

MENKABONG, NORTH BORNEO IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Mengkabong, Borneo Utara pada Abad Ke-18

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Abstract

This article aims to offer a glimpse into Mengkabong's history in the eighteenth century. The goal is to focus on the history of Mengkabong through anecdotes obtained from the natives. Mengkabong is historically notable since it served as the major naval base during the reign of Sultan Omar Ali Saifudin I. Furthermore, the discussions offer some light on two major groups of people in Mengkabong (*Dusun Lotud* and *Bajau*) as well as *Raja Tua's* role. During the eighteenth century, the title *Raja Tua* referred to the representative of the Sultanates of Brunei who held the highest administrative position in Mengkabong. Apart from the military, he was also in charge of the administration and welfare of the society. The data collected was from the primary and secondary sources. The discussions presented here are also based on fieldwork at derelict tombs and ancient forts in Mengkabong, as well as oral history and interviews. The study is essential in understanding North Borneo's early history before the arrival of western powers. Finally, this article provides some insight into the history of Mengkabong in the early history of Sabah.

Keywords: Mengkabong, *Raja Tua*, Sultan Omar Ali Saifuddin I, Dusun Lotud, Bajau

Abstrak

Makalah ini membincangkan sepintas lalu berhubung sejarah Mengkabong pada abad ke-18. Tujuan utama adalah untuk memperlihatkan latar belakang Mengkabong berasaskan kepada cerita daripada penduduk Mengkabong. Mengkabong mempunyai kepentingan di dalam sejarah kerana ia memainkan peranan penting sebagai pangkalan tentera laut terutama ketika pemerintahan Sultan Omar Ali Saifudin I. Selain itu artikel ini membincangkan tentang dua kumpulan etnik yang dominan di Mengkabong (Dusun Lotud dan Bajau) serta memfokuskan kepada peranan Raja Tua. Raja Tua pada abad ke-18 merujuk kepada wakil Kesultanan Brunei yang juga jawatan tertinggi di Mengkabong. Selain berperanan sebagai dalam bidang ketenteraan Raja Tua juga mengelolakan pentadbiran dan kebajikan masyarakat di Mengkabong. Kajian ini dijalankan dengan menggunakan sumber primer dan sumber sekunder. Perbincangan di dalam makalah ini juga berasaskan kepada maklumat yang

diperolehi semasa kajian lapangan yang dilakukan di makam dan kubur terbiar di Mengkabong serta maklumat yang diperolehi melalui sejarah lisan dan juga temuramah. Maklumat yang dikemukakan adalah penting dalam memberikan pemahaman mendalam berkaitan sejarah awal Borneo Utara sebelum kedatangan kuasa Barat. Kesimpulannya, makalah ini memberikan maklumat yang mendalam berhubung Mengkabong dalam perkembangan sejarah awal Sabah.

Kata Kunci: *Mengkabong, Raja Tua, Sultan Omar Ali Saifuddin I, Dusun Lotud, Bajau*

INTRODUCTION

Mengkabong is the oldest settlement on North Borneo's west coast. This article focuses on the Mengkabong in the eighteenth century under the Sultanates of Brunei. *Raja Tua* was appointed by the Sultan of Brunei to be in charge of Mengkabong. In terms of authoritative organisations in Mengkabong, *Raja Tua* held the highest rank. During this period of study, Sultan Omar Ali Saifudin I also appointed *Raja Tua* to take charge of the naval defence of the Mengkabong region against the *Illanun* and *Balingingi* people. In fact, *Raja Tua* established his main stronghold in Pulo Dallas that was the first settlement prior to Mengkabong. During the reign of Sultan Omar Ali Saifudin I, Pengiran Temenggung Amirul Faza Abdul Momin bin Pengiran Bendahara Anak Untong was appointed to serve as *Raja Tua* in Mengkabong. Evidently, Mengkabong rose to be prominent in North Borneo as a result of *Raja Tua*'s abilities. He excelled not only in military, but also in maintaining peace among the inhabitants of Mengkabong. Moreover, he commanded the armed forces of two ethnic groups (*Dusun Lotud* and *Bajau*) and also trained his offspring, namely, Embo Ilang, Embo Pat, Embo Kudrat, and Embo Anting (see Appendix 1) to assist him in the administration of Mengkabong. The discussions that follow are intended to depict Mengkabong prior to the arrival of the British.

THE BACKGROUND OF MENKABONG

Mengkabong is presently part of the Tuaran district, the West Coast Division of Sabah, Malaysia. Understanding the history of Mengkabong is crucial because of the controversy pertaining to the ownership of an area called Karambunai. It is the result of changing borders following the transfer of rights from the Brunei Sultanates to the British North Borneo Company in 1891.¹ Evidently, previous studies suggested that Mengkabong was ceded and transferred to British in the nineteenth century.² Therefore, the purpose of this article is to present the history of Mengkabong before it was handed over to British by the Brunei sultanates. In fact, the information is crucial to mitigate foreigners' version of the history of this area. Ultimately, Sidek and Bala mentioned that the name 'Mengkabong' was used before the nineteenth century as a colony under the administration of the Sultanate of Brunei.³ Sidek and Bala also illustrated in details the historical development that occurred during three different reigns: Brunei Sultanates, British North Borneo Company and Malaysia.⁴

In general, it is difficult to identify the origin of Mengkabong because multiple tales have been told and shared by the residents. Nevertheless, some suggest that the name 'Mengkabong' comes from the word *Pokok Nibong* (*Oncosperma tigillarum*) that grows around the banks of Teluk Mengkabong in Suang Engkabong (River Engkabong). Meanwhile, some suggest that the name had a close connexion to the story of local warrior. In fact, Mengkabong was once known as Pulo Dallas.⁵ People in the area identify this location with the *Mandi Darah* (blood

bath) incident. The incident took place in the area of Bukit Kuta, located along the Suang Engkabong, known as Mengkabong presently.⁶ On the other hand, some local people of Mengkabong imply that Mengkabong is an abbreviation for *Mengka* and *Kabong*; *Mengka* literally means ship base and *Kabong* is the name of a *Dusun* warrior. On the contrary, some suggest that the name Mengkabong commemorates the warriors of the *Dusun* and *Bajau* communities. In fact, based on the history, *Dusun* and *Bajau* in Mengkabong were closed to each other after they took blood oath and were united under the spirit of brotherhood. Thus, throughout the history, they fought together against *Iranun* and *Balangingi* to end their illicit actions, such as hunting enslaved people and inciting battles near Suang Mengkabong (See Appendix 3).⁷ Overall, those stories shed some lights on the areas that was associated to Mengkabong in the eighteenth century. It also demonstrates about the people who were dominant in Mengkabong during the period of this study.

Information derived from an informant suggested that Mengkabong referred to a number of settlements in Suang Engkabong. It includes Kampung Pensurun, Ensoang, Keruman, Gerinsing, Belud Empalam, Torong Tembiluk (Buansa), Jembulang, and Saman.⁸ In addition, information derived from the official documents suggested that Mengkabong could be divided into three units. In fact, Tanjung Dallad, Dalas, or Suang Engkabong (today known as Mengkabong) were the main center for people of Mengkabong when the study was conducted. The administration unit was located in Sungai Tulin that included Mengkabong Sulaman, Tambalang, Darau, Menggatal, Inanam, Likas, Api, Simbulan, Tanjung Aru, Putatan, Kinarut, Kawang, Papar Penggalat Diki, and Pengalat Oyo. The other part of Mengkabong was known as Sungai Kuripan and covered the areas of Tempasuk, Abai, Pandasan, Ambong, and Tuaran.⁹ It is evident that Mengkabong was eminent in the west coast of North Borneo due to its role as a port for fishermen, merchant ships, and a war base (navy) during the rule of the Sultanate of Brunei in the eighteenth century.

The identification of Suang Mengkabong by Awang Zulkifli, Salleh, and Maskan is more rhetorical in nature. Based on excerpts from the interviews, Sabah's Mengkabong was formerly a renowned, spiritual, mystical, and historic village. Another urban legend informed that anyone entering the Suang Engkabong region with bad intentions would suffer from negative outcomes such as lost or develop health issues like stiffness and the like. The outsiders who were apprehended in Mengkabong, faced two possible outcomes: they would either be killed or released after swearing not to harm the Mengkabong people.¹⁰ The informants suggested that the latter rarely happened compared to the former.

The administration of Mengkabong was in the hand of Sharif and Pengiran descendants. They were the key people in the administration of Mengkabong in the early period of its existence.¹¹ This claim is supported by the ancient graves found in the cemeteries of Pulo Dallas, Belud Belanga, Senorob, Pulo Bengka, and Kampung Pensurun. It also reveals that the main hermitage area in Mengkabong is located near Pulo Dallas, the centre of the major naval base in the period under investigation. Furthermore, the Pengiran and Sharif graves survive in Pulo Senorob, Junkok, Belud Belanga, and Dallas. The graves of those leaders attest to the fact that Kampung Mengkabong was the first administrative and settlement centre on the entire west coast (See Appendix 2).¹²

Dusun and *Bajau* were two main ethnic groups in Mengkabong in the eighteenth century; *Dusun* is also referred to as *Dusun Lotud*. One of the strongholds of *Dusun Lotud* in Mengkabong was in *Indai*. In addition to their reputation for ferocity, *Dusun Lotud* was also known for their mystical and supernatural practises. In line with that characterization, *Dusun*

Lotud has a bloody history with their adversaries – *Illanun* – in Mengkabong and the surrounding. In the early history of Mengkabong, *Dusun Lotud* went up against *Illanun*, where beheading was the norm. The defeated *Illanun*'s head was thrown into the Tuaran River. Due to the depth of the animosity between *Dusun Lotud* and *Illanun*, the latter relocated from Mengkabong to Tempasuk.¹³

The other majority group in Mengkabong was the *Bajau* community. They are Muslims, but many of them possess a little knowledge of Islam. Nonetheless, they were committed to the obligation of fasting during Ramadhan.¹⁴ In terms of their origin, Forrest's notes indicated that they came from Johor, the east of the Straits of Melaka. In Mengkabong, *Bajau* build their houses at the mouth of the Suang Engkabong. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, *Bajau* communities also settled in Tempasuk and other areas along the west coast to the east coast of North Borneo. In fact, *Bajau* was portrayed as a notorious group of people in Mengkabong as they were always engaged in dreaded and skilled piracy activities. They were also depicted as a very determined group of people because they would grab all the opportunities that they encounter.¹⁵ This attitude lead some of the scholars to label *Bajau* as people who have problems in abiding to the law.¹⁶

Some *Bajau* were farmers who run and worked on farm, while the others raised cattle, horses and buffaloes. The majority of them earned their living as fishermen and traders. They sold sea products to the hinterland. Besides, they also sold salt, iron, clothes, tobacco, and rice.¹⁷ One of the sea products traded by the *Bajau* was sea cucumber that they would collect around the island of Banggi, a part of Brunei sultanates. Hence, *Bajau* who earned as traders frequently visited the island and conducted trade activities in the area. Nonetheless, as seen by repeated attacks throughout history, *Bajau* would not hesitate in attacking and slaughtering people of Banggi Island. In fact, in one of the attacks, they expelled men from the island and arrested women and children. Beautiful girls were sold because the *Bajau* people were convinced that maintaining them would harm their financial situations. In one occasion, a beautiful girl from Banggi Island who was in the middle of preparing for her wedding ceremony was captured and sold by *Bajau*.¹⁸ It shows that the *Bajau* people did not exercise the custom of looting that was practiced by other communities within the Sultanates of Brunei in that period of time. Even though the *Bajau* people attacked Banggi Island (the territory that belong to the Sultan of Brunei), they would not risk anything because Brunei authorities was on their side. A Brunei official even made a statement that they would love to take part in the attack launched by the *Bajau* people against the inhabitants of Banggi Island.¹⁹

Apart from farmers, fishermen and traders, some of the *Bajau* people served in the army. In fact, Forrest estimated that up to 2000 of them served in army forces.²⁰ Half of the army lived in Mengkabong, while the other stayed in various places in Suang Engkabong. For example 600 in Tempasuk, 400 in Pandasan and the rest from Abai, Ambong and Sulaman (See Appendix 3).²¹ They were known as the people who held very strong loyalty towards the local leaders in Mengkabong until the incident where the people of Mengkabong (namely *Dusun Lotud*) turned their back against *Bajau* from Johor.²² Nonetheless, the conflict between *Bajau* and *Dusun Lotud* was resolved when both of these communities' leaders agreed to collaborate. It was carried out through peace treaties and oaths between them. Besides, diplomatic marriages involving notable families were used to fortify the bonds between them.²³ The offspring from the diplomatic marriages emerged as the great and mighty warriors who remain loyal towards the Sultanate of Brunei. There are known as *Embo pat*, *Embo Kudrat*, *Embo Ilang* (*Embo*) and *Embo Tugu* (See Appendix 1).

To conclude, it is apparent that identifying the real origins of Mengkabong can be challenging because the sources and informants referred to in this article offer a divergent and diverse details. Nonetheless, the existence of numerous versions of the narrative about the origin of Mengkabong indicates the necessity for extensive investigation to discover the precise origin of Mengkabong. In terms of its demography, the inhabitants of Mengkabong comprise of people of many ethnic backgrounds. However, the *Dusun Lotud* and *Bajau* emerged as the dominating group; it comes from their involvement in military and commercial activities.



Figure 1.1. Mengkabong in 2009
Source: Google Maps, 2014

RAJA TUA: THE BACKBONE OF MENGCABONG

Raja Tua is a title given to the Sultanate of Brunei representative in Mengkabong. The discussion in this section is to manifest the role and contribution of *Raja Tua* in the North Borneo. In fact, a person who is entrusted into this position possesses a very special trait in terms of his personality and loyalty towards the sultan. For example, Abdul Momin Amirul Faza who was appointed as *Raja Tua* in Mengkabong willingly left Brunei to Mengkabong and participated in the war on the command of Sultan. He remained in Mengkabong and never returned to his family in Brunei as a part of his commitment to fulfil his responsibilities towards his position (for the name of his family, see Appendix 1).²⁴ *Raja Tua* Abdul Momin Amirul Faza was very significant in the history during the eighteenth century of Mengkabong. He succeeded in uniting all people regardless of their races, ethnics, and religions. Hence, His Majesty of Brunei also entrusted him to lead and guard in Suang Mengkabong with Brunei, *Bajau*, *Dusun*, *Kadazan*, *Iban* and *Dayak*.

Another remarkable and outstanding *Raja Tua* in Mengkabong was Ibni Pengiran Bendahara Seri Maharaja Permaisuar Anak Ampuan Untong Ibni Sultan Abdul Jalilul Jabbar. He served as the Admiral's temenggung in the waterways and coastlines of Suang Mengkabong. According to Sahar bin Haji Piassin, *Raja Tua* managed to sustain peace in Suang Mengkabong even when he was at the age of 50 or 60 years old. He remained as the famous leader of Suang Mengkabong because he was fearless, and strong.²⁵ As mentioned above, during the

administration of the Sultanate of Brunei, *Raja Tua* played a huge role in the administration. Apart from the area mentioned before, he was also responsible to maintain peace in Sungai Tulen and Sungai Kuripan, including Tempasuk, Abai, Pandasan, Ambong, Sulaman, Tuaran, Tambalang, Darau, Menggatal, Inanam, Likas, Api, Simbulan, Tanjung Aru, Putatan, Kinarut, Kawang and Penggalat Papar.²⁶

During the reign of Sultan Omar Ali Saifudin I, the eighteenth Sultan of Brunei, *Raja Tua* was summoned to fight *Balangingi* and *Illanun* in Suang Mengkabong. In this period of time, *Balangingi* and *Illanun* were considered as the enemies of Sultan Omar Saifudin I because they had a strong relationship with Sharif Usman, the Sultanate of Sulu and Magindanao.²⁷ According to Bianca and Hasbol, Sharif Usman had a very close relationship with Pengiran Yusof, who was reputed to be connected to the courtiers of the Sultanate of Brunei.²⁸ In fact, Sharif Usman was seen as a threat to Sultan Omar Ali Saifudin I because he wanted to extend his jurisdiction's land territory from Kota Marudu to the south of North Borneo by leveraging the Sulu Sultanate's authority.²⁹ The call for *Raja Tua* to fight against *Balangingi* and *Illanun* was also led by their illicit behaviour in Suang Engkabong. The villages of Suang Mengkabong were progressively overrun by the *Balangingi* and *Illanun* clans. They set fire to the locals' homes and forced them to flee with their families and animals.³⁰ The situation worsen as some family members of Suang Mengkabong residents were sold as slaves in a number of locations, including Tawi-Tawi and Jolo in the Philippines Archipelago (See Appendix 3).³¹ In order to weaken the influence of Sharif Usman, Sultan Omar Ali Saifudin I appointed a number of local nobles to dispute Sharif Usman in Kota Marudu. Meanwhile, *Raja Tua* himself led the groups and took all measures to cease Sharif Usman. In fact, people of Suang Engkabong were urged to join the Brunei army in order to launch an attack on the opponents of the Brunei Sultanate Government. Apart from this, he was also in charge of commanding the armed forces on land and at sea and led a powerful and feared navy at the time. In fact, his significant contributions and commitments towards the Sultan earned him the title 'King of the Sea'.³²

Part of the reasons for the success of *Raja Tua* in Mengkabong was the army. His army consisted of two ethnic groups namely *Dusun Lotud* and *Bajau*. The commitments and loyalty of the army helped *Raja Tua* to maintain his power in Mengkabong even though during the rocky period he was facing the threat from Sharif Usman and the Sultan of Sulu. In fact, *Raja Tua* repeatedly sent his son to command the troops to attack Sharif Usman, the Sultan of Sulu and Magindanao Sultan. The war took place in Philippines and Limbang, Mukah, Oya and Sambas areas in Sarawak.³³ Besides, he also trained his adopted son (Embu Kudrat) in polemology until he was appointed as a commander before he was enthroned as the Sultan of Maguindanao.³⁴ His involvement in the Philippines area led him to order his troops in Mengkabong to embark on a journey to fight against the Spanish in Maguindanao.³⁵

The aptitude of *Raja Tua* in managing his army led to the emergence of Mengkabong as a strong defensive fort which clearly contributed to the process of strengthening the power of Brunei Sultanates in the area.³⁶ Besides, *Raja Tua* was also supported by his family. As an example, Embo Ilang contributed a lot in defending Mengkabong during the war that his father launched under the command of Sultan Omar Ali Saifudin I.³⁷

Apart from the role in warfare, *Raja Tua* was involved in the administration of Mengkabong. In this facet of administration, he was supported by Pengiran Syahbandar and local officials. Meanwhile, in terms of economics, he oversaw trade activities across the Malay Sultanate of Brunei and other archipelago countries. Moreover, he was in charge of enforcing the law as authorised by the Sultan including arresting and punishing criminals. He was also entrusted by

the Sultan to supervise Muslims' affairs with the assistance of the Sharifs, the Minister of Religion, Datuk Imam, Si Raja Khatib, Udana Khatib, and all the preachers, including *mudims*.³⁸ Based on these roles, *Raja Tua* was the supreme administrative organisation in Mengkabong.

Simultaneously, *Raja Tua* was in charge of community welfare, particularly for orphans and oppressed people. In carrying out his duties, *Raja Tua* was assisted by eight *ceteria* and eight ministers, including Orang Kaya Syahbandar, Orang Kaya Setia Pahlawan, Orang Kaya Hamzah Pahlawan, Orang Kaya Amar Pahlawan, Orang Kaya Johan Pahlawan, Pateh and Damong.³⁹ In summary, *Raja Tua* took care the entire colony of Brunei, not only the Mengkabong area.⁴⁰

The above section demonstrates *Raja Tua* involvement in administration and the military during the eighteenth century. In fact, *Raja Tua* contributed to the survival of Mengkabong as a key position for the Brunei government's defence, as well as the survival of the Mengkabong people. In fact, *Raja Tua* loyalty extends beyond himself by including his entire family.

CONCLUSION

Mengkabong in the eighteenth century was the home for many groups of people, yet two dominant groups that stood out during that period of time was *Bajau* and *Dusun Lotud*. They were involved in the military, and some also earned their living as traders and fishermen. It is evident that Mengkabong rose into a stage of eminent due to the role of *Raja Tua*. He served under the authority entrusted by the Sultan of Brunei. The discussions presented in this article illustrate that Mengkabong was a part of Brunei Sultanates. Nevertheless, the historical developments that took place in the nineteenth century unfold a new chapter of Mengkabong; it was ceded and handover to British. In conclusion, the history of Mengkabong needs to be understood according to the process of transition that takes place from time to time. It is evident that the agreements and the colonization of British in the nineteenth century brought about a different trajectory to the history of Mengkabong. Finally, this article focuses on the eighteenth century events, and the story of Mengkabong is far from complete as various events takes place in the course of history.

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Biodata

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- ⁹ C.O 874/54, Perjanjian hak Kedaulatan Membakut, Api-Api, Kuala Lama, Inanam, Menggatal dan Mengkabong 23 March 1898; C.O 874/54, Grant of Mengkabong. 20 March 1898; C.O 874/54 Grant by Sultan of Brunei of Territory the Sulaman River to the River of Paitan, 29 December 1877; C.O 874/54, Menggatal, Mengkabong, Api-Api, Simbulan, Nafas dan Tambalang River, 23 March 1898; C.O 874/55 Status Pemajakan Sungai Mengkabong, Karambunai, Kabatuan, Napas dan Simbulan.
- ¹⁰ Pehin Jamil al Sufri, Pengiran Temangong *Raja Tua* Abdul Momin Amirul Faza, p. 12 Ranjit Singh, *The Making of Sabah*, p. 104; Haji Hasbol bin Haji Mail, *Kesultanan Brunei Abd ke-19*, p. 48-49; Bianca Maria Gerlich, *Marudu 1845: The Destruction and Reconstruction of a Coastal State in Borneo*, p. 177.
- ¹¹ Salleh Bin Mamun. Personal Communication. 20 March 2022; Yusry Sulaiman. Field Study. 29 Januari 2022; Dawi (Lawah) Bin Utuh. Personal Communication. 15 December 2021.
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- ¹⁴ Spenser St John, *Life in the forest of the Far East Vol. I*, pp. 291, 236 & 237.
- ¹⁵ Pehin Jamil al Sufri, Pengiran Temangong *Raja Tua* Abdul Momin Amirul Faza p. 238.
- ¹⁶ *Ibid*, p. 237-238.
- ¹⁷ *Ibid*, p. 237.
- ¹⁸ Owen Rutter, *British North Borneo*, p. 20-21.
- ¹⁹ Spenser St John, *Life in the forest of the Far East Vol. I*, p. 236 & 237.
- ²⁰ Thomas Forrest, *A Voyage to New Guinea and The Moluccas from Balambangan: Including an account of Magindanao, Sooloo and Other Island*, London: G.Scott, 1776, p. 392& 394- 395.
- ²¹ Thomas Forrest, *A voyage to New Guinea and Moluccas from Balambangan: Including an account of Magindanao, Sooloo and other Islands*", p. 392 & 394-395.
- ²² Spenser St John, *Life in the forest of the Far East Vol. I*, Smith, Elder and Co, 1862, p, 236-237.

²³ Owen Rutter, *British North Borneo*, p. 54 & 59; P.S Shim, *In land people of Sabah*, p. 38,39 & 40; Peter Rhelan, *The head hunting and The Magang Ceremony in Sabah*, p. 12; Carl Bock, *The Headhunters of Borneo*, p. 89.

²⁴ Pehin Jamil al-Suri, Pengiran Temenggong *Raja Tua* Abdul Momin Amirul Faza, P. 12.

²⁵ Sahar Bin Hj. Piassin. Personal Communication. 18 January 2022.

²⁶ Salleh Bin Mamun. Personal Communication. 20 March 2022 Kampung; Awang Zulkifli bin Nawawi. Personal Communication. 16 February 2022; Maskan Bin Hj Rasta. 20 March 2022; Pehin Jamil Al Sufri, Pengiran Temangong *Raja Tua* Abdul Momin Amirul Faza, *PUSAKA* 9, 1999, p. 11; Haji Hasbol bin Haji Mail, *Kesultanan Brunei Abad ke-19*, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka: Brunei Darusalam, 2011, p. 48-49; Bianca Maria Gerlich, *Marudu 1845: The destruction and reconstruction of a Coastal State in Borneo*, Abera, 2003, p. 138-140.

²⁷ Bianca Maria Gerlich, *Marudu 1845: The Destruction and Reconstruction of a Coastal State in Borneo*, p.5-8; James Francis Warren, *The Sulu Zone*, p. 152-156; James Francis Warren, *Iranun and Balangingi*, p. 101-102.

²⁸ Ismail Ali, *Viking Timur di Kepulauan Borneo*, UMS: KK, 2010, p. 17. Bianca Maria Gerlich, *Marudu 1845: The destruction and reconstruction of a Coastal State in Borneo*, p. 42.

²⁹ *Ibid*, p. 12.

³⁰ Yusry Sulaiman. Field Study. 29 Januari 2022; James Francis Warren, *The Sulu Zone*, p.153; James Francis Warren, *Iranun and Balangingi*, p. 73-75.

³¹ James Francis Warren, *The Sulu Zone*, p.153; James Francis Warren, *Iranun and Balangingi*, p. 73-75.

³² Pehin Jamil al Sufri, Pengiran Temangong *Raja Tua* Abdul Momin Amirul Faza, p. 11.

³³ Ismail Ali, *Viking Timur di Kepulauan Borneo*, p. 3-4; James Francis Warren, *The Sulu Zone*, p. 152- 156; James Francis Warren, *Iranun and Balangingi*, p. 101-102; Haji Hasbol bin Haji Mail, *Kesultanan Brunei abad ke-19*, p. 132-133; Bianca Maria Gerlich, *Marudu 1845: The destruction and reconstruction of a Coastal State in Borneo*, p. 148.

³⁴ Dawi (Lawah) Bin Utuh. Personal Communication. 15 December 2021; Maskan Bin Hj Rasta. Personal Communication. 20 March 2022; Awang Zulkifli bin Nawawi. Personal Communication. 16 February 2022.

³⁵ Dawi (Lawah) Bin Utuh. Personal Communication. 15 December 2021; Maskan Bin Hj Rasta. Personal Communication. 20 March 2022; Awang Zulkifli bin Nawawi. Personal Communication. 16 February 2022.

³⁶ Pehin Jamil al Sufri, Pengiran Temangong *Raja Tua* Abdul Momin Amirul Faza, p. 12; Ranjit Singh, *The Making of Sabah, Bahagian Kabinet dan Dasar*, 2011, p. 104; Haji Hasbol bin Haji Mail, *Kesultanan Brunei Abad ke-19*, p. 132-133; Bianca Maria Gerlich, *Marudu 1845: The destruction and reconstruction of a Coastal State in Borneo*, p. 138-140.

³⁷ Pehin Jamil al-Suri, Pengiran Temenggong *Raja Tua* Abdul Momin Amirul Faza, p. 12.

³⁸ *Ibid*, p. 12. Mudim refer to a person specially trained in circumcision and the rituals surrounding the procedure

³⁹ *Ibid*, p. 11.

⁴⁰ C.O 874/54, Perjanjian hak Kedaulatan Membakut, Api-Api, Kuala lama, Inanam, Menggatal dan Mengkabong, 20 Mac 1898.