

The Rich Legacy of Iban's Tattoo Motifs on Contemporary Craft

Gladys Tagie

Programme of Fine Art/Art Trivium, College of Creative Arts, Universiti Teknologi MARA Perak Branch, Seri Iskandar Campus, Malaysia

Hairulnisak bt.Merman

Programme of Fine Art, College of Creative Arts, Universiti Teknologi MARA Perak Branch, Seri Iskandar Campus, Malaysia

Noor Aileen bt. Ibrahim

Academy of Language Studies, Universiti Teknologi MARA Perak Branch, Seri Iskandar Campus, Malaysia

Corresponding Author
hairulnisak@uitm.edu.my*

Abstract: The Iban people, are one of the main ethnic groups in Sarawak. The Iban people have a unique tattoo culture. The influence of modernity and conflicting religious beliefs pose an increasing threat to this tradition, which is deeply rooted in the tattoo culture. However, the tattoo tradition will endure as people persevere in integrating tattoo motifs into contemporary handicrafts. The fashion industry, which includes both apparel and accessories, is a popular field that involves traditional tattoo motifs. Therefore, we view this study as a significant documentation endeavor, striving to preserve the cultural heritage that forms the core of ethnic pride in Sarawak. The study employs qualitative research methodologies, notably utilizing surveys and interviews with Sarawakians in different regions. The research also seeks to identify tattoo motifs incorporating traditional into contemporary craftwork. Through this study, it inspired local small businesses to increase their enthusiasm for creating and promoting modern crafts that incorporate traditional motifs. In addition, this study also encourages all ethnic groups, including young generations to persist in preserving their traditional cultures, customs, and traditions through contemporary craftwork that will be appropriate for remaining pertinent to the modern era. The enduring nature of traditional tattoo motifs can be utilized in several ways beyond their use on the skin.

Keywords: Cultural heritage, Iban's tattoo motifs, Identity and Contemporary craftworks

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 *Cultural Significance and Symbolism of Iban's Tattoo*

The Iban people in Sarawak have rich customs and an individual cultural heritage that influences many elements of daily life. It encompasses everything from birth to death, marriage, way of life, planting, and beliefs. However, this study focuses solely on the tattoo culture, that has been practiced since childhood. Tattoos among the Iban people are not merely for aesthetic purposes but are deeply rooted in tradition, religion, social status, and as an honor to special abilities (Hartanto, 2023). These tattoos are more than just body art; they represent a form of toughness, strength, and cultural identity (Irwin, 2001). The motifs used in Iban tattoos imitate the environment and traditional beliefs of the community, showcasing their cultural heritage and wisdom (Joseph et al., 2021; Osman et al., 2021).

2. BACKGROUND

2.1 *Cultural Heritage*

According to the National Heritage Act 2005 in Law of Malaysia Act 645; cultural heritage includes the tangible or intangible form of cultural property, structure or artifact and may include a heritage matter, object, item, artifact, formation structure, performance, dance, song, music that is pertinent to the historical or contemporary way of life of Malaysians, on or in land or underwater cultural heritage of tangible form but excluding natural heritage. “Tangible cultural heritage” includes areas, monuments, and buildings. While “intangible cultural heritage” includes any form of expressions, languages, lingual utterances, sayings, musically produced tunes, notes, audible lyrics, songs, folksongs, oral traditions, poetry, music, dances as produced by the performing arts, theatrical plays, audible compositions of sounds and music, martial arts, that may have existed or exist concerning the heritage of Malaysia or any part of Malaysia or concerning the heritage of a Malaysian community. Figure 1 below is a visual mapping of the National Heritage Act 2005 in Law of Malaysia Act 645.

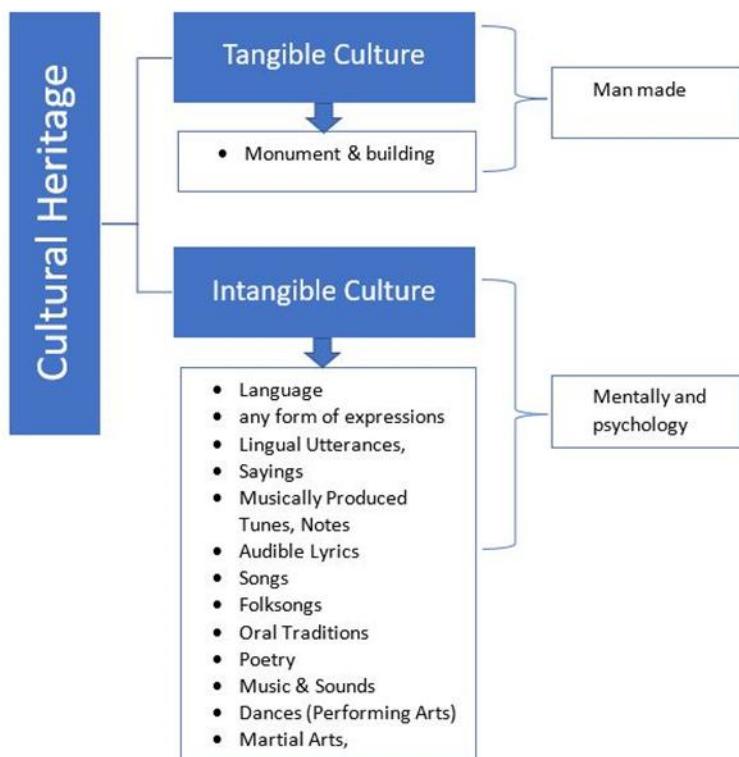


Figure 1. Visual mapping of National Heritage Act 2005 by Gladys T. et al., (2024)

In addition, according to a prior study conducted by Asadi (2023), the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) has stated that cultural heritage includes both tangible and intangible elements of cultural or historical significance.

Nevertheless, tangible cultural heritage encompasses physical objects which include buildings, places, and artworks, while intangible cultural heritage comprises practices, knowledge, and expressions that are transmitted from one generation to the next by inheritance (Xiao, 2022). Moreover, It plays a vital role in local sustainable development by contributing to the identity and cultural diversity of communities (Gravagnuolo et al., 2021).

Traditional tattoos are intangible cultures that are a form of skin expression. This is evident from the visual mapping previously mentioned. Preserving the traditional tattoo motifs is crucial for the preservation of cultural heritage, as seen in the efforts to maintain the art forms of various Indigenous communities worldwide. Tattooing culture among the Iban would eventually fade away and fade away due to Christian and Islamic demands in Sarawak. Thus, integrating tattoo motifs into various types of media

representations serves as a method for preserving and revitalizing ancient traditions, preventing them from becoming obsolete over time.

The intricate designs and motifs in textiles, such as Pua Kumbu in Sarawak, face challenges due to the complexity of symbols that may deter interest, especially among younger generations (Wahed et al., 2022). UNESCO plays a vital role in international cultural heritage preservation, extending its efforts to protect traditional art forms like Batik and Wayang in Indonesia (Nuraeni & Putri, 2017). The conservation and promotion of intangible cultural heritage, including traditional tattoos, require innovative approaches like digital technology and gamification to disseminate and safeguard these living expressions of heritage (Singh, 2024; Idris et al., 2016).

The significance of tattoos among the Dayak community extends beyond mere body adornment; it reflects important values, beliefs, and cultural identity (Hartanto, 2023). The intricate designs and motifs of Dayak tattoos carry deep meanings that adorn the body and serve as a form of cultural expression and storytelling (Hartanto, 2023). Contemporary craft, influenced by traditional tattoo motifs and cultural heritage, often involves the re-actualization of traditional themes through hybrid aesthetics, blending traditional elements with new creative approaches (Ernawati, 2024). Additionally, the incorporation of traditional motifs into contemporary craft practices serves as a bridge between the past and the present, preserving cultural heritage while fostering innovation and creativity (Gaddi, 2023).

2.2 Traditional Motif of Iban's Tattoo

This study concentrates exclusively on 'Kelingai motif and 'Bunga Terung' motif which were two primary motifs that are the most renowned and commonly utilised in the creation of handicrafts in Sarawak. These motifs are believed to carry spiritual power and are often used in religious ceremonies and rituals. The strength of community cohesion within the Iban people is a testament to their ability to function and develop in a harmonious atmosphere, recognizing the social equality of each individual.

Tattooing in Iban civilisation is closely associated with the death cult and the historical practice of headhunting. The cessation of headhunting among the Iban adversely impacted the tradition of tattooing. This is due to the enemy's head (antu pala) being seen as a trophy in the headhunting expedition. Furthermore, certain significant occasions necessitated the presence of the enemy's head as esteemed trophies, specifically during the ceremonies of the leader's death, the birth of a child, particularly a male, "Bejalai" missions of tribal warfare and as a symbol of valour on the battlefield that conferred prestige to the victorious warrior.

2.3 Meaning of 'Kelingai Motif'

Traditional Iban tattoo motifs or cultural also known as 'Kelingai Motif,' are deeply rooted in the cultural heritage of the Iban community in Sarawak, Malaysian Borneo (Gladys et al., 2020). These motifs, including the fern motif, are not only found in tattoos but also in various art forms like architecture, paintings, ceramics, jewelry, and textiles, showcasing the intricate connection between art, culture, and tradition (Zulkipli et al., 2022, Gladys T. et al., 2020). The Iban community's affinity for the natural world is seen in their traditional tattoo designs, which frequently integrate aspects from their natural surroundings, including flora and fauna. (Awang-Kanak, 2021).

According to Gladys T. et.al (2020), the Kelingai motif is a unique motif that symbolizes a master craftsman of Iban's in the art of carving. Furthermore, Iban's tattoo motif served as a representation of courageous individuals and also served as a commemoration of specific locations they had previously visited. In addition, some Iban legend from other districts says that 'Kelingai' means the decoration motif of 'kala' (scorpion) and that is why, it has to come with the beauty of curves, decoratively.

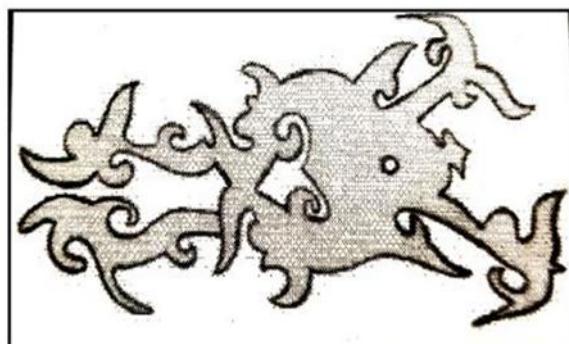


Figure 2. Kelingai motifs, sources from Gladys T.et.al (2020)

2.4 Meaning of 'Bunga Terung' / 'Bungai Terong' Motif.

The Dayak people also embrace the eggplant flower motif, widely known as the 'Bunga Terung' as another form of traditional tattoo design. (Hartanto, 2023). These motifs often reflect elements from nature and indigenous beliefs, showcasing the creativity and cultural richness of the Iban community (Osman et al., 2021). In certain regions of Sarawak, "Bunga Terung" is referred to as 'Bungai Terong' or commonly known as Borneo Rose. Nonetheless, all these titles denote the same design.

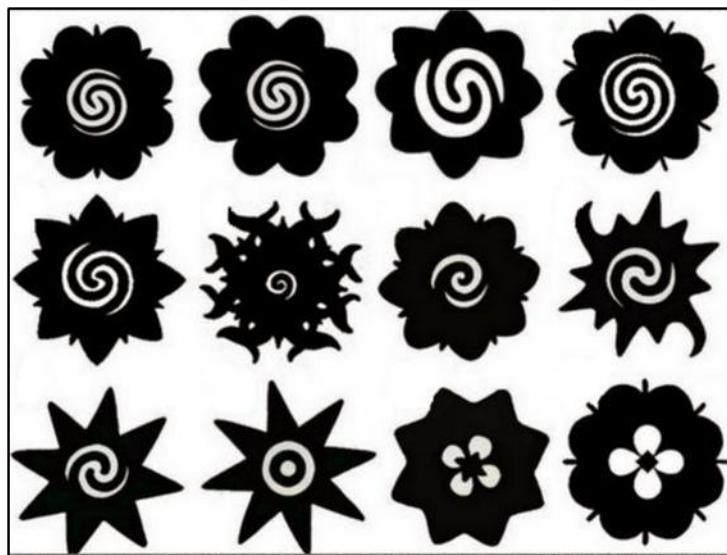


Figure 3. Design of 'Bunga Terung'. Sources from Robinson.M (2014)

'Bunga Terung' tattoo are floral-shaped tattoos that inscribe or presenting on the front of men's shoulders. They can be located on the back, buttocks or chest and even on the calf. In the past, the Iban people believe 'Bunga Terung' tattoo motifs must come out with in pars to avoid the tattoo wearer going interrupted by forces of evil spirits.

In some areas, 'Bunga Terung' tattoo designed with the spiral line at the middle, meanwhile, in some areas there was no spiral line in the centre of the eggplant flower petals pattern. The spiral line symbol was based from the belly of tadpoles, which symbolized the meaning of the life cycle. In addition, the 'Bunga Terung' tattoo with a spiral line at the centre also known as 'Tali Nyawa' which means the rope of life and is identical to the underside life of a tadpole which symbolizes the beginning of a new life. The 'Bunga Terung' or eggplant petals symbols is believed not only to protecting the wearer from any demonic interference in daily life, but also become powerful spiritual shields fro wearer.

The application of Iban tattoos follows a specific sequence, with certain tattoos like the isi ginti (fish hook) worn first, followed by the 'Bunga Terung', and then other tattoos like the 'Pantang Rekung' (neck tattoo) (Jumpo & Bebit, 2020). This sequential application of tattoos reflects a cultural tradition and ritualistic process among the Iban people. Figure 4 below shows that the application of 'Bunga Terung motif' on the left and right shoulder with 'pantang rekung' (neck tattoo)



Figure 4. 'Bunga Terung' motif and 'Pantang rekung' tattoo. Gratitude to Bulit anak Jimbun, sources from Gladys T. et.al collections (2024)

Each design holds a specific meaning, reflecting aspects such as bravery in headhunting expeditions, protection, spiritual guidance, and connection to the natural world. These tattoos represented a visual story of the bearer's life experiences and their interaction with society. The Iban people have the belief that spirits coexist with them in all aspects of life daily. Consequently, they have the belief that tattooing an object or creature onto their body can attract powerful, invisible energy and provide protection against these supernatural beings. (Sellato B. 1992).

The Iban community's strong sense of community cohesion and recognition of individual social equality have contributed to the preservation and evolution of these traditional tattoo designs. Remarkably, the traditional tattoo motifs of the Iban people have also influenced the designs of other ethnic groups in Sarawak, serving as an inspiration and identity of Borneo, Sarawak. Overall, the traditional tattoo motifs of the Iban community and other races in Sarawak serve as a testament to the region's cultural diversity and the enduring significance of these artistic expressions in shaping individual and collective identities.

3. DEVELOPMENT OF HYPOTHESIS

3.1 The Evolution and Adaptation of Traditional Tattoo Motifs in Contemporary Crafts Through Different Mediums: - Textiles and Fashion

In recent years, the fashion industry and textiles have had a growing trend in designing modern clothes by incorporating traditional tattoo motifs. This trend represents a fusion of cultural heritage and contemporary fashion, aiming to preserve and showcase the unique symbols and artistry of various ethnic groups. Research, such as The Exploration of Mentawai tattoo designs being applied to garments, has been conducted by Zulfa (2024). Meanwhile, Qilu (2023) emphasizes the use of traditional elements to enhance the cultural importance and aesthetic worth of contemporary clothing. This study focuses on implementing Naxi ethnic clothing elements in modern designs. These initiatives not only preserve cultural traditions but also foster creativity in fashion design by combining heritage with contemporary trends. In addition, a study by Hashish A. (2022) explores the fusion of traditional crochet motifs with innovative scarf designs, creating a competitive market by blending traditional and contemporary elements in modern fashion products.

Overall, the integration of traditional tattoo motifs into textiles and fashion represents a harmonious blend of cultural heritage and modern design sensibilities. By leveraging these motifs, designers can create unique and culturally rich pieces that resonate with consumers seeking both aesthetic appeal and a connection to tradition. In conclusion, the integration of traditional tattoo motifs into textiles and fashion not only preserves cultural heritage but also fosters creative innovation and combines past and present aesthetics.

3.2 Traditional Motif on Accessories

Craftsmen are designing contemporary jewelry such as bracelets, necklaces, and rings with engraved Iban motifs. These pieces serve as a beautiful homage to traditional designs while offering a sophisticated charm. In addition, the traditional beadwork of the Iban, often used in ceremonial attire, is finding a place in modern jewelry collections. These vibrant, detailed pieces are being appreciated anew for their craftsmanship and symbolic meanings.

This trend to convert tattoo designs into batik fabrics appears to be a potential option for inheritance and cultural continuity. By incorporating ancient tattoo motifs into batik, craftsmen hope to preserve the legacy of Mentawai tattoos and pass them down to future generations (Rosana, A. 2023). Many of these craftspeople use tattoo motifs as

their complete or partial designs, especially in producing 'Pua Kumbu' or other crafts. They are inspired by the simplicity and originality of the tattoo motifs and use them when designing their crafts. This fusion not only preserves the cultural legacy of the Iban community but also imparts a distinctive style to contemporary handicrafts.

4 METHODOLOGY AND DATA

4.1 Qualitative Research

Qualitative was selected for this research which was going through observation and collecting data via online questionnaire using Google Form. Consequently, part A consist of demographic question, which is about age and gender of respondents. Meanwhile the rest of the question are directly focuses on the motifs of tattoo, the knowledge of respondent and finally it requires the opinion of the respondent about tattoo and its application into craft. A total of 36 participants voluntarily participated in this research, representing various age groups and regions. The demographic data of respondents participated in this study is illustrated in Table 1 and 2 below. The results clearly indicate that the majority of respondents are female and 20 years old.

Table 1: The Demographic (Age of respondents)

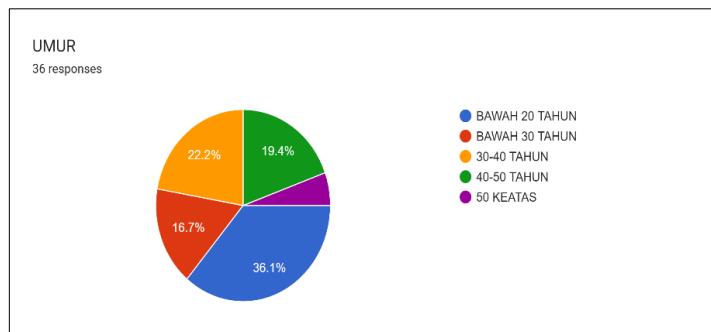
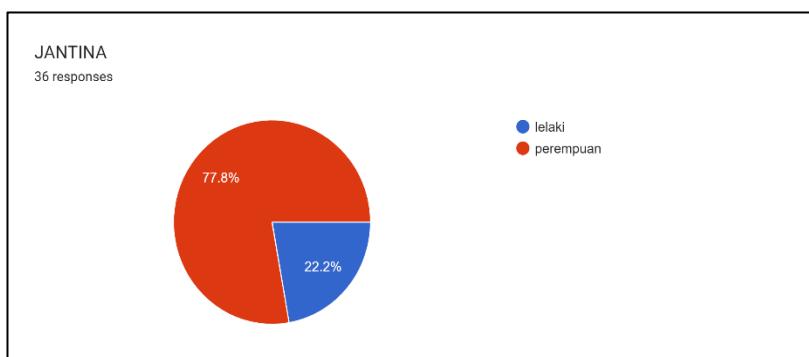


Table 2: The Demographic (Gender of respondents)



4.2 Observation

Moreover, the selection of the observation method is determined by the characteristics of the study related to societal, cultural, belief, and traditional aspects of visual communication. These observations and informal interview were conducted among Iban's community at different area. In first phase of observation is in Kampung Gayau Pantu,Sri Aman Sarawak and second phase is in different communities and longhouses in Sarawak. In this context, observation is carried out via interviews with family members and relatives who are the owners or artists of the craft.

According to Waldt (2020), observation in social science requires a researcher to actively engage with study subjects, as it allows researchers to obtain firsthand insights and get involved in the social context. By observing and documenting behaviours, researchers can reveal hidden patterns, norms, and meanings not easily discernible through other methods (Mohajan, 2018). By that methodology, the researcher can directly observe and experience genuine problems and circumstances without any uncertainty.

5 EMPIRICAL RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

Data was collected through open-ended online questionnaires that were distributed randomly among Sarawakians in any location and province. Furthermore, the qualitative method in this study has the advantage of enabling most respondents to proudly share their images and ideas with the researcher. Therefore, the data and photos included in this study are legitimate and originated from primary sources.

Table 3: The Use of Traditional Tattoo Motifs on Craftwork

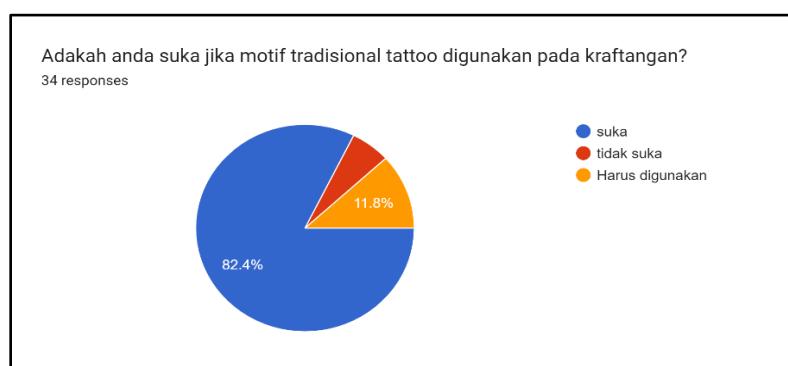


Table 4: The Justification for Employing Conventional Designs

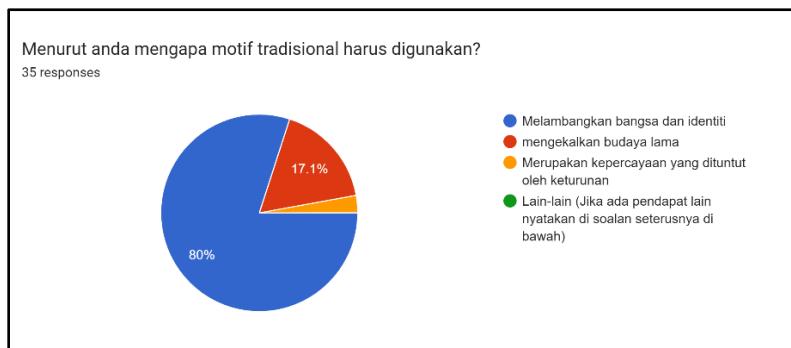


Table 5: The Market of Craftwork Using traditional motifs compete with existing product



Based on Table 3 above, 82.4% of respondents, they would prefer to see traditional motifs implemented at a craftwork. Moreover, 11.8% of respondents stated that modern crafts must incorporate traditional motifs. Meanwhile, Table 4 shows the justification for employing conventional design. 80% of respondents expressed their opinion that incorporating traditional symbols, particularly tattoo motifs, serves as a representation of nationalism and identity. An additional, 10% of participants agreed that applying traditional elements into contemporary crafts serves as a means of preserving Sarawak's traditional culture. Ultimately, Table 5 revealed an overwhelming majority of 91.4% of participants believed that contemporary crafts that use traditional motifs have the potential to compete with existing products on the market.

6 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

6.1 Contemporary Craftwork

Weaving Patterns: Iban motifs are being creatively woven into textiles, including scarves, shawls, jackets (for men), and a traditional weaving skirt of Ibans well known

as 'Kain Tating'. 'Kain Tating,' illustrated in figure 5, is crafted via the hand-weaving technique. The intricate designs lend a captivating look to the fabric, embracing the cultural richness of the Iban heritage. The observation indicates that embroidered 'kain tating' is presently more popular and produced in more of it than conventional weaving methods due to the simplicity of the embroidery technique. The traditional technique is challenging and necessitates significant expertise in weaving. Moreover, the medium and technique for creating this craftwork have undergone substantial changes due to the intricate components utilized in the previous process, which are not inherited or transmitted to the present generation. Below are samples of craftwork that implemented traditional tattoo motifs generated through several techniques and materials.



Figure 5: Weaving 'Kain Tating'. Source from Gladys T. et.al Collections, (2024)



Figure 6: Kelingai motif on crochet 'Baju Burung'(men's jacket), sources from Gladys T. et.al collections (2024).



Figure 7: Kelingai motif on embroidery "Selampai" (women's traditional shawl) sources from Gladys T. et.al collections (2024).



Figure 8: The motif of 'Bunga Terung' on embroidery 'selampai'. Sources from Gladys T. et.al collections (2024).

Moreover, modern fashion designers are incorporating tattoo motifs into their collections, translating traditional designs onto dresses, jackets, and accessories. This integration allows traditional symbols to be celebrated in everyday wear.

This study indicates that the utilisation of the 'Kelingai' pattern and 'Bunga Terung' motif in contemporary textile crafts serves solely as a representation of

preference, pride, and magnificence for users. The data gathered from the questionnaire indicates that most respondents believe that traditional patterns on both conventional and contemporary attire represent the nation and a distinctive identity acknowledged globally.



Figure 9: 'Kelingai' motif on 'Burie' skirt. Gratitude to Angelyn Uchie Anak Martin, sources from Gladys T. collections (2024)

Figure 9 above shows a contemporary craft piece that skilfully incorporates traditional tattoo motifs into 'Burie' skirt design. It proves that the traditional tattoo motif as a form of craftwork to embellish women's garments, in line with contemporary trends. 'Buri' is a type of seashell that is meticulously organized and stitched onto fabric. It is believed that it originated from Batang Rajang. The 'Buri' outfit is presently a fashionable trend and is worn for formal or special occasions. Integrating traditional motifs or themes has become a prominent preference in contemporary design. It is adaptable for use in many materials and media, based on the designer's and their followers' preferences.

As conclusion, Iban tattoos are more than just ink on the skin; they are living representations of tradition, strength, identity, and cultural resilience in Iban culture. The motifs and activities linked with Iban tattoos represent a visual language, connecting people to their heritage, beliefs, and communal values.

The intricate tattoo motifs of the Iban community not only represent artistic expressions but also embody cultural values, traditions, and histories that continue to influence and inspire contemporary craft practices. By integrating traditional tattoo motifs into modern craft, designers pay homage to their

heritage while creating unique identities and culturally rich artworks that resonate with our society nowadays.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I would like to express our honest gratitude to all those who contributed to the success of this research. First and foremost, I extend my sincere thanks to my co-authors, Hairulnisak Binti Merman and Noor Aileen Binti Ibrahim, for their invaluable support, guidance, and collaboration throughout this project. Additionally, we are profoundly grateful to the respondents who contributed to our investigation. Their willingness to share their insights and experiences was crucial to the outcomes of this research. We are grateful for the time and effort they dedicated to this project. We express our gratitude to Universiti Malaysia Sarawak (UNIMAS) and, in particular, ICACA 2024 for its efforts in organizing this International Conference of Applied and Creative Arts. Throughout this conference, we have the opportunity to disseminate our expertise to the wider society. Finally, this research was conducted independently and self-funded. Thank you all for your contributions and support.

REFERENCES

Abdelsalam, O., Fethi, M. D., Matallín, J. C., & Tortosa-Ausina, E. (2014). On the comparative performance of socially responsible and Islamic mutual funds. *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization*, 103, S108–S128.

Abou Hashish, H., & El Zean, C. (2022). Innovative printed scarf designs utilizing crochet motifs. *International Design Journal*, 12(2), 185–195. <https://doi.org/10.21608/idj.2022.222609>

Alkaff, M., Khatimi, H., Lathifah, N., & Sari, Y. (2019). Sasirangan Motifs Classification using Scale-Invariant Feature Transform (SIFT) and Support Vector Machine (SVM). *EDP Sciences*, 280, 05023–05023. <https://doi.org/10.1051/matecconf/201928005023>

Asadi, S. (2023). Cultural heritage lost: case study of Isfahan, Iran. *Multiculturalism and Interculturalism – Managing Diversity in Cross-Cultural Environment*. <https://doi.org/10.5772/intechopen.110051>

Awang-Kanak, F. (2021). Plant parts and preparation of edible plants by indigenous Sama-Bajau and Dusun people in Kota Belud, Sabah. *IOP Publishing*, 756(1), 012023–012023. <https://doi.org/10.1088/1755-1315/756/1/012023>

Churchill, Edward. (2023). Ratu Buri Borneo revives traditional costume, supports local artisans. *The Borneo Post Online*. <https://www.theborneopost.com/2023/11/13/>

Ernawati, E. (2024). Re-actualization of traditional themes in contemporary craft art through the concept of hybrid aesthetics. *International Journal of Current Science Research and Review*, 07(04). <https://doi.org/10.47191/ijcsrr/v7-i4-12>

Gaddi, R. (2023). Craft for care, design for life. Heritage contemporary enhancement and communication design tools as a resource for social changes, fostering diversity and inclusion. <https://doi.org/10.26530/9789401496476-120>

Gladys, T., Nurul S. T., & Nuraileen, I. (2020). The 'kelingai motif' in Iban's tattoo motif; a case study of Kampung Gayau Ulu Pantu, Sri Aman Sarawak. *Idealogy Journal of Arts and Social Science*, 5(1), 8–16. <https://doi.org/10.24191/idealogy.v5i1.180>

Gravagnuolo, A., Micheletti, S., & Bosone, M. (2021). A participatory approach for "circular" adaptive reuse of cultural heritage. Building a heritage community in Salerno, Italy. *Sustainability*, 13(9), 4812. <https://doi.org/10.3390/su13094812>

Hartanto, C. (2023). Tattoos: art, symbol, and history in Dayak Salako. *Mudra Jurnal Seni Budaya*, 38(3), 269–276. <https://doi.org/10.31091/mudra.v38i3.2293>

Idris, M. Z., Mustaffa, N., & Yusoff, S. O. S. (2016). Preservation of intangible cultural heritage using advance digital technology: issues and challenges. *Harmonia: Journal of Arts Research and Education*, 16(1), 1. <https://doi.org/10.15294/harmonia.v16i1.6353>

Irwin, K. (2001). Legitimizing the first tattoo: moral passage through informal interaction. *Symbolic Interaction*, 24(1), 49–73. <https://doi.org/10.1525/si.2001.24.1.49>

Islam, M. R., Wahab, H. A., & Anggum, L. A. (2020). The influence of leadership quality towards community cohesion in Iban community in Malaysia. *Elsevier BV*, 6(2), e03370–e03370. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.heliyon.2020.e03370>

Jerome, C., Ting, S., & Perry, E. J. (2022). Rethinking visions of “unity” and “belonging”: Insights into audience responses towards popular music of Malaysia’s indigenous ethnic communities – A case of Iban pop song. *University of Science Malaysia*, 40(1), 109–131. <https://doi.org/10.21315/km2022.40.1.6>

Joseph, S., Hipiny, I., Ujir, H., Juan, S. S., & Minoi, J. (2021). Performance evaluation of SIFT against common image deformations on Iban plaited mat motif images. *Indonesian Journal of Electrical Engineering and Computer Science*, 23(3), 1470. <https://doi.org/10.11591/ijeecs.v23.i3.pp1470-1477>

Jumpo, S., & Bebit, M. (2020). A deconstruction of the traditional bunga terung tattoo and the sequence of its application among Iban men. *Journal of Borneo Social Transformation Studies*, 6(1), 77–86. <https://doi.org/10.51200/jobsts.v6i1.2794>

Kiki Hartanto, C., Praptantya, D. B., Restu Darmawan, D., Lusia, I., & Fridayanti, D. (2023). Tattoos: art, symbol, and history in Dayak Salako. *Mudra Jurnal Seni Budaya*, 38(3), 269–276. <https://doi.org/10.31091/mudra.v38i3.2293>

Law of Malaysia. (2006). *National Heritage Act 2005 (Act 645)*. <https://gtwhi.com.my/wp-content/uploads/2020/12/National-Heritage-Act-2005.pdf>

Low, M., Hoong, W., Shen, Z., Murugavel, B., Mariner, N., Paguntalan, L., ... & Aziz, S. (2021). Bane or blessing? Reviewing cultural values of bats across the Asia-Pacific region. *Journal of Ethnobiology*, 41(1), 18–34. <https://doi.org/10.2993/0278-0771-41.1.18>

Mohajan, H. (2018). Qualitative research methodology in social sciences and related subjects. *Journal of Economic Development, Environment and People*, 7(1), 23. <https://doi.org/10.26458/jedep.v7i1.571>

Nuraeni, N., & Putri, R. I. (2017). The international dimension of communal and traditional intellectual property rights protection in Indonesia. *Intermestic: Journal of International Studies*, 2(1), 74. <https://doi.org/10.24198/intermestic.v2n1.6>

Osman, M., Asri, A., & Hussain, S. (2021). Falsafah alam takambang jadi guru dalam kearifan tradisi masyarakat Iban: seni tatu. *Asian People Journal (APJ)*, 4(2), 1–15. <https://doi.org/10.37231/apj.2021.4.2.268>

Qiu Qilu, Lilian Lee Shiao Gee, & Victor Pangayan. (2023). Implementing the Naxi ethnic clothing elements in modern outfit designs. *Jurnal Gendang Alam (GA)*, 13(2). <https://doi.org/10.51200/ga.v13i2.4747>

Robinson, M. (2014). *Kingdom of Sarawak: Kelingai Iban's Sarawak tattoo*. https://robinsonmike.blogspot.com/2014/08/kelingai-iban-sarawak-tattoo_31.html

Rosana, A. (2023). Symbolic interactionism on the creative message art of Mentawai tattoos as a subcultural identity. *International Journal of Social Science*, 3(3), 367–372. <https://doi.org/10.53625/ijss.v3i3.1916>

Sellato, B. (1992). *Hornbill and Dragon – The Arts and Cultures of Borneo* (2nd ed.). Singapore: Sun Tree Publishing.

Singh, P. (2024). A system design approach of gamification for disseminating intangible oral expressions of indigenous textile heritage. *International Journal of Serious Games*, 11(2), 3–26. <https://doi.org/10.17083/ijsg.v11i2.727>

Swaratama, E., Yamani, A., & Fauziah, E. (2020). Efektivitas perancangan typeface dengan metode ikonografi. *Jurnal Bahasa Rupa*, 3(2), 117–123. <https://doi.org/10.31598/bahasarupa.v3i2.518>

Wahed, W. J. E., Saad, N., & Yusoff, S. B. M. (2022). Academics' perspectives of the visual complexity and community acceptance of pua kumbu textile. *International Journal of Academic Research in Business and Social Sciences*, 12(5). <https://doi.org/10.6007/ijarbss/v12-i5/13186>

Waldt, G. V. d. (2020). Constructing conceptual frameworks in social science research. *The Journal for Transdisciplinary Research in Southern Africa*, 16(1). <https://doi.org/10.4102/td.v16i1.758>

Xiao, L. (2022). Intangible cultural heritage reproduction and revitalization: value feedback, practice, and exploration based on the IPA model. *Computational Intelligence and Neuroscience*, 2022, 1–13. <https://doi.org/10.1155/2022/8411999>

Zulfa, Z., & Suraya, R. S. (2024). Exploring the role of tattoo discourse in Matotonan Village: Mentawai tattoo batik as an effort to preserve tradition in Mentawai. *Journal of Pragmatics and Discourse Research*, 4(1), 78–89. <https://doi.org/10.51817/jpdr.v4i1.794>

Zulkipli, Z., Aji, Y., & Suharto, D. (2022). Keluk: kelembutan dan kekuatan desain motif pucuk pakis sebagai tema karya tari. *Joged*, 20(2), 117–137. <https://doi.org/10.24821/joged.v20i2.8201>