

THE BIDAYUH PEOPLE: ADAT AND TRADITIONAL BELIEFS

By

Dr. Charlie Anak Ungang, Head Section of Bidayuh Ethnic Research MAIS

1. Introduction

Bidayuh cosmology can be understood from the perspective of customs, culture and heritage passed down from generation to generation and become a cornerstone of Bidayuh ethnic identity. In the Bidayuh cosmology, their interaction with nature and universe brings the understanding that the practices and customs that they have are still preserved and sown until today.

The Bidayuh traditional villages situated mostly in the remote area. There has always been peace and harmony among the people. While all the residents did not have family ties, the spirit of brotherhood between members of the society has always been closely intertwined. Rituals and ceremonies have played very important role in bringing together traditional Bidayuh together and creating harmonious atmosphere in the village.

The pillar and strength of personality of the Bidayuh community is the belief in *muat-jirong*.¹ Belief in *muat-jirong* has formed a system of natural forces such as *simangi sungi*, *simangi darud*, *simangi tarun*² which used to be based on the influence of nature and supernatural forces. The Bidayuh community places the existence of *tampa* in such a high place which is manifested through several ceremonies and rituals processes, as well as the carving of *tampa* replicas that symbolize its existence in every belief, value and their daily activities.

Animistic belief in the mystical power of spirits is practiced in many parts of the world among the indigenous people and the natives of any society. Power of the spirit among the natives in Africa according to Turner (1969), particularly among the *Ndembu* tribes in Nigeria are not just symbolic but represent a "reality of spirits," Experienced in ritual, affecting lives through illness or healing and tied to profound social processes like status change and restoring societal balance, emphasizing ancestors' ongoing connection and the power where spirits manifest.

Many of the North American tribes believed tall old trees to be the homes of spirits who cried out when the tree was cut down and fell through the natural effect of wind or floods. They believed that the cotton-wood tree, one of the giant trees of the Upper Missouri valley, had an intelligence or spirit of its own, and that it could aid them under certain conditions (Porteous, 1928).

¹ *Muat jirong* refers to spirit of the supernatural that the Bidayuh regards as their creature and protector

² *Simangi* refers to the unseen creatures inhabits the surrounding of Bidayuh populace

To the Bidayuh, spirits inhabit nature like trees, rivers, mountains and ancestors, requiring appeasement through rituals and shamanism for health, good harvests, and protection, a core aspect of traditional belief systems that are often documented and interacted with (Howes, 1995). The traditional Bidayuh people lived with a pervasive fear of spirit attacks because they believed spirits (known as *iyeng* or *simonggi*) could directly cause misfortune, sickness and death if displeased or provoked.

Their entire traditional belief system, or *adat*, was built around maintaining a harmonious relationship with the spirit world. Nais (1992) mentioned that the life of the traditional Bidayuh was indeed heavily influenced by the fear of evil spirits. This belief system, part of their traditional animist religion or *Adat Oma*, permeated their daily lives and practices. The Bidayuh traditionally attributed sickness, insufficient food, spoilt crops, and other misfortunes to the work of evil spirits or the displeasure of various spirits, such as the rice spirit or ancestor spirits.

2. Adat and Traditional Beliefs

The Bidayuh traditional belief is mainly focused on practices such as *adat* (customary belief), the worship of spirits and ethereal beings and mystical acts related to nature (Campbell, 2019). Traditional Bidayuh believe that everything in nature has a spirit. Some observations and findings revealed that in the practice of traditional Bidayuh beliefs, there may be Hindu influence at the time of the Majapahit Empire, spread throughout Borneo in the 14th century, (Low, 1848). The discovery of Hindu figures along the Sarawak river basin and near Sempro under Kampung Benuk/Segu Penrissen (Campbell, 2019), in the 1840s as well as some practices similar to Hinduism including cremation (Baring & Bampfylde, 1909, Roth, 1896 and Nuek, 2002) and belief in the stars and heaven (Minos, 2000), strengthen the opinion that the influence of Hinduism is indeed able to penetrate into the traditional Bidayuh life and culture practices.

Worship of spirits related to *ihang padi* (rice spirit) and *ihang tayung babeh* (ancestral spirits) has a very significant influence on their daily lives. The Bidayuh people believe it is important to get protection and "blessings" from these spirits to ensure a balanced life. If the spirits are not given the attention of the *pidadeg* (offerings) they will experience that life will be full of agony and misery (Nuek, 2001).

Bidayuh people consider *adat* functions as a system that controls the behaviour of community members. Supervision of custom and traditional practices or *Adat* are under the *Timangung* (Temenggung) the highest community leader of the Bidayuh community assisted by *Pimancha* (Pemanca) as well as some *Pingulu* (Penghulu) and then *Pinuuh Binua* or the Village Head. In The Sarawak Native Court Ordinance, 1992 it is clearly stated that an offense involving members of the community found to have breached of *adat* may threaten individual relationship and spiritual wellbeing of the community and must be settled in the village based on the law enshrined in the Bidayuh Custom. Any problems related to customary law are only resolved outside the village when the court of the *Pinuuh Binua* (Village Head) unable to

resolve them. The Bidayuh community has an orderly custom system which leads to the formation of cultured and civilized Bidayuh people, in accordance with the demands of the social circumstances and times. The Bidayuh customs and traditional practices enshrined in the Sarawak Bidayuh Customs Ordinance 1994 states which is called *Adat Bidayuh 1994*, and taking effect until today, stated that;

Any breach against customs and taboos shall be subjected to takud in the context of Adat Bidayuh, takud means a form of restitution. It contains two essential ingredients... settlement or restoration provided by the offender to the injured party and appeasement or atonement in terms of compassion to preserve the physical and spiritual well-being of the community (Adat Bidayuh 1994).³

Adat serves to maintain a harmonious relationship between members of the Bidayuh community, by maintaining the physical and spiritual wellbeing of each Bidayuh village. Failure to comply with customs may bring disaster to the villagers and the community. In the Bidayuh *adat* the rate of fines imposed is according to the level of the offense and the social position of the accused party. The rate of fine imposed is in line with the guidelines of the Sarawak Bidayuh Customs Ordinance 1994, which has been issued by the Council of Customs, Department of the Chief Minister of Sarawak.

2.1 Ngaba Ihang

Ngaba ihang (bringing back the spirits of the dead) is believed to be one of the customary practices and belief among the Bidayuh people which began with the events of two brothers, Rijong and Bawah in a myth (Nais, 1989:35). The Bidayuh believed that their ancestors namely Rijong and Bawah believed to have taught them to summon the spirits of those who have died, and to take them to *sibayan* (heaven). Rawin Rumbud, 82 years old in a research interview on 16 June 2019 in Kampung Plaman Bantang Serian, recounted the process to summon the spirit of the dead. It started with managing the corpse, by making sure the corpse is bathed and cleaned. After being bathed, the corpse's mouth and eyes should be closed and its arms and legs should be straightened.

Then the corpse is dressed in beautiful clothes, then laid on a mat and wrapped in *umban bilacho* (cotton calico fabric). While still on the mat, the closest family members would sit vigil by the side of the body to avoid being stepped on by animals such as cats and dogs. According to the Bidayuh belief, if this happened the corpse would likely rise and continue to stand. At the same time food, drinks, betel leaves and a *nipah* leaf cigarette would be served to the corpse and place near the dead body, which is called *pisumpa*⁴. Fire must be continuously lighted up at the fireplace while food and drinks were served in *julang timaga*⁵ copper trays and placed

³ Adat Bidayuh 1994. Majlis Adat Istiadat Sarawak. 1994. 23

⁴ Foods offerings to the spirit of the departing soul

⁵ Julang timaga is a copper try specially prepared to serve foods and drinks to the departing soul

near the feet of the corpse. This ritual of rites and passage would ensure the spirit of the deceased has peace in *Sibayan*⁶.

On the day of burial, one of the closest family members would hit the gong all the way to the cemetery to “invite” the spirits of ancestors to accompany the deceased to the *Sibayan*. Traditional Bidayuh communities still hold to the belief that every human soul will be taken to the sky, before being chosen by *jirong* (God of the traditional Bidayuh people) to finally go to *sibayan*. On the way back from the burial ground, *babeh bilal* (the person carrying the corpse to be buried) would pick leave of a type of plant known as *tirisung*, put it in a bamboo container and would take it to the room of the deceased. The water from the bamboo container to be sprinkled on every corner of the house, the room of the deceased and family members in the house to drive away the spirit of the deceased with chants as follows.

\ *Ti iyu ihang amu da tibu amu.*
 Kuon ngajung nehen amu siti
 Najung nehen pimudip pingandai amu da bauh
 *Mari amu bujog oh ihang.....*⁷

Translation

This is your spirit returning to your body
Don't come back here again. You have been taken to your place of origin
Go back to your place of origin. Return in peace oh...
(the deceased's name is mentioned)

Telling the same thing, Howes (1995) stated that the remains of the Bidayuh people were not buried but instead tied to tree branches in the cemetery and left to rot. After a few weeks, the bones from the corpse will be collected and put in a jar to be buried. Howes (1995:209) further states in the Bidayuh Bukar still use their pagan cemetery which had served the old village. The pagan Bukar rolled up their dead in a stout rattan mat. The body, thus enclosed, was suspended from the branch of a tree, and left to rot away. Later, the bones were put into a jar and buried.

2.2 *Pisaya Mauat Jirong.*

The Bidayuh community believes that *Pisaya Muat Jirong* (belief in the mystical spirit) should be magnified in its power and glory. Bidayuh has a variety of *Muat Jirong*. To calm spirits and evil spirits through supernatural powers or what the Bidayuh people call *muat*, ceremonies are necessary and mandatory. As is the case with other tribes in Sarawak, the culture and customs of the Bidayuh community reflect a civilization and way of life that is still communal and

⁶ New world after death, which the Bidayuh believe is already prepared in the sky. To enter *Sibayan* the rites and passages must be properly conducted through authorized rituals by the Villager Elders or *Tua Adat*

⁷ Nais, William. 1983.

traditional. They still live in groups and cooperate in rice planting activities and traditional festivities and ceremonies (Minos, 2003).

Traditional Bidayuh according to Roth (1968) has various *tampa*. Every time a ceremony is held, they ask *tampa riyuh*⁸ to help them in their daily activities as well as protect them from harm. Nais (1998) stated that to get protection from spirits and avoid disasters from evil spirits, the Bidayuh community should be careful in any action so as not to go against the wishes of *tampa*. According to him, if they do something that violates the *adat*, then the best way to calm the anger and get the protection of the ancestral spirit is to hold a swearing ceremony. The Bidayuh people belief in their god which they called *tampa kamang*, which created humans and all living things, in addition to creating all non-living things. It also protects them with its power and goodness. The Bidayuh community believes in the power of *tampa kamang* because it also keeps people alive by giving them fertile crops and sufficient rice harvests throughout the year.

Babai Anyan anak Jikan, 82 years old, *Tua 'Gawea* of Kampung Gumbang Bau revealed that the Bidayuh community believes that deaths occur due to the devil and evil spirits who deliberately allow people to be attacked by disease, famine, accidents and catastrophes, as a result of human actions that often neglect the existence and influence of *muat jirong*. To strengthen human relationships with *muat jirong*, it is necessary to perfect the ritual and worship process from time to time to respect and recognize its existence with organized and orderly procedures.

2.3 *Nyiken Manuk*

The Bidayuh community also believes in omens of birds which they called *Nyiken Manuk*. For them, the bird determines the direction of the destination every time they carry out activities such as going to rice fields, to the forest or visiting a nearby village. *Nyiken Manuk* must be followed to avoid accidents. Nais (1989:13) states that the *Sakku* (*Pycnonotus Zeylanicus*) is usually "considered to be the bearer of bad luck". Whether the whistle comes from the left or the right can determine the actions of the whole village. It is the smallest address carrier who usually emits 15 different sounds such as *tittttttttttttt or serikkkkkkkkkkkkkkk or tuk..tuk..tuk, or kulang-kulang* and so on" (Nais,1989: 17). Whistle *tik...tik..tik....* signifies a serious warning and anyone who hears it to return immediately, especially when heard from a close distance.

In the era of traditional Bidayuh, ritual of asking for blessings and permission from birds to know bad omens is very necessary, before building a house, choosing a paddy field site, hunting and looking for fish in the river. This ceremony must be carried out to avoid accidents and bad events befalling yourself and the villagers. Ritual passage of *nyiken manuk* would start from the *bale gambang - baruk*. Rites and rituals would be discussed before the ceremony to face the bird or *nyiken manuk*. Next, the passage would be led by three *tua gawea*

⁸ The Bidayuh believe that *Tampa Riyuh* (God) will help them to create rains as when needed by the Bidayuh people in their padi farming.

assigned to “meet” the birds. Then at about seven o'clock in the evening, they would move from the *baruk* to the corner of the designated site at the corner of the village. Offerings would be brought and placed in the *sangar* with chants and mantra as follows;

*Siik....akam beh.....siak gangga
Ngalu burong ngagi
Nuhun akam maso udung kurung
Bale hung, pango pininyaw
akam bititih ba'ii biranjan padang
Masu atuh majaw, masu atuh duuh
Masu atuh dibung masu atuh tirambai
Masu atuh risk, masu atuh milambu
Masu Atuh padu, masu atuh Sungai-rigu uwak-uwak.
Nyirep ahu, ngurayan tana
Nyikin tangap nyikan masu akam
Bada nyanda kaung silung parubida
Adup akam tarus muhun rinaman
Ngagat puun jaran tinan ami timawis*

Translation

Siik...Grandpa...sounds like that
Grandpa comes down day and night
Along with the melodious rhythm
Loud together and nature's beauty
Datuk came down from the nest from the beautiful blue sky
Datuk came down with advice and guidance
Through the sacred stairs
From the thatch tree, from the areca nut tree
From green fruit trees
From the gaps in the trees, the gaps in the rocks
From the gaps in the branches, the gaps in the leaves
Datuk come down to the ground
Welcome to walk with the leaves of drought
Because we are Grandfather's grandchildren
Asking for permission and answers asking for clues
For us to proceed with our journey
If you like, let it be Datuk lead us⁹

The mantras illustrate how the traditional Bidayuh community considers birds to determining their fate and progress in every activity of their daily lives. The role of birds is described as conveying messages, information and omen and must be interpreted, deliberated and complied which become a mandatory practice in their lives. For the traditional Bidayuh community, *bale gambang-baruk* is a centre to bring together the community to recognize the implicit and written customs and traditions that have become their practice, such as in the mantra dialogue with the birds. Discussions to find messages and omens from birds become part of their beliefs in daily lives. Signs and symptoms from by birds are believed to have

⁹ Nais. 1989. 23)

influenced actions taken in every activity carried out in the Bidayuh village. Mantra asking for omens and “permission” from birds to work on the new site of the rice fields as follows.

*Si-iiiiiiiiiiiiii beh...
Siak ganga akam muhun sagan
Anchah pete dangan ganna daangan tuuh
akam da suwah, akam da basa akam da sudi, akam da tayan
akam da taye adeh, taye biye
da taye timagah, da taye pagan
da taye biriti, da taye bigalar
da taye nguntung, taye ngulu
da taye pijuan, taye bipimtar
ami sungkuh amai ira nyikin
pinyungka ami masu akam babuk Pinya'ah
bada pidaan boleh ato kii
bada ami minan tarun tana ti
Da.....(ganan tarun)
Nan rantaw umeh ami
da suwa ngira, da suwa entubek
ka iye da ati, da aseng awang akam
kaneg uhong Pide, kaneg uhing Simadang,
kaneg uhong kayan, kaneg uhong laut
kaneg uhong sikayam, bada baten laut
bada baten janje, bada baten dared
Bada Baten Rinchep, Bada Baten uhong.*

Translation

Si-iiiiiiiiik, grandpa
please grandfather come down from your palace
I want to ask seriously
fully, asked the almighty grandfather
the great grandfather, the almighty
who is the protector of us human children
now we wish to ask your permission and blessing
to work on the rice fields at the site of the area that has been explored
in..... (name the place)
to be used as paddy fields for all the villagers
if the site is suitable, please allow it
through signals from every corner, from the weeds,
from the mountains, from the Kayan river
from the Sikayam river
protect our rice fields with the mighty sea,
protect our rice fields with the mighty mountain,
the mighty of the hill, and the mighty of the desert

To ensure that the villagers are ready to start paddy planting activities, a meeting should be held in the *gambang-baruk bale*. Before starting this agricultural activity, they would seek the spirit of birds to determine whether the chosen site is safe site or otherwise. The *tua adat*

to lead the ritual presentation with offerings. The offerings would be placed in a *sanggar* at the entrance of the passageway to the paddy field area. The ritual of seeking omens of birds has two categories. The first category is said to bring bad omens known as *biek manuk*. Among the birds with *biek manuk* is the *sakku* (*Pycnonotus Zeylanicus*) usually found to be flying along the roads to their farming land. If the sound of type of bird is heard, the person must retreat and back off. The second category is the sounds of birds that bring a sign of safety which is called *manuk briak* (*Apodiformes*). According to Babai Angan, birds sympathize with humans because based on the myth, bird's father is a human while its mother is a ghost. (Nuek, 2002).

2.4 Gawai Sawa Bidayuh – Bidayuh Customary Festival

The Bidayuh community celebrates various forms of gawai or traditional festivals that have specific meaning and purpose in the *adat* or customary system, including receiving blessings and help from *simanggi padi* (the spirit of padi). Festivals and rituals are mostly closely related paddy planting and harvesting season. (Noeb, 2012). *Gawai Sawa* also known as *gawai mparing sawa* in Sarawak is the highlights of all the ceremonies related paddy farming, usually held at the end of the harvest season, which is between the end of May and the beginning of July.

Gawai mparing sawa is held to express gratitude to *tampa* (God) and the spirit of paddy that has brought happiness and provided a good harvest. According to Babeh Penghulu Dennis Gamin during *Gawai Mparing Sawa* Kampung Pichin, 20 June 2019, the purpose of the Gawai is to fulfil their wishes and goals hope and ask for blessing for fertile land. In the gawai offering to *tampa* padi would be served in proper ritual process. Offerings to the spirits of ancestors, the land, mountains and universe also to be prepared placed accordingly in the *sanggar* as follows.

1. Bamboo rice (*pangkang*) - 7 sticks
2. Cooked chicken meat - 7slices
3. Cooked pork liver - 7 pieces
4. Fermented Fish - 1 bowl
5. Rice wrapped in leaves - 7 packet
6. Rice wine - 7 glasses
7. Assam (rice mixed with chicken meat cooked in bamboo) –1 plate



This is *sanggar*. A Bidayuh offering altar to place *sajen* in the *pisumpa* ritual of *nyiken manuk* (offered to the spirit of the bird). This type of ritual is only performed by Tua Gawe. (Source: Dayak Bidayuh National Association (DBNA) Resource Centre in conjunction with the State Gawai 2019).

Bidayuh practices vibrant tapestry of tradition, spirituality and communal effort throughout the whole process of paddy farming circle. These practices have embodied the profound respect for the natural world, belief in the unseen spiritual realm and the strength of our social bonds. The integration of culture and agriculture is sustained through ritual, omens and cooperation. These practices are to ensure, efficiency, solidarity and strengthening the ties in the community. *Tang'ap/Kepan pingawah* is to be put up on the designated site, made of bamboo split and place at the farm site. The *Tang'ap/kepan* symbolised the marking a farmland site and protecting the site from evil spirit.



Tang'ap is to be erected with bamboo in the middle of the farming site, symbolises the protection of the site from evil interferences and avoid human trespassing into the site of the farming land. (Source: Bidayuh Section Research Team, MAIS 2024).

Gawai Emparing Sawa is celebrated by all members of the community wherever they are. They will hold an open house to welcome guests. Bidayuh traditional food and drinks are served to the guests along with traditional dishes or *pangkang* and *assam*, as well as the traditional Bidayuh people's cake known as *lappung*, which is a rare dish found among the Bidayuh community who celebrate *Gawai Sawa* in towns and cities. *Gawai Sawa* is a very important festival to worship the *tampa padi* which take care of their paddy field. Rituals would be performed by *Tayung Pirinteng*¹⁰, knowledgeable in the worship of *Tampa Padi* who would sing the *barih* a traditional Bidayuh song as rites and passages of worshipping the *tampa* (god) that keeps the rice field always in a fertile state.

2.4 *Pingirih*

Adat *Pingirih*¹¹ is a culture of helping each other in the community, with labour which be reciprocated with labour as well. A person's involvement in *pingirih* aims to make something that is done easier and can be completed in a shorter period (Minos, 2003:13). The result of *pingirih* is enjoyed by a family that is the party that organizes *pingirih*. Gotong-royong, also

¹⁰ Goddess

¹¹ Labour exchange culture

known as *kiroja ratus*, is a culture of working together in the community. Unlike *pingirih*, the contribution of energy for mutual aid activities does not need to be reciprocated in the *kiroja ratus*. *Pingirih* brings the community working together makes farming activities lighter and managed be completed in a shorter period (Nyigor, 2018).

It is observed that the practice of *pingirih* is closely related to agricultural activities apart from building houses. *Pingirih* has a positive impact on the Bidayuh community and is the backbone of the village's economic and social progress in terms of economy, the provision of infrastructure, basic facilities such as clean water supply and the construction of residential houses. Various advances can be achieved through the practice of *pingirih*. Practicing a culture of consensus, work would feel lighter, completed faster and productivity guaranteed. During *pingirih*, residents with various skills join forces to achieve a goal such as building a house and agricultural activity. Besides being a form of skill, *pingirih* is also seen as an informal learning session, it is an expertise that can be spread and practiced until today in the Bidayuh community.

This traditional activity is a mechanism to strengthen brotherhood and the spirit of belonging, increase cooperation and strengthen harmony among villagers. Some even meet their soul mate during the dating session during *pingirih*. This traditional practice also refreshes the feeling of family, nourishes the sense of belonging and fuels up the pride of putting the interests of the community first (Nyigor, 2018:13). Villagers feel proud if they could contribute to the community. Despite facing various challenges, the practice of *pingirih* remains a tradition and a practice that strives to strengthen bonds of brotherhood and the spirit of helping each other in the community in every Bidayuh village.

The culture of helping each other and consensus has been instilled in them since they settled in their respective villages. The *pingirih* tradition begins when a family announces to organize it by inviting members of the community to join, which also could occur between residents of different villages, especially if they have bonds of friendship and brotherhood. They express concern by helping each other's friends and relatives through the culture of *pingirih* ensuring that the yield obtained is maximum. *Pingirih* is also synonymous with the sequence of hill paddy cultivation activities that begins with *ngawah* (identifying the huma location), *nahu* (cutting down), *nabung* (cutting down), *ngukot* (burning), *nirangkat* (collecting and burning wood that has not been burnt after burning the designated site of paddy field), and *nuruk* (making a hole in the ground with a pointed stick in the process of planting rice).

The *pingirih* culture still endures to this day among the Bidayuh community, especially in the process of paddy planting cycles, constructions and preparing pathways. Babai Bakut Anak Abe, 82 years old from Kampung Mentung Merau Serian in a research interview (20 March 2025) stated that in the traditional era of the Bidayuh community, the aspect of assessing a person's status was based on the quantity of rice obtained. Thus, harvest is closely related to status of a family by obtaining the same harvest, the *pingirih* activity could indirectly reduce the status gap in the community.



Nuruk Culture among the Bidayuh community done by making a small hole on the ground using dibbler or turuk. Men make holes on the ground, women sown the paddy seeds. *Nuruk* is done in the form of cooperation called *pingirih* or labour exchange.

3. Conclusion.

The Bidayuh community embraces their adat which presents aspects of tradition, customs, norms, regulations, modernization and changes in shaping Bidayuh daily culture, emphasizing its role and importance in regulating social and legal circumstances in Bidayuh community. In cultural studies, social control of a community, trying to ensure compliance with the values they believe in within the norms that exist over time has to be seriously explored. This process occurs informally such as through customs, norms, expectations or formally such as using official regulations or laws.

Compliance of the *adat* and traditional practices among the Bidayuh community changes with the situation of social circumstances and the dynamic of cultures. This effort must continue to be disseminated and enhanced to the present and future generation to ensure the Bidayuh adat, culture and traditions remain intact and flourish. The elders of the community would continue with focus of collecting, tracking and providing meaning and interpretation of adat Bidayuh which describe the Bidayuh behaviour as described in the “Thick Description” theory of Clifford Geertz, to suit the modern social circumstances of today. This theory defined culture as “webs of significance” or system of shared, inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic form that people use to communicate, perpetuate and attitude about life making the world meaningful and understandable.

For the Bidayuh younger generation, to understand *adat* and traditional practices is important as a way of life and value changes, cultural continuity, understanding of aspects of traditional renewal in their lives, the impact of modernization and changes, occurring in the Bidayuh world views. By being aware of their roots and cultural history, the aspect of identity awareness can be fostered and used as a basis for Bidayuh unity. As an ethnic group that is flexible towards change, moderate and optimistic, all these aspects can be traced in the cultural history of the Bidayuh community.

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