

Beads and People 1:

SOUTHEAST ASIA

HEIRLOOMS OF THE HILLS

PETER FRANCIS, JR.





Beads and People Series 1:

Heirlooms of the Hills (Southeast Asia)

CAPTIONS (Plates 1 and 2)

Plate One (Front Cover)

Daisy Giwao of Luplupa village, the Philippines. Daisy is wearing traditional Kalinga heirloom beads as a necklace and a bandoleer. The blue ones so prominent in the front have been altered by grinding Czech cornerless hexagonals down to rounded barrels. The baby is also wearing a short strand of beads.

Plate Two (Inside Front Cover)

2A (Upper Left): Model in the Bontoc Museum, Bontoc, the Philippines. The model is wearing traditional beads of a Bontoc woman. First put on is a strand of small beads with a tooth and bead bundle at the end. Next is the strand of heirloom beads with double perforated flat rectangular marble Fukas and round carnelians. The top strand (a *duh*) is of python vertebrae, which wards off lightening attacks.

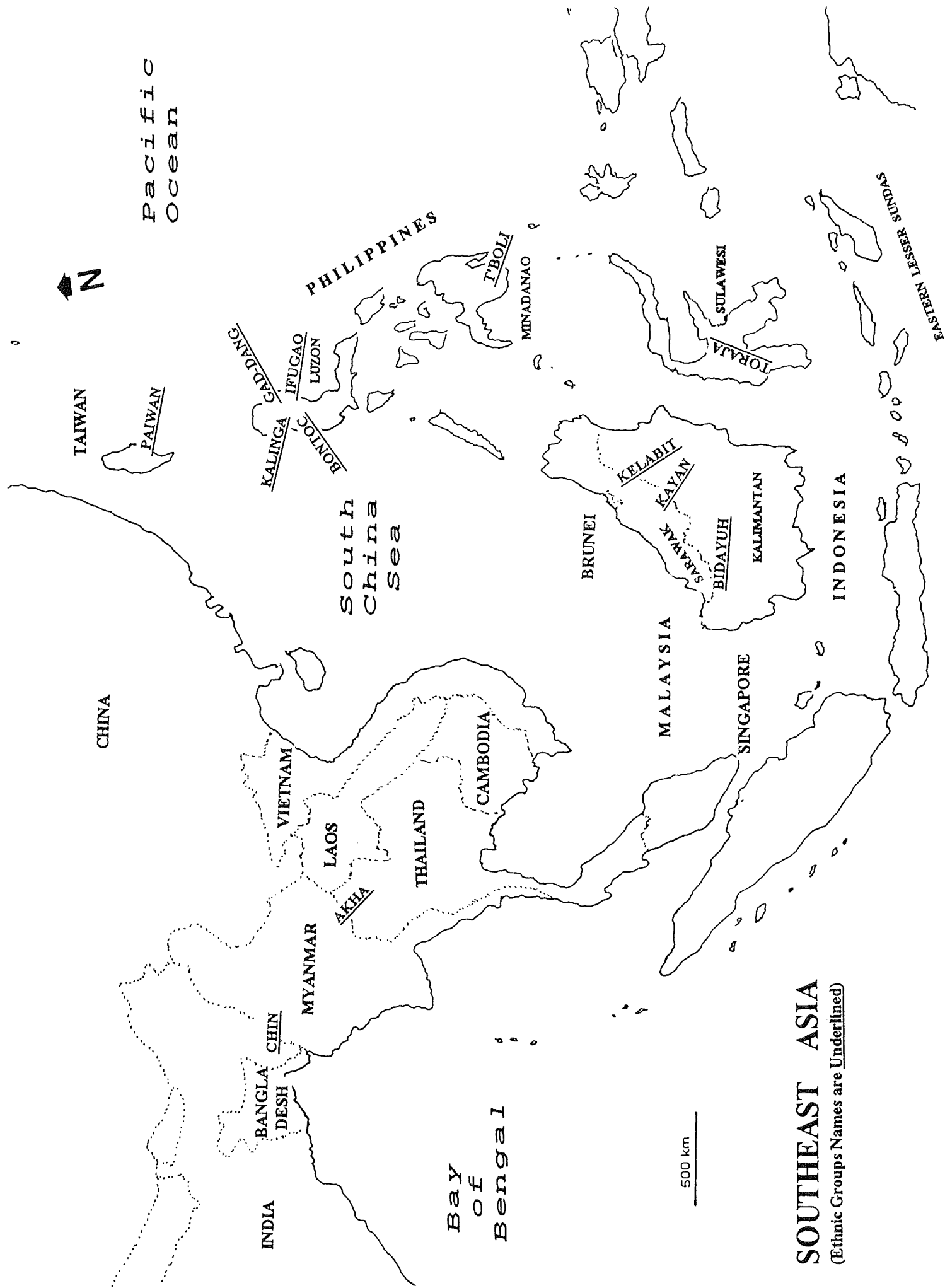
2B (Upper Right): A strand of valuable Ifugao heirloom beads in Kiangang, the Philippines, perhaps worn on the head. The center beads are wound with two layers of clear glass and a gold foil between, the valued Pang-o. The other beads (except the green bead with combed design at one end) are also Chinese. The false wound chevrons and Pang-o are of lead glass; the rest are leadless.

2C (Lower Left): A string of traditional Kalinga beads in the Bontoc Museum. The best beads on this strand are the large glass onyx imitations in the center, possibly Chinese. The plain blue beads are Chinese, the chevrons Venetian and the other onyx imitations probably Czech. The yellow beads are Prosser "tile" beads. Longest bead: 2.2 cm.

2D (Lower Right): A string of Gad-dang heirloom beads in the Philippine National Museum, Manila. The best beads on this string are the white beads with combed blue decoration, which Philippine collectors call "Ming Beads," though they are Venetian. The Czech onyx imitations and large Venetian chevrons are also desirable. The Venetian striped drawn beads and the wound yellow and opaque red beads (possibly Chinese) are common among heirloom beads of the Kalinga, as are the more valued ones. Longest bead: 1.9 cm.

Photos on all plates by the author.

Captions for Plates 3 and 4 are opposite Plate 3.



SOUTHEAST ASIA

(Ethnic Groups Names are Underlined)

HEIRLOOMS OF THE HILLS

(SOUTHEAST ASIA)

Peter Francis, Jr.

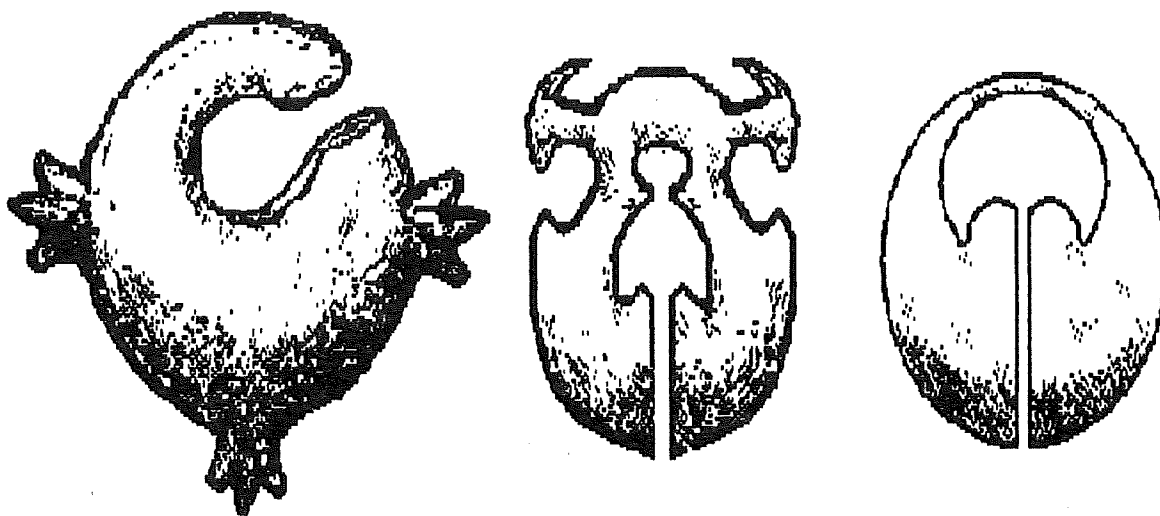


Figure 1: Ear ornaments and pendants called bung, lingling-o and other names. The one at the left is from the Sa Huynh culture, a sea-faring people based in south-central Vietnam from ca. 1000 B.C. to A.D. 1. It is made of jade, and examples have been found from Vietnam to the Philippines, from Hong Kong to Indonesia. The other two are of cast bronze, silver or gold. They are made by the Ifugao of the northern Philippines and worn by them usually as pendants and by their neighbors usually as earrings, gold ones being valued as heirlooms. Hence, the basic style has been maintained for over 2000 years. See page 7.

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FOREWORD

Beads are intimately connected with the lives of many people around the world. The Beads and People Series is designed to illustrate this by concentrating on the trade, use and local manufacture of beads in different regions or within specific societies. Each title in this series will be concerned with one or more issues which highlight the many ways in which beads play a role in human affairs, in this case the role of heirloom beads in Southeast Asia.

The series is designed to be useful to a wide audience: those whose interest in beads is new, those who have long been interested in the subject and those with professional involvement in beads and related topics. In order to be accessible to readers with varying concerns, the series is arranged to be simply read and at the same time academically useful. The text is kept as concise as possible, with any technical terms defined in the text or in introductory sections. References in the text are kept to a minimum.

The names of beads are treated as proper nouns and capitalized whenever particular beads have become well known in the literature. Other names of beads and ornaments are italicized.

For issues which require more explanation or fuller details, symbols (§ * §) in the text signal that more information is available in the Notes section on pages 16-17. These notes are divided according to the sections of the main text, with general comments on the sources used at the beginning of each note and one or more marked items which discuss particular matters. The symbol set starts anew with each section.

The bibliography is limited to references cited in the text or the notes. Many other works were consulted to prepare this volume, and while not claiming to be exhaustive, every effort has been made to gather as much information as possible on the topic. Heirloom beads are by no means the only beads used in this region, but our concentration on this topic has precluded consideration of other beads. (For a glimpse of the wealth of beads of natural materials in just northern Luzon, the Philippines, see Vanoverbergh [1929] and Ellis [1981].)

Much of the data presented here is the result of personal investigation in the areas concerned. This work is not the last word on this subject. Rather, it is a pioneering effort. The wealth of details about heirloom beads in Southeast Asia will never be known until anthropologists and their students specifically study heirloom beads in particular villages. There has only been one such study to date (Abellera 1998). It is hoped that this work will encourage more research into this long neglected but important area.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Needless to say, a great many people have helped me in gathering the data which has gone into this work. Of them, first thanks must go to the Bead Society of Los Angeles, which has funded two research tours to Southeast Asia, one in 1988-89, during which archaeological material was concentrated upon and the other in 1991, during which this data was extended and living beadmakers and people who own beads were visited, interviewed and documented.

Many of the other people who were most instrumental in helping me to gather this data have been cited in the text or the notes as informants, and for the sake of brevity will not be repeated here. Of the others many thanks go to the following: In the Philippines, Mrs. Fern Fox of Baguio; Pedro Besetan, Jr. of the St. Louis University Museum, Baguio; Neves Valdes of the Bontoc Museum; Alex Ordillo of Lagawe; Rosario G. Grinid of the Kiangnan Museum; Jesus Peralta and Artemio C. Barbosa of the National Museum; and Danny Lobusta and Lourdes M. Labrador of Manila. In Sarawak, Heidi Munan-Oettli, Lucas Chin, and Edmund Kurui of the Sarawak Museum in Kuching. In Indonesia, Suhardini Chalid of the National Museum of Indonesia, Sumarah Adhyatman of the Adam Malik Museum and Baco Bonie, all of Jakarta. In Thailand, Virginia and James DiCrocco of the Siam Society, Bangkok. In Taiwan, Jih-Chang Chester Hsieh of the Academia Sinica, Taipei. In the U.S., Betty Thorner of Sudbury, MA, Judy Carlsson of Washington, Elaine Lewis of Denver, Elizabeth Harris of Los Angeles, Duangporn and Steven Dunning of Mercer Island, WA and Lita Legarda, then of Washington. In Canada, Karlis Karklins.

HEIRLOOMS OF THE HILLS

Peter Francis, Jr.

It was the tail end of the rainy season. Alex had driven me in the side car of his motorcycle through the lush scenery of the northern Philippine mountains. We had struck a bargain on a round trip because he wanted to stop on the way to give his wife a fish to cook for supper. The Kiangnan museum was closed and we searched for the curator. She was willing to open it, but first took us to the home of the grade school principal, who promised a feast of beads in the mid-afternoon, since three of her teachers had good ones.

Back in the museum I was feeling guilty. I told my young driver that I had left that morning with little cash. This operation was clearly going to make him run back and forth all day. I had no money to buy him lunch and nothing more to give him.

He shrugged. "I don't usually eat lunch." It was nice of him to say so, though I didn't believe it. "Besides," he said, "I want to give you a taste of Ifugao hospitality. Don't worry. We'll do your work."

Hospitality is a by-word among rural people around the world. Here in Luzon the men were headhunters not long ago, but no one was after heads these days. One of the perks of being an active bead researcher is landing in such situations. They are almost always rewarding, especially when you are among bead lovers.

Each society treats beads in its own fashion. Sometimes they become more than personal ornamentation, and are interwoven into the cultural fabric of a people. They are so treasured that rules develop for the transfer of their ownership -- rules for heirloom beads.

Heirlooms in our society have personal meaning or intrinsic worth and are kept for the sake of memory or because they are valuable. In time, they are sold or go into a grandchild's collection. These "informal heirlooms" are specific to a given family or circle of friends.

The beads featured here are "formal heirlooms." They are not heirlooms by accident or choice, but recognized and designated by the community. Beads are common formal heirlooms, often alongside old ceramics or other antiques such as bronze drums or gongs. None are kept for individual sentimental reasons, but because one is expected to keep them. They are sanctioned and hallowed by the community. Their use has become a cultural trait.

Selling an heirloom in such circumstances is rarely the personal decision of the current possessor, since a sale affects the whole community, past and present. Heirlooms play crucial roles in the lives of the people.

THE PEOPLE OF OUR STUDY

Southeast Asia is a peninsula and series of islands extending south and east of the world's largest continent, encompassing a mosaic of people, languages and cultures. Its great beauty -- towering mountains, mighty rivers, dense tropical rain forests and pristine beaches -- is often rocked by volcanic eruptions and earthquake jolts. Its animal and plant life are spectacular. The natural beauty is matched by human handiwork: cave paintings in Borneo and Sumatra date back thousands of years; Borobudur in Java, Angkor Wat in Cambodia and the rice terraces of the Ifugao have each been called the eighth wonder of the world; Singapore has the tallest hotel on the planet. The land, the people and their history are as complex as anywhere.

The people of our study are minorities in their nations. They are isolated from the mainstream of their countries, often living in mountainous regions. The twentieth century is breaking down this isolation, which had never been complete. They have always had some contact with the world outside, as their languages, crafts and imported beads attest.

These people are diverse, even more so than is evident from a simple enumeration. To label someone a "Kalinga," "Bontoc," "Chin" or "Timorese" does not express the complexity of their social reality.† These names are used and were often coined by outsiders for their own convenience. Although we cannot explore the intricacies of their ethnic compositions here, it should be kept in mind that what holds true in general for certain sectors of a given group may not hold true for all.

Daily life revolves around agriculture, supplemented by hunting, gathering, and fishing. Most of these people live in small villages, though they are differently structured. They all grow rice and some other crops such as

corn (maize) and various vegetables. Most farm by the swidden method, cutting wild growth and burning off the underbrush to plant in the opened field. In a year or two they move and repeat the process, rotating through a cycle every few decades. It may seem a primitive way to grow crops, but it is often the optimal strategy in their environment. Domestic animals are rarely used for daily food. Most are eaten only in conjunction with a sacrifice or other ceremony. The largest is usually the carabao or water buffalo, a useful draft animal; the Chin have the mithun, a sort of wild ox.

Life is changing for these people at different rates. The influences of Islam and Christianity, the effects of colonialism and the inescapable changes of independence, technology and tourism, all have had profound effects. There is a struggle between maintaining the traditional culture and incorporating the benefits of the modern world. This conflict is often reflected in the bead story.

We focus on fourteen groups: five in the Philippines, three in Sarawak (East Malaysia on Borneo), three in Indonesia, and one each in Taiwan, Thailand and Myanmar (Burma). Information comes from personal visits and interviews, studying bead collections, discussions with anthropologists and surveying the literature. Only a few Southeast Asian people with heirloom beads (mostly in Mindanao, the Philippines) are not included here; this is a representative sample of such groups.

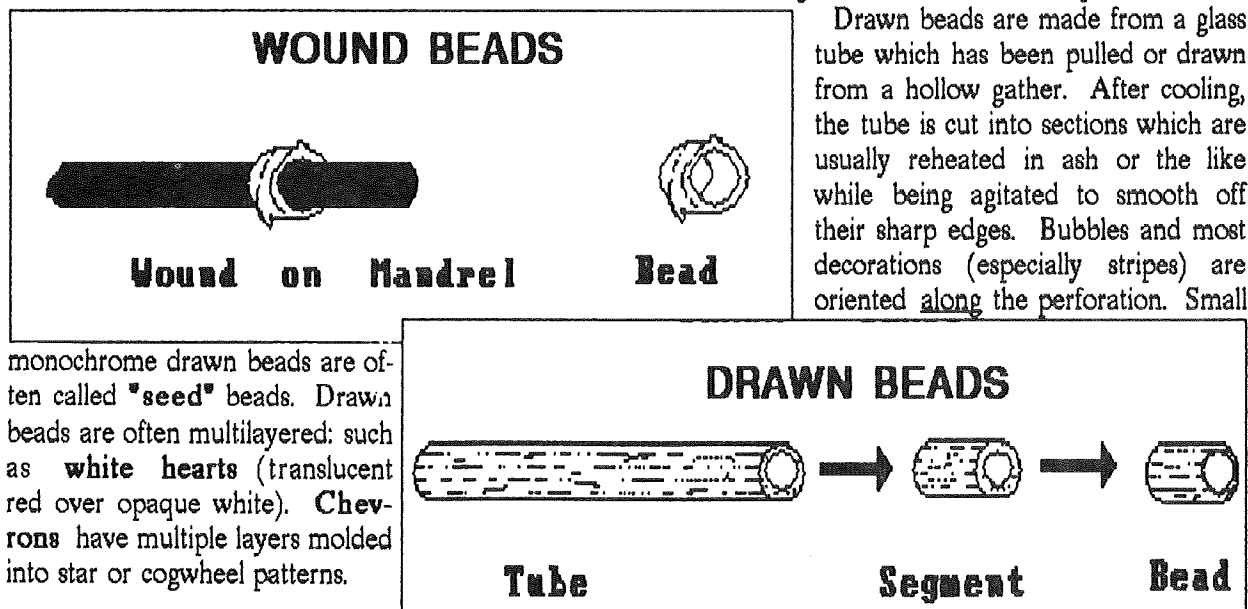
For each group we discuss the use, rules of inheritance, origins and dates of their beads, then compare them to see if patterns emerge involving heirloom beads. We shall attempt to answer three questions: 1.) Where are the beads from? 2.) How are the collections maintained? and 3.) Why did heirloom develop among these people? This is not a comprehensive ethnic study, not even of the beads, but an initial one. Bead research is still new, very little has been done on heirloom beads anywhere, and nothing on them as a class. Our conclusions are preliminary, awaiting refinement through future work. That is, after all, the way of science.

A FEW WORDS ABOUT BEADS

Since some readers may not be familiar with bead terms or history, we begin with a short introduction to them.

TERMS: Glass, the premier bead material, can be made into a bead in many ways. The three most common are **winding**, **drawing** and **molding**.

The oldest and most universal way to make glass beads is to wrap hot glass around a rod or wire. While still hot, they can be pressed into shape and other colors added. A special decoration is done by adding lines, loops or spots of color and dragging a tool through to **comb** them into a design. Winding may be done at a furnace with hot glass in a crucible (**furnace-winding**), by reheating glass rods at small flame (**lamp-winding**) or by letting hot glass drip over a wire (**drip-winding**). In the last two methods the wire is usually coated so the bead can be removed afterwards. In wound beads the glass fabric encircles the perforation.



True molded beads are formed in two-part molds, which can produce a variety of shapes. Seams result from this operation due to some glass seeping between the halves. A special form of molded bead are **Prosser** beads, made with powdered ingredients subjected to great pressure in a machine. They are precise in shape and their seams are hard to spot.

HISTORY: The most common beads in the region from roughly AD 1 to 1200 were monochrome drawn beads, named **Indo-Pacific** after their distribution. They have been made in India from a few centuries B.C., and from the second to the twelfth century were produced in Southeast Asia, too. India also made the most important stone beads, red carnelians. The industry is now centered around Cambay (Khambhat) in Gujarat state.

The Chinese began selling beads to this region in the ninth century and by the twelfth dominated the market. Their early beads were of wound **lead glass**. **Leadless** glass beads were made from about the twelfth century and eventually became more common. For a long time the most common Chinese bead was the **coil** bead, which looks like a section of a spring. Most are only a few millimeters (25 to the inch) in diameter, but some are a centimeter or more. The Chinese also produced many decorated or polychrome beads. Unfortunately, though we know much more about Chinese beads than we did until recently, we still do not know where most were made and cannot yet date all of them.

Beads from Venice beginning in the sixteenth century, Holland in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and Czechoslovakia (Bohemia) from the eighteenth century came to dominate world markets. They all made drawn and wound beads, and the Czechs mastered molding and grinding. One of the most popular Czech beads is the **cornerless hexagonal**, a drawn tube with six (or more) sides with the corners ground off. Prosser beads have been made in several European countries since 1860.

This does not exhaust the variety of beads we shall meet; we shall detail more specialized ones as we encounter them. The important thing to keep in mind is that the beads available throughout Southeast Asia have come from many places and are of many types.

THE AKHA OF THAILAND

The Akha are one of six groups officially recognized by the Thai government as *Chao Khao* or "mountain people." Their original home is Yunnan, China, where a million still live. A few centuries ago some began to move south into Myanmar and Laos, then later into Thailand, where about 25,000 have settled in the north.

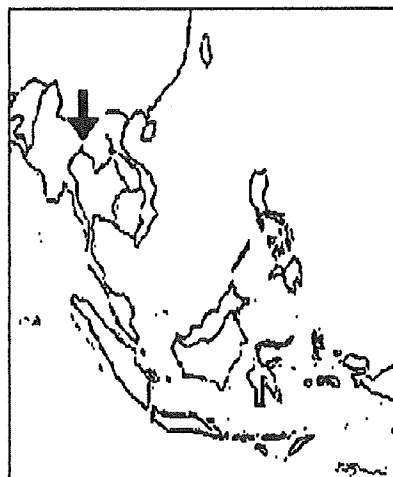
Continuity is a major theme in Akha life. They trace their male lineages back to the beginning of time and see themselves as a link in this chain, passing into another stage at death. Ancestor worship is important to them because someday they, too, will become ancestors.

The Akha and their neighbors are fond of silver, preferring to wear it rather than keep a bank account. Each group wears it differently; Akha women sew it onto their clothes. They may substitute aluminum for everyday wear or if they are poor.

Beads are essential for a woman's dress, worn around their elaborate headdresses, on their necks or as a bandoleer. Akha women are constantly adding new beads to their collections, regarding them all as important. The oldest ones are highly prized. They are Chinese, including leadless glass oblates and coil beads, often large in size (Plate 3B). The rarest and most expensive are round wound beads with random dots, made by adding small bits (crumbs) of glass to the hot body of the bead (Plate 3B).

The decision of what constitute heirloom beads is made by the family rather than the society. Women give a few beads at a time to their daughters or daughters-in-law, so by the time they are elderly they scarcely have any. Aesthetically, the Akha prefer to wear beads of only one type on a strand, which is often quite long.

The cash-driven Thai economy has influenced some Akha women to sell their beads, partly using the money to buy new glass or plastic ones, whose gaudy colors they admire. European glass beads come through Bangkok, especially small "seed" beads, the most popular being the bright red white heart, fashionable among



the neighboring Karens. New beads from Shandong, China, are traded in by Akhas and Yunanese from China. Older beads are also brought into Thailand to fulfill demands of the Akha and increasingly of outsiders. Their Akha cousins in Myanmar buy them from as far afield as the Chin Hills along the Indian border.

THE CHIN OF MYANMAR (BURMA)

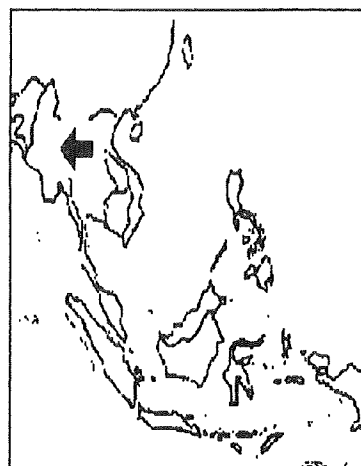
There are about 400,000 Chin in Myanmar, an equal number in India and a few in Bangladesh. Most inhabit the Chin Hills or adjacent regions, but a few live in the lowlands. In the thirteenth century they lived along the west bank of the Chindwan River, a major tributary of the Irrawaddy. *Chin* means "friend or companion" in Burmese; there is no evidence of past rancor between these people. Their move into the hills is thought to have been due to pressures ultimately traced to the Mongols, perhaps in the sixteenth century.†

The Chin are largely self-sufficient, some villages selling their crafts to those better situated for agriculture. They import metal and silk as raw materials and luxury goods, which play vital roles in their social life. It has been said that they could live without any outside contact except for iron, essential for their tools [Lehman 1963:169]. Although the use of money is growing among them, many early coins from the British period were converted into jewelry.

Chin women wear many beads, including new ones bought from traders. The heirloom beads are the decorated **Pumtek** ("buried thunderbolts"), each style with its own name. These are usually worn by themselves on a strand, though other beads or pierced silver coins may be added. Pumtek beads are key items in marriage exchanges and other ceremonies and the complex inheritance rules, being part of both the *hiawm*, the woman's heirlooms, and the *si* goods inherited through the male line. The finest Pumtek are the property of chiefs, whose wives wear them, except on special occasions when they put them on themselves and exhort their sons never to part with them. (Plate 3B)

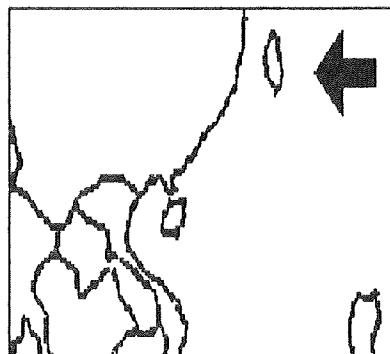
Pumtek beads were made by the Pyu in the city of Wadi, sometime before the tenth century. Petrified wood, fossilized by slow replacement with minerals, was the raw material. After being shaped, they were artificially patterned with black (or brown) chevrons, stripes and other designs, contrasting with the white of the stone. Around 1900 villagers of Payagyi, near the ruins of Wadi, found "Chin beads," and sold them at annual markets to which the Chin flocked to buy Pumtek. As the beads ran out, the villagers drilled unfinished ones they looted from graves, and when these were gone they made imitations, which were recognized, but liked because they were accurate. Genuine old Pumtek are apparently all made of opalized palm wood with a distinctive heavy grain, while the imitations were made of a finer grained fossilized wood.

Early in the century a Chin would never sell a Pumtek, as it would signal the end of the family line. The villagers of Payagyi speculate that the Chin have modernized enough to hold no longer the Pumtek in such esteem. Both old and new Pumtek are now on the world market, though the old ones are far more expensive. How many old Pumtek remain in Chin hands, how and why they are selling off their beads, and whether imitation Pumtek beads are still made are not presently known.



THE PAIWAN OF TAIWAN

We think of Taiwan as Chinese because they now dominate the island, but China began to colonize Taiwan only in the seventeenth century; most Chinese there did not arrive until after 1949. The aboriginal people are not Chinese, but related to Indonesians and Filipinos. The Paiwan are one of five groups living in the central mountains of the southeast. They are not as highly assimilated into Chinese culture as some other Taiwanese aborigines, and are strictly organized by social class.



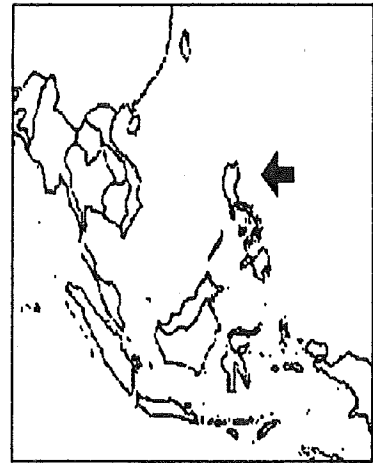
Their beads are important in marriage arrangements, but we have little information on how they are inherited or function in society. They differ markedly from those of their neighbors, and are the most colorful on the island. Women wear them in single or multiple strands with strictly determined patterns, with a small mixed collection of the most important decorated beads in the center and lesser beads toward the ends. (Plate 3C) Beads have names and gender; male ones with deeply penetrating designs are thought the best.

Origins of Paiwan beads have been proposed by several writers. While some are European and a few may be Middle Eastern, the great majority are Chinese, confirmed by heavy lead contents and parallels with excavated beads elsewhere. The earliest that can be dated† (Plate 3B) have been found in fourteenth to fifteenth century sites. The wound Chinese imitation chevrons resemble their European prototypes of the seventeenth century.

FOUR PEOPLES OF NORTHERN LUZON, THE PHILIPPINES

The people who live in the northern mountains of the largest Philippine island were once collectively called Igorot ("mountain people"). Originally an offensive term, it has been adopted by younger members as a mark of distinction. The Kalinga, Ifugao, Bontoc and Gad-dang are all grow rice, but cultivate it differently. Wealth and status are measured in terms of rice fields, livestock and heirlooms of (mostly Chinese) ceramic jars, Indonesian brass gongs and beads. Heirlooms, even beads, are often kept in the home safely locked away until needed for some special purpose.

Their prehistory is obscure. Some no doubt fled from the lowlands when the Spanish came, but most were probably in the mountains before then. The Spanish caused the first cultural break between the highlanders and the lowlanders, finding it difficult to communicate with, much less control, the latter people. In the early nineteenth century the Spanish launched military raids to protect the crown's tobacco monopoly, with devastating effects, but they never pacified the region. For years after the Americans seized the Philippines (1898) there was anarchy in the mountains. The Americans built Baguio into the major city of the region, and by installing roads and other infrastructure suppressed head-hunting. The region witnessed heavy fighting during World War II, and since then has been slowly brought to the edge of the new country's mainstream.



THE KALINGA

The Kalinga occupy the southern part of Kalinga-Apayao province, living in small villages, where authority was once vested in men who had taken an enemy's head. In the north, rice is cultivated mostly by slash-and-burn, and in the south in irrigated terraces. They were one of the last groups to be assimilated.

The Kalinga have been called the "peacocks of the Philippines" because of their love of adornment [Legarda 1977:64]. Women and children still wear beads nearly all the time, but men have ceased to do so except during ceremonies. Beads are strung in single and multiple strands for necklaces or bandoleers, featuring the best ones in the center. (Plates 1, 2C)

The beauty of a strand results not only from the beads but also their arrangement, which is maintained as the beads are passed down, usually from the mother to the oldest daughter at her marriage. Wealthy families may share beads among daughters [deValle *et al.* 1988:85]; in north Kalinga they are also given by the groom's family to the bride [LeBar 1975:94]. Barton [1949:52] recorded a case in which a woman inherited beads from her grandmother. After her husband sold them and drank the money away, his in-laws (father and grandmother), insisted upon him restoring them with interest, which was done.

The most highly prized beads are of onyx, followed by carnelian. Some glass beads (onyx imitations,

chevron imitations) are seventeenth or eighteenth century Chinese, but most are later European: Czech onyx imitations, Venetian plain and striped drawn tubes and chevrons and cylindrical "tile" beads, made by the Prosser method. A valuable bead is a large white barrel with blue circles combed into loops, called "Ming" beads by Philippine collectors, though they are Venetian. (Plate 2D) They are said to be worth two water buffaloes in Luplupa.†

A distinctive cobalt blue barrel with flat ends began as a cornerless hexagonal of nineteenth century Bohemia. Despite the Bohemians' trouble to give them 18 facets, the beads were ground to round them off. (Plate 1) It is not certain who did the grinding, but it was most likely the Kalinga themselves. The altering of beads is well documented in West Africa, but not so common in Southeast Asia.

Beads play roles in all stages of life, and are used as payment for performing ceremonies. Mothers-in-law give individual ones to their daughters-in-law. Corpses are bedecked in beads, then usually removed before burial; a few may be placed in the grave. Old and widowed women wear strands which show their status.*

The Kalinga are loath to part with their beads. Scott [1958:333; 1969:87] remarked, "it is common for parents to bemoan their financial inability to buy copybooks for a child they send to school with a thousand dollar's worth of jewelry about its neck, so little do they consider parting with these visible emblems of their social status." They may be sold when economics demand it, but preferably to a relative so they may be redeemed later; a high price is demanded of an outsider.

In Luplupa village I asked about the names of beads. The older women were working in the fields; the younger ones had not yet learned the names. A middle aged lady knew a dozen names, only two of which matched those collected by Abellera [1981:168-71 in nearby but more remote Lubo: *pakatpet* (*pagapat*), an ocher colored drawn tube, and *linokown* (*binukkawan*), the "Ming" bead. Different names between villages is the rule among the Kalinga.

An interesting side note on Kalinga beads is that in Lubuagan village plastic items from the market have been melted and formed into beads at least since the 1960s.‡ Earlier beads were large and only a few types were made. Today whole miniature strands are produced. The people from Lubuagan go to the other villages to sell them. They are popular for children, and worn by some of the poorer women. (Plate 4B)

THE IFUGAO

The Ifugao of Ifugao province are by some measures the most sophisticated of the Igorots. Their irrigated rice terraces are often spectacular, some estimated to be 3000 years old.† Their communities are usually larger than Kalinga villages, and the people in charge are the most wealthy and powerful. They were hard hit by the Spanish raids beginning in the 1820s, with many towns destroyed and fields abandoned; missions were only marginally successful. Kiangnan was the site of the surrender of General Yamashita of Japan in 1945. There abound rumors of hidden Japanese treasure, some of them apparently true.

Ifugao women do not wear beads as readily as the Kalinga, storing them to use only on special occasions. They are owned by the wealthy and well-placed, playing important roles in their life stages. At marriage brides wear a multi-strand necklace called *bongal* with as many good beads as can be secured. A *dungdung*, a brass statuette of a man with outstretched arms -- possibly the only Christian motif adopted locally -- is worn on the head with a string of white beads. (Plate 4D) The groom wears a hornbill beak helmet.

When a child is sick a shaman may determine that a dead forefather is pinching its ear and can be stopped with an offering of baskets and beads. Or the mountain spirit is blamed, and an expedition launched carrying gongs and beads in baskets to placate it. Beads may be loaned, but without interest (meat is used to repay loaned gongs). Three days after death, corpses are bedecked in beads, which are removed on the next day. Beads are inherited by the eldest child at their marriage, who may (and often does if a son) distribute them among his/her siblings.

The wealth of beads I examined in Kiangnan (see page 1) were carnelians and glass, mostly Chinese. Many were wound leadless beads, but two are of particular note. One is a small wound bead decorated to imitate seven layered chevrons. The other is called **Pang-o**, their most valued bead. It is wound with two clear layers of glass between which is a gold (or gold-colored) foil. Both beads have been excavated from

Philippine grave sites, the Pang-o dating to the fifteenth or sixteen century and the imitation chevron to the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century [Francis 1989a:5-6; 1989b:13, 28]. (Plate 2B)

An Ifugao ornament widely worn in Northern Luzon is made in Matanglag (and perhaps elsewhere), where a few smiths make round discs with a thin slit leading to an open center in bronze, silver or gold. (Plate 4C; fig. 1, Title Page) This is called *bung lingling-o* and other names.* It was originally an earring, and still serves as one, though the Ifugao usually wear it as a pendant, with the string wrapped around the thin end. Old ones of gold or with complex shapes are heirlooms. The design is ancient, inspired by jade earrings of the Sa Huynh culture of central Vietnam (ca. 1000 B.C. to A.D. 1); they have been found in Cambodia, Thailand, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Indonesia and the Philippines, and attest to a once wide-spread sea-faring cultural tradition.†

The Ifugao do not sell their beads to outsiders often, except in emergencies. They are usually owned by the wealthier classes to begin with, and are held in trust. A sale must be approved by the family and a special feast must be held. Philippine collectors are aware of some of the rarer ones, particularly the Pang-o, and prices for them are quite steep.

THE BONTOC

The Bontoc of Mountain Province share with the Ifugao the distinction of growing their rice in irrigated terraces of spectacular height and dimension. Their internal government is highly organized, and they live in relatively large towns. They were severely hurt by the Spanish incursions of the early nineteenth century, with towns and terraces laid to waste. The Spanish built a fort in Bontoc town in 1852, which was quickly besieged. Missionaries were established there in 1892, but made little impression until recently.

The Bontoc wear few beads, and not on their neck but on their heads. (Plate 2A) Both men and women have distinctive ornaments of natural materials, women wearing a strand of python vertebrae (*duli*). The snakes are eaten and the central bones cleaned for the head strand, said to protect them from lightning.

Heirloom beads are of stone. Carnelians are most valuable, both round and long, sometimes faceted. Most are Indian, others made in Idar-Oberstein, Germany; Bohemian glass imitations are also used. Large white bicones or rectangular or hourglass shaped flat beads with two perforations, are known as **Fukas**. Though often called shell, the vast majority are white marble from the lowlands, cut by the Bontoc† (there are also Czech imitations). At the back of some necklaces are small loops of miscellaneous beads, mostly European drawn "seed" beads, leadless Chinese glass beads, cornerless hexagonals or animal teeth.

The carnelian and Fukas beads are part of the *akaz*, or movable heirloom wealth, inherited at the time of marriage. Those inherited from grandparents must never be sold [Botengan 1976:13]. In Sagada they are given by the bride's family (or borrowed from elsewhere) to a boy, who presents them to the groom saying, "Here is the treasured heirloom of the Ankileng people; who'll make" the return gift?" to which he replies, "Give it to me and I'll make the return gift," which is "a polite formula, implying good fortune or indebtedness" [Eggan and Scott 1965:103].

Beads not inherited at marriage are subject to complex rules after death, with a strict order, goods going to children, then parents, siblings, their children, the surviving spouse or the executor. Goods may also go to the one who sacrifices the most water buffaloes at the funeral.

THE GAD-DANG

The Gad-dang inhabit western Isabel province and adjoining Kalinga-Apayao and Mountain provinces. Although they received Spanish missionaries early on, they remain relatively isolated, and insurgency is a problem to this day. Very little has been studied or recorded about their beads.

In general, the Gad-dang dress even more elaborately than their neighbors. Their favorite motif is to sew small drawn "seed" beads in white, red, yellow, and black, on their baskets, clothing, bags, lime cases and other articles of daily use. They also make complex ornaments of these beads.

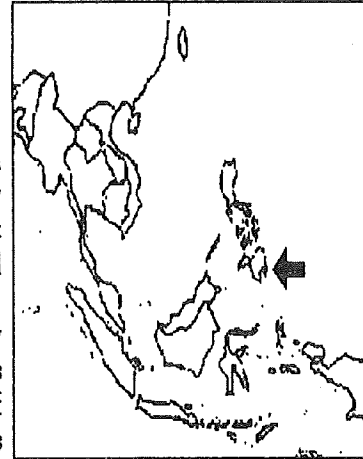
Larger beads are for heirlooms. Many are similar to those of the Kalinga, but with less variety and fewer valuable ones: ocher drawn tubes, glass onyx imitations, and round carnelians. Occasionally, there are a few

valuable beads, including the Pang-o or the "Ming bead." Most, however, are newer European beads of the last century. (Plate 2B) These are usually worn as single strands, sometimes attached to headdresses. Beads are distributed to each child when they marry. The Gad-ding are happy to sell items decorated with seed beads, but strands of larger beads are less often sold.

THE T'BOLI OF THE SOUTH PHILIPPINES

The T'boli live on the southeastern side of the Cotabato Mountains in South Cotabato province in Mindanao, the large southern island only slightly smaller in area than Luzon. They resisted the tide of Islam that swept over the south Philippines before the coming of the Spanish as well as the later influence of Christianity, and remain animists.

T'boli women (and until recently the men) are among the most elaborately decorated in the Philippines. They wear embroidered and beaded clothes and stunning jewelry daily, even when working in the fields. This wealth of beads may be relatively new; they may not have worn beads until the 1940s [Barbosa 1991]. However, it is likely that their heirloom jewelry -- the *lieg* -- is older. The *lieg* has been described in these terms:



[A] long, thick necklace is the *lieg* consisting of a thick, often double or triple-linked brass chain, with clusters of big, multi-colored glass beads and hawk-bells entwined around it. The glass beads are the size of big peas, and some of them are of an astonishing antiquity, judging from their material and style. This necklace usually has a wide tassel of several three-inch lengths of brass chain with more hawk-bells or beads at their ends.

A *lieg* is about the most impossible piece of T'boli jewelry to acquire, since it is considered an heirloom and the T'boli themselves value its beads so highly. No woman, whatever sad circumstances she might find herself in, ever thinks of selling her *lieg* -- if she has one, that is. [Casal 1977:736]

Indeed, *lieg* remain in T'boli hands; I have never seen one in any museum or private collection. They are currently worth a horse, but even at this price, are rarely sold for fear of sickening and dying. Hence, I cannot judge if the beads are of "astonishing antiquity." From photos available and the imitation necklaces the T'boli make, the beads appear to be nineteenth century Venetian, but at this point we cannot be positive.

The T'boli replicate their valued beads in plastic, often stringing them with double or triple brass chains and bells, so they do not have to sell the originals. The beads are made mostly by women living around Lake Sebu, who buy plastic combs, rulers and so on at local markets, heat them and form them by hand. This small industry has been operating since at least the late 1950s. During much of the 1980s production imitated the *lieg* but current (1991) production is different. (Plate 4B)

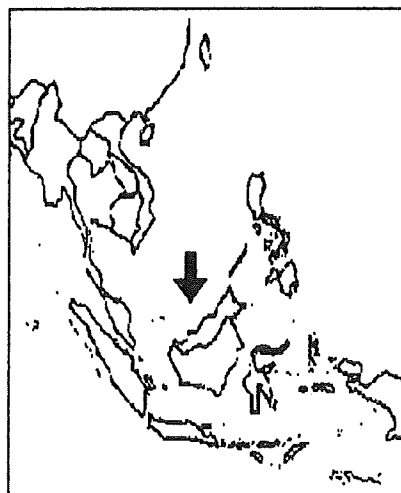
The metalwork is also done by the T'boli, an art they acquired early in this century, used mostly for ornaments. Bells are made by the lost-wax technique in which a model is built of wax and ash from rice stalks, then covered with clay. When the clay mold is dry, molten brass is poured into it and the wax melts and is absorbed by the ash and clay. The one-time mold is then broken and a small bell emerges.

Among the neighboring and related Tiruray, strands similar to the *lieg* are also valued and inherited by the sons to be used as part of the "bride price" when a young man takes a wife. The T'boli may do the same.

BORNEO -- SARAWAK AND KALIMANTAN

Borneo is the third largest island in the world. It is mountainous, though the peaks are not very high and do not form massive, distinct chains. The interior upland is a wilderness of valleys crisscrossed with innumerable rivers. Straddling the Equator, it is hot, fertile and lush.

Politically, the bulk of Borneo is Indonesian Kalimantan, subdivided into four provinces. In the west are two Malaysian states, Sabah in the north and the larger Sarawak in the south and, surrounded by Sarawak, the tiny, rich sultanate of Brunei, for which the island was named and which once controlled much of it. Although we limit ourselves to Sarawak, it should be kept in mind that these people have close relatives across the Indonesian border. For every Kelabit or Kayan in Sarawak there are five to fifty times that number in Kalimantan.



Inland Borneo was unknown to outsiders until this century. Malay traders began coming to the southwest by the tenth century, and by the fifteenth to Brunei. In 1841 the Sultan of Brunei gave James Brooke a land grant for putting down a rebellion. The Brooke family (the "White Rajahs") ruled Sarawak for the next century, gradually enlarging it. By all accounts, they ruled benevolently, leaving most things as they were and treating the natives with paternal justice. In 1888 it was put under British protection and in 1946 the legislature (barely) voted to become a Crown Colony. Sarawak joined the Federation of Malaysia in 1963.

We shall discuss three groups: the Kelabit and Kayan are neighbors in the eastern uplands; the Bidayuh (Land Dyaks) live to the south. Their shifting agriculture is only about 300 years old; before then they all relied on the generous food of the forest. They build large, rectangular longhouses along the rivers, housing a couple dozen families. Christianity and Islam are gaining favor, but most people are still animists.

THE KELABIT

The Kelabit are very isolated, living beyond the navigable limits of rivers, and not met by Europeans until the early 1900s. The great majority live in Kalimantan. Even today they trade only sparingly with outsiders or coast-dwellers. Beads are not as prominent as they once were among them, but remain important. Corpses are buried with a few beads; most are used as heirlooms.

The Kelabit are particular about their beads. The overarching concern is that they be monochrome. They favor carnelian, white shell and monochrome glass. Any woman who had them used to weave beads into small hats (*pata*), which are heirloom items. They are not made these days; they are said to be too heavy [Munan-Oettli 1983].

The most important beads are dark glass barrels. (Plate 3B) Most Westerners call them *Let* beads, though *let* is a general word for beads or valued beads. They are worn by men and women as status symbols (40 buy a water buffalo), and proclaim one's wealth, and can be loaned out for parties or special occasions. *Let* beads are usually blue (a near black and a green are also known), barrel shaped with flat ends and heavy in lead [Harrison 1968:127-30; Munan-Oettli 1981:25]. The lead content points to China, and many were made by Chinese living in Banten, Java around 1600. John Saris, the first Englishman to sail to Japan, told us they were traded to Borneo for the island's diamonds and gold [Francis 1985].†

Kelabit society is divided into two classes, the elite characterized by wealth (including beads and old ceramic jars), which infers status. Normally, beads are passed down through the female line, but at death other relatives may make a big show at the funeral or scheme to inherit heirlooms which they would not otherwise receive.

THE KAYAN

The Kayan live downriver from the Kelabit. It was once usual for a man to go to the coast to work in a Chinese sawmill or the Brunei oil fields and return with enough cash to last the rest of his life. There was little need for money, only for a few outside goods or minimal taxes. Other goods are traded with neighbors; the Kenyah make fine knives, the nomadic Punan good mats, the Kelabit furnish salt and the Kayan are the principal bead traders of Sarawak.

Unlike the Kelabit, the Kayan are enamored of decorated beads. They have been collecting them for a very long time, and own a wide variety, constantly trading them amongst themselves. Occasionally they give a few away as presents, but they value them greatly. A woman promises them to some of her female relatives when she dies, with daughters generally getting equal shares, but they are not distributed until then.

Their most valuable single bead is the **Lukut Sekala**, a small black or dark blue lamp-wound bead with flattened ends and four rosettes in white, amber and yellow on the sides and one at each end. It is currently worth 10,000 Malaysian ringgit (M\$) (about US\$ 4000) -- a single bead, providing you can find someone to sell it to you. Chinese merchants once sent one to Europe to be imitated and were convinced they had a perfect forgery, but the Kayan knew immediately what it was† [Furness 1902:118].

Two other outstanding beads are mosaic glass. One is round with a black core and mosaic canes of yellow surrounded by red with white and black lines radiating from it. Its current value is M\$ 5,000 (US\$ 2000). There is also a bead made of five plaques each built from square rods of opaque red, yellow, white, black and light translucent blue set in a checker pattern. The plaques were joined to form a barrel with a large perforation and capped at the ends with grayish glass. It currently sells for M\$ 8,000 (US\$ 3,200). The price of most beads has shot up tremendously in the last quarter century, on average about 45 times, but for really rare beads like these, the increase has been from 100 to 500 times.

Where do these incredibly expensive beads come from? The Lukut Sekala remains a mystery, though I believe it is probably Venetian. The two mosaic beads were made in the Middle East around the tenth to the twelfth centuries.*

The Kayan value many other beads: Chinese beads from the sixteenth century on, Dutch beads, more recent Czech beads and even occasional twentieth century Japanese ones. Most are Venetian of the last three centuries, including chevrons and decorated wound beads, but the Kayan collect many types. (Plate 3A)

The mixture of beads reflects the many people who traded with Borneo for its natural resources over the ages. Middle Eastern beads were brought second hand by Malay traders. Chinese sailors of the thirteenth century were told to take glass beads to trade there [Hirth and Rockhill 1911:156]. In the sixteenth century traders from Borneo bought imported glass and locally made carnelian beads from Cambay, India, which they exchanged for gold [Cortésão 1944:133]. The Dutch and English brought European glass beads and, especially through Singapore, Chinese glass and Indian agates (carnelians).

Archaeologically, we see a pattern in bead use along the Borneo coast. Before the tenth century people were buried with many beads, but afterwards this is rare. People began to keep beads as heirlooms, rather than putting them in graves.‡ The coastal people today do not care much for beads, but heirloom beads among the Kayan can be as much as 1000 years old.

THE BIDAYUH

The Bidayuh or Land Dayaks, live south of the Kayan and Kelabit. Despite similar lifestyles, they are changing more rapidly because of easier communications with the coast. Some now grow cash crops such as cocoa and black pepper, and some have abandoned the longhouses, building smaller structures for single extended families.

My introduction to Bidayuh beads was a trip to Mentu Tapuh, near the Kalimantan border with Sarawak Museum staff members. We drove thorough breathtaking mountains, parked the van, and walked across a precarious rope bridge swaying in the wind far above a raging river to visit a local celebrity, Raseh.

Raseh is the local healer, and when anthropologist W.R. Geddes went to do field work in the village, the simple medicines he distributed antagonized Raseh. Before Geddes left, Raseh asked why he had not recorded his story, for which he demanded payment. It took no less than nine nights to relate the accumulated wisdom of the village over the centuries, which Geddes [1985] wrote up in a classic work, at the end of which he said he didn't remember whether he had paid Raseh or not. But by then they were friends, and we sat on the cement floor of the house Geddes had built for Raseh.

We talked beads for hours. His strand came from his grandfather, and are only worn by healers (women healers have theirs, too) during ceremonies, when no one else can touch them. They are magical, not because they perform magic, but because they let him communicate with the spirits. They can be restrung and new

beads added only during ceremonial times. The order was not important, nor were their powers diminished if they broke.

Bidayuh healer beads are a mixed lot. A wild cat tooth is essential for cures. A few bells are added to prevent the other beads from quarreling. Most of the rest were glass: translucent leadless Chinese, a few opaque Chinese beads with waves, and some European ones. There were also an Indian carnelian and a Czech imitation, but when this was pointed out to Raseh, he showed no interest. Who knew his beads better than he?

THE TORAJA OF SULAWESI

Sulawesi, formerly the Celebes, is the fourth largest island of the Indonesian chain, just east of Borneo. It is curiously shaped, variously likened to a spider, a scorpion or an orchid. Its four peninsulas are mountainous and forested and home to a variety of wildlife and people, divided administratively into four provinces.

The Toraja occupy mostly the center and south interior. "Toraja" denotes several peoples, each of which is an extension of the family, their basic unit of society. They traditionally lived in communal houses in fortified villages, but are giving these up for more spacious villages where each house has its own garden.

The headhunting days are over, but they still revere ancestors, conducting elaborate funerals and burying the dead in caves in the cliffs, sometimes with full-sized dressed effigies in front to guard the valuables buried with the deceased. Their animist ways are slowly giving ground to Islam and Christianity. In addition to farming, they weave, make pottery and work iron. They are rather democratic, without class or chiefs, and women have many rights, including choosing their own husbands.

The Toraja are fond of ornamentation. In the past, they made bast cloth from the inner bark of trees, beaten into sheets and painted. These are fragile (they can only be washed a few times) and worn only at ceremonies. Old painted bast cloths are sacred, and not even discussed with strangers. Before commercial cloth was introduced in the 1920s ornaments of natural and imported materials and tattoos sufficed for daily wear. Glass beads, however, seem to have been coming in for a long time.

At the death of a parent all sons and daughters have equal chances to inherit property. However, the shares they receive depend on the number of water buffaloes they slaughter at the funeral.

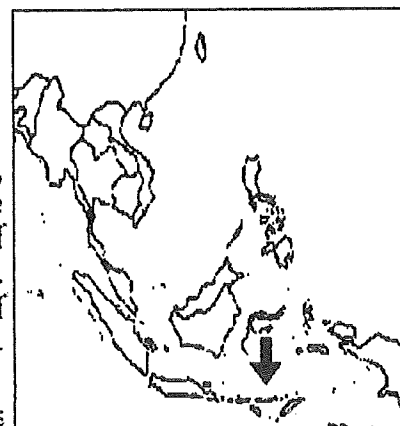
A southern Toraja strand was obtained from a Bugis trader (the Bugis are seafarers who live on the coast). No such strands are in the National Museum collection, nor have similar ones been published, as far as I know. (Plate 3D) It is typical in its variety of beads arranged symmetrically along the strand. The recognizable ones are wound Chinese beads, with and without applied decorations, the oldest (ruby red, above the end bead) dates to the fifteenth century. A few drawn Dutch beads of the seventeenth century, wound Dutch beads from late in that or early in the next century, and drawn Dutch or contemporary Venetian beads come next. There is also a single Czech cornerless hexagonal.



THE ELITE AND THE COMMONERS OF THE EASTERN LESSER SUNDAS

The small southeastern islands of Indonesia (Timor, Sumba, Flores, Suva, Roti and others) are collectively called the eastern Lesser Sundas. The indigenous people, who largely live inland, are highly diverse, often of mixed Malay-Papuan ancestry. Until recently they were quite war-like. Animism is important, as are Christianity and Islam. A distinction of their society is the continuing power of ruling families, and here we consider beads among two social classes.

The natives of these islands share common bead usage. Heirloom beads



are called **Mutisalah** ("false pearls"). The term does not indicate a particular bead, but the class of small, opaque reddish or orange glass beads essential for marriages and other ceremonies. Much has been written about **Mutisalah**, but only superficially.

Writers have disagreed sharply over what they are. Lamb [1965a:93-7; 1965b:36] claimed they are drawn beads, similar to those all over Southeast Asia, now known as Indo-Pacific beads. Van der Sleen [1966; 1975:98-100] said they are wound lead glass beads, now called Chinese coil beads. Both were right, and both wrong. "Mutisalah" is a group of beads, with specific names given to particular types. They differ as to where, when, by whom, how and of what they are made and are also treated very differently. These differences are crucial. (Plate 4A)

The drawn beads are reddish-brown **Mutitanah** ("earth beads," from their color) and orange **Mutibata** ("brick beads" - bricks here are orange). **Mutitanah** and **Mutibata** are worn daily by the common women. They are used as "bride-price," given by the groom to his bride and handed down through the male line. They are Indo-Pacific beads, and as with these beads in most places, they are not very expensive.

Much scarcer are the smaller wound **Mutiraja** (*/raja* means "king"). They are reserved exclusively for the royal families; commoners cannot even touch them. Unmarried girls wear them as necklaces. Wives wear them on their wrists, ankles and fingers and pass them down through their daughters. They are "bride wealth," given to the groom, who repays with horses, water buffaloes and gold. They have other purposes as well. For example, when a royal does not want to attend a function he sends a servant bedecked with **Mutiraja**, which take his place. A few **Mutiraja** are buried with members of the royal family, and can sometimes be found encircling blades of grass after the rains. They are Chinese coil beads, rarely sold to outsiders and then fetching very high prices.

SOUTHEAST ASIAN BEADS IN SUMMARY

Although heirloom beads in Southeast Asia fulfill similar functions among all these groups, there are great differences in the beads used, the ways they are treated and what they mean to the people involved. We shall compare the uses of heirloom beads to try to understand the phenomenon on a regional basis.

THE ORIGIN AND AGE OF THE BEADS

The origins of these heirloom beads are varied. Some from the Middle East are important to the Kayan of Sarawak. The Paiwan of Taiwan, the Akha of Thailand and the royal families of the eastern Lesser Sundas have mostly beads from China. The important bead of the Kelabit of Sarawak is Chinese, though mostly made in Java. Chinese beads are the oldest and most valuable beads of the Philippine Ifugao. On the other hand, European beads are primary for the Gad-dang, Kalinga and probably the T'boli of the Philippines. The Bidayuh of Sarawak and the Toraja of Sulawesi have very mixed collections: European and Chinese glass and Indian carnelians. Carnelians are valued by the people of northern Philippines and the Kelabit of Sarawak. Two groups esteem beads made in Southeast Asia: the commoners of the eastern Lesser Sundas (**Mutitanah** and **Mutibata**) and the Chin (**Pumtek**).

The oldest beads in the region are the **Mutitanah/Mutibata**, **Pumtek** and the Middle Eastern beads of the Kayan. The **Pumtek** beads could well be over 1000 years old. The Middle Eastern beads 1000 to 800 years old, and the **Mutitanah** and **Mutibata**, are at least 800 years old.† Then come the **Mutiraja**, the Pang-o of the Ifugao, and some Chinese beads in Sarawak and among the Paiwan. The Let bead of the Kelabit was made around 1600, and perhaps a few centuries before. Dutch beads among the Toraja are 350 to 250 years old.

Most of the other beads are newer. It is difficult to judge the age of carnelian and onyx beads of the last 1000 years; Bontoc strands include Bohemian glass imitations and German carnelians of the last century. Most Chinese beads used as heirlooms are leadless glass, no more than 200 to 300 years old. Most European beads are no more than 100 to 250 years in age.

HEIRLOOM BEADS AS SOCIAL DIACRITICAL MARKS

Diacritical marks are symbols which distinguish one person from another. A role beads often play is to identify the wearer, revealing religious, ethnic, social, wealth, gender, age or other differences.

A basic difference is ethnic. As we have seen, it is rare for any two groups of people to use the same heirloom beads. Among the four in the northern Philippines, there is some overlap, but basically their collections are quite different. There is no way one could mistake a Bontoc woman with stone beads and snake vertebrae on her head with a Kalinga wearing her multistrand necklaces of mostly glass beads, an Ifugao with single strands of rare beads or a Gad-dang with few necklace beads but a wealth of beadwork. We see the same in Sarawak, where the monochrome bead lovers of the Kelabit live next to the Kayan who much prefer polychrome types. The beads of the Akha of Thailand and the Paiwan of Taiwan sharply distinguish them from their neighbors, who do not have heirloom beads.

Beads also segregate people in other ways. In the eastern Lesser Sundas everyone has Mutisalah, but only royal families wear Mutiraja. Commoners are forbidden even to touch them, and have their Mutitanah and Mutibata. Beads as wealth confer status, especially among the Chin and the Kelabit. Among the Bidayuh, where they are used for magic, their ownership is determined by the power of an individual healer. Which beads and how beads are worn signal marital status among many of these people.

We lack evidence for the T'boli and the Toraja, though from what little we have, heirloom beads at least distinguish ethnic relationships. It may be that among the different Toraja groups different beads are worn.

MAINTAINING COLLECTIONS

Collections of heirloom beads do not just happen. They are built and maintained according to spoken or unspoken rules in each society which has them. The three rules which appear most important in maintaining heirloom collections are discussed below. Table One summarizes how the people we are considering maintain their collections and the origins of their beads.

1. Who Inherits and When

A primary difference in maintaining beads is who inherits them and on what occasion. Normally, beads are worn by women, though men (among the Keleabit, the Chin, the Bidayuh healers and formerly the Kalinga and T'boli) also wear them. We might assume that beads are usually handed down through the female line, but this is not always the case.

Among the T'boli and the commoners of the eastern Lesser Sundas inheritance is through the male line, not because men wear the beads but because they are used as "bride price." When beads are required for a man to court a woman, inheritance goes to the sons and not the daughters. The Pumtek of the Chin go through both lines, while the size of the funeral sacrifice is important in determining heirlooms among the Toraja of Sulawesi. The Bidayuh of Sarawak pass beads to their healing-heirs.

Inheritance patterns may differ even among neighbors. In the north Philippines the Gad-dang divide their beads among their children, the Ifugao hand them down to the oldest child, the Kalinga give them to the oldest daughter, and the Bontoc have a complex ranking of heirs, supplemented with funeral offerings.

2. Curating or Splitting

To curate means to keep something intact, in this case a group of beads. By willing them to one child they stay together. This often results in strands of a single kind of bead or specially composed strands, as among the Kalinga and Paiwan.

Splitting the collection means that the beads are distributed among several inheritors. The results are strands which contain only a few of each sort of bead. Where only one bead type is used it is possible to split the beads without making mixed strands.

There are variations. Among the Ifugao, beads are commonly curated if inherited by a daughter, but more often split if inherited by a son. The Paiwan and the Kalinga pass down whole strands to one descendant, but while there are enough beads to make a single strand, only a few are highly valued. This suggests that over time they evolved from being "splitters" to becoming "curators."

3. Open-ended or Closed Collections

Collections that have beads added to them from time to time are open-ended. This seems more common than closed collections, to which no new beads may be added. Those with closed collections often have only one sort of heirloom bead, such as Mutiraja or Mutitanah/Mutibata in the eastern Lesser Sundas and the Pumtek beads of the Chin.

Generally, beads currently available in the market are not incorporated as heirlooms, for that defeats the purpose of heirloom. However, this appears to be happening among the Akha today. To be added, beads usually have gone out of production or are no longer circulating; the process probably takes a few generations.

People choose which beads to heirloom. In Borneo there are beads acknowledged to be old, but not suitable for heirloom. For example, a opaque red glass short barrel called the "ghost bead" is known archaeologically from the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries and recognized as old. The Kelabit have not adopted it (perhaps it is not shiny enough), nor do the Kayan like it (it is monochrome). It is only used to put on a stake in the field to ensure a good harvest or throw out the window after having a bad dream.

Table One summarizes the basic characteristics of heirloom beads in Southeast Asia:

T A B L E O N E: An Overview of Heirloom Beads in Southeast Asia

Name of People	Locale	Oldest Beads Origin	Age	Marker Use	Curators/ Splitters	Open/ Closed	Line of Heir
Kalinga	N. Phil.	China	17-18th C.	ethnic	curators	closed	female
Ifugao	N. Phil.	China	15th C.	ethnic	both	closed	either
Bontoc	N. Phil.	India	19th C.?	ethnic	curators	closed	female
Gad-dang	N. Phil.	China	19th C.*	ethnic	splitters	open	both
T'boli	S. Phil.	Venice?	19th C.?	ethnic	curators	closed	male
Kayan	Sarawak	Mid-East	10-12th C.	ethnic	splitters	open	female
Kelabit	Sarawak	China	16th C.	ethnic	curators	closed	female
Bidayuh	Sarawak	China?	18-19th C?	healers	curators	open	healer
Toraja	Sulawesi	China	15th C.	ethnic?	splitters	open	either
elite	E.L.S.**	China	13-14th C.	social	splitters	closed	female
commoners	E.L.S.**	SE Asia	pre-13th C	social	splitters	closed	male
Akha	Thailand	China	17th C.?	ethnic	splitters	open	female
Chin	Myanmar	Pyu	6-9th C.?	social	curators	closed	both
Paiwan	Taiwan	China	14-15th C.	ethnic	curators	closed	female

* On rare occasions, the Gad-dang have older beads.

** Eastern Lesser Sundas, Indonesia

We can see in Table One a great diversity of the dates of the oldest heirloom beads, their use, the ways collections are maintained and who inherits them. This latter affects whether collections are split or curated, which in turn can affect whether a collection is open or closed. Splitters often add to collections to maintain them, while curators do not add new beads. There are exceptions. In the eastern Lesser Sundas, beads are split between the children, but as these are always the same beads, collections remained closed. The Bidayuh healers add beads to their strands, but these are passed whole to their heirs. There is no Southeast Asian standard for building and maintaining heirloom bead collections. There is nothing disturbing about this; it is simply a reflection of the diversity of people and the infinite variety by which human societies do things.

REASONS FOR DEVELOPING HEIRLOOM BEADS

Now that we have discussed the who, where, when and how of Southeast Asian heirloom beads, it remains to ask one last question about them: Why? Why do people have heirloom beads? Why did they develop them while their neighbors didn't? Why are they concentrated among remote groups? Why do they exist at all?

This is not easy to answer. However, the age of the oldest beads may suggest the period when heirloomming began. If we consider this in light of the history of the group, we may be able to suggest some reasons.

For one thing, heirloom beads act as markers distinguishing one people from another. This may be a clue as to how the practice began in some cases. The oldest Ifugao beads are known archaeologically from the coast, at the time the Spanish cut them off from the lowlanders. The Kalinga, Bontoc and Gad-dang were acculturated much later, and their beads are newer. Toraja beads include some from the non-threatening Chinese trade, but mostly reflect the period of growing Dutch control. Paiwan beads seem to reflect the time the Chinese began to colonize their island. In these cases, if people feel endangered from the outside, one response might be to assert their identity, and heirloom beads are clearly markers of identity.

Other factors may be deduced in other cases. The Akha probably brought their oldest beads with them as they migrated south. The Kayan seem to have been bringing beads back from their rare expeditions to the coast for a thousand years. In the eastern Lesser Sundas the Mutitanah/Mutibata were no doubt available for a long time. Contacts with the Chinese for the sandalwood trade brought in the Mutiraja. This trade has been historically, and was likely in the past, in the hands of the elite, who were apt to adopt the new beads as status symbols of their role in the trade.

In sum, a change in the way of life, either an external stimulus or internal transformation, appears the most probable explanation for the origins of heirloomming in most cases. At least this is a likely hypothesis.

Yet, we still do not know why the Paiwan and Akha, but not their neighbors, adopted heirlooms. How did the Let beads get to the Kelabit? Why and when did the Chin begin heirloomming Pumtek, which were already centuries old by the time they fled to the Chin Hills? Why do the Bidayuh regard beads as adjuncts to magic? Were the Mutitanah and Mutibata heirloom beads before the Mutiraja became available?

The variety of beads and ways in which they function should be enough to tell us that we need not look for any single mechanism to account for the origin of heirloomming. Nor should we be dismayed because we cannot always account for the phenomenon. It is enough to remember that heirloomming is a human trait, and everything connected to humans is bound to be complex, displaying varying manifestations at different times and places.

The study of heirloom beads has only commenced. Much more work is needed before we can build a global theory about this most interesting cultural trait. The work which has been done, however, shows much promise. It indicates the importance of beads to many people, suggests areas in which further investigation may prove profitable and demonstrates the crucial role formal heirlooms play in the lives of many people. Moreover, it shows that an understanding of heirloom beads can reveal much about the people who have them: their social systems, values and even something about their history, as yet so imperfectly understood.

This is, indeed, a contribution bead studies can make. The ubiquity of beads and their universal employment mean that they can serve as markers for our greater understanding and appreciation of other peoples, other places and other times.

NOTES

THE PEOPLE OF OUR STUDY: Recommended for the general reader are Cady [1964] for an historical overview and Fisher [1967] for an ethnographic summary. LeBar [1972, 1975] has been widely consulted. Francis [1989a] is an earlier summary of beads in the region.

† For an example of the diversity among just the people of Northern Luzon see Keesing [1962].

BEAD OVERVIEW: Details are available for glass beadmaking [Francis 1983], Chinese beads [Francis 1986, 1990a], Indo-Pacific beads [Francis 1990b, 1991], European beads [Francis 1988] and Indian agates [Francis 1982].

AKHA: The best work on ornaments are Lewis and Lewis [1984] and Lewis [1986]. Elaine Lewis has also provided personal communication (1992). Interviews were conducted in Chiang Mai. For an Akha bead trader see Dunning and Dunning [1992].

† A string of the crumb beads in the Thai Tribal Crafts catalogue [1991 pricelist] at 3,450 bhat (US\$ 138), was the most expensive item in the catalogue, though none were available at the shop in 1991.

CHIN: Some basic works on the Chin are Head [1917], Parry [1932], Luce [1959] and Lehman [1963]. For the Pumtek beads and bibliography see Francis [1992a] and Francis and DiCrocco [n.d.].

† Luce [1985:81] made the case for the Chin moving to the hills from the plains, but Lehman [1963:18-20] believes they went the other direction. The balance of evidence favors Luce's thesis.

PAIWAN: Chen [1968] is the best known work on the Paiwan. De Beauclair [1970] suggested the beads may be Dutch on skimpy grounds; they clearly are not. Miyamoto [1957] opted for West Asia and East Europe, but parallels are lacking. I have identified them as Chinese for the very reason Chen did not -- their lead content [see Francis 1990a]. I have examined these beads at Academia Sinica in Taiwan and in private collections.

† A combed polychrome bead common in Taiwan has been excavated at Trowulon, Indonesia, dated between 1292 and 1520. Most of the chevron imitations resemble seventeenth century European drawn ones.

NORTHERN PHILIPPINES: For ornaments in general see Ellis [1981], Fox [1977], Legarda [1977] and Francis [1989a]. Collections consulted include the Philippine National Museum in Manila, the Fox Collection and St. Louis University Museum in Baguio, the Bontoc Museum in Bontoc, the Kiangnan Museum in Kiangnan and several private collections in the Philippines and the U.S.A.

KALINGA: An outstanding work on Kalinga heirloom beads is Abellera [1981]. My primary informants in Luplupa were Daisy Giwao and Adchongon.

† Value of Ming Bead: Adchongon said this bead was worth two water buffaloes, though Abellera [1981:84] said in Lubo it was worth only a small pig. Scott [1969:87] said that among the Madukayan Kalingas it was worth \$US 50 in the 1960s.

* For details of the many uses of Kalinga beads see Abellera [1981:71-82].

‡ Plastic beads on a Bontoc *shuli* accessioned in the National Museum in 1969 are now believed to be Kalinga.. See Francis [1990c:105, 107]

IFUGAO: My informants in Kiangnan were Adoracion N. Guinid, Mary B. Morado, Lalita G. Guyguyon and Rosario G. Guinid. In Matanglag it was Joseph Tabayac.

† Age of the Rice Terraces: there is considerable debate about the ages of the rice terraces, ranging from 3000 to a few hundred years.

* Bung is the name related to me by Tabayac, who makes them, and other Ifugao informants. Lingling-o is found in the literature. The Bontoc call them *sing-sing*. Kalingas in Lubo call gold ones *hubay*.

‡ The antiquity of these ornaments is widely reported [Fox 1970:125-9]. Vu [1992] has an excellent summary.

BONTOC: Aside from the St. Louis University Museum in Baguio and the Bontoc Museum, informants were Columbus and Paulina Challipas of Bontoc City.

† Fukas (also Fuk-as and Fokash) are usually called shell [Ellis 1982:246; DeValle *et al.* 1988:129; Francis 1989a:6] or "shell and/or bone" [Legarda 1977: 65]. Jenks [1905:186] reported they were stone and Seinedael [1909] white agate. The great majority are a white marble-like rock from the lowlands with layers which resemble the "grain" of shell. I was told the last maker of them died recently in Besao.

* Eggan and Scott [1965:103] actually reads "who'll take the return gift?" This seems a misprint for "make."

GAD-DANG: Information is from Artemio Barbosa [1991] of the National Museum, who has made a particular study of the Gad-dang.

T'BOLI: South Philippines in general is discussed by Casino [1981]. The T'boli are the focus of work by Casal [1977, 1978]. Moore [1975] provides information on the neighboring and similar Tiruray. Information on the plastic beads has come from the T'boli Arts and Crafts store and from Henry Beyer, both in Manila.

BORNEO: An ethnographic overview is in Harrisson [1967]. Some general works on beads include Dunsmore [1984] and Munan-Oettli [1987].

KELABIT: See Harrisson [1950] and, for the hat, Munan-Oettli [1983].

† The origin of the Let bead is in Francis [1985; 1989a:2-3]; Saris's writings are in Danvers [1896:221] and Purchas [1905:523-4].

KAYAN: Their beads have been discussed by Hose and McDougall [1912:226-8; pl. 130], Beck [1930:178-81], Munan-Oettli [1988] and Francis [1989a]. The prices for the beads are in Munan-Oettli [1988].

† What may be these imitations are on the sample cards of the Venetian firm of Frances Greil from ca. 1870-98 in the Peabody Museum, Harvard.

* Parallels for the mosaic beads are Callmer's [1977:99] types H and J and GO40 for the checker bead, for which also see Graham-Campbell and Kidd [1980:pl. 76]. A discussion is in Francis [1989a:12-4]. Munin-Oettli [1988:105] also believes the Lukut Sekala is Venetian.

‡ The change in burial practices as seen archaeologically is detailed in Francis [1989a:30]. The inhabitants of the sites involved, however, were not necessarily the ancestors of the Kayan.

BIDAYUH: Munan-Oettli was also on the trip to Mentu Tapuh, and has written on these beads [Munan-Oettli 1981, 1985, 1991]. For details of the trip and a color plate of the beads see Francis [1989c].

TORAJA: See National Museum [1984].

EASTERN LESSER SUNDAS: The classic paper on Mutisalah is Rouffaer [1899]. Many mention them thereafter, but added nothing new until Lamb [1965a:93-7; 1965b:36] and Van der Sleen [1966; 1975:98-100] published conflicting reports. For the upper classes see Forman [1977:106-7]. A summary of the literature and a new perspective on the beads is in preparation and has been summarized in Francis [1992b].

AGE: † Indo-Pacific beads are rare in Southeast Asia after about A.D. 1200 [Francis 1989b:10-11]. The recent excavations at Palembang, Indonesia [Manguin 1987; 1992] have shown that it was a major Indo-Pacific beadmaker (personal observation). As Srivijaya, it controlled the bead industry in Southeast Asia. Its fall as the capital corresponds with the virtual disappearance of Indo-Pacific beads throughout the region.

MAINTAINING A COLLECTION: The "ghost bead" is discussed by Harrison [1950:212], Munan-Oettli [1981:21-2] and Francis [1989a:3-4]. Excavated examples are from Bukit Sandong, Sarawak, fourteenth to sixteenth centuries.

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 - Tiruray of Mindanao 8
 - Toraja of Sulawesi 11-15, 17, **3D**
 - Trowulan, East Java 16, **3B**
 - Wadi, Burma, ruins of 4

CAPTIONS (Plates 3 and 4)

Plate Three (Inside Back Cover)

3A (Upper Left): A strand of Kayan beads collected in Sarawak in 1936, priced at a half to one Straits dollar apiece, now in the National Museum of Indonesia in Jakarta. Although there are a few Venetian lamp-wound beads, mostly from late in the nineteenth century, most of these glass beads are Chinese, including many false wound chevrons. The long bead in the center is onyx, length = 4.9 cm.

3B (Upper Right): Individual heirloom beads. The top row consists of two Pumtek beads of the Chin and their relatives in India. The second row of large coils and third row of crumb beads are old heirloom beads of the Akha of Thailand, probably seventeenth century Chinese. The bead on the left in the bottom row is an heirloom especially among the Paiwan of Taiwan; an identical bead was excavated at Trowulan, East Java (1292-1520). The last two beads on that row are (or are similar to) the Let beads of the Kelabit of Borneo. These specimens were excavated from Sungai Jaong in Sarawak (ca. tenth to thirteenth century) by the Sarawak Museum and have a moderate amount of lead. Long Pumtek = 3.4 cm. Center for Bead Research Collection.

3C (Lower Left): The end of a strand of beads of the Paiwan in the Academia Sinica, Taipei. These smaller wound monochrome beads are combined with larger polychrome beads, such as on the ends and in 3B (last row, left) for the heirloom neoklaces of the Paiwan. They are probably Chinese.

3D (Lower Right): Strand of the Southern Toraja of Sulawesi (the Celebes), Indonesia. The strand has a great mixture of beads. The red square cylinder above the end bead is fifteenth century Chinese. At the top of the plate is a Dutch "mulberry bead" and under and to the left a blue "twisted square." The two twisted drawn beads are also Dutch. The rest of the drawn beads are more likely Venetian (and one Czech cornerless hexagonal) and the wound beads Chinese (note the debased chevron imitations). Longest bead = 2.4 cm. Center for Bead Research Collection.

Plate Four (Back Cover)

4A (Upper Left): Mutisalah beads of the eastern Lesser Sunda islands of Indonesia. The top two rows are Mutiraja of the elite classes, wound Chinese coil beads. The lower two rows are Mutitanah of the commoners, drawn Indo-Pacific beads. The three beads on the bottom differ from the Mutitanah only by color; they are called Mutibata. The Mutiraja average 2 mm in diameter. Center for Bead Research Collection.

4B (Upper Right): Plastic beads made in the Philippines. On the left is a four strand necklace made in the Kalinga village of Lubuagan. The beadmakers peddle them to other Kalinga villages. To its left are two larger and older plastic Kalinga beads. The strand on the right is from the T'boli of Mindanao, made to resemble their *lig* heirloom strand. To the left of it are T'boli beads from the early 1960s and to the right some from the early 1990s. The lost-wax bells and chains are also made by the T'boli. Longest bead = 3.0 cm. Center for Bead Research Collection.

4C (Lower Left): Joseph Tabayac of Matanglag village, Ifugao, is heating a crucible with bronze scraps, which he will pour into the mold sitting on the bicycle seat to form a bung ornament.

4D (Lower Right): A bronze *dungdung*, worn on the head of an Ifugao bride during the marriage ceremony. Grooms wear hornbill beak helmets.



