants. The Dutch, in that respect, very much followed the example offered by the Brooke administration in Sarawak.

These expeditions produced accurate maps of regions hitherto untraveled (including the first topographic link between West and East Borneo and a survey of the Mahakam: the "blank on the map" was finally filled); linguistic studies (Barth's Busang dictionary); and a wealth of ethnographic and historic information on the local Dayak groups.

They also gathered important zoological and botanical collections: 1,500 skins of 209 species of birds and 659 specimens of fish (including 51 new species) were sent to the Museum in Leiden; some 2,000 plant specimens were sent to the Herbarium in Buitenzorg; a number of rock samples ended at the University of Utrecht. A rare species of bulbul, captured in Apokayan in 1900, was named after Nieuwenhuis. A large number of scientific publications were based on the expeditions' observations and collections.

Nieuwenhuis' medical observations, reported in several scientific articles, showed that smallpox and cholera epidemics, diffusing from the coasts, were fairly common, often destroying one-fourth to one-third of the population of an infected village. Chronic malaria and syphilis were very common in the Kapuas, Mahakam, and Apokayan regions. These observations caught the attention of the government, who soon established medical stations with traveling doctors in those regions.

Nieuwenhuis' Ethnography

Through his writings, Nieuwenhuis strongly contributed to dispelling the common notion that the Dayak were nothing but cruel headhunters, repeatedly stressing that those "bloodthirsty, wild, headhunting Dayaks are fundamentally the most gentle, peaceful and anxious inhabitants of this earth." However, it is clear that the "something worse than paganism" from which he had set himself to free the tribes of Dutch Borneo, as Smythies noted, was not so much slavery – although slaves did exist and were occasionally sacrificed – than the chronic intertribal headhunting forays. Nieuwenhuis, among the first ever, made the Dayak popular amongst the international scientific community.

Nieuwenhuis proposed a classification of the ethnic groups of central Borneo which, according to Smythies, can hardly be accepted now. Smythies' statement, however, certainly reflects a Sarawakian bias common to several other – and more recent – attempts at classifying Borneo's ethnic groups. Recent research with a wider scope may well show that Nieuwenhuis' views on the question were not that remote from reality.

Ding Ngo, himself a Kayan and quite well versed in tradition, challenged a number of Nieuwenhuis' statements on Kayan social organization, customs, religion, material culture, and history. Indeed, Nieuwenhuis may, through sheer language limitations or otherwise, have misunderstood (or been misled by) his informants; or, on the contrary, he may have been able, during his 1894 and subsequent sojourns with the Kayan, to obtain from these elderly informants some critical data that might not have been passed down to Ding's generation. This is, of course, not for me to decide.

As far as the Aoheng are concerned, one should note that a number of place and persons' names are mistranscribed (with a clear tendency to leave out glottal stops). Nieuwenhuis' linguistic abilities, one might surmise, were not as good as Barth's – and Barth's were not outstanding. Nieuwenhuis could indeed speak some Busang – here the Uma' Suling dialect, the lingua franca of the upper Mahakam – which he used in dealing with the Aoheng, therefore picking up (or making up) Kayanized versions of Aoheng names. In addition, his Aoheng data displays a few minor errors. For example, the Aoheng of the Kapuas really came from the Mahakam, and not the other way around.

Nevertheless, Nieuwenhuis' contribution can be deemed extraordinary. His data is among the most valuable ever collected in the interior of Borneo by an explorer, and remains a major and quite reliable source of ethnographic and historical information on the ethnic groups of the regions he visited. His theoretical approach, unfortunately, definitely belonged to the early decades of anthropology, when the scientific environment was still dominated by evolutionism. "*Animisme*" was seen as a primitive stage along a civilization scale assumed to have a universal value. Neither the approach promoted by Durkheim's sociological school nor that of the subsequent functionalist school were really taken into account in Nieuwenhuis' work (e.g., 1911 and 1917).

Two Books: *In Centraal Borneo* and *Quer durch Borneo*

In Centraal Borneo (1900; henceforth ICB), written in Dutch, and *Quer durch Borneo* (1904-07; henceforth QDB), in German, are two major outputs of Nieuwenhuis' Borneo expeditions. In several respects, they are different books, although they concern the same peoples and subjects. ICB describes Nieuwenhuis' stay on the Mendalam (August-September 1894) and upper Mahakam (August 1896 to March 1897), whereas QDB reports on all three expeditions.

ICB consists of two volumes totalling some 700 pages, whereas QDB, also in two volumes, reaches over 1,000 pages. QDB also includes 170 beautiful black-and-white photographic plates, plus 18 color hand-painted photo plates of ethnographic artefacts. ICB is a "popular" book, meant for the general public, whereas QDB, due to the hand of Dr. M. Nieuwenhuis-von Üxküll-Güldenbandt, the explorer's wife, is more "scientific", with an extensive ethnographic account of the customs and material culture of the groups of central Borneo. QDB is, in Smythies' words, "a truly monumental work". It proved too monumental, unfortunately, for our Indonesian translation, and we chose to use the shorter and more accessible Dutch-language ICB. Furthermore, we decided to abridge the text into a still shorter and easy-to-read version.

However, the photographs accompanying this text were selected from the vast stock of the Nieuwenhuis expeditions' photo archives at the Ethnographic Museum of Leiden. Most of them are by Jan Demmeni – including some never before published – and a few others, it

seems, by Nieuwenhuis himself. Jan Demmeni's photographs are among the very best of his time. His skills and art have been recently recognized and praised in a book devoted to his work (*Indonesia. Glimpses of the Past*, 1990). His equipment, described at length in Nieuwenhuis' writings, featured a Zeiss lens mounted on a 13 x 18 cm wooden box, and his high-speed (for the time) films were among the first such films available on the market and later replaced photo plates.

The 100-year-old photographs presented here constitute an invaluable visual testimony, as an homage paid to the grandeur and beauty of the free Dayak tribes of old and of their culture.

Note: I would to extend here my sincere thanks to Mr. Jan Avé, Mr. Marek Avé, and Ms. Wanda Avé for the information they gathered for me on A.W.N.'s life and travels.

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