



Figure 4. Five jet *higa* pendants from the cemetery at San Luis (photo by author).

Apalachee people at San Luis assigned the same meaning to *higas* as the Spaniards.

A wide variety of beads and pendants have come from the cemetery excavations. Compound beads like chevrons are rare in the assemblage, with most specimens being single-color drawn beads. Two varieties of drawn and molded glass pendants (Punta Rassa Teardrop and San Luis Pendants) have come from the deposits, as well as a few metal objects such as a perforated silver coin.

When the 1995 field season is completed, a detailed analysis of all personal adornment items from the San Luis cemetery will take place with a close examination of mortuary patterning and specific burial associations. This is made difficult by the disturbance of some burials by later interments, but correlating distribution with age and sex categories may reveal patterns that can be compared with data from other Franciscan mission sites. The ultimate aim of this research is to learn more about the impact of Christianity on burial practices and native belief systems at San Luis and contemporaneous missions.

References Cited

Larsen, Clark Spencer

- 1990 Biological Interpretation and the Context for Contact. In *The Archaeology of Mission Santa Catalina de Guale: 2. Biocultural Interpretations of a Population in Transition*, edited by Clark Spencer Larsen, pp. 11-25. *American Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Paper* 68.

McEwan, Bonnie G.

- 1991 San Luis de Talimali: The Archaeology of Spanish-Indian

Relations at a Florida Mission. *Historical Archaeology* 25(3):36-60.

- 1993 Hispanic Life on the Seventeenth-Century Florida Frontier. In *The Spanish Missions of La Florida*, edited by Bonnie G. McEwan, pp. 295-321. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.

Mitchem, Jeffrey M.

- 1992 Analysis of Beads and Pendants from San Luis de Talimali (8LE4): The Convento and Church. In *Archaeology at San Luis: The Church Complex*, by Gary Shapiro and Richard Vernon, pp. 241-259. *Florida Archaeology* 6, Part 2. Florida Bureau of Archaeological Research, Tallahassee.
- 1993 Beads and Pendants from San Luis de Talimali: Inferences from Varying Contexts. In *The Spanish Missions of La Florida*, edited by Bonnie G. McEwan, pp. 399-417. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.
- 1994 Analysis of Personal Adornment Items from the Cemetery at Mission San Luis (8LE4): 1993 Excavations. Manuscript submitted to San Luis Archaeological and Historic Site, Bureau of Archaeological Research, Division of Historical Resources, Florida Department of State, Tallahassee.

Thomas, David Hurst

- 1988 Saints and Soldiers at Santa Catalina: Hispanic Designs for Colonial America. In *The Recovery of Meaning in Historical Archaeology*, edited by Mark P. Leone and Parker B. Potter, pp. 73-140. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington D.C.
- 1990 The Spanish Missions of La Florida: An Overview. In *Columbian Consequences, Volume 2. Archaeological and Historical Perspectives on the Spanish Borderlands East*, edited by David Hurst Thomas, pp. 357-397. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.

65. LAND DAYAK BEADS, by Heidi Munan (1991, 19:3-11)

These observations were made during a *Gawai Katang*, the first round of a headhunting festival observed by the Bidayuh Jagoi of southwest Sarawak. Beads were worn by most of the officiating *tuai gawai* (TG = male elders)(cover; Fig. 1) and *dayung baris* (DB = female elders)¹ in attendance. None of the lesser participants or villagers wore beads.

Men's Beads

TG Jiop anak Jami wears a necklace consisting of about one-third beads, one-third boar tusks and bear claws, and one-third hawk bells (Pl. IIC). He wears this string



Figure 1. *Tuai gawai* Jongen anak Abun, the chief officiant at the *Gawai Katang*, wearing his necklace (photo: H. Munan).

bandolier-style over one shoulder, over a cloth sash. The beads are blue or green, transparent to translucent, roughly

spherical specimens 8-10 mm in diameter; a very few are blue-black tubular ("barrel-shaped"). The spherical beads

could be bought in the Kuching bazaar until about ten to fifteen years ago, and were used to make a protective device consisting of two beads and a small hawk bell tied to a person's wrist with a strip of unbleached calico or a length of string to ward off various kinds of danger and bad luck. The spherical beads are called *likis*;² the tubular ones *tolam*.³ The latter are considered older.

TG Jiop has no clear idea about the origin of these beads except that they are "very old" and come from the ancestors. Beads can occasionally be bought from friends or relatives, but unless they are of impeccable pedigree they cannot be used for magic. TG Jiop does not think beads can/should be worn simply for adornment.

The boar tusks and bear claws on this string of beads increase its power. As TG Jiop got his whole string from an elder relative, none of the trophies are of his own hunting. At the time of this festival, he carried one tusk, ready-drilled, in his pocket; he indicated that he might add it to his string "later, when permission has been given" but he did not elaborate.

Brass bells are an essential component of a necklace. Called *setegah*, the larger ones are considered more venerable, and they have the function of preserving health. The smaller bells, called *grunong*, are cheaper and not quite so powerful.⁴

Many necklaces contain pieces of iron, bone, wood, Chinese medicine jarlets, and similar items. Each of these was added after "permission was given," usually in a dream or trance, or by a powerful omen.

Men and women wear their own beads respectively; TG Jiop wouldn't advise a woman to wear or even touch his string. If she was a *dayung baris* she might get away with it, but the assembled *tuai gawai* did not think it at all probable that one would try. Women, after all, have their own beads which no man would touch.

Beads can be sold, shared, or bequeathed, provided they remain with a person qualified to wear and use them. A lay person would not want or dare to wear beads.

Beads may be re-strung if the need arises; TG Jiop's are strung on nylon fishing line which is considered stronger than the plant fiber of old.

Beads cannot of themselves do magic, but they strengthen the spirit of the wearer and open his eyes to the second sight. Many Bidayuh (and some other Borneo natives) sell, give away, or destroy their beads if they convert to a new religion,⁵ usually at the urging of their new spiritual mentors who distrust anything connected with "heathen practices."

There are times when spirits have to be appeased with gifts of beads. Beads are getting scarce nowadays; TG Jiop has heard that occasionally a greedy ghost can be fooled by substitutes. Maize grains may be offered instead of an opaque yellow bead which is getting rare.⁶

Women's Beads

Sepan anak Jamin has been a *dayung baris* since her middle age. The widow recalls that she was often sick, and friends told her that the spirits were calling her. She risked serious illness or death if she disobeyed their prompting.

DB Sepan bought her beads from a neighboring village. She has two different kinds. The first is a string of blue beads, animal teeth, claws, and brass bells, rather like the men's but of lighter materials, which she wears over one shoulder. Not all *dayung baris* have this kind. The second string of beads is standard for a Jagoi *dayung baris*: a multi-strand necklace artistically fashioned of regular blocks of red, black, and white beads. This necklace, called the *pangeh* (Fig. 2; Pl. IID), was bought from another *dayung baris* who had one to spare. Its front consists of rows of coiled brass wire, while the sides are composed of blocks of spherical red, black, and white (in some cases yellow) beads separated by bone, coiled wire, or wood spacers.

The back of the *pangeh* protects the wearer's neck with the most powerful beads: old blue examples including cherry-sized coiled ones, modern ones including plastic and rosary beads, bear claws, small tusks, and rhinoceros beetle pincers.

Several sets of two spherical green or blue beads and a hawk bell each are attached at irregular intervals to the sides of the *pangeh*. These were given to the *dayung baris* when she took part in healing ceremonies. The set was attached to her wrist by the patient's family before the rite started to strengthen her soul for the task ahead. After the cure has been effected, she keeps the beads as part of her fee. Many of these bells mark the successful healer.

DB Sepan agrees with TG Jiop that men's and women's beads are always kept separate. If a man, or any unauthorised person, were to wear her beads, he would be punished by "a slap in the face from the devil."

DB Sepan wears a belt made of five strands of shell discs, called *palus*. These are more for ornament and for enhancing her status than for practical purposes. A *dayung baris* could safely fulfill her function without a *palus* belt, but not without at least some blue beads and brass bells about her person. "You can't see the spirits if you are not



Figure 2. The author's niece wearing a *pangeh*. This is a posed photo; she would neither wear the cotton cap nor the beads "for real."

wearing beads!" DB Sepan explains, "and how can you talk to them if you don't see them?"

Conversely, if a person saw spirits inadvertently, and was not wearing beads, she might find the experience too overwhelming. Beads can strengthen her soul so she can stand her ground and carry out her function as mediatrix between the human and the spirit world successfully.

Endnotes

1. The *tuai gawai* is an official who knows the necessary procedures, chants, etc., for the festivals; he may also be a *dukun* (shamanistic healer). The *dayung baris* is a necessary accessory to the healing rites; she does not usually undertake them on her own.
2. The *likis* beads, or blue, green, amber, or clear glass, are extremely hard to date. Large numbers of them must have been available throughout the Victorian

age and well into this century. See P. Francis, Jr., on "Peking Glass."

3. For a fuller discussion of blue beads, see Munan (1981).
4. This opinion seems to be confined to Bidayuh (Land Dayak) groups (Munan 1981).
5. Mainly Islam and Christianity; or the latter, some groups are more tolerant than others of heathen vestiges.
6. The yellow "doughnut" bead is common throughout the Insulindies (Lamb 1961). It was kiln-baked of glass powder made from imported beads in Tanjong Selor on the East Kalimantan coast, specially for the Central Borneo trade, as recently as the 1930s (Tillema 1938).

References Cited

Francis, Peter, Jr.

1990 Peking Glass Beads. *Ornament* 14(2):66-67, 69.

Lamb, Alastair

1961 Some Glass Beads from Kakao Island, Takuapa, South Thailand. *Federation Museums Journal* 6.

Munan-Oettli, Adelheid (Heidi Munan)

1981 Bead Necklace 1598 in the Sarawak Museum Collection. *Sarawak Museum Journal* 29(50):17-26.

Tillema, H.F.

1938 *Apo-Kajan—een filmreis naar en door Central-Borneo*. Van Munster, Amsterdam.

66. BEADS LINK SAN SALVADOR TO A COLUMBUS TRIP, by *The New York Times* (1983, 3:7-8)

NASSAU (Reuters) - Beads and other ancient European-made items found by American archaeologists could be the long-awaited proof that Columbus made his 1492 landing in the New World on the Bahamian island of San Salvador. In a recent report to the Bahamian Government, the archaeologists said that last July they found four green and yellow glass beads, two brass buckles, metal spikes, and a fragment of Spanish crockery mixed with native Arawak Indian pottery and shell beads. Although Indian pottery dating to the ninth century has been dug up along San Salvador's coastline, no European artifacts of the Columbus period were previously