

# Identity and Economy in Kingdoms of West Kalimantan

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## Abstract

Historical records offer limited details about West Kalimantan's role in the spice trade compared to the Moluccas (known for cloves and nutmegs). This study investigates why, despite the region's development during intercontinental trade periods. Later, resources like forests and mining products attracted Chinese and Europeans. Based on historical and economic archaeology, this research focuses on how these newcomers interacted with local Dayak communities. Settlement by outsiders impacted existing communities. Unequal resource access has created social stratification, leading to cooperation and conflict. This development led to complex settlements along the Kapuas River and the rise of kingdoms like Pontianak. This study examines economic interactions, cultural exchange, and abandoned practices. We aim to understand these activity centers' social, economic, and cultural implications, where diverse ethnicities and cultures intermingle. It highlights the importance of recognizing these interconnected histories in fostering multi-ethnic societies.

**Keywords:** identity, West Kalimantan, non-agriculture, trade network, economic interaction.

Although not directly connected to the place of initial information about forest products, Kalimantan is involved in international trade, with commodities like camphor, bird's nest, bee's wax, and perfume material like gaharu plant (*Aquilaria Malaccensis*) that are plenty in the forests. The nests of Asian swallows (*Collocalia* sp.) are edible, and they can be found in many places in Indonesia (especially in Java, Kalimantan, and Sumatra) as well as in Malaysia, Thailand, and the Philippines (Goloubinoff 2004, 34). Some rivers flow throughout the region in the western part of Kalimantan. Rivers have long been vital routes for transportation and communication, driving trade and settlement growth. The river network connects the inland areas to the port, facilitating inter-island trade. That accelerated the formation of settlements along the river, which led to the

formation of political centers of government and trade economy and the emergence of river culture among its supporters (Utomo 1992; Yogi 2017, 128). Kapuas River, the longest river in Indonesia, flows through many areas in West Kalimantan. This river is an important asset and is the main livelihood of the people in this province. Aside from being a transportation route, the Kapuas River supports the subsistence in terms of fishery products. Besides the Kapuas River, an essential access for trade and livelihood in the past, there are other vital rivers. To the north is the Sambas River, while to the south, there are the Simpang and Pawan Rivers, each of which plays a role in the growth, settlement, and civilization along the areas passed by them (Kusnoto and Purmintasari 2018).

Geographically, the big island of Kalimantan, with an area of 754,000 km<sup>2</sup>, is

strategically located in the central position in Island Southeast Asia. The advanced state and good position of the Malacca Strait blocked the traders, and Kalimantan did not become the main trade route. Historically, the Malacca Strait hindered the chance of Kalimantan to become the accompanying role in trade activities dominated by Java in the south and Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula in the southwest. Despite its large size, the development of Borneo did not play a significant role in various fields of business (Gin 2011, 1).

During the pre-colonial period, archaeological finds show a continuous habitation place at Niah Cave in the northeast of this island, which covers a period of 40,000 to 2000 years BP. The active Santubong on the southwest coast was once an ancient harbor and iron smelting location (c. 6th or 7th century AD). In the Hindu-Buddhist period (early 13th century AD), Kalimantan had much Indian-style government. It seems as if the Martapura Kingdom (Kutai's predecessor), located in the present-day Muara Kaman, at the confluence of the downstream of the Mahakam River and the Kedang River, was the earliest formal government. Artifacts, including the Pallawa scripts (c. 300 AD) and stone carvings, reveal strong Indian influence (Gin 2011, 5). The report of Muller (1843) and H.L. Roth revealed the discovery of the Sampei Stone Inscription in the Kapuas watershed, which records the sacred journey of a figure. In Pait Hamlet, Sanggau Regency, the Batu Pait Inscription contains Buddhist mantras in the Pallawa script in Sanskrit. Research in the Sepauk estuary (1977) found artifacts of Shiva Mukha Lingga, Nandi Statue, and brick fragments (Yogi 2017, 10–12).

In 1877, some areas in the watershed of Kapuas attracted the attention of archaeological institutions. Several remains from the regencies of Kapuas Hulu (upstream Kapuas), Sintang, and Sanggau suggest a long history of settlement and inhabitation in this area. Various remains, from prehistoric stone tools and fragments of statues to inscriptions, indicate that there were elements

of Indian culture within this area. Without a doubt, remains from the later periods, among others, remains of small kingdoms like Sintang Palace, Sekadau Palace, and Ngabang Palace, can still be retraced from previous investigations (Nitihaminoto, Armeini, and Kosasih 1977).

Like the areas in Borneo or Kalimantan in general, in the course of history, some kingdoms grew and developed, like the kingdoms of Tayan (Tayan), Meliouw (Meliau), Sanggouw (Sanggau), Blitang, Sepouw (Sepau), Sintang, and Melawi. Non-agricultural products comprised different percentages of the flagship commodities traded from these areas. These included forest products like jintan or jinten (caraway seeds?), damar resin used in Javanese batik, white damar (*Vateria indica*), Menkabang, gom, gahroe (gaharu or agarwood), oil- and powder-producing plants such as Tengkawang, lakka wood, wild nutmeg, wild cinnamon or Lawang bark, seraja wood, as well as medicinal vines and Trankenam root. There was also much wood, especially merbouw (merbau) and kladan, which are goods as the material for building boats/ships (Veth 1854, xlv,7,123).



Fig. 1 The locations of the kingdoms of Tayan, Sanggau, and Sintang along the Kapuas River in 1899 (Source: KITLV)

Considering the many kingdoms along the watershed of the Kapuas River, namely Pontianak, Kubu, Tayan, Meliau, Sanggau, Sekadau, and Sintang, the kingdoms in the Kapuas Hulu (Upstream Kapuas) area, this article will use three kingdoms as samples. Malay communities are well represented in kingdom settlements, as indicated by the

presence of palaces ruled by Panembahan, a title generally ranked lower than King.

## Method

In general, the study in this article combines two types of primary data, which are archaeological and historical. That way, the lack of data in one source can be supported by data from the other source. In theory, the method is a combination of written data and material data (artifacts). The combination of words and objects, or texts and artifacts from historical archaeology, is sometimes also linked with issues about colonialism and capitalism. With the historical archaeology approach, the themes regarding the existence of different social groups can be more systematically studied based on the material culture, supported by documentary data, which may be very limited (Hall and Silliman 2006; Renfrew and Bahn 2000). In a broader sense, Economic archaeology explores the economic systems of ancient peoples, analyzing how they managed resources and organized their societies (Feinman 2008, 114–16).

In terms of data, this study uses three sites to exemplify the existence of the communities in West Kalimantan. We hope the habitation center sites of Tayan, Sanggau, and Sintang can provide data to explain how Malay, Chinese, and European communities interacted economically. This study examines the reciprocal relations among community groups regarding the commodities they exchanged. Additionally, this study will observe general settlement patterns that emerged as different ethnic groups inhabited the study sites. We will also examine socio-economic stratification and diverse social organizations, focusing on how access to resources and wealth varied.

In the view of Karl Polanyi (1944), the distribution of goods in ancient societies can be divided into three main models: reciprocity, in which exchanges occur between individuals or groups directly; redistribution, where goods are collected by a central authority to then

redistributed; and market exchange, which involves buying and selling goods at market prices. Colin Renfrew (1984) expanded this concept by offering more complex distribution models, including direct access, in which producers and consumers interact without intermediaries; Chain exchanges involving goods moving from one group to another; and redistribution centers and markets as the central meeting point for trade. He also highlighted trade through intermediaries and trade representatives, as well as the role of colonies and trade ports as essential nodes in the global distribution network of the past. These models reveal the complexity of the ancient economic networks that connected different societies in a dynamic trading system.

Reciprocity, settlement pattern, and socio-economic stratification are parts of the Economic Archaeology study (Feinman 2008, 114–20). It is difficult to clearly explain all that occurred in the studied areas due to limited archaeological data, even though data from historical resources have supported it. Inter-community conflicts, political intrigues, and pressure exerted by one group on another often complicate these relationships. Therefore, hopefully, we will learn some essential lessons by understanding the various forms of inter-community interactions along the watershed area of the Kapuas River, particularly at the sites of Tayan, Sanggau, and Sintang. We must learn and preserve the local wisdom of old communities to minimize conflict among different groups.

## Results and Discussions

The Development of Trade and Settlements of Various Groups of Society

The human ecology of Kalimantan is varied. It is an ethnographic depiction of the Kalimantan inhabitants. We divided them into two categories. The first category is Moslem Malays and non-Moslem Dayaks. The two ethnic groups are important parts of Kalimantan. The second category is non-natives, who have been migrated there for centuries until the last several decades.

They consist of South Asian people who brought Indian influence and people from West Asia, China, and Europe.

The 'Malay' ethnic group is challenging to identify, but one of the characteristics during the period is that they were Moslems. The other attributes are their unique language and traditional practices. In Kalimantan, we define Malays by their places of origin: Brunei, Sarawak, Banjar, Kapuas, or Bulungan. There were also non-native Moslems, backed mainly by trade, such as Malays from the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, Java, Madura, and Sulawesi, who had migrated and lived along the coast of Kalimantan. Mixed marriages have often obscured individual identity and cultural norms. The Malays mostly settled in Kampong (village). They practiced wet rice cultivation, caught fish in the sea or river, and worked at small-scale people's plantations.

Asian immigrants to Kalimantan mainly came from China and India. Early Chinese immigrants to Kalimantan were gold miners with self-governed miner settlements. Traders' communities were established in almost every township throughout Kalimantan, mainly before the Pacific War (1941 – 1945). The Chinese people monopolized the commercial settlement life in both the coastal and interior areas. They were also involved in commercial agriculture. We also found small clusters of Hindu and Muslim Indian communities in most Kalimantan cities. Textiles and spices were the flagship commodities of the Indian communities. Initially, the Arabs from West Asia came to Kalimantan as traders, married Moslem Malay women, and settled there. In the socio-economic stratification, they belonged to the small trader group. Until recently, the Chinese people have been the most important minority group in Kalimantan (Gin 2011, 3–4).

In the last three months of the 18th century AD, the kingdom of Pontianak established itself in West Kalimantan, particularly the Kapuas Watershed. The Dutch backed it up because they saw the prospect of economic profit. So, the

Dutch colonization began. Sjarif Abdurrahman established the Sultanate of Pontianak in the early 1770s, partly helped by the Vereenigde Oost Indische Compagnie (East India Company), which took advantage of the progress of the new trade center. It is also an alternative to avoid excessive tax by the Sultan of Sambas (Gin 2011, 7–8).

After 1750, demand for Southeast Asia increased, and people sold it in China or Europe. Afterward, there was a community of producers in Southeast Asia. The European and Chinese people intensified their involvement in these activities. Stable demand from China for forest products during 1750 and 1850 and seafood to satisfy the Chinese consumers played a significant role in the silver value trade. Such goods created trade in the South China Sea and the Pacific after opium significantly increased, then declined after 1820. Also, Southeast Asia exported seaweed, sea cucumber, shark fins, bird's nests, sandalwood, Kalimantan's camphor, and tortoise shells. (Chan 2016, 112). To obtain profit from the extensive market of China, the Kalimantan people who lived in the interior mountainous area began to collect more forest products for Chinese consumers, including bee's wax, Kalimantan camphor, and bird's nest (Chan 2016, 114).

There are some uncertainties about the time European people visited Kalimantan. Some scholars appreciate a Portuguese man, Lorenzo de Gomez, who paid attention to Kalimantan in 1518. He sailed to China with Saint Sebastian. However, according to de Barros, Kalimantan was not discovered until 1626 by a Portuguese named Don Jorge do Menezes on his way to the Moluccas. The following year, he sent Vasco Lourenso to Kalimantan to explore the island further and establish trade relations (Veth 1854, xxxiii). This island had become where advanced trade and political systems developed since the 13th century AD. Its valuable forest products – rattan, ironwood, diamond, bird's nest, gum patch – are part of an essential people's ecology' that stimulated local and inter-insular trades.

Borneo, or Kalimantan, was a pretty big habitation place and venue for activities before the arrival of a small number of Spanish and Portuguese people in the 16th century AD and British and Dutch people in the 18th and 19th centuries AD. Information about the activities of the European people is limited. Only the Chinese arrived in reasonably large numbers, though authorities strictly controlled them. Its group also became a kind of power in intensifying agriculture or encouraging trade growth and developing the social organization, material culture, and role of immigrants, particularly Chinese immigrants (Cleary and Lian 1991, 166–68).

The fall of Malacca to the Portuguese in 1511, to a certain extent, is thought to be the trigger of the shift of the trade center. That allowed the Moslem traders from India, who deliberately shifted their commercial activities to the Moslem Malay Sultanate, and it benefited the Sultanates of Brunei and Banjarmasin because of trade escalation. The Chinese traders also preferred the southern part of Kalimantan to the Melacca harbor, which the Portuguese dominated. The escalation of commercial wealth affects the shift of the Sultanate's activity center from the upstream to the delta of the Barito River during the mid-16th century AD. During this period, Kutai, under the influence of the more dominant Banjarmasin, also became prosperous in the 16th–17th centuries AD due to the trade of forest products from the upstream area of the Kapuas River. The Bugis people from South Sulawesi had a long trade relationship with Kutai and the east coast in the 8th century AD, as shown by the Bugis' substantial habitation places along the east periphery area of Kalimantan. On the west coast, a coastal trade center of Pontianak emerged at the estuary area of the Kapuas River in 1772. Syarif Abdurrahman, an Arab pirate of mixed blood, established this commercial settlement to give attention to the profitable stream from precious metals like gold, diamond, and forest products from the interior part to the Kapuas River (Gin 2011, 6).

Furthermore, if we look into the location of the objects of study in this article, like the growth of the new center of power and trade at Tayan, Sanggau, and Sintang, they were the effect of the change and shift of the trade center. The emergence and rise of Tayan, Sanggau, and Sintang were the benefits caused by an increase in trade in those areas. They built the ruling center of Tayan at Bukit Rayang with a beautiful view. The Dayak people played a significant role in the construction work. The ruler of Tayan also felt the need to protect the assets of its precious forest products, namely various plants, including Tengkawang (Shorea or Borneo tallow nuts), that grew abundantly around the Bukit Rayang area. The ruler also believed that Tayan should cooperate with the Dutch by building Dutch fortresses in locations where the palace was situated (see Figure 6c). However, in line with the increase in the well-being and profit of the kingdom, the ruler of the Malay Moslem Kingdom of Tayan followed in the footsteps of other kingdoms to get closer to the main trade route along the Kapuas River. The Tayan Palace then moved to the downstream area of the Tayan River, at the confluence area between the estuary and the Kapuas River (see Figures 2 and 6a). At this new location, the Dutch placed a controller and built a salt warehouse on Tayan Island in the middle of the Kapuas River. The Dutch also needed to appoint a Chinese Kapitan (Captain) because of the importance of goods that the Chinese traders from their kingdom brought. Tayan Island became a densely inhabited Chinese settlement (see Figures 2 and 6b).

An exciting thing about Tayan concerning the Malay ethnic group is that there was once a period of small-scale sugarcane cultivation. The owner of the small sugar factory was Wan Hassan (which indicates that he was a Malay). The planting and processing of sugarcane produced 100 sticks (2.2 pikol or 301.4 lbs.) of sugarcane that the Dayak workers drew to the small sugar factory. The Tayan people were also famous for producing palm sugar, later known as goela Tajan (Tayan sugar) (Veth 1854, 56).

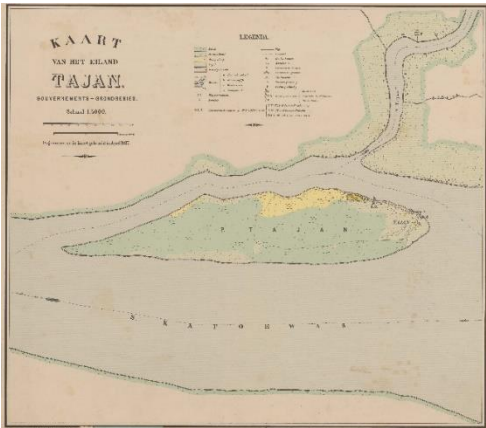


Figure 2. Situation at the center of the Sanggau Kingdom in 1888 (source: KITLV)

The kingdom city of Rayang, a beautiful place ruled by a Panembahan, contained fifteen houses. As mentioned, the Dayaks assisted in the construction. About 500 Dayak people lived there, but their frequent movement and dispersal meant maps rarely showed their permanent settlements. The population of Tayan was 4584 individuals, including 8 Arabs, 500 Malays and Buginese, and 176 Chinese, while the rest 3,900 were the Dayaks (Veth 1854, 42–43). Kalimantan is rich in natural sources. There are a small amount of minerals around Tjepedeh (Cepedeh), which is part of Tayan territory. There are also diamonds around the Ingis Atas (Upper Ingis) River, Sanggau, and a little gold in Sintang (Veth 1854, 51). From the surveys and excavations at Rayang Site, the former kingdom city of Tayan at the upper course of the Tayan River and the Tayan Site at the lower course of the same river, around the confluence of Tayan and Kapuas rivers, there are many finds. Results of the surveys show the existence of a Dutch fortress mentioned in the historical source and the remains of settlement activities, such as fragments of ceramics, potsherds, iron cannons, and cemeteries (Sarjiyanto and Inagurasi 2018, 71–88; Sunarningsih and Nurtanti Cahyaningtyas 2021).

Like in Tayan, Sanggau, as an area and ruling center, also experienced the same impact due to trade progress in Kalimantan. Sanggau, an old kingdom claimed to have originated from the 14th century AD, is located relatively far at Kapuas, farther up from Tayan. That is called Istana Kuta (Kuta Palace), which is older than the other two palaces. Since around 1740, Sanggau has had two branches of palaces, Kuta Palace and Beringin Palace, and has taken turns being the Sultan. The Kuta Palace was initially built by Sultan Zainuddin (1722 – 1741). The Sultanate was dissolved in 1960, and the palace was found in a badly damaged condition in the 1980s. Now it is called Kraton Surya Kerajaan. It was renovated in 2009, and Pangeran Ratu H. Gusti Arman Surya Kerajaan was appointed as the new Sultan of Sanggau. The complex has several buildings: Rumah Darat, Rumah Laut, Rumah Balai, Rumah Penghulu, and Rumah Wredhana.

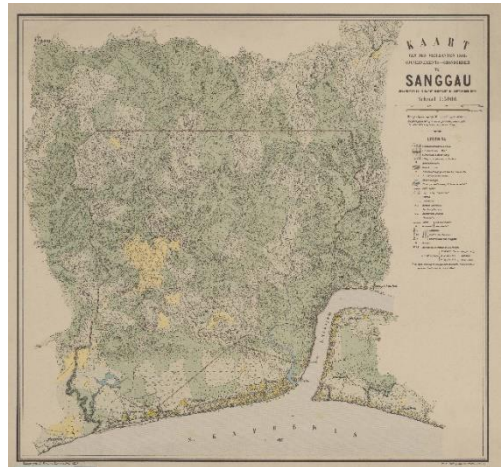


Figure 3. Situation at the center of the Sanggau Kingdom in 1890 (Source: KITLV)

Rumah Darat stores historical collections, including royal costumes, royal umbrellas, kris, royal stamps, musical instruments, manuscripts, and photographs. Although this palace can be visited, it is not a museum for the general public

(Sellato 2015, 151). Sanggouw or Sanggau was a respected "branch" kingdom, with a population of nearly 50,000 people, including more than 5,000 Malay and Buginese people and several hundred Chinese people, while the rest were Dayak. The old habitation center of Sanggau sits on the right bank of the Kapuas River. (figure 5). At the final phase of its ruling period, Sanggau controlled the area up to the valley of the tributary of a big river named Sekajam. It is estimated that there were about 120 houses in Sanggau. Like other developing kingdoms in Kalimantan, Tayan's capital and the ruler's residence were protected by high ironwood palisades. On top of them, at certain distances, there are small rectangular cupolas with protruding roofs. They functioned as watchtowers and guard posts during artillery wars. In Sanggau, traders inhabited some houses on lantings (rafts). The second village, which was relatively big, Samarangkai, had 57 houses and was lower in the Kapuas area. The third village, Merengkiang or Mongkiang, has 34 houses and is located near the Sekajam River's confluence and another river's tributary. The Sanggau territory extended to the entire Sekajam River valley, stretching from the upper course to the banks of the Kapuas River. (Veth 1854, 43–44).

More or less, the same thing happened at the Sintang Trade Center. Sintang is a vital kingdom in the interior part of Kalimantan, at the confluence of a river from Melawi and Kapuas Rivers in West Kalimantan (see figures 4 and 5). A vital kingdom in the interior part of Kalimantan, early Sintang, was established before the 15th century AD and was in succession until the 17th century AD. It became a sultanate at the end of the 17th century AD until the sultanate system was abolished in 1959. In 1959, the Dutch abolished the palace and moved it to a new location. The Dutch played a role in Al-Mukarramah Palace, now located across the Kapuas River from the city of Sintang, at a place named Kaja Raja (Kaya Raya, which means "very rich"). It was built in 1937 by the Dutch for

the new Sultan, Panembahan Muhammad Jamaluddin, and comprises three main buildings with embedded ironwood pillars, an asbestos ceiling, and a shingle roof made of ironwood. Near this palace is the royal cemetery, and right downstream is the old wooden mosque named Masjid Jami' Sultan Nata. The palace's main building was turned into the Dara Juanti Museum (around 1970) and was renovated in 1985. The local government manages the Dara Juanti Museum as a Cultural Heritage Monument and displays the collections of the former rulers. On display are Garuda (mythical bird, the symbol of the kingdom), weaponry, brass objects, ceramic urns, paintings and photographs of kings from the olden days, musical instruments (like gamelan), bronze cannons, and rough stone lingam named Batu Kundur Sintang (Kundur Sintang Stone) (Sellato 2015, 140). The following palaces are Panembahan Palace, built in the 1860s, and the enormous Al-Mukarramah Palace, built in 1937. The Al-Mularramah Palace is made of wood in the "Melayu" style, on stilts (rumah panggung), with a large verandah that functions as a meeting hall. Kompeni (a popular term for the Dutch East India soldiers) promised to help reconquer apostate provinces like Sanggau, Sintang, Lewei, Pertobatan, and other provinces that were against the kingdom, in exchange for 160 pikol of bird's nest, the value of which was 340 tail of gold (Veth 1854, xlii).

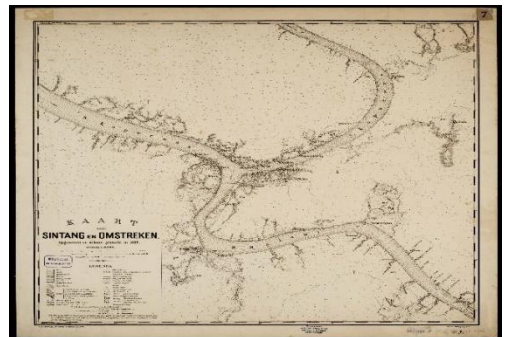


Figure 4. The situation of the center of the Sintang Kingdom in 1888 (Source: KITLV)

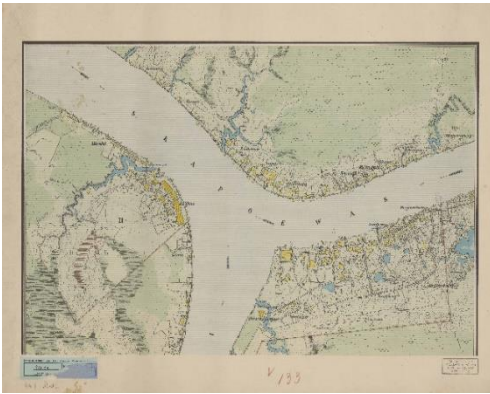


Figure 5. Detail of the settlement area of the center of the Sintang Kingdom in 1888 (Source: KITLV)

Now, we come to the most important and vast extent of the Kapuas River, the Kapuas Hulu (Upper Kapuas) to the north of Sintang, which covers the basin from the lower part of Melawi. Its population consisted of approximately 4500 Malays, 15 Arabs, 519 Chinese, and also about 52,000 Dayak people, including the people along the Seberoeang (Seberuang) River, which, although separated by Silat and Sintang, had conquered the princes from the last kingdom. Therefore, the number can be as high as 56,854 individuals. Sintang was built at the confluence of the Melawi and Kapuas rivers and consisted of 140 houses. It was protected almost in the same manner as Sanggau. Many traders depended on lantings (rafts), which also served at their homes. The prince of Sintang has the title of Pangeran Depati but has placed the management in Pangeran Ratoe (Pangeran Ratu). The Pangeran (= prince) had a palace in the central city, but he usually stayed at Nanga Kajan in the Melawi River area.

Sintang was not unimportant as a trading place, and due to the richness of its natural resources, it might have been essential if the worst system of government had not burdened it with sources developed by many parties. Its big navigable rivers were not merely crucial in trade as the means of transportation but also provided

abundant fish. Rivers were an essential means of life for the population. The lavishness of salt was also profitable. From the deep mountain crevices, the Dayaks took a black bird's nest that they sold to Pangeran Ratoe from Sintang at a low price. Bee's wax, which they collected in hundreds of pikol, was a significant commodity from this kingdom. There was also clean rice from profitable from good harvest. Rattan of the best quality, very thin and can be folded almost like ropes, grew lavishly for the most part along the Melawi River. Miners extracted the best quality gold from several locations. Blimbing, a Melawi River tributary, contains iron ore, while the Katungouw River holds whetting stone. Pineo sail stone existed there, and at Menjurei, above Sintang, potters crafted cooking pots (tabur ayam) and an excellent earthenware stove called cengkrang (Veth 1854, 48–49).

#### The Forms of Economic Interactions among Groups and Their Implications

The forms of economic interactions or trade among the groups are very complex. In it were family networks and royal politics. However, the network of royal politics, which sometimes involved family relationships, did not always run smoothly. Between the lower and upper courses of the Kapuas River, residential centers emerged as hubs where European, Chinese, and Malay communities lived and competed for profits from various forms of exchange and trade. That follows Polanyi's statement about the concept of distribution of goods in the past, which stated that various forms or distribution models are increasingly developing. Renfrew further emphasized that when society is increasingly complex (Polanyi 1944; Renfrew 1984)

Until recently, we could still find traces of those ethnic groups. At Kapuas Hulu (the upper course area of Kapuas), there are plenty of immigrants, mainly Chinese, for instance, at the central markets of interior cities like Selimbau, Sintang, Silat, Semitau, Suhaid, Jongkong, Bunut, and Putussibau (Prasojo 2017, 208–9). The presence of Chinese ethnic groups is now part of the continuing long history of trade



relationships between the Dayak people, who master the work of collecting forest products, the Malay rulers, prosperous Malay traders, and also Chinese and European communities that involved in more extensive trade, bringing with them the forest products to the international world. Bird's nests are an essential commodity for Chinese consumers, traded with the royal family's needs, such as cannons and ceramic plates. With the Europeans, the royal family exchanged metal furniture and weaponry. An important thing from the Europeans, mainly the Dutch, is a guarantee of assistance from stronger hegemonies like Banjarmasin and Pontianak.

An exciting example of interaction between ethnic groups in western Kalimantan involves the Iban Dayak and other inhabitants. Their relationship combined raiding (hunting) and trade. The early oral notes and stories focus more on the shift of relation between the tiny kingdom of Melayu (Malay) at the upper part of the Kapuas River. The hilly border areas became the protection zone to escape from these kingdoms. Although the group was never directly under the regime of the small kingdoms, the Iban group was frequently involved in trade and alliance with the Malay rulers. The Malay kingdoms allied with the Iban to put pressure on the other groups that they wanted to conquer. The Malay rulers did not measure their power in terms of territorial ownership. Instead, rulers focused on the amount of tribute their subjects paid. By refusing to pay tribute, the Iban people earned the name "free Dayaks" (Dayak Mahardeka), independent of any authority. That contrasted with the Serah Dayak people, who paid tribute to the Malay Country. Serah is a type of forced labor in which the exchange value is profitable for the Malays (Eilenberg 2014, 3).

In the 1840s – 1850s, a series of letters of concern about the intrusion of a British colonialist, James Brooke, into the border between the lower and upper (Kapuas) areas were sent by the Resident of West Kalimantan to the Governor General of the Dutch Indies, and then forwarded to the Colonial Minister. Those

letters were asking for additional soldiers to be placed near the border with Sarawak to check the influence of James Brooke on the Dayaks who lived at the border. In particular, the cross-border trade of salt and firearms. That was one of the illegal trades that attracted the attention of the Dutch the most. The arms trade was a military threat, while the salt trade was an economic threat because it would reduce tax income. Those were the two items of trade that could be bought far cheaper in Sarawak than through trade with the Dutch. Rifles and gunpowder were frequently smuggled or illegally traded (Eilenberg 2014, 4; Irwin 1955, 101).

We take the Tayan Kingdom as the case sample, which ruled from 1687 to 1965. Initially, it was located at Bukit Rayang, towards the upper course of the Tayan River. Then, it moved to the river's estuary, by the Kapuas River's banks (Sitio 2018, 400,404; Sunarningsih and Nurtanti Cahyaningtyas 2021, 73–76). The reciprocal relation that occurred at the trade center area of Tayan can be seen in the data obtained from the field research.

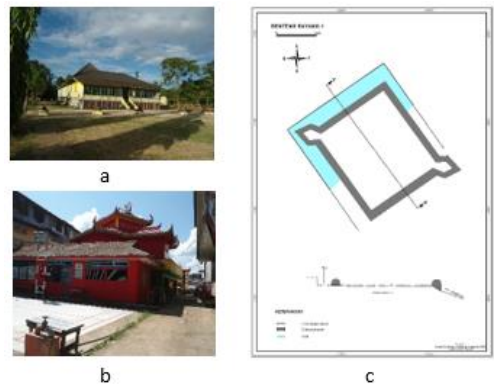


Figure 6: (a) the Tayan Palace near the confluence of the Kapuas and Tayan rivers; (b) one of the Chinese temples (kelenteng) on Tayan Island; (c) the floor plan of the Dutch fortress at Bukit Rayang, drawn by Mujiono (Source: Sarjiyanto – Puslit Arkenas 2016)

The existence of a fortress is evidence of the reciprocal exchange of trade commodities from Tayan with a guarantee of additional power and safety from the pressure of stronger kingdoms, among others, Pontianak. Other clusters, such as European and Chinese habitation clusters, emerged around this government center. The presence of several identity groups at the exact location also suggests mutually beneficial relations among those inhabitants.

From the point of settlement pattern, the centers of power and trade are located at the confluence of the Kapuas River and its tributaries. The Malay, Chinese, European, and Dayak ethnic groups implement this pattern. However, each group executed it specifically per its norms and culture. Dayak long houses (*rumah panjang*) are characterized by the number of doors/ house parts. The arrangement of a Malay house consists of two parts, namely the main house and the supporting house. The Dayak long house only has one large room. The primary orientation of the traditional houses in Kalimantan is a river. Rivers were the main transportation routes in the olden days, and they interconnected villages or cities in Kalimantan. However, the facade's primary orientation of traditional Malay houses is not a river. For the Malay people, a river is an element that supports their lives. Rivers for the Malays and other ethnic groups in Kalimantan are the source of life and are beneficial for survival (Zam and Andi 2020, 28).

The trade pattern, dominated by luxurious goods with specific production and market zones or unprocessed forest products, is a typical pre-colonial pattern with an economy outside the global market. The traditional collection and marketing network, with distinctive spatial and ethnic characteristics, distributed these forest products to coastal ports, where Chinese and Malay traders sold them to regional markets in the context of Kalimantan. The distribution model of goods, services, and locations is increasingly developing and becoming more complex (Renfrew 1984). The capitalist's

intervention was at the level of trade through trading companies instead of the production network. Foreign consumers were provided.

Historically, the trade of forest products has long been the main component of Kalimantan's economy (Cleary 1996, 303–4), and the Dayak ethnic group is the best collector of forest products like damar resin, camphor, bird's nest, bee's wax, and rattan to be sold to Chinese traders and Malay peddlers: 1. Collectors – usually the ethnic group from the interior areas; 2. Primary traders are usually the ethnic group from the interior areas that collect products and, in some cases, sell the goods to (or exchange them with) other ethnic groups. The ethnic group was related to the secondary traders; 3. Secondary traders – Chinese and Malays- usually found along rivers or coastal areas in ecological junctions; 4. Tertiary Traders – usually Chinese, mainly located at harbors (ports) and directly involved in the international trade of forest products (Cleary 1996, 304–7; Renfrew 1984). □



Figure 7: (a) the Sanggau Palace in 1977; (b) Masjid Jamik Sanggau (Jamik Mosque of Sanggau), a representation of the Maritime Malay Kingdom; (c) some cannons with carvings of Chinese dragon, collection of the

Sanggau Palace (Sources: Berita Penelitian Arkeologi No. 6, Pusat Penelitian Purbakala dan Peninggalan Nasional, 1977; Sarjiyanto – Puslit Arkenas, 2018).



a



b



c

Figure 8: (a) Sintang Palace in 1977; (b) the big house of the Dutch Contoleur (Controller) in ?; (c) one of the Chinese temple (kelenteng) by the banks of the Kapuas River, Sintang, in 2009

(Sources: Berita Penelitian Arkeologi No. 6, Pusat Penelitian Purbakala dan Peninggalan Nasional, 1977; Fridus Steijlen, KITLV, 2009).

The Dutch took advantage of the family split, which decreased business activities. Pangeran Tayan (the Prince of Tayan), who was staying in Tayan, the three-hour trip from our site, moved to the interior, and it required many policies to maintain peace with the prince and his family. In Sanggau, the royal family was far more accommodating, but both here and in Sekadau, there were huge splits between their families and the royal family.

At that time, the Tayan Province rebelled against Pontianak, and the Sultan asked the Dutch to help calm the rebellion. Major Muntinghe, with the Ambon Army Company, placed himself as the head of the Sultan's troops. In a very short time, the order was restored in Tayan. The Dutch took control of the Kapuas estuary. Under the pretext of offering help and guarantee of safety to make it easier to obtain trade commodities, the British, through James Brooke, visited Panembahan Sanggau (the ruler of Sanggau) on 2 April 1845 (Irwin 1955, 50,57,157). The largeness of the Sanggau Palace, the Jamik Mosque of Sanggau, and the large amount and denseness of the villages are evidence of the advancement and prosperity of this area. Cannons with Chinese decorative designs and various ceramic objects that were the collection of the former kingdom of Sanggau are the evidence and types of objects exchanged with commodities from Sanggau (see figures 7a, 7b, and 7c).

The coming of Europe to the interior of West Kalimantan, in particular, was far too late. For instance, Sintang's election as the capital was quite improper. In 1846, the interior part of Kalimantan was unknown. No white people have crossed that area yet from one side to another from any direction. Sintang did not function as an administration headquarters. Not many Dutch officials had permanently resided there (Irwin 1955, 158). Its palace is not quite extensive, and

its move from across the river to the present location shows the unstable condition of the Sintang Palace. However, its potency of production can still be seen from the rise of this location with Malay, Chinese, and European settlements (figures 4, 5, 8a, 8b, 8c).

## Conclusion

Initially, various ethnic groups, mainly Malay and Dayak, traded usually, and sometimes they lived temporarily on lanting (rafts). When the trade center changed, its constellation also changed, triggered, among others, by the fall of the Malay trade center of Malacca to the Portuguese in 1511, which caused the trade center to move to another place. The Chinese and Europeans considered the prospect of production and trade activities in Kalimantan.

In the context of the watershed area, the new kingdom of Pontianak emerged due to increased trade and profit, which brought prosperity to this area. This condition affected the upstream area of the Kapuas River. Then, new kingdoms (centers of power) emerged on a smaller scale. The new kingdoms also indicated the increasing growth of trade activities. So, the desire to be independent of the influence of more prominent kingdoms triggered relationships of mutual suppression to acquire more profit.

Several conflicts, suppressions, and violence occurred among the kingdoms to control each other, although it was not explicitly discussed here. Fortunately, to a specific limit, it could be resolved with mutually beneficial relationships. Because of the interdependent situation, they lived harmoniously in the same governmental and residential centers. They performed economic activities together and revived local governments during the 17th–19th centuries AD.

Both historical and archaeological evidence support the assumption that there were relationships among the different ethnic groups, particularly the Dayaks, which are the native ethnic group, Malay, European, and Chinese. There are also other ethnic groups like the Arabs, Buginese, and Javanese ethnic groups, but unfortunately, the physical data and archaeological evidence that such conditions occurred have not been sufficient.

Finally, as a hope to preserve the historic plant diversification and the dynamic of relationships among the ethnic groups, which now is dominated by the Dayaks, Malays, and Chinese, it is high time to study the remaining cultural heritages and to establish a center for cross-cultural studies, which can also be used as a learning center for the majority ethnic group that still exists until recently.

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