

The Great Spirit and Facebook in the Kelabit Highlands, Borneo

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I want here to discuss an ancient belief as it has recently been expressed through a modern medium: Facebook. The people of the Kelabit Highlands, originally animistic, became Christian after the Second World War, adopting an evangelical and charismatic form of Christianity and apparently abandoning any interest or concern in the spirits of nature that had previously played a central role in their lives. However, the Facebook conversation that I will discuss here, which took place in 2013, seems to express an interest in reviving the relationship that young men had in earlier times with the Great Spirit, Ada' Rayeh, through an entity described as Pun Tumid, literally "Grandfather Heel." I believe that this reflects a deep-rooted desire to rekindle a spiritual relationship with and sense of belonging to the forest and nature as a whole, contra the demonization of the spirits of the forest that has accompanied the form of Christianity adopted by the Kelabit.

My relationship with the Kelabit began in 1986 when I arrived in the long-house community of Pa' Dalih with my husband Kaz and small daughter Molly to begin fieldwork for my Ph.D. in social anthropology. In the 1980s Pa' Dalih was twelve hours' walk from the nearest grass airstrip to which small planes flew, which was (and still is, although now with a hard surface) in Bario. In 1986, the people of Pa' Dalih relied entirely on rice-growing and forest resources to supply their needs in terms of food and materials for crafts and building materials. There is now a road to Pa' Dalih and supplies can be brought in from town via a (still dangerous) logging road. However, most food is still grown, gathered or hunted locally.

The topic on which I was focusing for my Ph.D. was rice-growing and the ways in which it reflects the Kelabit relationship with the landscape and environment as a whole and structures kin and social relationships. In the latter part of my Ph.D. fieldwork and in subsequent fieldwork in 1992–3 I began to develop an interest in the significance of hunting and the relationship with the forest, and to focus on understanding cosmology and the cosmological significance of the complementarity between rice, associated with

women, and forest resources, associated with men. Pun Tumid is, I would suggest, a central figure in understanding this relationship.

Pun Tumid is an avatar of the Great Spirit. The Great Spirit takes two forms among the Kelabit. Both are literally described as “great spirit,” but using slightly different variations of the same basic term. One is described as Darayah and the other as Ada’ Rayeh. *Ada’* means “spirit” and *rayeh* means “great” or “large.” The male form is encountered primarily as Pun Tumid.

Pun Tumid – “Grandfather Heel”

I first heard about the entity which the Kelabit call Pun Tumid on 26 September 1986, when the headmaster of the primary school in Pa’ Dalih, Baye Ribuh (whose name means “One Thousand Crocodiles”) told me that Balang Pelaba (whose name means “Very Much a Spirit Tiger”) used to talk to Pun Tumid in the forest. He told me that Pun Tumid gave Balang Pelaba “equipment” and advised him on how to cure people’s illnesses—but that Balang Pelaba has now “thrown away” his equipment, and that he didn’t think that Balang Pelaba could go back to see Pun Tumid any longer as Pun Tumid would be angry. The next time I heard a mention of Pun Tumid was on 11 October 1986, when a small boy muttered “Pun Tumid” in response to a Jack and the Beanstalk height chart we’d brought to measure our small daughter’s growth during our stay in Pa’ Dalih. I also had a dream myself about Pun Tumid—here is what I wrote in my diary about this:

I had a dream about Pun Tumid the night before last—that I had this strange weasel-tail-like thing which would suddenly tighten around me and would sometimes appear as a transformation of a post by the road or something. Then it turned into a huge man dressed in black, who appeared sometimes to be an actor pretending to be Pun Tumid—but I wasn’t sure. Sometimes he would take off his head piece and comment on how he was tired of being Pun Tumid. (Monica’s diary, 5 January 1993)

These two incidents, and my dream, made me quite interested in Pun Tumid and I began asking about him.

Pun Tumid is said to have once been a man called Pun Ngera’. Pun Ngera’ is said to have belonged to a people ancestral to the people who now live in the highlands, the Rabada people, and according to some is descended from a man called Seluyah, a giant who is said to have created stone caves and shelters for people to live in (Balang 1965; Lian and Saging 1976–7, 55; Talla 1979, 268).

This is the story of Pun Tumid as I was told it by a number of Kelabit:

How Pun Ngera’ became Pun Tumid

(As told by a number of people to Monica Janowski, in particular Aren Tuan of Long Peluan and Balang Pelaba of Pa’ Dalih)

There were once two brothers called Pun Ngera’ (“Grandfather Ngera”) and Pun Luun “Grandfather Luun”), who belonged to a race of people who were the ancestors of present-day humans, the Rabada people. The brothers went into the forest one day and killed a wild pig. They slept overnight under a rock overhang in the upper Kelapang, known as the Lepo Batuh.



Fig. 1 Henry Lagang and Kaz Janowski under the Stone Shelter (Lepo Batuh) where the rockfall that turned Pun Ngera’ into Pun Tumid is said to have occurred. Upper Baram River, Sarawak. Photo: Monica Janowski 2006

There was a storm that night and there was stone rain [hail]. The rock overhang collapsed onto Pun Ngera's feet, which caused his feet to be reversed, so that when he walked forward he appeared to be walking backwards. He was transformed into a spirit and from then on, he was called Pun Tumid or "Grandfather Heel," because of the reversal of his feet.

Pun Tumid was embarrassed to return home and told his brother, Pun Luun: "You go back home; I'll stay in the forest. You hunt hairy animals—pigs—and I'll hunt hairless animals—humans." His brother went back to the house with the pig they'd killed. Pun Tumid said: "Don't open your basket with the pig inside until you get home." Pun Luun set off and Pun Tumid stayed in the forest. On his way back, his brother wondered why Pun Tumid had told him not to open his basket. He opened it and found that he couldn't get the pig back into his basket—it had become too big! Pun Tumid now had the power to make the pig too big to fit into the basket, and Pun Luun was able to take back lots of meat to the people of his longhouse community. He was the ancestor of all of us who are living today in the highlands.

Pun Tumid helps men, who are his relatives, after all, to get wild pigs. Before they became Christian, Kelabit men used to pray to Pun Tumid for wild pigs when they went hunting. But he also hunts humans. Some say that Pun Tumid hunts humans when the sun shines and it rains at the same time.¹ His wife is Uyung Baung. Some say that it is she who hunts humans when there is sun and rain at the same time, and that Pun Tumid tries to avoid her doing this.

Pun Tumid: An Avatar of the Great Spirit

Pun Tumid is also referred to as the Ada' Rayeh, the Great Spirit. Pun Tumid is regarded as being *both* a human man and *at the same time* an avatar of the Ada' Rayeh. Belief in an overarching spirit parallel to the Great Spirit, who cares for and in some sense "owns" the entire forest, and who allows humans to take animals but monitors their behavior, is also present in other parts of insular Southeast Asia, particularly among hunter-gatherer people (e.g. see Elkholy 2016).

Other Apad Uat peoples closely related to the Kelabit also speak of encounters with the Ada' Rayeh in a human-like form or avatar, and so do the originally hunter-gatherer Penan who live nearby, who speak of encounters with the Bale Ja'au, also literally meaning "Great Spirit."

¹ There is a widespread belief in Southeast Asia that spirits roam abroad when there is what is described as "hot rain" in Malay (*ujian panas*).

The fact that he is a man is reflected in the fact that there are differences between human-like avatars of the Great Spirit encountered in different areas by different groups of Kelabit and related people, something that is expressed in the Facebook conversation discussed below. The Ada' Rayeh also appears in other forms that are not human-like among some Apad Uat groups—as an old man and as a dragon (Janowski 2019a).

Pun Tumid is said to be *buda'*, "white" (implying colorless and even transparent, and characteristic of spirits), with red (*sia'*) eyes and mouth and wearing red bangles; the color red is associated with the spirit world. I have been told by Penan informants that in the distance the Great Spirit (Bale Ja'au) appears to be a monkey, but looks like a man when he is closer. Some Penan informants say that he looks like a man dressed as a government official (Janowski 2016a; Janowski and Langub 2011!)

Pun Tumid is regarded as male. He was, in pre-Christian animistic belief and practice, the giver of wild game and especially of wild pigs—*baka* in Kelabit. The Kelabit relationship with pigs is central to Kelabit life, both on a material level and, in the past, within animist cosmology. The meat of wild pigs is the main protein food eaten on a daily basis, and that of domesticated pigs is the main meat eaten at *irau* feasts, today as in the past. Meat, and in particular that of pigs, is complementary with rice at meals. Wild pigs were brought into human society and domesticated, and killed at ritual moments, when they acted as communicators with the spirit world (Janowski 2014). It is men who kill pigs—both as hunters and killers of wild pigs and as those who kill domestic pigs at *irau* feasts. Men are very closely associated with pigs. Men prayed to Pun Tumid, asking him to give plenty of wild pigs.

The Kelabit hypothesize a good deal about the nature of the spirit world (Janowski 2012). Some Kelabit have hypothesized that there may be female Pun Tumid, as there are sometimes said to be multiple Pun Tumid (see below) and this implies that they reproduce. However, Pun Tumid's activities—hunting, wandering in the forest with his dogs—are male activities and any sightings or encounters with Pun Tumid are always with a male figure.

Darayeh

Darayeh and Ada' Rayeh are slightly different pronunciations of the same term, and both can be translated as "Great Spirit." *Ada'* means "spirit" and *rayeh* means "great" or "big"; the "Da" at the beginning of "Darayeh" is short for "*ada*." The two versions of the term are used in different

contexts and have different implications. Nowadays, the term *darayeh* is in an advanced stage of losing its original meaning; it is now used to refer to what may be translated as “luck.” In pre-Christian times, though, Darayeh was regarded as the most important spirit or deity (*ada'*) of the Kelabit, referred to by older people living in Pa' Dalih in the 1980s and 1990s as Darayeh nok Ngimat Tauh—Darayeh who Holds Us. Balang Pelaba, our neighbor in the longhouse in Pa' Dalih, who was a shaman (*dayong*) in his youth and who had a relationship with Pun Tumid (see below), told me that “if not for Darayeh, if not for that *lalud* [life force/cosmic power] [from Darayeh] going into your body, you would not be alive” (*tulu um Darayeh sinah, um lalud sinah me lam burur, um teko mulun*). He appeared to conflate Darayeh with both the Creator Deity—whom he described as Baru' Luun Langit (Baru' Above the Clouds) (note though that Yahya Talla describes Baru' as distinct from Darayeh, see Talla 1979, 268) and also as Tuhan Allah (the Christian God)—and with the Holy Spirit (interview carried out with Balang Pelaba by Monica Janowski, 1988). The Kelabit Yahya Talla, in his B.A. dissertation on the Kelabit based on interviews with older people, describes Darayeh as omnipotent. Darayeh manifested through birds; it was important, before setting out on a journey or new enterprise to practice bird augury, described as *ngalap manuk*—to “gather birds”—to ensure success in the journey or endeavor (Talla 1979, 262–5).

While the Great Spirit as Ada' Rayeh is associated with success in hunting, Darayeh was always mentioned to me in association with success in rice cultivation. Rice cultivation is central to Kelabit life. I have elsewhere described how it is the basis both of what I have called rice-based kinship and of social hierarchy (Janowski 2007). Success in cultivating rice was regarded as a mark of a good relationship with Darayeh.

Rice-growing is under the control of women, and in pre-Christian times this was grounded in the relationship that women had with Darayeh. Men help with rice cultivation, working in the fields with women and carrying out heavy tasks, but they are not responsible for phases that may fail, such as putting the rice to soak and sprout before planting out in wet fields. The success of these phases was regarded as depending on the good relationship that the woman in charge of them had with Darayeh. The spirits of rice (*ada' pade*) who were under the control of Darayeh and must be coaxed to enter and remain in the rice granary to ensure plenty of rice, were regarded as female (Rubenstein 1973, 797). There is a sense in which Darayeh may be regarded, therefore, as female, although Yahya Talla, in his 1979 B.A. dissertation on the Kelabit, uses the pronoun “he”

in referring to Darayeh (Talla 1979, 261). In Malaysia and Indonesia, the equivalent of Darayeh, the deity or spirit who gives success in rice cultivation, is usually described as Dewi Sri and is regarded as female (Heringa 1997) This deity is often referred to in English as the Rice Goddess.

The Great Spirit and the Kelabit Relationship with the Wider Cosmos

There is a sense, then, in which the Great Spirit has a female-associated form as Darayeh, linked primarily to rice cultivation, and a male-associated form as the Ada' Rayeh and as Pun Tumid, linked to hunting and the forest. This links to the complementary relationship between female rice and male wild that I have explored elsewhere. I have argued that this relationship enables wild life force (*lalud*) from the wild to be processed, with rice, through the rice meal provided by married couples, and fed to dependents and descendants (Janowski 1995; 2007; 2016b). *Lalud* is the fundamental force of the cosmos, which animates it as well as driving it (Janowski 2012; 2016a).

The Kelabit living in the highlands relied heavily in the past, and indeed still rely, on the natural environment. This was expressed, in pre-Christian cosmology, in terms of a reliance on maintaining a good relationship with the spirits (*ada'*) that inhabit the cosmos, and in particular with the Great Spirit, both as the Ada' Rayeh in relation to the use of wild resources and as Darayeh in relation to rice-growing. There was a sense of awe and respect towards other living beings, which was regarded as including stones and mountains (Janowski 2020). This involved watching carefully for signs and messages from the world of the spirits in the form of bird and animal omens (Harrisson 1960). It meant being careful not to do anything to offend the spirits. It also meant not overusing natural resources; it was believed that this would lead to retaliation from the Great Spirit in the form of Ada' Rayeh.

Pun Tumid, as an avatar of the Ada' Rayeh, is closely associated with the natural environment. He is said to roam the “big forest” (*polong rayeh*)—forest that has never been cultivated by humans or was cultivated long ago—and the mountains. By night, he hunts with his dogs. He may be encountered at any time on trips into the big forest. Men, who regularly went into the forest to hunt and to gather forest products, regularly encounter signs of his presence. The footprints and handprints of Pun Tumid are often discerned in mud, on stones and on trees in the “big” (*rayeh*) forest. On trips into the big forest with Kelabit friends they have regularly pointed these prints out to me. Pun Tumid can, I was told, be

heard calling his dogs at night. It has to be him, I was told, as only he hunts with dogs at night.

Pun Tumid is said to live on mountain peaks. People sometimes say that there is one Pun Tumid and sometimes that there is one for each mountain; Pun Tumid is, therefore, in some sense both single and multiple. One might wonder how, if Pun Tumid is a being that was transformed from a specific human individual, Pun Ngera', there can be multiple Pun Tumids; this perhaps expresses the sense that in becoming Pun Tumid, Pun Ngera' was in some sense merging into the Great Spirit, which is all-encompassing and manifests throughout the natural environment—but especially on mountain peaks. The Great Spirit (Ada' Rayeh and Darayah), of which Pun Tumid is one (male) avatar, is associated with the entirety of the natural landscape—mountains, rivers, forest. As mentioned above, the Great Spirit can be encountered in many forms. It/he/she (the Great Spirit is ultimately both ungendered and all-gendered; gender is arguably the way in which the life force springing from the Great Spirit flows and is expressed—for a discussion of gender in Southeast Asia see Atkinson and Errington 1990). The Great Spirit is, I would suggest, regarded as a sentient manifestation of the natural landscape and environment—what in English we describe as Nature.

Pun Tumid—in other words, the Great Spirit—imposes certain rules regarding human behavior while in the forest. Behavior in relation to fire, in particular, is circumscribed. He does not allow humans to heat cooked rice, to dry clothes or to throw citrus fruit into the fire—this is said to make his teeth hurt. If humans do not conform to these limitations, there is a danger that Pun Tumid will hunt them and consume their souls (*ada'*). It is said that the spirit tiger (*balang*) may also attack and consume your soul if you do these things.

Friendship with Pun Tumid

Until the mid-60s, men would pray to Pun Tumid for success in hunting. Some young men also developed friendships with Pun Tumid. One of these was the late Balang Pelaba (who died in 2013), who was our next-door neighbor in the longhouse when we were living there in 1986–8. The initial meeting with Pun Tumid took place when Balang Pelaba was still a teenager, when he was called Magong (Balang Pelaba is his *ngadan inan mupun*, his “grandparental name”). This would have been in the 1930s. I interviewed him in 1987 and 1988 about his meetings with Pun

Tumid and his relationship with him. Balang Pelaba told me the story of his first meeting with Pun Tumid:

One night, very late, I was sitting in the longhouse. I had hurt my foot and it was very painful. I heard someone calling me from outside the longhouse. I went to the top of the log ladder leading down from the longhouse but there was no-one there. I realized that the person was calling from further away. So, I went down the ladder and away from the longhouse, towards the fish pond. I had no light. Then I saw Pun Tumid standing there. He was glowing with light. He looked like a man. He had a long beard and was very tall, and his skin was white. He had a wide white bracelet on his wrist and a red ankle bracelet. I asked him what he wanted. Pun Tumid said that he wanted to give him something. He asked what was wrong with my foot. I replied that I had twisted it the day before. Pun Tumid touched it and it healed immediately. Then Pun Tumid asked if I would like some *tabat* [powerful substances; the term is used nowadays to refer to modern medicines]. I said that I would. Pun Tumid asked what kind of *tabat* I would like, and I said that I would like *tabat* to heal people when they become sick. So, Pun Tumid gave me that *tabat*, in small bottles.

A long while later, he called me out again late at night. He said that he wanted to give me *tabat* that would harm people or make them sick. I was reluctant to take this at first, but Pun Tumid said that I should have it, in case someone was bad or said bad things. So, I took that *tabat* too.

We spat in each other's mouths and became brothers and friends. I used to encounter Pun Tumid when I was in the deep forest. We would walk together in the forest.

Pun Tumid also gave me three stones—one white, one black and one red—that contained spirits (*ada'*). The stones contained *ada'* (spirits) that could cure people (the white stone), kill people (the black stone) and make people sick and vomit blood (the red stone). I had to kill one person every year to feed the spirits in the stones. Otherwise, the spirits would have become angry and eaten my spirit.² I only ever killed people living far away. I have killed ten people. (Interviews with Balang Pelaba, 1987 and 1988)

² It is a widespread belief in Borneo that those who keep an object that contains a spirit—including a human head—need to kill a human or an animal—a pig or a chicken—in order to feed that spirit. On 30 October 2017 I was present at a *miring* ceremony held to feed and placate the spirits of the heads that were being transferred out of the old building of the Sarawak Museum, at which Iban *manang* (shamans) officiated, killing a pig and chickens.



Fig. 2 Balang Pelaba with Monica Janowski. Pa' Dalih, Upper Baram river, Sarawak.
Photo: Kaz Janowski, 2007

Balang Pelaba said that he continued to meet Pun Tumid whenever Pun Tumid called him. He regarded Pun Tumid as his *kawan*, or friend. They would walk through the forest together and Pun Tumid continued to give him *tabat*—powerful substances—to enable him to heal.

The power that Balang Pelaba was given by Pun Tumid to heal and kill was partly played out through the spirits that inhabited the three stones that he was given, as well as through the *tabat* (powerful substances) that he received. It was not clear whether the spirit[s] in the stones were distinct spirits under the control of Pun Tumid or in some sense aspects of Pun Tumid himself. What Balang Pelaba told me was that the stones contained “spirit[s]—words from his mouth [of Pun Tumid]” (*ada’-karoh taang* [of Pun Tumid]). He seemed, then, to be saying that the stones contained distinct spirits but that these spirits were in some sense words spoken by Pun Tumid.

The Coming of Christianity: Abandoning the Spirits

Balang Pelaba discarded the stones and bottles that he had been given by Pun Tumid when he accepted Christianity. He no longer had a relationship with Pun Tumid when I knew him. However, he still contended that Pun Tumid was benevolent. He also had empathy for Pun Tumid. He told me that he was wandering the mountains, sad because he no longer had

a relationship with his human kin. When I knew him, though, Balang Pelaba, like other Kelabit men, prayed to Jesus Christ for success in hunting, and no longer relied on the *lalud* he had once had from Pun Tumid.

Christianity arrived in the Kelabit Highlands after the Second World War. It took hold gradually, culminating in what has been described as the “Bario Revival” of 1973 (Bulan-Dorai and Bulan 2004). The Kelabit were converted by missionaries who were evangelical Christians and almost all Kelabit now belong to a church called the Sidang Injil Borneo of SIB (Borneo Evangelical Church). This form of Christianity views all pre-Christian spirits and deities as evil, and describes them as *seitan*, a version of the English term Satan.

This was reflected in what I was told about Pun Tumid by people in Pa’ Dalih in the late 1980s and 1990s. It should be borne in mind that the people I was speaking to had grown up before Christianity took hold in the 1960s–70s, and they were attempting to understand their new faith in the light of what they used to believe. Pun Tumid was described to me by several people as a *melaikat*, a term used for “fallen angels.” “At the very beginning, the power of Pun Tumid was equal to that of God and they were together in Heaven” (*Puun puun iah doo, paad lalud Pun Tumid ngan lalud Tuan Allan kadi’ ngilad peroyong idah lam surge*), I was told by Ribuh Paran of Pa’ Dalih. Menge Aren of Pa’ Dalih told me that God had sent Pun Tumid down to live on this Earth.

With Christianity, the relationship with the Great Spirit—both as Darayeh and as the Ada’ Rayeh, in other words Pun Tumid—has been replaced by a relationship with Jesus. The basis for this change is the fact that Jesus is believed to be much more powerful than the Great Spirit. A relationship with Jesus made it unnecessary, I was told, to draw on power from spirits. Previous relationships with spirits have been abandoned.

Rice-growing no longer involves rituals and prayers to Darayeh. The evangelical form of Christianity that the Kelabit have adopted is very light on ritual, and rituals relating to Darayeh have not been replaced by new Christian rituals. Some prayers are said to Jesus in the context of rice-growing, but the ritual and spiritual dimensions of rice-growing are now minimized. Many people had, in pre-Christian times, kept charms—unusual or very perfect stones, crystals, pieces of wood and “thunderstones” (*batuh pera’it*), which they believed would provide cosmic power (*lalud*) to help them in their endeavors (Barton and Janowski 2010). All of these charms were discarded in the 1970s, when the so-called Bario Revival led to the abandonment of previous practices and beliefs (Bulan-Dorai and Bulan 2004).

Christianity has, among the Kelabit, not only meant a loss of respect for spirits but has also brought with it a less respectful attitude to the natural environment in which spirits are located. While the people of the highlands continue to believe that there *are* spirits residing in all living things, they believe that these spirits can no longer retaliate if maltreated. They do not hold those spirits in awe any longer. Christianity has taught them that the spirits are both evil and, in comparison with Jesus, weak. This is exhibited in attitudes to felling big trees. In pre-Christian times there was nervousness about cutting down big, old trees—which are regarded as having more powerful, fully-formed spirits than smaller trees—but nowadays, my Kelabit friends told me (with some pride), they are even able to cut down certain trees that are believed to harbor particularly numerous or powerful spirits, such as the stranger fig (*lonok*), without fear of retaliation.

Not all of the indigenous groups who have adopted Christianity have taken the extreme stance that the Kelabit have adopted *vis-à-vis* the spirits. The Penan, who live on the fringes of the Kelabit Highlands and have interacted a good deal with the Kelabit, are much more cautious about offending the spirits of the forest. They are traditionally hunter gatherers, managing sago groves, and live very close to the natural world, while the Kelabit, as rice-growers, already, even before they became Christian, regarded the natural world as somewhat “other” (Janowski 2007; Janowski and Langub 2011).

While the Borneo Evangelical Church (Sidang Injil Borneo or SIB) is rapidly expanding, the majority of Christians in Sarawak are probably still either Catholic or Anglican. The Catholic church, which converted many of the other people of Borneo, has been much more willing to integrate earlier beliefs and practices related to spirits in nature into Christianity, for example allowing water spirits believed to derive from snakes, regarded locally as equivalent to the Chinese *lung* or dragon, to be depicted in churches (Fig. 3), something that would be complete anathema to the Borneo Evangelical Church. Many Catholics to whom I spoke during recent research into beliefs about entities that may be glossed as “dragons” told me that they regard these entities as benevolent. These entities are one form in which the Great Spirit manifests. They are regarded as extremely dangerous and frightening by the Kelabit but as benevolent by members of other tribal groups such as the Kayan and the Iban, who are predominantly Catholic or Anglican (although many are now converting to the Borneo Evangelical Church and are under pressure to abandon any relationships with dragons or other spirits) (Janowski 2019a; 2019b).



Fig. 3 Catholic Pastor Ding’s coffin, raised on *lengunan* (which are pythons that have transformed into spirits—water “dragons”). Kayan community of Long Miting, Medalam River, Kalimantan. Photo: Kaz Janowski, 2018

Contact with Spirits Nowadays

Not many Kelabit advocate respect for spirits nowadays. Kelabit declare publicly that they do not believe that respect needs to be paid any longer to spirits in the natural environment, and that they have no interest in developing relationships with spirits such as Puntumid.

Although the vast majority of Kelabit go along with the view that spirits of nature are *seitan*—and hence evil and to be avoided—some do not. One who does not go along with this view is Balang Nadun. This name, taken as a name when he became a parent, means “Spirit Tiger Who Sets the Pace” (his own translation), and this expresses the social position that he

has achieved in life. He was born in 1955, and was one of the few in his generation who went to school and did a university degree. He went on to have a very senior job in the Malaysian oil company PETRONAS. He married a Muslim, and therefore converted to Islam, something that is compulsory in Malaysia if one marries a Muslim. His Muslim name is Medan Abdullah, and this is the name that he used in his contribution to the Facebook conversation which I will discuss below. Balang Nadun is monotheistic—he believes in one God—but the form of spirituality that he espouses is very nature-oriented and he seems to have a strong orientation towards animism. Balang Nadun publishes poetry on social media under the name of Maya Green (*maya* means “follow” in Kelabit, and so this name can be translated as Follow Green). He uses the name Medan Maya in emails. The poems that he publishes express a strong attachment to nature and a respect for the spirits of nature—including Pun Tumid. Here is a poem that he published on 26 April 2014 on Facebook:

About Spirits

Do you know Sigunggurah?
 The spirit of food. As small children
 We were very scared of that spirit.
 I remember well.
 Do you know Pun Tumid?
 The Great Spirit of the big forest
 Dear spirit, as he is our relative
 He lives near the hard *belaban* tree
 Do you know the *benegag* spirit?
 The water spirit of big pools
 It's dangerous to get close to a big pool
 Unless it's full of fish!

Balang Nadun advocates a respectful relationship with the spirits of nature, as expressed in this Facebook post from 27 April 2014:

We believe and we know there are spirits inhabiting the forests or most anywhere. The old people advise to show the customary respect, as we do to humans, when we enter someone else's territory, space or home. We either utter the words or by our attitude we show that we come in peace and respect. In fact, if you were to “pee” urgently in the forest or in the bushes in the golf course, etc., it's considered good

ethics to “seek permission” from “whoever is in the vicinity” (clearly meaning those in the other dimension who may be having a house, etc. right where one is doing it!)

This attitude to spirits is widespread in Sarawak, and indeed in Southeast Asia in general. It is widely believed that there are spirits living in all places, associated with features of the landscape and with living beings—plant and animal—and that it is important to both respect these and to develop good relationships with them. It is interesting to note that in Borneo it is not only members of indigenous groups who hold these beliefs, but also the numerous Chinese who have settled there, who set up specific altars to spirits of place, which they see as manifested as local people—Malay or Dayak (Chai and Janowski 2021).

Many Christians in Sarawak, including many belonging to the Sidang Injil Borneo (Borneo Evangelical Church) to which the Kelabit belong, continue to be careful to respect local spirits. Almost all Kelabit, however, declare that they do not need to respect spirits any longer, as they now have a relationship with a spirit who is stronger than any of the spirits of nature—Jesus Christ. Balang Nadun is unusual in publicly stating that he does not see the spirits of nature as evil and that he believes that humans should respect the spirits. It may be that the fact that he is a Muslim convert, because of his marriage, has freed him from the need to conform to the usual view of spirits among the Kelabit, which conforms to the view of the Borneo Evangelical Church. It is also possible that his prominent position in the Kelabit community, as someone who has been very successful in the wider world, has contributed to his ability to take the position that he does in relation to spirits.

There are a small number of Kelabit who appear interested in making contact with spirits because they want to acquire the power (*lalud*) that comes from relationships with spirits. There is one man in Pa' Dalih who in the early 2000s gathered unusual stones and crystals (see Fig. 4), apparently in the hope that these might prove to be powerful charms housing spirits.³ This man also attempted to make contact with Pun Tumid, although he did not succeed in doing so.

³ I am not giving his name to avoid any embarrassment on his part, as this kind of behavior is frowned upon in the Kelabit community.



Fig. 4 The collection of stones made by a Pa' Dalih man in the early 2000s. Pa' Dalih, Upper Baram river, Sarawak. Photo: Monica Janowski, 2009

Encountering Pun Tumid: the Facebook conversation of 2013

There have been no relationships between Pun Tumid and the Kelabit since Balang Pelaba abandoned his relationship with Pun Tumid in the 1950s/60s. Balang Pelaba told me that Pun Tumid is lonely and sad, wandering alone in the forest. He has made attempts to interact with young Kelabit men. Kenny Lian Kalikam, the son of Balang Pelaba—our neighbor in Pa' Dalih longhouse who used to be friends with Pun Tumid—was, as he has told me and others, approached by Pun Tumid while in the forest, and Pun Tumid said that he wanted to be friends with him. However, Kenny Lian rejected this offer. “I don't follow Pun Tumid now, as I have a spirit that is much more powerful [Jesus]” as Lian said to me in 2015. Ribuh Paran, another neighbor in Pa' Dalih, also told me that he had met Pun Tumid in the forest, and that Pun Tumid had wanted to be friends with him. He too rejected this opportunity.

In September 2013 an encounter occurred with Pun Tumid which was reported and discussed within a Kelabit group on Facebook. I am a member of this group. The discussion started with a post from Tadun Bala on 18 September 2013. Tadun related the story of the encounter that he and two other men had had on 12 September. He told the story in English:

I was travelling with Samson and Dunstan on second day of our walk to Apad Bawang Runan [a high mountain peak near Pa' Dalih] when I heard Samson telling Dunstan someone just passed by. I didn't pay much attention to their discussion as I was concentrating on taking photos of some red monkeys about twenty meters behind. Furthermore, we were about 120 miles from the nearest human settlement and I expected nobody be there without any real purpose.

When I caught up with them later on top of a peak, I asked Samson where next. I expected him to say straight ahead but he pointed 90 degrees right. “Why not ahead?” I inquired. He said the highest mountain peak is on the right. So, we went right. We didn't reach the peak that evening and camped down in the valley.

After setting up our camp I sat down with Dunstan (while Samson was having a bath in a stream nearby) and told him that we are on the wrong track. Dunstan said he just can't figure out where we were and asked whether I saw the footprints up on the mountain pass.

I said, “No.”

“They were huge and we were comparing ours with them,” he said.

“That must be Pun Tumid. No wonder Samson decided to turn 90 degrees to right,” I said.

We didn't talk about the topic until the next day when we started our journey uphill again. I was behind Samson this time and asked him about the footprints. He confirmed there was a set of footprints going up the ridge we were travelling.

“No wonder you refused to go ahead yesterday and turn 90 degrees right. I love to meet the Gentleman,” I said.

“Ain't u scared man?” he asked.

“No, I wanted to ask him for the Red Friendship Bangle,” was my answer.

The one I'm wearing is a Black “O” ring.

“Come on Samson you are supposed to be the strongest man in the Bible story, why are you scared? Maybe you are strong no more because your hair is gone [Samson is going a bit bald],” I continued, grumbling for missing the chance to see Pun Tumid.

“Cool, Man” he said, laughing. “You can go and see him later.”

When I went to search for Pun Tumid later, I saw him under a Rock Cave—he was sharpening his 4” x 15” spear.

Immediately when he saw me, with full rage he charged, shouting why had I entered his territory without respect. Respect!!

I ran straight downhill shouting back, “Sorry dude I'm lost, just lost never meant to be here, there blurrrrrrr blurrrrrr blurrrrrrr.”

When I caught up again with my friends Samson and Dunstan, they asked no questions but knew what had happened and scrambled for the cameras.

Well well well, some of you knew immediately Pun Tumid had chased me after you saw photos of shaken me yesterday.

If you wanna know whether this story is real, either you ask Samson and Dunstan or you go to Apad Bawang Runan yourself.

There was a flurry of responses from other Kelabit to this post, and a conversation between them and Tadun Bala ensued, some in direct response to his story and some below the three photos he attached to his post, of the place where they saw the footprints of Pun Tumid and of Samson and Dunstan at that spot. Some of the conversation was in English, some in Kelabit; where the comments were partially or wholly in Kelabit I have provided a translation in italics below.

NELSON RADU [M.]

Wud [would] love to meet & make peace with the big man. Hopefully, we can [make] him to be an ally. . .

DAYANG GALIH [F.]

Ken anun kemuh ngenah? Ken lemulun idah nah?
What did you say to him? Are they [Puntumid] human?

KENNY LIAN KALIKAM [M.]

Puun teh narih naam mere salam kapeh neh haha. Leku' sia' pipa kabing haha.
Because you didn't greet him, of course, he was angry. [He has] a red bangle on the left [i.e. on his left wrist], ha ha.

NAJARIN LUPONG [F.]

Teii . . . me ngudah metaluh nginah? Ngudah kidih nah m3 am mare keburu ke iah m3 fian papu kenah? Kian, aru iah mare sepatar baka wan m3 ai hahaha
Why did the three of you go there? Why didn't you inform him that you'd like to meet him? Maybe you should ask him to give you a whole plainful of pigs for the three of you ha ha.

KENNY LIAN KALIKAM [M.]

Abishai G. Malarn awak koh am mirid nier buluh tekum nedih teh haha. Ngesu raruh teh halleluyah mudih abin taut haha.
Maybe you just stood still [because you were scared] when you saw his long beard. You forgot to say your halleluyah because you were scared.

NAJARIN LUPONG [F.]

KLK kan nah papu kiko ngenah ka kadi doo keli buluh tekum nedih kadang. Maya ceritah luluz punya, am iah nah mada2 tumid nedih kedah, kadi dih pekupat eh.
Niar sinah tupu narih rga papu ngenah hehehe
Kenny Lian Kalikam, have you met him, since you know that his beard is long? According to stories from the past, he never shows his heels, they say, because they are back to front. Check on that if you meet him hehehe.

DEBORAH RANALD [F.]

Tell us more precisely abg [i.e. *abang* "big brother" in Malay language] Tadun Bala on how his looks are and all . . .

MORA LIO [F.]

Am pekenah 'petulu/terenaq' ngenah pingan inih, an narih mala ngenah, 'Am kamih marih giwin koh, marih ngetu Pulung, Dooq nah dulun am marih giwin inih.' kapah?
If you meet him again, say to him "We are not here to disturb you, we are here to mark the forest to stop other people coming to disturb it." How about that?

TOM BALAN [M.]

Don't worry go'in into Pun Tumid territory; he's good n very nice@ protector of all the lands n mountains. Sometimes he got irritated when u don't respect n strictly follow protocol! Aah haa ask Tadun Bala.

TADUN BALA [M.]

hi All commenter, lun teluh! Naam kaduwih taut ngan Pun Tumid tabe, ngalinuh mutuh Lekuk Sia tupu teh kaduuh lak papu' ngenah. Ee neh sekanan yeh masih "Ngaraad puung lana."
Hi all those commenting, you all! I'm not scared of Pun Tumid, in fact I'm thinking of requesting a red bangle from him, I want to meet him. Ee remember that he is hunting "non-hairy animals."

NELSON RADU [M.]

Kenny Lian Kalikam, neh men uih naam ngalap advice lat ngan iko suk Sabila' Laih Rayeh sinah malam hahahahaaa.
Kenny Lian Kalikam, I should have asked you for your advice as you were the sabila' ["friend" in Kenyah language] of the Big Man before [this is a reference to Pun Tumid's approach to Kenny Lian asking him to be friends, see above].

ANDY PIAN L [M.]

Tadun Bala kan nah petulu iko ngenah kah?

Tadun Bala, have you met him?

TOM BALAN [M.]

Penala nah ngan Tadun Bala malam! Sorry guys-naam kerip muit canon camera me tunge apad bawang kenah!_la beto narih petulu ngan uih~No Camera! ngitunTadun, meteluh naam ayu tah iah 'ngebenar' ngalap gabir mesing rakedz . . . haha

I told Tadun Bala already! Sorry guys—don't bring a Canon camera to Apad Bawang, that's what he told you! If you want to meet me—no camera! Ask Tadun, all of you, of course he [Pun Tumid] won't let you take lots of pictures . . . haha.

ANGELINE RENLY [F.]

Uncle Tadun Bala . . . need to c u in person . . . wanna interview u . . . haha . . . so many questions in my head.

NAJARIN LUPONG [F.]

AR me ngitun laih suk balaz kail lem bukuh ago eh ko . . . kan madah iah riruh adiz mala dih ngemuh.

Angeline Renly, go and ask the one who is the famous strong man in the Bible [i.e. Samson aka Lugun Bala]. . . maybe he will tell you, laughing quietly.

DONNA SDP [F.]

Tadun Bala: hahhaa . . . i interviewed Samson the Strongman just now . . . i knew the whole story. . . i better keep quiet now . . . for his hair already gone . . . hahhaa . . . mabi nah kekuatan nedih man . . . hahha . . . kerib tabiq yah ngerabut pu'un tumoh ngulin Pun Tumid sinah ki? . . . hahhahaha . . . Nasib tah Delila pgh ngetib pun nedih sebelum met3 nalan . . . adui wah . . .

Hahhaa . . . I interviewed Samson the Strongman [aka Lugun Bala] just now . . . I knew the whole story . . . I better keep quiet now . . . for his hair is already gone . . . hahhaa . . . he said he lost all his strength. In fact, he could have uprooted a tomoh tree [a very large forest tree] and thrown it at Pun Tumid, right? It's a good thing that Delilah [the reference is to Samson's wife Sinah Lugun Bala] cut his hair before they set out . . . my goodness . . .

KENNY LIAN KALIKAM [M.]

Tadun Bala pingan ninih aik-aik narih ngenah beto'. Musuh tradisi burur neh diweh "strongman" neh haha.

Tadun Bala, next time approach him humbly. He [Pun Tumid] and the strongman [Samson aka Lugun Bala] are sworn enemies.

TADUN BALA [M.]

AR get the story part 1 from tepun Samson @ Lugun [Bala]. I can give you part 2 for free this time.

EA/KLK Strongman vs Strongman "ngerabut Tumoh" would be a sight to see a life time, but our strongman hair was cut by Delilah, thus made it impossible for Samson to put up a challenge . . .

One strongman against another, with one of them uprooting and throwing a tomoh tree at the other [i.e. Lugun Bala against Puntumid] would have been the sight of a lifetime, but Delilah [i.e. Lugun Bala's wife Sinah Lugun Bala] had cut our strongman's hair, so Samson wasn't able to put up that challenge . . .

ANGELINE RENLY [F.]

Abishai Malarn nun tajuk dih doo tuen kiteh? haha . . .

Abishai Malarn, what title should we use [for the story of the meeting with Pun Tumid]?

TADUN BALA [M.]

Story of "perjumpaan dengan Jungle Man"

The story of "meeting the Jungle Man."

TOM BALAN [M.]

Eagerly waiting for next episode Pun Tumid 02 aarh, whatever the title.

RIWAR TUMID [M.]

Tadun Bala, like you, I would love to have an encounter with "the man" . . . And probably warm up to him and be friends? but then again "how" does he want respect shown to him? In what manner or form? Interesting. I have always thought that he is not a bad person as Kelabit folklore likes to make him out to be. He is just very misunderstood.

DAYANG GALIH [F.]

Ngudeh deh am kawan ideh keyh, dooq tideh am bu'uh. Ken nekaruh ideh nah? *Why don't you make friends with him, then he wouldn't be angry. Did you talk to him?*

Ken mulaq ideh?

Are there a lot of them [Puntumid]?

ASA LABA [M.]

Beken tah Pun Tumid nuk ngi Pa Lungan dih ke lun duah . . . ditaq dur panen nuk inah . . . Merar burur nuk lipa punang kelapang dih . . . kadang buluh daah kedidah. Adiq laih suk mudeng ruyung dah nih dooq kekeliq kapah idah mulun . . . lol

The Puntumids in Pa Lungan are the tall group . . . The ones in the Punang Kelapang are big-bodied . . . they have long hair. So the guy who lives among them knows well how they live . . . lol

ELVINA HEATH [F.]

Doo rimod narih tuan maduah kanid DG and AL
Very nice feeling, smiling, reading posts from DG and AL.

TADUN BALA [M.]

Pun Tumid is Kelabit equivalent to Big Foot or The Giant . . . My friend said they found his foot print here at this mt [mountain] pass (at coordinates).

ABU BAKAR AR-RAMI [M.]

Wow . . . Tadun Bala interesting info . . . wish I can experience the feelings of stumbling on the foot prints myself . . . so we have our sasquatch here too.

These comments were made linked to the photo of Samson and Dunstan, who look quite scared in the photo (Fig. 5):

TADUN BALA [M.]

Taut ngan Pun Tumid teh diweh ini.
They are scared of Pun Tumid.

MEDAN ABDULLAH [BALANG NADUN; M.]

Taut ngudah nah narih ngan Pun Tumid. Denganak dengekanid tah tauh ngan iyah nah. Nah tebpa batuh me ngelitap kukud nadih kadi nah tumid nadih kelupat. Migu' nah iyah ame muli rumaq maya kinanak nadih suk mine ngeraad ruyung iyah. Migu' nah iyah ame muli rumaq maya kinanak nadih suk mine ngeraad ruyung iyah. Nah niyah tudo lam pulung—jadi ko Pun Tumid. Kinah tah singunud nadih binala tamaq ngan kaduuh ngilad!

Why should one be scared of Pun Tumid? He's our brother, our cousin. He hit his heel against a rock and that's why his heel got reversed. He was then shy to go home with his brother who had gone hunting with him. That's why he stayed in the forest and became Pun Tumid. That's what my father told me when I was small!



Fig. 5 Samson and Dunstan after they had encountered Pun Tumid's footsteps. Near Apad Bawang Runan, a mountain peak in the Upper Baram river, Sarawak. Photo: Jeffrey Malang (Tadun Bala), 2013

TADUN BALA [M.]

hahahaha kinah ayu teh idih kedah malam Dato. Tapi Pun Tumid neh lun tauh Kelabit . . . lun dua inih lat Krayan asal kadik diweh taut.
Hahaha that's how it happened long ago, Dato [Dato is Medan Abdullah's title]. But Pun Tumid is a Kelabit—and those two are from the Krayan [Samson was born in the Krayan, immediately across the border, v close to the Kelabit community of Pa' Dalih where Samson and Dunstan live and inhabited by v closely related people to the Kelabit, and Dunstan's parents are from the Krayan] and that's why they are scared.

MEDAN ABDULLAH [BALANG NADUN; M.]

Hahaha! That's a good one, kanid [cousin]!

TOM BALAN [M.]

Haha Tadun; Pun Tumid heels "nekelupat" Lun Saban's sekunuh/version, Kong H'met—too short heels—not sure whether he got toes or just the very short heel/tumid!

Haha Tadun; Pun Tumid's heels got reversed in the version of the story told by the Saban people [a people closely related to the Kelabit] about Kong H'met [the Saban equiva-

lent of Pun Tumid]. His heels are too short—not sure whether he has no toes or just has very short heels!

TADUN BALA [M.]

Tom Balan, naam ayu neh pun Tumid neh paad, Nuk Pa Lungan ditak dur kan Asa Laba dih, nuk Puneng Klapang merar burur. nuk Pa Asing teh paad ngan nuk kalik lun tauh Saban neh.

Pun Tumids are not all the same. The one from Pa Lungan is tall according to Asa Laba, the Punang Kelapang one has a big body. The one from Pa Asing is the same as the Saban one.

Conclusion: Rekindling a Relationship with the Great Spirit?

All of the participants in the conversation except Tadun Bala are Kelabit living in towns in Sarawak, who were born in the Kelabit highlands but left the highlands to go to school in town when they were in their teens. Tadun Bala himself does live in the highlands, having returned there some fifteen years ago after having worked for many years in the coastal town of Miri. Kelabit living in town root their identity in the Kelabit Highlands but some have not been there for many years. Many have expressed to me a yearning for the highlands of their childhood.

The yearning that urban Kelabit feel for the highlands relates to the longhouse-based life they remember from their childhood, and to the contact that they remember with the natural environment. It is felt on a deep level that can only be described as spiritual. To satisfy their yearning, some Kelabit men who live in Miri or other towns in Sarawak return regularly or occasionally to the highlands to hunt. It seems likely that the interest and excitement that not only men but also women express in hearing about the encounter with Pun Tumid relates to this yearning. It is only the male participants in the conversation, however, who express an interest in meeting him, and this reflects the fact that it is men who relate directly to the big forest, to hunting, and to Pun Tumid, particularly as giver of pigs.

I would suggest that urban Kelabit have a desire to rekindle their relationship with the natural environment, and that this desire is not only for a material relationship but for a spiritual one. This leads them to feel drawn to the spirits within that environment, including Pun Tumid; and also, sometimes, to question the standard Christian attitude to those spirits. This is shown in the Facebook conversation, in which the participants display a rather positive attitude to Pun Tumid which does not accord with the attitude of the Borneo Evangelical Church.

Thus, Pun Tumid is described by one participant in the Facebook conversation, Tom Bala, as “good n very nice@ protector of all the lands n mountains.” This echoes the place of Pun Tumid within Kelabit animist cosmology, as discussed above; Pun Tumid is a male avatar of the Great Spirit, and is associated with the “big forest” (*polong raya*)—the unmanaged natural environment with which humans relate in order to access many wild resources, but especially wild meat, and most particularly wild pigs.

Participants in the conversation talked about the need to behave in a respectful manner towards Pun Tumid while in the forest. They were in effect accepting the limits that Pun Tumid sets to the ways in which humans should behave in the forest. When Kelabit men go into the forest they are *concerned* about the danger of not following the rules that Pun Tumid sets for fear of his retribution, as discussed above. Some of the comments in this conversation express fear, but they go beyond fear of retribution to *acceptance* that retribution is *appropriate* if people do not accept the rules that Pun Tumid sets—if they do not express the proper respect for him.

This is at odds with the Christian view, which is, as mentioned above, that there is no need to respect the spirits of nature, including Pun Tumid, and that humans can and should take what resources they require from the natural environment without any fear of retribution from spirits. Kelabit have often declared to me that they are not afraid of spirits and that they are not afraid of any retribution if they cut down big trees, even those that are believed to house many spirits such as the strangler fig (*lonok*). It is worth noting that there has always been a kind of nervousness on the part of Kelabit who have declared to me that they do not need to fear spirits and a certain bravado in the declarations that I have heard about being able to cut down as many trees as they wish. It always appeared to me that they continued to be somewhat fearful of the spirits and the possibility of retribution from them. However, this was not, in the Christian context, coupled with a sense that it is *right* to respect the spirits. The fact that contributors to the Facebook conversation expressed their view that one *should* respect the spirits goes against the Christian view of spirits.

The logic of the fact that one can and should, as Christians, disregard spirits, is that they are “evil.”⁴ Riwar Tumid, by contrast with this attitude, says in the Facebook conversation that he does not see Pun Tumid as bad,

⁴ Whether or not the Kelabit conceive of “evil” in the way in which it is conceived of in European (and Middle Eastern) Christianity is, in fact, questionable; the binary opposition between “good” and “evil” is somewhat foreign to Southeast Asian cosmologies, which emphasize the complementarity of two polar opposites rather than the elimination of “evil.”

“as Kelabit folklore likes to make him out to be.” The folklore referred to by Riwar Tumid is not traditional folklore but the Christian attitude to Pun Tumid; in traditional Kelabit folklore, as explored in conversations I have had with older men in the late 80s and early 90s, Pun Tumid was regarded as powerful, and potentially dangerous, but not “bad” (or “evil”).

Some of the male participants in the Facebook conversation declare that they would like to meet Pun Tumid. However, this is something more easily asserted by urban Kelabit, who are unlikely to actually encounter him, than by those who actually live in the highlands. Tadun Bala’s assertion that he wants to “ask him for the red friendship bangle” is, on the other hand, a courageous one, in the context that he might actually encounter Pun Tumid again, as he goes frequently into the big forest where Pun Tumid roams. Kelabit who actually live in the highlands, like Samson (aka Lugun Bala) and Dunstan, are generally quite frightened of the possibility of an encounter with Pun Tumid.

Balang Nadun, in his post in the Facebook conversation under the name of Medan Abdullah, suggested that the Kelabit should not be afraid of Pun Tumid, who is “our brother, our cousin.” This reflects the story told about the origin of Pun Tumid, which relates that he was originally a human man belonging to the people who were ancestral to the Kelabit, and reminded other participants in the conversation of this. It also reflected a desire to rekindle a deep sense of connection and kinship with the natural environment and the spirits of the natural environment, something Balang Nadun also muses on in his poems about the human relationship with nature.

It is the job of shamans like Balang Pelaba to connect—and, in a world where so many are separated from the natural world, to reconnect—with the spirits of the natural environment, and with the Great Spirit. In a recent email to me on 30 August 2023, Balang Nadun emphasized the importance, in bringing people back closer to the natural environment and to the spirit world, of simple, accessible language:

...to the Shaman who exists in that dimension there is no need to stretch the tales to such a degree of simplicity, but for a Shaman wanting to explain to the ordinary human these highly esoteric subjects, he has to use language and imageries that the ordinary person understands and can grasp.

Acknowledgements

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