

Other Items: Personal news, brief summaries of research activities, recent publications, and other brief items will appear without the source specifically indicated. The Editor urges those contributing such news items to send them in the form and style in which the contributor wishes them to appear rather than leaving this to the discretion of the Editor.

All contributions should be sent to the Editor, Borneo Research Bulletin, c/o Department of Anthropology, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia, 23185, U.S.A.

### STYLE FOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Please submit all contributions double spaced. Research Notes and Brief Communications should be limited to approximately eight double-spaced pages. Footnotes are to be avoided wherever possible. Bibliographies should be listed alphabetically by author at the end of contributions; author should appear on a separate line, then date, title of article, journal, volume number, and pages. For books, include place of publication and finally publisher. References in the body of contributions should be cited by author's last name, date, and page number as follows: (Smith 1950:36-41). For punctuation and capitalization refer to Bibliographic Section.

Names mentioned in the News Section and other uncredited contributions will be capitalized and underlined.



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NOTES FROM THE EDITOR

The Borneo Research Council Endowment Fund has been established. As reported earlier (Bulletin 10:2), the Editor sent requests for one-time grants to twelve foundations and companies, describing the history and activities of the Council, including back issues of the Bulletin, and soliciting money for an endowment fund. While representatives of several agencies replied that their resources were totally committed and were unable to accede to our request, others are still considering it.

I am delighted to report that Brunei Shell Petroleum Company Limited has made a grant of US\$1,000. with which we have begun the Endowment Fund. Subsequent to receipt of this grant, we received a gift of \$100. designated for the Fund from one of the Fellows.

In light of the financial report enclosed, it seems imperative that we strive for an endowment fund of at least US\$10,000. This would generate enough interest to supplement gifts and contributions, obviating advances required to publish and distribute the Bulletin.

To this end, gifts to the Endowment Fund, over and above subscription payments, will be most welcome.

I should like to express my personal gratitude and, I am certain, the deep appreciation of all readers of the Bulletin, to the following persons for their generous contributions: George N. Appell, Robert F. Austin, Victor T. King, Dietrich Kuhne, Maureen Liebl, Peter Metcalf, Alastair Morrison, H. Arlo Nimmo, Raymond R. Rudes, and James F. Warren.

THE BORNEO RESEARCH COUNCIL

The Borneo Research Council was founded in 1968 and its membership consists of Fellows, an international group of scholars who are professionally engaged in research in Borneo. The goals of the Council are (1) to promote scientific research in the social, biological (cont. p. 120)

R E S E A R C H N O T E S

THE MUALANG OF INDONESIA BORNEO:  
NEGLECTED SOURCES FOR IBAN STUDIES

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I have noted elsewhere that there are very roughly 7,000 people in Western Indonesian Borneo (West Kalimantan), who acknowledge themselves as belonging to the category 'Iban' (1975a:300).<sup>1</sup> In contrast with the Iban in Sarawak, those in Indonesian Borneo are few in number. This fact, together with their remoteness and the difficulties of undertaking field-work in West Kalimantan, has meant that the Indonesian Iban have received very little attention from anthropologists. In consequence there is a sad lack of basic descriptive material on them.

Certainly some data on Iban are available in Dutch sources, and I have tried in a limited and inadequate way, to use much of this scattered material and my own superficial observations of them in order to begin to fill this gap in the Iban ethnographic record (1973a:36-7; 1975a:300-3; 1976a:306-27; 1976b:85-114).

In a number of respects Kalimantan Iban closely resemble their Sarawak cousins. However, they should be an object of study in their own right. They have been, and are, subject to different experiences vis-a-vis government. Economic opportunities are also generally more limited in Kalimantan than in Sarawak, and this disadvantage, coupled with their distance from the large commercial centres along the main Kapuas river, causes the Indonesian Iban still to orient themselves partly to Sarawak for trade and work. Some Iban

communities are also found in a rather different ecological niche in Kalimantan from the classic hill rice ecosystem in the areas in Sarawak in which Iban have been intensively studied. Iban are also very much a minority people in Kalimantan, and this fact has played and may continue to play an important part in their relations with government and with their close neighbours. Finally, Iban in Kalimantan live in association with culturally and socially closely related peoples who together recognize West Kalimantan as the area from which they trace their origins and their most important traditions. In making this last point I am not proposing research into the origins of Iban culture and society as such, but rather the broadening of Iban studies to include those numerous Kalimantan peoples related to and historically significant for the Iban. In other words, I would like to see Iban studied within the context of the wider complex of 'Ibanic' peoples<sup>2</sup> of which they are a part. (King 1973b:254-7; 1974:32-3; 1976c:87-99).

I have already made a plea for the study of Iban proper in West Kalimantan, and it is gratifying to hear that Frank McKeown of Monash University intends to undertake research on the Iban of the Kapuas lakes area. However, the specific purpose of this present research note is to draw attention to the importance of other sources of information in Kalimantan for Iban studies in general. Unfortunately, much of the work on Sarawak Iban has devoted very little attention to ethnic groupings in Indonesian Borneo which exhibit marked similarities with Iban. These groupings comprise, among others, the Kantu', Seberuang, Mualang, Desa, and most, if not all, the river-based groupings' in the Ketungau river and its tributaries (e.g. Tabun, Sigarau, Sekalau, Sekapat, Bagau, Banjar, Sebaru', Demam, and Maung). This complex may well include a number of other peoples as well (King 1976c: 86-105). Michael Dove of Stanford University has recently completed field work among the Kantu' to the west of the Kapuas lakes, and his research will no doubt contribute substantially to our knowledge of 'Ibanic' peoples. Yet we already have important but neglected sources for another of these 'Ibanic' groupings, the Mualang, in the work of Donatus Dunselman, a Capuchin priest. It has perhaps not been fully realized by some scholars interested in Sarawak Iban that Dunselman has published in Dutch a number of items on the Mualang, which provide valuable

comparative research sources for 'Ibanists' (1950:1-46; 1954:52-63; 1955; 1953:166-72; 1959a; 1959b:460-74; 1961:409-37).

At the present time I am attempting to translate and bring together some of the important parts of Dunselman's writing. This is in the context of an ongoing project with Drs. JB Ave of the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde in Leiden. We are now engaged in compiling a bibliography of the main literature on West Kalimantan, and using some of this material for research into ethnohistory, ethnic relations, and problems of ethnic classification.

Donatus Dunselman himself recognized the significance of his work for Iban studies when he wrote:

There exist strong cultural relations between these [Mualang] Dayak and the Iban or Batang Lupar of Western Borneo and Sarawak, and likewise with other groups of the central Kapuas area, particularly the groups of the Kantuk, the Seberuang, and the Desa, and the various groups of the Ketungau basin, i.a. the groups of the Bugau, the Tabun and the Banyur. Remarkable similarities are to be observed in their language, in their techniques of weaving and plaiting and in their myths (1955:279).<sup>3</sup>

Dunselman also specifically demonstrates some similarities between his Mualang data and those of the Iban in the writings of Dunn, Perham, Brooke Low, Richards and Nyuak. Subsequently A.A. Cense and E.M. Uhlenbeck, in their linguistic survey of Borneo, also pointed to the importance of Dunselman's work for Iban language studies. They stated:

Closely related to Sea Dayak is Mualang, spoken along the Ayak and Belitang Rivers, right-hand affluents of the Kapuas River, approximately two hundred miles up-stream from Pontianak.<sup>4</sup> This language has been thoroughly studied by Father Dunselman, who first published some fragments of an extensive sacred chant with a translation, and later the full text (1958:12).

Yet despite the obvious value of these sources they have

apparently not excited much enthusiasm among students of Sarawak Iban. It has continued to surprise me how little of the Dutch material finds its way into English texts. For example, in relation to my own work on the Maloh of West Kalimantan I have drawn attention to the utility of Dutch sources (1972), which were glossed over by Tom Harrisson in his ethnological notes on the same people (1965). The same 'propoganda' task has to be undertaken for the 'Ibanic' complex as well.

It is perhaps unfair to single out one example of Sarawak scholarship to demonstrate the tendency to neglect Dutch sources. There are many others. Nevertheless, Erik Jensen's recent study of The Iban and their Religion (1974) provides us with a particularly good illustration of the potential comparative value of Dutch writings on the 'Ibanic' complex. Jan Ave's review of Jensen's book pointed especially to its neglect of 'comparable material for other ethnic groups in Borneo' (1977:386). In this connection nowhere did Jensen refer to Dunselman's data on Mualang religion; yet, in my opinion, it has direct relevance to the Iban case. For example, Jensen mentioned certain Iban legendary heroes and a type of Iban oral literature called *kana*. He said, at one point, that *kana* is 'the name given to legendary accounts when these are expressed in rhythmical or semi-poetical forms' (1974:68). Jensen referred to the most famous Iban hero, Kling (Keling, Klieng), his dwelling place at Panggau, and the fact that it was there that the ancestors of human Iban eventually divided from 'Kling's group' (pp. 70, 71, 94-5, 103, 116, 204, 206-7).<sup>5</sup> Some 20 years before Jensen's work, Dunselman recorded and translated the Mualang epic *Kana Sera*, which is an allusion to the life-story of Keling<sup>6</sup>, and which contains numerous references to the heroes of Panggau Libau (sometimes called Pauh Sandai or Lengan(g) Lngayan). Dunselman noted that these culture heroes or *Buah Kana* also appear in the oral literature of the Kantu', Desa, Lebang, Seberuang and many Ketungau groups, especially the Tabun and Banyur (1955:8-10). Dunselman's work on Mualang creation myths, and particularly the myth of Puyang Gana, also demonstrates striking similarities with some of the Iban myths recounted by Jensen.

At this juncture I think it best to summarize briefly the contents of some of Dunselman's work which will serve to illustrate some of the parallels and differences

between Mualang and Iban belief. Dunselman's two most important publications are his *Kana Sera. Zang der Zwangerschap* (1955) with its brief preface (1954), and his *Vit der Literatuur der Mualang-dajaks* (1959). The *Kana Sera* is Dunselman's *magnum opus*. It contains a wealth of material on the Mualang spirit world, their material culture, environment, history, relations with other ethnic groupings, and customs associated with such things as head-hunting, farming, receiving guests and marriage.

The *kana sera* tells the story of a girl, usually called Telit Benang, who has all kinds of adventures, including journeys to the world beneath the water and to the heavens. In essence, it is an allusion to the life of Keling and his marriage to Kumang. The Mualang tradition of Keling begins at a place called (Temba-wang) Tampun Juah, which is said to have been in the headwaters of the Sai, a tributary of the Ketungau, and the Sekayam rivers. There the Mualang were called 'Menua Dayak' or 'Menua Tampun Juah', or sometimes the people of Lembah Buluh. According to Dunselman the Ketungau peoples, including the Iban, reckon their descent from this place. However, there are also Mualang origin stories which trace descent back even further to Labai (Labi) Lawai,<sup>7</sup> apparently an ancient name for the present-day Sukadana (1955:6). There are also links with Java.

The story goes that at Tampun Juah there lived a man, Balai Gamang (also called Kuma/Kumba), and his wife Tikal Bidang.<sup>8</sup> When Tikal Bidang was pregnant, she dreamt of a garden in Java which contained all sorts of delicious fruit. She asked her husband to fetch fruit from the garden, which was watched over by a seer called Manang Kedung. Balai Gamang's journey was successful. He returned and when his wife had eaten the fruit she gained strength and gave birth to a son, Keling Nading.

When he was full-grown, Keling disappeared to a place beneath the water where water-nymphs live, and was educated by the most famous of these, Pupu' Perua. He then married Kumang and wandered alone over the heavens until eventually his wife brought him back to the land of the Buah Kana, of which Panggau formed the centre.

Originally the Buah Kana lived together with human Mualang and related peoples, but subsequently divided from them before the Mualang and others left Tampun Juah.<sup>9</sup> These culture heroes disappeared 'to another place', but they could still take on a visible shape and come to the aid of humans. Dunselman states that the Buah Kana are believed to belong to this world (*dunia*) and not to the heavens (*langit*), nor to the land of the dead (*sebayan*). It is also believed that the Buah Kana will eventually return and the heroic, golden age will be restored.

The Buah Kana live in different longhouses of which Panggau Libau is the most famous. This is the house of Laja (or Kedi), Keling and his half-brother Ijau (also called Lalayang Menang, Bunga Nuing and Jalak). They each have sisters - Dara Lantan Sekumbang is the sister of Laja; Kumang Pantang or Dara Tengah Maua is the sister of Keling; and Pantang Temus Manis Nyamai (also called Dabung Nyala) is Ijau's sister. Other named inhabitants of Panggau are Tali Undi (f.) and her brother Tungkal Tangga' Lulai; Parabung Langit (f.) and her brother Gesing Salau Lelang; Dara Imbuk Ma (f.) and her brother Bumbun (also called Manis Mua and Bujang Pandak Ranggung); Bendung (f.) and her brother Pungga'; Indai Abang (or Balum Belunan) (f.) and both her husband, Apai Abang (or Pantau Pejawan) and her younger sister, Dara Tunsan Jawa. Another important house is Gelong (Gelung), where the heroes Pandung (with his sister Bundong) and Remyan (with his sister Kumang) live. Bundong became the wife of Laja, and Kumang, the wife of Keling. In his courting of Kumang, Keling meets his greatest rival Labong, who lives at Ayau.

There is also a connection between the Buah Kana and Java. Pungga', whose father is Tukang Kawah, is the first cousin of Mping Padi, a powerful ruler of Java and Labai Lawai. Labong is related to Riai Ribai Lawai who is called Ratu Sunan Solo.

Chants which deal exclusively with the Buah Kana are called *kana Tangi*, and a principle episode in them is the struggle between Keling and Labong for the hand of Kumang. These chants can be performed on any social occasion, while the *kana Sera* can only be delivered during the marriage feast and must be given in full.

Besides Panggau and Gelong, there are a number of other places mentioned in the *Kana*. These are:

1. *Menua Ujung* (or Ujung Penanggung Tiang or Ali Nabu) - a place beneath the water where Meningan Rangkang (or 'Iba' Sawa' Manang) and his sister Dara Perua (or Pupu' Perua) live. The inhabitants of this world are descended from sacred water creatures and can punish humans for wrong-doing. It is said that the deity of the water is Raja Juata.
2. *Menua Remang* - the 'cloudy' heaven, home of the headhunter Ketimbang Kaya/Agung and his sister Kumang Raminsan (or Munggang/Unggang). It is said Sempendai Lima is the ruler of the cloudy heaven.
3. *Menua Jelayan Kaya*, situated in the heavens proper (*Menua Langit*), the home of Jelayan Kaya, the pot-maker, and mender of broken things, and his sister Ketingan Kumang or Jawai Pudun.
4. *Menua Manang*, also in the heavens, the home of the great seer or shaman Keliung Sengkayan Burung (also called Manang Mensunai, or Biku Kebayu or Alang Bunsu Manang)<sup>10</sup> and his sister Kumang Jampang.
5. *Nibung Pemali*, the haunted forest, also situated in the heavens, where spirits dwell (e.g. *antu pugak* [the headless spirit], *Bera'* [spirit of a woman who died in childbirth] *menyungkai* [female spirit which lusts after men's genitals]).
6. A border region between heaven and earth where the famous Jali Berani lives, surrounded by enemies.
7. A border region on the way to heaven, high in the mountains, where Bujang Caing Celawang (or Ramping Pinggang) dwells, the ruler of the spirits which originate from *anak ajang* (babies who die under three months old and who are wrapped in a mat and placed in the branch

of a tree).

Dunselman's second major publication *Uit de Literatuur ...* (1959a) comprises a number of Mualang chants and oral texts. These include origin myths, the myths of Puyang Gana, Bui Nasi (Dasi), Potong Kempat, Keseka' and Burung Benang; chants delivered during the agricultural cycle, which also recount the origin of certain farming practices; chants by young and adult males, dwelling in a forest hut while engaged in hunting, gathering or head-hunting; chants delivered during the collection of honey from *lalau* trees; a praise-song to a Malay ruler; fragments of a lullaby sung by women while their menfolk are away on a head-hunt; and finally pieces of a chant used on the reception of a head to the village.

Perhaps it is worth briefly summarizing the origin myths. They contain some characters known to Iban. The two mythical ancestors at Tampun Juah are Ambun Menurum and Pukat Mengawan.<sup>11</sup> They gave birth to seven sons and three daughters. The eldest son was Puyang Gana, who was born with only one arm and one leg (cf. Iban Pulang Gana).<sup>12</sup> He became the spirit/deity of the earth, met the ruler of the earth-spirits Raja Suasa, and married the latter's daughter, Dara Merejat/Marajat who was leprous. The second son was Puyang Belawan, the ancestor of the Buah Kana. He begot Gerunung Emas whose daughter was Tikal Bidang, the mother of Keling. The third child was a daughter Dara Genuk; the fourth, a son, Bejit Manai. The latter is reputed to be the ancestor of human Mualang. He gave various customs to the Mualang and together with his sister, Dara Kanta', is associated with the seven principal omen-birds (van Naerssen 1951-2:146). The fifth child was a boy, Belang Patung; the sixth, a boy, Belang Pinggang; the seventh a son, Belang Bau; the eighth, a daughter, Dara Kanta'; the ninth, a beautiful daughter, Potong Kempat, who contracted leprosy and who became the wife of Haji Melayu, the ruler of Nanga Sepauk. These gave various marriage customs to the Mualang. The tenth child was Bui Nasi, a son, who was the first to learn about rice and himself became a 'rice-spirit'.

The genealogy from the fourth child Bejit Manai runs through three or four generations (1950:2; 1959a:7) to

Gujau/Gojau Temanggung Budi who eventually left Tampun Juah with his followers.<sup>13</sup> They moved into the Upper Ketungau, followed one of its tributaries, the Mualang, and then settled at the foot of the mountain Ramat. There they mixed with people from a nearby place called Tanah Tabo'. Eventually migrants moved into the Aya' and Belitang, the two rivers now populated by Mualang.

A second origin story concerns the people of Tanah Tabo'. They are descended from Kaseka' Busung, who married Dara Jantung, the child of Petara Guru. They had a son, Bujang Panjang, and it was this man who entered into an incestuous union with the youngest sister of his mother. His maternal grandfather, Petara Guru, had to sacrifice a pig to remove the ill-luck following on incest. The couple had no issue, and Bujang Panjang remarried and had a son, Guntur. He in turn had a son, Tinting Menjangin, who himself had two sons, Sangi' and Mari', and a daughter Dayang Burung Benang. In one story it is this daughter who married Demong Rui', ruler of the Embaloh Dayaks in the Upper Kapuas. It was from this marriage that some Mualang inherited 'aristocratic' rank (*suka*). An interesting feature of Mualang society is that they have three established ranks: *bansa suka* (aristocrats), *orang meluar/menua* (commoners) and *bansa melawang* (slaves). This relatively long-settled, hierarchical 'Ibanic' population in the Kapuas contrasts with their mobile, pioneering and more egalitarian Iban cousins.

In these myths and the *kana sera* there are also references to Sengalang (Tengalang) Burung. Apparently, in the Mualang language, *sengalang* means 'gifted with supernatural powers', but unlike the Iban case, Sengalang Burung is a collective term for the seven principal omen birds.<sup>14</sup> I have been unable to discover the names of all seven birds from Dunselman's writings, but those which do appear accord closely with Iban omen birds. They are *ketupong/ketupung*, *beragai/baragai*, *gamuas*, *papua* and *bejampung*. The *kenyalang*, or Rhinoceros Hornbill, as with Iban, is not considered to be one of the seven omen birds. It is designated as *demia*, usually a general term for animal tutelary spirits. *Telanjing* is a term given to animal spirits which protect head-hunters and shamans in particular. A title of the tutelary spirits of 'things' rather



than animals in *sengiang*. Dunselman tells us that the *kenyalang* is the 'focus' of an important festival (*gawai*). A wooden figure representing the head of a hornbill is placed on a large ironwood pole (*kenyawir ucung* or *teras*) after a successful head-hunt.

Dunselman's other publications comprise a paper on Mualang marriage customs (1950), two further articles on Mualang marriage chants (1959b; 1961), and one on 'Mualang titles' which includes praise-names (e.g. Singa, Macan, Lang Laut) and terms for official positions (1958). Of these, the paper on marriage practices, and one of the pieces on marriage chants called *ngebau tajau* are the most interesting. I will briefly summarize these. The description of Mualang marriage includes sections on the phases of marriage beginning with the asking for a female's hand (*betunang*) through the official engagement (*berpintak*) to the marriage proper. It mentions the gifts exchanged between the two parties to the marriage, and the fines associated with incest, divorce, separation, marriage without the proper procedures etc. Finally, the origins of certain customs relating to marriage are traced back to Potong Empat, Haji Melayu, Bujang Panjang, Bui Nasi and Bejit Manai.

The *ngebau tajau*, the subject of the second paper, is held before the main *kana sera* and is a chant performed during a sacrificial offering presented to a sacred jar. The chant is divided into a number of sections, as follows:

1. *tempa'*: this includes an account of the formation of the earth by the 'creation bird', and the creation of man and animals.
2. *leman penduduk*: it tells of the first inhabitants or founders of the principal places in West Kalimantan ranging from Java which is said to lie 'opposite the Kapuas estuary', through Pontianak, Landak, Sanggau, Sekadau, Sintang, Selimbau, Embaloh-Leboyan to the 'Sekarang' and 'Kenyawit'.
3. *leman basa*: this section gives the origins of custom law stemming from such figures as Puyang Gana, and from spirits and ghosts.

4. *leman Pati*: this enumerates the earlier Malay *pati* or rulers of the area from Sintang downstream through Belitang, Sepauk, Sekadau, Sanggau to Pontianak. These are followed by a list of Dayak rulers of the Mualang, Tabun, Banyur, Tanjung, Desa and Bui.<sup>15</sup>
5. *angkat*: (lit. 'the rising'). Here the chanter rises and visits all the apartments (*bilik*) of the longhouse.
6. *pansa'*: (lit. 'the passing by'). He recounts all important places in the environs of the longhouse.
7. *leman peta*: this sets out the various prohibitions to be observed at a feast.
8. *bangkai*: here words are addressed to the chicken which is to be sacrificed.
9. *nginjau jari*: (lit. 'the borrowing of hands') asking for the spiritual assistance of former great head-hunters (*tua*) and the Buah Kana.
10. *leman pelela'*: here the chanter calls for all kinds of favours, e.g. the fruitfulness of the earth, crops, etc.
11. *mimpi*: the bad dreams of the bride and groom are exorcized.
12. *ayu*: the chanter asks for his soul and that of the married couple to be strengthened.

These then are the main items which Dunselman has published on the Mualang and which, I maintain, should receive more attention from students of the Iban. For too long the political boundary between Malaysian and Indonesian Borneo, but more particularly the fact that much of the Kalimantan material is in Dutch, has discouraged scholars who have worked among peoples in the northern third of the island from using data from the south, and from viewing Borneo as a whole. Admittedly there are vast gaps in Kalimantan ethnography since very little recent anthropological fieldwork has been undertaken there. However, this should not lead us to ne-

glect what material is available on Kalimantan peoples. I hope this brief paper has illustrated that some data in Dutch is of value provided English-speaking scholars are prepared to widen their horizons and make use of it. The fact that many of the peoples in Sarawak, and indeed Sabah, have close relatives to the south of the border should, I hope, lead to a greater emphasis on Kalimantan studies in future.

NOTES

1. My original estimates of 10,000-11,000 now seem unduly high (1974:32; 1975b:1241).
2. See A.B. Hudson (1971:304, 306) for the term 'Ibanic', although it must be mentioned that from the point of view of historical precedent and indigenous ethnic identification the term 'Ibanic' may well meet with certain objections.
3. See also Enthoven (1903:397), Bouman (1923-24:285-9; 1924:184-9) and van Naerssen (1951-52:145).
4. In the 1950s Mualang numbered about 8,000 souls. Many had come under Catholic influence. See also Dunselman (1951a:22-31; 1951b:71-5).
5. References to Kling and his group (which includes Kumang, Lulong, Laja, Pungga, Dara Lantan Sakumbang, etc.) crop up in a number of publications on Sarawak Iban oral tradition. See, for example, Harrisson (1965:25), Harrisson and Sandin (1966:64, 74, 86-7, 118, 138, 151-2, 205, 218, 226-8, 239-40, 262) and Sandin (1967:245, 257-8, 264-5, 267-8, 373, 383, 392-3, 395; 1977:35-6, 147, 186-8). More especially see Perham and Brooke Law in Ling Roth (1968:311-38), and Dunn (1912:135-54, 634-48; 1913:22-39; 1914:494-528, 873-913; 1915-16:332-57, 817-43).
6. This is Dunselman's transcription.
7. 'Lawai' is said to be an old name for the Kapuas river.
8. Occasionally their home is placed in the neighbourhood of Semitau.
9. In Tampun Juah Mualang learned their customs, laws and rituals and the appropriate offerings to Petara, Puyang Gana, Sengalang Burung, and other deities and spirits.
10. It is said that the souls of dead shamans go to Rabung, a mountain in the upper Ketungau. Ordinary men's souls, however, eventually dissolve into dew and are absorbed by the ears of rice (Westenenk 1897:310).
11. The creator was Petara (Batara) Guru, who made man from a *kumpang* tree.
12. See Bouman (1923-4:285-9) on the myths of Pulang/Puyang/Piang Gana and Bui Nasi collected from the Desa, Seberuang, Sekumbang, and Sekajam peoples in the Sepauk river to the south of the Mualang. Also see Heynen (1937:24-8) for similar myths from the Ketungau.
13. There is also a story of the division of peoples at Tampun Juah after the eating of mushrooms. The mushrooms induced a drunken stupor and when everyone woke up they found that they spoke different languages (cf. Iban).
14. Kuhr talks of Hindu-Javanese-derived deities among the West Borneo Dayaks (1896:226-8). These include Petara (Batara), Duwata/Jubata/Lebata/Rebata (Dewata) and Sengiang (Sang Yang).
15. In the *kana Sera* there are also references to the enemies of the Mualang. The Bui are said to be related to the Iban, and to live on a tributary of the Batang Lupar. Other enemies are the Desa (near Sintang), Remun (along the Sekayam river), Bugau (the Ketungau), Mentakai/Entakai (north-east of Sanggau) and the Iban. Alliances were also made with the Ketungau peoples against the Iban. Mualang had Embaloh and Punan slaves as well, captured in raids.



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B R I E F C O M M U N I C A T I O N S

Shifting Cultivation

The following analysis of shifting cultivation in Sarawak has been produced by the Agriculture Department. In light of the forthcoming session on shifting cultivation which is part of the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, to be held in New Delhi in December, the analysis is quite timely.

Extent of Shifting Cultivation

Shifting or hill padi cultivation is widely practised by the Ibans, Bidayus, Kayans, Kenyahs and other minor ethnic groups of Sarawak. The estimated acreage under shifting or hill padi cultivation is bigger than that of wet padi but in terms of yield per acre hill padi is lower.

The estimated acreages under hill padi are as follows:

	Planted Area	Harvested Area
1973/74 season	66,549 hectares	62,063 hectares
1974/75 season	64,201 hectares	61,157 hectares
1975/76 season	65,950 hectares	62,116 hectares

### Socio-Economic Factors Related to Hill-Padi Farming

Due to the low productivity of hill padi, it is to be expected that quite a large number of hill padi farmers cannot be self-sufficient in rice every year. The low productivity, however, does not discourage them from continuing with the practice of hill-padi farming. The following reasons for the commitment to a hill-padi crop may be identified:

- (i) The ritual significance of rice (though not as important now as in the past). Freeman (J.D. Freeman, Report on the Iban) describes the 'interdependence of economics, social organisation and rituals' in hill padi cultivation; the way in which the padi spirits are looked upon as possessing a society of their own and the reverence with which each family's 'padi pun' or strain of sacred rice is treated;
- (ii) the minor crops interplanted with hill padi and the opportunities which visits to the hill padi farm give for foraging for wild edible plants and for hunting;
- (iii) the superior taste of hill rice as compared with other rice;
- (iv) the desire to produce at least some of the family's yearly requirement of rice;
- (v) the need to establish or maintain rights over land which is required by working on a padi farm.

### Problems Arising from Shifting Cultivation

The annual practice of hill-padi planting has given rise to three major problems in the State:

- (i) A heavy loss of valuable timber due to the felling of virgin or old secondary jungles for shifting cultivation;
- (ii) soil erosion leading to the depletion of soil. This results from the clearing of steep hills and the practice of relatively short fallow

periods due to the increasing population pressure in the shifting cultivation areas;

- (iii) flooding to adjacent areas due to rapid water run-off from areas cleared of natural vegetation.

### Importance of Hill Padi

Since mid-1969, hill padi has accounted for about 40 percent of the State's annual output of rice. From the beginning of the First Malaysia Plan, however, its contribution has shown a decline because of an increase of swamp padi. By 1990, it is projected that hill padi will account for some 20 percent of the State's rice output.

The Government has given strong emphasis to increasing rice production by concentrating on wet-padi production. However, it is unlikely that hill padi cultivation will dramatically decrease in view of the socio-economic factors associated with the hill-padi crop, and the limited opportunity in the remote areas for cultivation of swamp padi because of the hilly terrain.

### Generalizations About Place Names: Some Borneo Examples

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Richards raises a number of points regarding place names in Borneo (1978:24-27), with some of which I find myself in concurrence, others in disagreement. The subject of toponom is often neglected and deserves greater attention from anthropologists and other cultural specialists. The numbers below refer to divisions in Richards' discussion; section titles have been added here, where appropriate.

1. River "bankness" orientation. In Anglo-American culture orientation to the right bank and left bank of a river is with the direction of the river flow (e.g., COD:s.v.). In the Malay culture of Brunei, orientation to the *subalah kanan* 'right bank' and *subalah kayri* (or *kiri*) 'left bank' of a river is against the direction of the river flow. Thus, the is nothing at all "natural" about Malay river "bankness" orientation except in a purely ad hoc way. Both systems of orientation are equally arbitrary (cf. Sahlins 1976). Commitment to a position that the Malay system is "natural" implies that the Anglo-American system is "non-natural," since it is the logical obverse of the former. But there is

no reason to give logical priority to either system. The two systems are simply examples of different cultural logics (Sahlins 1976).

2. The alleged relation between *batang* - tree - trunk - branches remains spurious unless it can be demonstrated that *batang* referring to 'trunk' and *batang* referring to 'river' represents a clear case of polysemy and not one of homonymy. Given the present state of etymological knowledge and the underdeveloped state of semantic theory, it seems doubtful whether this condition can be met.

Regarding the change of a river's name at the juncture of a major tributary, I cannot speak to the Sarawak examples. However, an interesting case was noted in the Temburong District of Brunei. Many maps and publications indicate that the easterly river flowing into the southernmost part of Brunei Bay is the Temburong River (*sunay tamburug* - the westerly river is the Pandaruan). This identification is also utilized by Bruneians living in the capital area of Brunei District, most of whom have little occasion to visit Temburong District. About three miles upstream from the embouchure into Brunei Bay, according to this classification, is the mouth of the Labu River (*sunay labu*). However, to villagers living upstream in the Labu Valley, it is the Temburong River which empties into the Labu River, and the latter which has its mouth (*kwala labu*) at the southernmost end of Brunei Bay. Thus the question arises: Does A empty into B or does B empty into A? There is no way to answer this question based on the physical environmental characteristics of this small part of Borneo. Geological and topographic histories of the local landscape, however interesting they may be, are irrelevant. The question is fundamentally ethnographic. The closest attention possible needs to be paid to local patterns of usage, not only to the classification itself, but also to the commentaries people offer on the classification. Kadayan villagers of the upper Labu (*ulu labu*) claim a kind of authority of familiarity on the classification of which river flows into which, mentioned earlier. They state that the categorization found in many published sources is simply wrong.

3. In Kadayan, the term *tanjung* is applied to the long stretch of land on a river bank which is bounded on the upstream and downstream ends by bends in a river, as well as to capes and promontories of both sea and river. There is

one such prominent *tanjung* on the lower Labu River not far upstream from the mouth. *tanjung lapjar* is about one and a half miles long and straight, an uncommon phenomenon on the lower reaches of a meandering river. The local ethno-historic explanation for this extraordinary landform feature is that *away simawn*, the great Brunei culture hero, was paddling on the Labu River and happened to nod off to sleep. When his canoe struck the river bank, the tremendous power from one of his strokes cut through the point of land (*tanjung*), forming a ditch which became the river course. As one informant put it, "This is why the Labu River near *tanjung lapjar* is very long and straight, there are no bends (*sabappa, sunay labu dakat tanjung lapjar panjang sakali, lurus, ndada balingkuk - lapjar* has the meaning 'stretched out')."

4. Toponymic changes. Changes in place names can be helpful cues to the interpretation of historical developments (Wolfe 1967) as well as the ethnohistorical understanding of a place. In each case it is important to ascertain the linguistic and cultural provenience of the toponyms concerned, before proceeding to try to establish an etymology. The main headwater of the Labu River is known locally as the *sunay labu lutut*, the word *lutut* does not refer to 'knee' as it is not a Malay word. It is a Lun Bawang word referring to the ever-present 'clouded' (Kad. *kabut*) condition of the water in the stream (The common Kadayan term for 'knee,' in any case is *tuhut*, although *lutut* is known by virtually everyone.) Thus it would be improper to analyze the place name *labu lutut* as if it were a Malay form, although it appears to be one. Whether this form will undergo a regularization by Malay semantics in the future it is impossible to say. The etymology from the Lun Bawang form is widely known to the Kadayan presently living in the area.

A conscious change in a place name was encountered which reflects the slow shift that has been taking place in the area during the twentieth century, from a non-Muslim Lun Bawang (Murut) population to a Muslim, Kadayan population. The present village of *kampung pyasawpyasaw* before the early 1950s was known as *kampung tukagug*. *tukagug* was stated to be a Lun Bawang form, reflecting the fact that the early inhabitants of the Labu River valley were Murut, although the Kadayan did not know a meaning for the term. (One old and very knowledgeable Lun Bawang man indicated that *tukagug* was a 'spirit naga,' also known as *tamakar*.) A District Officer suggested the change, indicating that it

was more fitting for a Malay (i.e., in this case, Muslim) village not to have a Murut name.

The new name of the village, however, can be a semantic trap for the unwary toponymist. The place name *pyasaw-pyasaw* could represent either 1., the form *pyasawpyasaw* 'all sorts of coconuts,' reduplicated from the root *pyasaw* 'coconut(s),' or 2., *pyasawpyasaw* 'Anglesia splendens,' a tree variety with very hard wood which grows in the forest around the village. In fact the village place name is considered locally to have the former meaning, deriving from a once large stand of coconut palms (of which only a few remain) located on the opposite bank of the Labu River just below the present village landing dock. While both possible etyma of this place name were encountered during the first stages of field work, the locally relevant explanation was not discovered until near the end of the research period.

5. The Content of Place Names. It is difficult to make sound generalizations about the semantic content "commemorated" in place names outside the analysis of data sets collected within a particular local environment. Such generalizations may or may not be false, depending on findings from the analysis of toponymic data. Given the present state of our knowledge it is hard to imagine that any such generalizations could have any general cross-linguistic and cross-cultural validity. The further question of intra-linguistic and intra-cultural variability in patterns of place naming remains unaddressed.

A preliminary analysis of about 75 toponyms, for which informant interpretations are available, collected in the course of ethnographic and linguistic research with the Kadayan of the Labu Valley, Temburong District, Brunei, indicated a wide range of semantic contents in use (Maxwell 1977). This tabulation shows 26 names commemorate the activities of ordinary people; 36, biological and physical characteristics of the environment; 8, miscellaneous cultural activities; and 5, the activities of extraordinary beings, including culture heroes. Further data collection is needed to obtain informant interpretation for scores of other toponyms already obtained. It will then be possible to construct generalizations for the names in use in a particular locale which have empirical corroboration.

6. The Content of Place Names (cont.). The contents of place names mentioned above are similar to the examples mentioned by Richards (1978:26). It would be interesting to know the extent to which commemoration of biological and physical characteristics of the environment is a regular phenomenon between different languages and cultures in Borneo and elsewhere. One common source of potential confusion, however, lies in the common prefix *si-*, *sa-*, *sa-*, or *sə-*, if Malay linguistic influence has been present. Either of at least two different Malay prefixes might be involved: *si-* 'PERSON MARKER,' or *sə-* 'one-.' While no cases of the latter were uncovered, it cannot be ruled out that examples will be discovered in the future. Numerous examples of place names with the prefix *si-* were encountered. For certain of them it can be accurately determined that the person prefix is part of the place names, as three landings have been named after individuals the writer is acquainted with (*paṅkalan siadin*, *paṅkalan sibali*, *paṅkalan sitam*, commemorating Adin, Bali, and Hitam - morphophonemically in Kadayan, *si-* + *hitam* > *sitam*).

7. Problems. First, with respect to the name *mukah*, of the town and river of coastal Third Division, Sarawak, there is at least one published explication of that name. The author claims that some sailors followed the face (*muka*) of a beautiful woman in the sky to the shore; and that "Over the years the spelling has changed to Mukah" (Shamsuddin 1967:8). Archer, however, claims that the pronunciation is *mukah*, rather than *muka* (1949:100), and is corroborated by Druce who would have to be considered an authority on this point, as a native speaker of Malanaw (1949:103). While Richards may be right that these are "... obvious meanings that are evidently false (*Mukah*, fornication or *Muka*, face) probably from being interpreted in the wrong language" (1978:26), such cannot be assumed *a priori*, but needs to be established ethnographically, and the source language determined if possible. Assessing the ethnographic validity of *mukah* could prove to be a sensitive matter.

Second, with respect to unexplained or undiscovered names, the toponymist is in a special kind of predicament. If the informant or informants one asks about a place name cannot explicate it or do not know it at all, to whom does one turn? Unlike many other kinds of social and cultural information, particular toponymic data may not be widely shared by members of a social group. It seems that some

amount of serendipity must accompany a successful toponymist in a strange landscape.

There is no way to disprove the contention that a landscape feature is unnamed other than to discover a place name for it. One is more likely to succeed in more densely populated areas where larger numbers of individuals routinely have opportunities and needs to refer to places in the environment by use of a terminological label. Thus collecting place names in sparsely populated or unpopulated areas will often prove a difficult task. However, it seems somewhat rash to conclude that a place has no name, unless it is only meant that one is unable to discover it. There is no way to distinguish between a place that is unnamed and a place for which one is unable to discover the name. Unless one is able to discover a name, no conclusion can be reached that a place is either unnamed or named. This conclusion is valid because of the following two possibilities. First, a name may be known, but the cultural tradition attaching it to a particular location in the environment may have become lost. This situation would appear to pertain in the case of Ptolemaic place names for Southeast Asian geographical features (cf. Wheatley 1961:138-176). Second, both the name and the cultural tradition locating the place it applied to may have become lost. One would expect that this is the case with large numbers of perfectly ordinary Sru place names (cf. Harrisson 1949).

These points are raised because of the experience of this writer trying to collect place names in Brunei. Both Kadayan and Lun Bawang (in Brunei Malay, 'Murut') informants maintained that names were widely applied to locations in the environment. For example along one stretch of the Labu river about 1 3/4 miles, or 3 kilometers, long near a village, 55 toponyms and 43 place names were recorded including synonymous forms. (The difference made here between a toponym and a place name is the following. In cases of forms like *bukit tapayan*, 'Hive Hill,' and *sujay tapayan*, 'Hive River,' two toponyms are counted, but only one place name - *tapayan*; Maxwell 1977.) Numerous individuals often commented that indeed there were many names of local places. Of course there were spots which were unnamed, but as indicated earlier it would be difficult to determine the difference between one or more informants not being aware of an already existing name for a location versus there being no existing name for that location.

8. Things-May-Be-Other-Than-They-Seem. The lesson of Richards' *embuas* example probably cannot be overstated. In the headwaters of the Labu River there is a river, a hill, and a pool all sharing a single place name: *sujay sarumah*, *bukit sarumah*, and *luagan sarumah*. While superficially *sarumah* might look like 'one house' (ignoring that such a form properly should take a grammatical classifier, e.g., *sabuah rumah*), such is not the case. The name is derived locally from the presence of a large number of trees of the variety referred to as *kayu sarumah* OR *kayu sarumahsarumah*. Comparing informant description of this tree with that of Burkill, this is likely the latter's *Fagraea gigantea* (1966 s.v.). This and Richard's example illustrate the danger of facile conclusions about place names. In addition, the form *sarumah* is not morphosemantically decomposable, being a unitary simple lexeme (cf. 6., above).

Place names inscribe cultural and social information onto the landscape (Geertz 1973). These 'inscriptions' however are not static. They undergo phonological, morphological, lexical and semantic remodeling as the cultures and language of the inhabitants of the area change. Place names can be helpful in disambiguating the complex overlapping of linguistic and social variables in the cultural 'prehistory' of an area. Further they constitute an excellent source of data to be utilized in ascertaining and delimiting the complex of meaning relations which are important in the everyday life of human beings in a region. While I disagree with Richards on several points, his interest in bringing the importance of place names in understanding human settings in Borneo to our attention is commendable.

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NEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

Report of A Music Workshop  
in East Kalimantan

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Introduction

In accordance with a recommendation of the Advisory Committee for "A Study of Malay Culture," in its meeting in Bali in 1974, the Directorate General of Culture of the Department of Education and Culture of Indonesia, in cooperation with the Indonesian National Commission for UNESCO (and with the sponsorship of UNESCO), convened a workshop that took place primarily in Kalimantan Timur, from March 29 to April 23, 1977. The purpose of the workshop was to have Southeast Asian countries work together for a practical application of theories of music research and arrive at common methodologies of investigation and cataloguing of material useful for the performing and creative arts, the social sciences, and mass media. The

participants were men and women with responsible positions in their respective countries, and members of various disciplines--music education, composition, linguistics, anthropology, ethnomusicology, dance, piano and ranaad (Thai xylophone) playing, dancing and the art of the *dalang* (puppeteer). The official representatives were U Han Win (Burma), N. Revel-Macdonald (France, UNESCO delegate), I Made Bandem (Indonesia), Firdaus Burhan (Indonesia), R. Wiranto (Indonesia), Wayan Geriya (Indonesia), Jean Joseph Rakotoarison (Madagascar), Ayub bin Ismail (Malaysia), Abdul Fatah Kirim (Malaysia), José Maceda (Philippines), Edith Abisheganaden (Singapore), Virot Tantranon (Thailand), and Sirichaicharn Fackjamroon (Thailand).

The workshop opened on March 29, 1977, with speeches of welcome in Jakarta by Drs. Firdaus Amir, Secretary-General of the Indonesian National Commission for UNESCO, Dr. James McDivitt, Director and Chief of Mission of UNESCO in Indonesia, and Drs. Suwandono, Director of the Pembinaan Kesenian, who spoke on behalf of Professor I.B. Mantra, Director-General for Culture of the Department of Education and Culture. Following the plenary speeches, Dr. José Maceda was elected chairman, Mr. I Made Bandem, vice-chairman, and Miss Shanta Abisheganaden as rapporteur of the workshop. Mr. Bandem read a paper on "A Social and Cultural Background of Peoples of Kalimantan Timur," based on an exploratory trip he and Drs. Firdaus Burhan took in Kalimantan Timur in 1975, and on contributions provided by Drs. Wayan Geriya. Dr. Maceda discussed field methods--technics of tape-recording, measurement of flute stops, description of rites and ceremonies as cultural background--and laboratory methods involving cataloguing, filing, classification of data, distribution studies, and the writing of monographs and glossaries of musical terms. Dr. N. Revel-Macdonald talked about the different languages of Borneo, certain problems that might arise in the field, and the collection of song-texts with illustrations of work done in the Philippines.

The following day, the team of about 15 people flew to Balikpapan, drove to Samarinda from where, after a reception at the Governor's office, the group, enlarged by about 15 officials and other representatives from Samarinda, proceeded en route along the Mahakam River, the widest and longest in East Kalimantan. More than a year before the workshop took place, an Indonesian team visited

some villages in the Klinjau and the Telen branches of the Mahakam, and it is on the basis of this earlier visit that an itinerary of travel was prepared for the workshop to visit seven or more *kampung* rather than just one or two along these two rivers. One day to three days were spent in each village, making a total of three weeks fieldwork and 1000 kilometers travel to and from Samarinda. Two small motor boats, called taxi-boats, with low roofs, each holding fifteen people, brought the workshop group through its travel. Although it was a long and tiring journey for a large group of people in cramped surroundings, it was a unique field experience which brought immediate results to the researchers. Dense jungles with a great variety of timber being hauled downstream, villages of different ethnic groups, fog, heat, humidity, rainstorms and an ever-winding river, brown in color with all kinds of currents, whirlpools, and floating debris, were among the scenes, living things, objects, elements, and sensations experienced by the team in its travel.

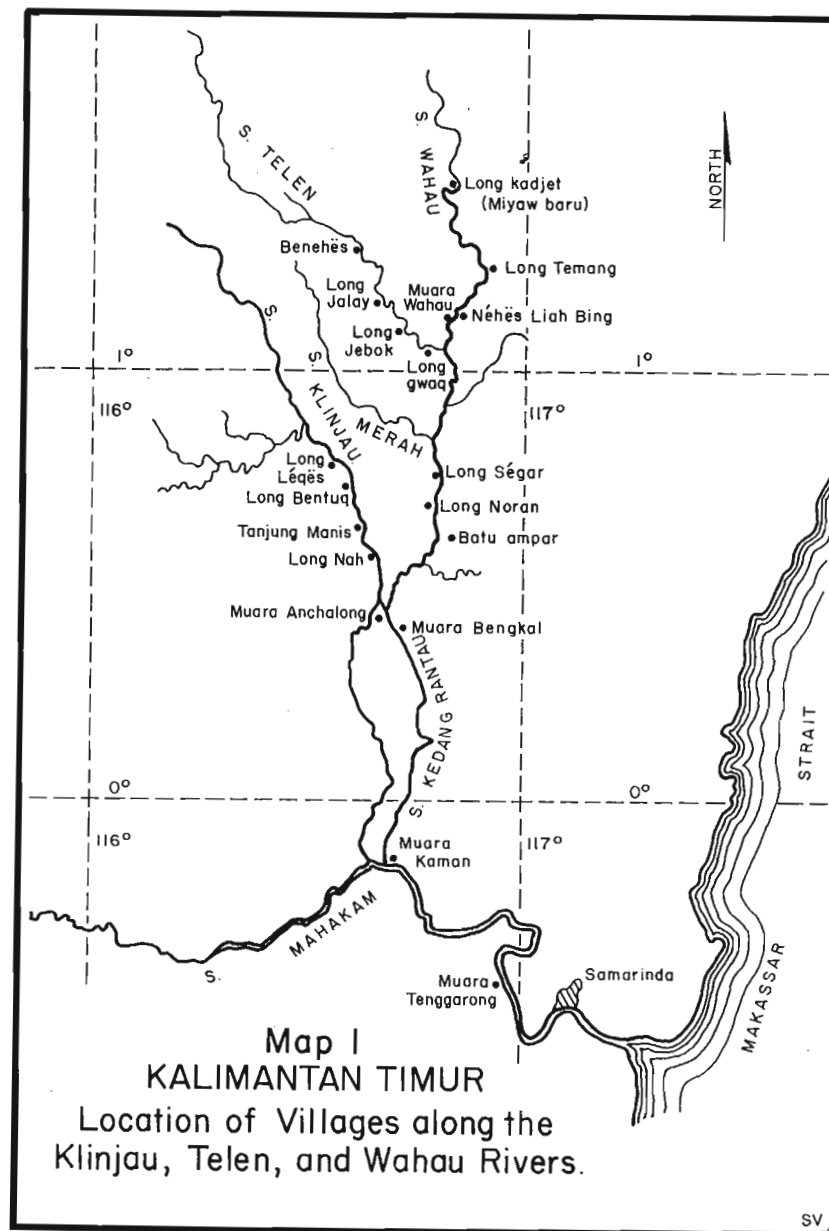
The names of villages visited and the people that live in them are listed below:<sup>2</sup>

Villages on the Klinjau River      Linguistic Group of People

Muara Anchalong (Ancalong)	Kutai, Bugis, Banjar
Long Bentuq (Bentuk), a settlement about 35 years old with 400 people	Modang
Long Léqēs (Lees), a settlement 35 years old with 2800 people	Kenyah umaq bém
Tanjung Manis, settled only a few years ago, with 300 people	Kenyah umaq taw

Villages on the Telen River      Linguistic Group of People

Long Noran, new village with 510 people	Kenyah léppoq kulit
Long Segar, new settlement with 210 families and 2 mission churches	Kenyah umaq jalan
Néhēs Liah Bing, village more than 100 years old with 750 people	Modang



Long Wehyah, new settle-  
ment with more than  
105 people  
Miau Baru settled in  
1961, now has 1300  
people

Modang

Kayan umaq lékan

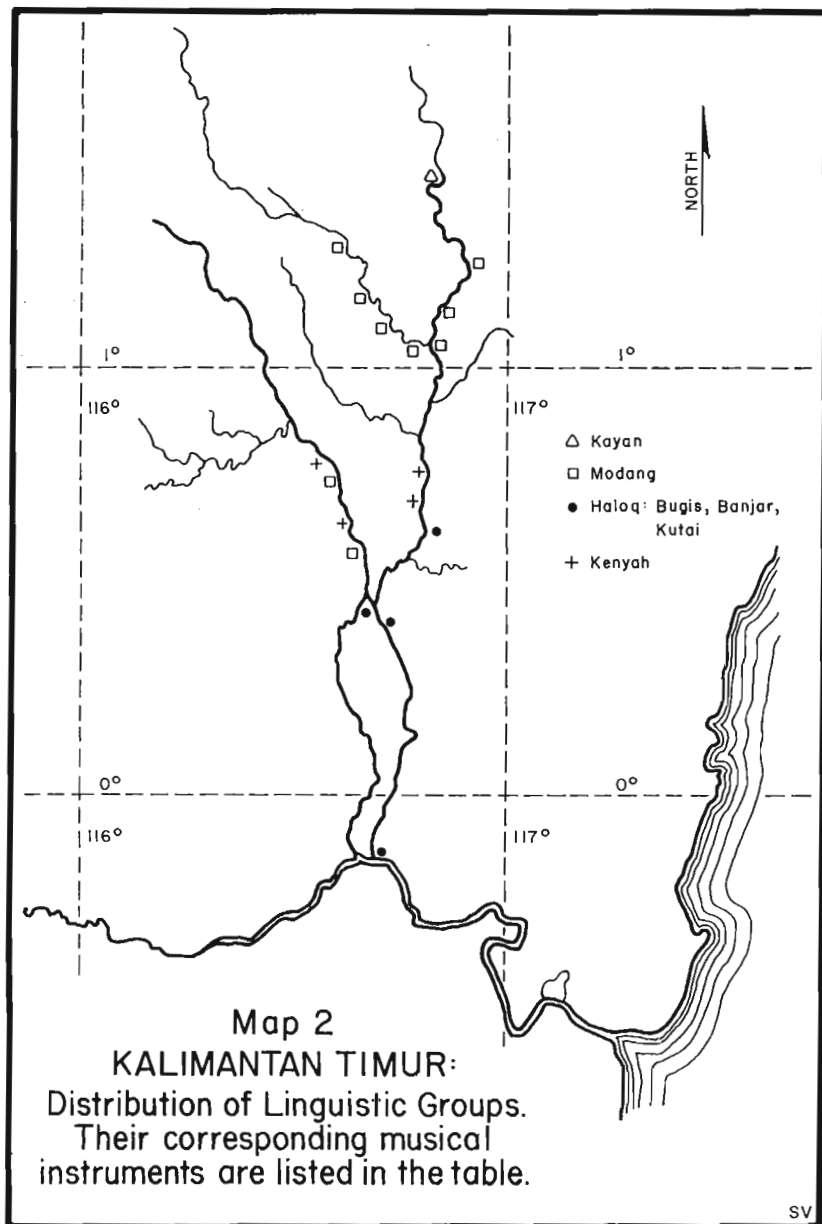
In comparison with villages in the head waters of the Mahakam, the above *kampung* are relatively new settlements. Their inhabitants are, except for those in Muara Anchalong, Dayak people who originally came from the "apoq Kayan," or the Upper Mahakam and Kayan river systems. Among some Dayak groups, the immigration to the Telen and Klinjau took a long time. With the Kayan of Miau Baru, it lasted several years and was a very difficult journey--by motor and paddle-boats, by foot through jungles, sometimes staying in a place for months to gather food and build their boats in which they travelled. Although these Dayak are nominally Christians (some groups were converted in 1945, before they moved down the Mayakam), they have preserved in certain ways and in varying degrees their old cultures. The Modang of Néhès Liah Bing make up about the oldest settlement in these two rivers, and their rituals and customs are held intact.

Each village that the workshop visited provided a welcome ceremony and an elaborate music program in which the music culture was well represented. It was of course impossible to examine in detail the different social contexts under which these musics were performed, but, on the other hand, these presentations brought quickly to the visitors specific information and a panoramic view of the music in the Klinjau and Telen River areas.

#### Welcome Ceremonies and Programs

In Muara Anchalong (Mixed linguistic groups: Kutai, Bugis, Banjar)

A welcome ceremony (*tepong tewar*) was arranged by the government officer (*chamat*) of the district. The guests were made to sit in a new bamboo platform built in tiers. Each visitor was blessed with leaves (*daun dadap*) of the *dadap* tree to give strength, and yellow rice (*beras kuning*) to clean the body. Coconut leaves (*memakai plas*), soaked in coconut water (*aër kelapa*), were made to brush lightly the feet of each visitor. Then, a program of Suku Kutai



music followed:

1. *tari kanjar*, welcome dance by six girls with musical accompaniment on the bronze xylophone (*saron*), a double-headed drum (*kendang*), and a suspended gong (*gong*).
2. *kanjar laki-laki*, another dance with music played on the *saron*, *kendang*, and *gong*.
3. *tari jepen*, dance by three children with music of the three-string bowed lute, *gambus*, *kendang*, and *gong*.
4. *tari belian*, dance by one man accompanied by the *saron*, *gong*, and *kendang*.
5. *tari jepen laki-laki*, dance by three men with musical accompaniment on the *gambus* and *kendang*.

In Long Bentuq (Linguistic group: Modang)

The welcome ceremony (*tepung tewar*) which was dedicated to Pok Jeke, began with the sacrifice of a chicken which was to prevent spirits from disturbing the proceedings. The visitors formed a line and as each one walked past the headman or authority of local traditions (*kepala adat*), he waved feathers of the *tengkoq* bird over his head. With a chicken's egg, he touched their foreheads to get rid of bad spirits that may lurk inside their bodies. A receptionist stepped forward and, as a symbol of unity, she tied a bracelet with one bead around the wrist of each visitor.

Music Program I (before dinner)

1. *Kway hèn* was danced by nineteen girls and six boys to the accompaniment of a long tubular drum (*téwung*) and two suspended gongs (*égong*) as entertainment for a child's ritual, a wedding, or an ancestor's worship.
2. *témbém bataq*, a dance to celebrate a victory in a headhunting raid.
3. *jong nyélong*. About 25 women danced to a choral singing in celebration of *éraw anak*, a feast in honor of a child.
4. *kanjèt pépatay*, a warrior's dance performed by four men.

Music Program II (after dinner)

1. *léng ming öngqèt*, "a sad expression," played by two ring flutes (*lukunwut*) one after the other.
2. *luang kédjaw*, "lament for the dead," music for the jew's harp (*tong buwéh*) played by three women.

3. *tong luk tégguk*, percussion tubes struck with a stick.
4. *ngéluq*, song for the feast of a child, sung by a chorus of seven women and three men.
5. *tomboya*, a lullaby, sung by the wife of the *kepala adat*.
6. *gong* and drum patterns.

Scenes of a Harvest Celebration (*éraw péllè*)

1. *söng* (mortar): about ten men and women pounded rice in two long mortars, one with three holes and a shorter one with two holes.
2. *pénéling lèh mah ling*, shifting and sieving pounded rice amidst shouting and beating of gongs and drums.
3. *pahén*, a tug-of-war between one man and five women. Each side took its turn to win.
4. *témbém bataq*, a dance in small steps, accompanied by a drum and gong.
5. *hudoq*, a fertility dance performed by thirteen men, seven of whom wore masks and costumes made of banana and palm leaves. Those with masks had the names *wan tönggap*, *wan ponlis*, *wan hépoy*, *wan yök*, *wan manliu*, *wan wadyao*, *wan éwoa*, and *wan pénnèng*. They represented animals or characters who chase malevolent spirits preventing a good harvest. *Hudoq* without masks are slaves or messengers of the masked *hudoq*. They carry seeds of rice, root crops, fruits, sugar cane, and coconut to the villages.
6. *jong nyélong*, a song by a big group of men and women.

A *Bélian* Ceremony.

The dance was led by two male mediums who were followed by six women playing on bamboo tubes. One *bélian* waved an egg over the whole body of the sick person in order to catch the bad spirit. The egg could not be broken, lest the spirit escape and get inside the body of other people. The offerings of the ceremony were uncooked white rice (*bras*), a chicken (*jip*), and a long knife (*mandaw*).

Games of *Gasing*, Giant Tops.

Adult men play this game. One man spins his top and each other man successively tries to hit it or knock out any top spinning on the ground. If one missed, others followed. The man's top which was the last one spinning won the game.

In Long Lèqès (Linguistic Group: Kenyah umaq bém)

As the long boats of the workshop team approached the village, the visitors were made to land on the river bank opposite the village. Two long boats came and ferried the guests across to a floating pier or raft of giant logs, on which the visitors disembarked. Each person, one behind the other, climbed a ladder, really a steep log with notches, step by step on each notch, to the top of the log from where the group touched land. A welcome ceremony followed. One by one, as the visitors passed by and stopped in front of the *kepala adat*, he waved a small chicken over their heads to chase away evil spirits. He sprinkled water on their feet to make their stay a happy one. Then, the group was led to a longhouse, on to one side of a wide passageway where the rest of the ceremony and program took place.

Music Program

1. A long line of men in colorful costumes walked in slow measured steps, led by the headman who also initiated a responsorial singing. When the line reached the visitors, each man with a small tube of honey (*téllang layuk*) offered each visitor a drink.
2. *kanjèt julug*, a welcome dance performed by about twenty-three men and women.
3. *jatung utang*, a wooden xylophone, a solo performance with no dance.
4. *kanjèt pépataya* warrior's dance by two women accompanied by the music of four *sampëq*.
5. *kanjèt kuwaq*. Two women with big hornbill feathers tied to each hand, danced on a large gong lying on the floor.
6. *kanjèt téngén léttöh*. The dance is similar to the preceding number.
7. *kanjèt kuwaq léttöh*, danced by seven girls with hornbill feathers tied to each hand. Musical accompaniment on the xylophone (*jatung utang*).
8. *kanjèt udöq témanggang*, a dance by two men brandishing long knives (*baing*) and wearing masks representing the hornbill. Two long drums (*jatung*) and afterwards, two lutes (*sampëq*) played the musical accompaniment.

Another Program

1. *pépatay*, simulation of a battle between two camps, with five men in each camp. The two sides were separated by a gong with its open side lying on the ground.

2. *lésung undat*. A group of about twenty young boys and girls pounded rice in a long wooden mortar with an elongated trough. They shouted, screamed, and beat gongs (*égong*), long drums (*jatung*), and bamboo tubes (*jatung but*) in an atmosphere of general merriment. A man with a mask and a blow-pipe, *udog punan kélpüt*, representing the Punan people, appeared and simulated food gathering and hunting. The rice was pounded for a long time, until it became a fine grain. After sifting and sieving, it was mixed with sugar and cooked to a proper consistency in an iron pan. Small portions were molded with the palm of the hand and wrapped in banana leaves, ready for serving.

In Tanjung Manis (Linguistic Group: Kenyah umaq taw)

Program.

1. Reception. The whole troupe was led into the longhouse where guests were offered sugar cane, papaya, bananas tea, and sticky rice.
2. A replica of the hornbill, *suwi témanggang*, was carried in a slow procession of five men and five women from a house in the village to the longhouse located midway between two points opposite the village. As the headman received the bird, its feet were placed grasping a bar tied across the mouth of an open jar. The bird is a symbol of peace and the chain linking it to the jar signifies the unity of all the Kenyah people.
3. The song of Hule Huning is a war song, sung by two brothers, Huning and Jima, to encourage the Umaq Taw in a battle they fought with the Kenyah Umaq Bakung. The Umaq Taw won and the song was given the name of Hule Huning.
4. *parap*, the presentation of holy water by a messenger of the Sultan of Kutai to the Rajah of Umaq Taw in a peace pact. The action of presenting was executed in a slow dance, in very stylized movements, and it took a long time for him to traverse the hall and approach the headman, who represented the former Rajah. He accepted the glass of water and slowly drank it. The dance was accompanied by a choral music and the *sampëq*.
5. *kanjèt pépatay*, a warrior's solo dance accompanied by the music of two *sampëq*.
6. *kanjèt léttöh*. Eighteen women danced to celebrate a peace-pact with the accompaniment of two *sampëq*.

7. *mapyan kémpaw*. In another peace-pact, women, wearing wide hats, danced in three rows, six women in each row, and with music played by two *sampèq*.
8. *kanjèt téllu julut*. Nine men in three rows danced for a peace-pact.
9. *kway mékat*, a dance mimicking the *mékat* bird searching for food in the forest as a symbol of a free life and peace in the countryside. The dance was performed by twenty girls.
10. *kanjèt bahing*, a solo warrior's dance with *sampèq* accompaniment.
11. *udang géddut*, a girl's dance, imitating shrimp walking backwards.
12. *kanjèt ujah limpah*. Five men representing *udöq* characters each with a pole with which they pounded the ground, danced to the musical accompaniment of a group of singers.
13. *udöq kita* and *udöq kiba*. Five boys and girls wearing two types of masks danced to protect the growing rice from harm and destruction.
14. *tiddaw*, a lament for solo woman's voice.
15. *tiddaw*, a lament played on a flute.
16. *uding*, jew's harp.

In Long Noran (Linguistic Group: Kenyah léppoq kulit)

Music Program

1. *kanjèt juluk*, entertainment dance after harvest, performed by about 25 girls. Hornbill feathers were attached to each hand, and the musical accompaniment was played by two *sampèq*.
2. *kanjèt liwah*, a dance of welcome by sixteen women imitating movements of the hornbill. Two *sampèq* played the music.
3. *kanjèt mamat*. Nine girls danced to celebrate a victory after a headhunting raid, with *sampèq* as musical accompaniment.
4. *kanjèt béngén wan anaq ne musang*. Thirteen children danced a new choreography created by teachers of the public school.
5. *kanjèt pépatay*, a warrior's dance performed by one man with hornbill feathers tied to the left hand and a long-knife held in the other hand.
6. *kanjèt julut kuwaq*, a farewell dance. Guests and hosts danced in a circle to the music of the *sampèq* and a choral singing (*ménaloq*).

In Long Ségar (Linguistic Group: Kenyah umaq jalan)

Welcome Ceremony and Musical Program

1. *udog* characters greeted the guests in a square of the village. These were: *udog taing*, a gigantic figure of a wild boar borne by several men; *udog kitaq*, who wore a wooden mask with lateral ornaments; *udog kibah*, with a mask of embroidered materials and beads covering a basket; and *udok maok*, small characters with no masks.
2. *jatung julut*. Rows of dancers welcomed the guests.
3. *julut uding*. In this dance, the lead woman wearing a head-dress of hornbill feathers was followed by 11 women playing their jew's harps (*uding*) and three women playing their bamboo zithers (*lutong*).
4. *datun julut pétsuq pétsuq kina*. Rows of dancers portrayed the story of Umaq Jalan's change of abode from the Apo Kayan to the Telen River. The dance was accompanied by a wooden xylophone (*jatung utang*), a long drum (*jatur*) and suspended gong with boss (*tawak*).
5. *datun siswi siswi*. School students danced a new choreography to the accompaniment of the *sampèq*.
6. *médjong kina*. This dance represented the activities of the people when they first moved to the Telen from the Apo Kayan.
7. *lelèng*, social dancing with the participation of guests.
8. *kanjèt pépatay*, warrior's dance executed by two men.
9. *kanjèt gong*. Two women danced around a large gong lying on the floor and after a time, one of them danced on the gong itself.

In Néhés Liah Bing (Linguistic Group: Modang)

Welcome Ceremony.

As the team stepped into the village, it was immediately led to stand as a group in front of a large gong with boss (*égu*) lying on the ground. Three members were made to place their right foot on the face of the gong. The headman started an invocation, after which he sprinkled small handfuls of yellow rice on the ladder's steps. With a small knife, he sacrificed a chick and wedged it into the fork of a split bamboo pole stuck in the ground. He smeared his forefinger with the blood of the chick and touched a fingertip of each member of the team. Young women stepped forward and tied a red string with a red and blue bead around the forearm of each partici



Music and Dance Program.

1. *siah sémpěq*, lute music.
2. *naq kédjén siah ong*, a dance.
3. *sawténg*, a solo dance.
4. *jong nyelóng*, dance for a harvest celebration.
5. *tumbam bataq*, dance performed by 13 women and three men for a harvest ceremony.
6. *hédòq*, a dance with four masked men: *saq*, *tonggop*, *pahněy*, and *wéh jeq*.

Important Feasts

For about eight months of the year, all the working people of the village go to the jungle to fell trees or cultivate clearings and prepare them for planting rice or other crops. The rest of the year, they go back to the village where they observe a number of festivities mostly related to the rice harvest. The principal yearly ceremony, *naq édat plaě* (*naq*=to make; *édat*=tradition; *plaě*=unhusked rice), and other ceremonies or rituals are:

1. Yearly celebrations after the harvest:
  - a. *naq édat plaě*
    - i. *naq pos éyéy*. This consists principally of preparations for the feast. Men bring *rotan* from the jungle to the village in open boats.
    - ii. *unding*, calling of the spirits to participate in the feast. Food is laid before two sticks driven into the ground in front of the rice granary.
    - iii. *dungtung béruwah*. A group of families honor their dead with prayers and dances.
    - iv. *bop jingěyah*. Sheds with open sides and roofs covered with coconut leaves are built along the river bank throughout the length of the village. This is for the people to sit and watch a mock fight in the river between two camps of men in long-boats. At the same time, amidst great rejoicing, young men and women in the sheds throw, pour, or sprinkle water on each other's heads, faces, or bodies.
    - v. *kédung*, procession of women dressed as men move 15 times through the length of the village.
    - vi. *éndam jim pantung éléyang*. A pig is buried in the village. After this ceremony, people may cut grass in their clearings, but large trees should not be felled.
    - vii. *éndam jim mae moq*. A pig is buried in the *ladang* or forest, after which prayers are offered to prevent accidents such as trees falling on people.

- b. *éraw anak*, celebrations in honor of the children of well-to-do families.
- c. *émtal* or *kawin*, marriage rituals.
- d. *potong rambut*, a hair-cut for young boys.
2. *éraw kepala*, feast of the head of the village held only on special occasions.
3. *éraw blontong*, feast of wooden effigies representing village ancestors, constructed at the edge of the village where the forest begins. The celebration is done rarely through the years with no fixed interval of time.
4. *ěnjuk*, rituals to cure the sick. Two varieties exist: *naq lěm emtao*, native Modang ritual, and *ěnjuk emtao haloq*, of Banjar and other influences.

Instrumental Music

Gongs are the principal musical instruments with names of specific rhythms to accompany dances in ritual and recreational activities. Some rhythms are exclusively for use in rice rituals, while most beats apply to *éraw anak* festivities. The *sampěg* is seldom played and is most likely borrowed from the Kenyah groups. No flutes or zithers were seen in this village.

Vocal Music

1. *téluv naq lom nyak so* is a leader-chorus singing by women, sung through the night for *éraw anak* and other festivities.
2. *émbos épaq plaě* pertains to a group singing by men, women and children to end the rice thanksgiving feasts.
3. *téluv long wai* are songs sung in groups, mostly by women for goodwill and harmony among the people and in honor of visiting guests from another village.

In Long Wehyah (Linguistic Group: Modang)

The main attraction in this village was a complete rendition of the *hédòq* dance ritual, from the time the dancers prepared their costumes of palm leaves inside the forest, to their entry on both sides of the village's extremities and their concentration in the center of the village, in front of the men's communal house (*éwěyang*). Dance postures and symbolic gestures were executed by masked and unmasked characters similar to those of the Kenyah groups in the Klinjau and Telen rivers.

The four types of gongs played at the men's communal house were different from each other in profile, mainly in the width of their rims and the slant of the rims as they turn inwards. A long drum (*téwung*) always accompanied a gong playing. As in Néhës Liah Bing and some Kenyah groups, the flat gong (*mémbiang*) was not played. It was used as a tray in marriage and other ceremonies.

In Miao Baru (Linguistic Group: Kayan umaq lekan)

Music Program.

1. Announcement, played by four suspended gongs: Three *tawék* and one *égung*.
2. *sélingut* (nose flute) with four plus "h" stops. The first stop is in the middle of the flute.
3. *tong*, jew's harp of the plucked variety.
4. *sapë*, four- and three-string lutes.
5. *mébang*, flat gongs.
6. *long*, a leader-chorus singing of men.
7. gong playing for *hudöq* dances of five young girls.

Some musical instruments known to and described by informants but not actually played during the visit:

1. *sélingut baq*, mouth flute.
2. *kédutung*, a bamboo zither.
3. *buloq tangbut*, a xylophone with six segments in a row laid across both legs of the player.
4. *tangbut gok*, a hand xylophone with four blades held between the five fingers of the left hand, and struck by a stick in the right hand. Two people may play on two sets to produce eight sounds.
5. *tégera pit*, a bamboo clapper attached to a pole which stands in the middle of the rice field. A long string tied to the pole stretches across the field to a shelter where a man can pull the string to sound the clapper, and drive birds from the ripening grain.
6. *buluq laluaq*, a bull roarer agitated by the wind.

On the following page is a table identifying and summarizing information about the musical instruments of the groups visited by the team.

TABLE OF MUSIC INSTRUMENTS DESCRIBED, HEARD OR RECORDED IN NINE VILLAGES

MUSIC INSTRUMENTS	MODANG*		KENYAH			KAYAN	HALOQ† (Mixed)				
	LONG BENTUQ	LONG NÉHÉS LIAH BING	LONG WEHYAH	UMAQ BEM	UMAQ TAW	LEPPOQ KULIT	UMAQ JALAN	UMAQ LAKAN	MIAU BARU	KUTAI, BUGIS BANJAR	MUARA ANCHALONG
MEMBRANOPHONES											
1. long conical drum	tuwong ekah	téwung	téwung	jatung							
2. short cylindrical drum	tuwong emok										
3. cylindrical two-headed drum		téwung pwen (big) réwungsoq (small)									
IDIOPHONES											
4. suspended gong with boss	egöng	séibun égung tébian méndéq	égung	égung, tawaq	tawaq	tawaq	tawaq	tawaq	tawéq, égung		kendang
5. flat gong		mémbiang (mémbiang)	mémbiang		mébang				mébang		
6. suspended wooden xylophone									udong-udong		

\*The first horizontal row lists main groups of people. The second row below shows sub-groups of these people. The third row contains names of villages. (Please see Maps 1 and 2, which locate villages and linguistic groups separately.)  
†Mixed groups. It is not known which instruments are Kutai, Banjar or Bugis. The orthography of these instruments was what was provided at that time.



The following remarks may be made about the preceding table:

1. The Modang, Kenyah and Kayan, which represent a separate musical group of several Dayak villages, are related to each other more than they are to the Kutai, Banjar and Bugis of the village of Muara Anchalong (see maps), where musical instruments such as the *saron*, *gambus*, and *kendang* are not found among the Dayak group. On the other hand, Dayak instruments such as the *sampëq*, *tëwung*, and *këdingut* are not used by the Kutai, Banjar and Bugis.

2. Suspended gongs (*égung*, *tawak*) with a high boss and a wide turned-in rim are common to all the groups and constitute one of the most important musical instruments in East Kalimantan. They are related to suspended gongs played alone or in a group of other suspended gongs among the Iban and Land Dayak in Sarawak (Maceda 1962), among the Kadazan, Murut, Dusun, and Bajau of Sabah (Frame 1975), the Palawan and Tagbanwa of Palawan, and the Manobo, Tagakaolo, Bilaan, Bukidnon, Mansaka, Subanun and Tagabili of Mindanao (University of Philippines 1978). Together, they make up a musical family different from the family of gongs laid in a row (*kulintang*) which are played with suspended gongs, drums, or a bamboo pole. The *kulintang* are found in the Tanjung area of East Kalimantan (Departemen Pendidikan 1976), the Iban of Sarawak (Maceda 1962), the Bajau and Kadazan in Sabah (Frame 1975), the Magindanao, Maranao, and Yakan of Mindanao, Taosug, Samal and Badjao of Sulu, and in Banda, Moluccas (Columbia LP 1940).

3. The lute (*sampëq*) is a very popular instrument among the Kenyah and Kayan. It has three to six strings which are grouped into two musical functions: drone and melody. The *sampëq* is not present among the Modang of Long Bentuq, and it is scarcely used among the Modang of Nehes Liah Bing, where it may have been borrowed from the Kenyah.

4. Flat gongs without a boss are used as trays to carry ritual paraphernalia; they are not used as musical instruments, except among the Kayan of Miao Baru, where they are suspended from the left hand and struck with a stick in the right hand. Flat gongs are important musical instruments among all Igorot groups in northern Luzon, and are less used in Bataan province, Philippines. They are equally significant instruments in Vietnam, northern Thailand, and Cambodia (Maceda 1976).

5. The mouth organ is played only among the Kenyah in Long Ségar.

6. Some instruments among the Kayan (nose flute, bamboo clapper, xylophone segments placed between the fingers) were described by informants, but only the nose flute was actually played. These are important instruments not found among the Kenyah and the Modang of the region, and may be present in other parts of Borneo.

7. Music instruments in the table may be located in Maps 1 and 2, by looking at the village or linguistic group to which they belong. For example, among the Modang of Long Bentuq in the table, the long conical drum (No. 1), short cylindrical drum (No. 2), gong (No. 4), percussion tube (No. 10), jew's harp (No. 13), and ring flute (No. 21) are those found in the village of Long Bentuq in Map No. 1, and among the Modang in Map No. 2. In another Modang group, in the village of Nehes Liah Bing, the same instruments are played as well as iron tubes and the lute, *sampëq*. However, no ring flutes are used in Néhés Liah Bing. In Map No. 2, the Kenyah villages are shown near Modang villages along the Klinjau River. In spite of this proximity, Kenyah musical instruments, like the plucked lute (*sampëq*) and the xylophone (*jatung utang*), are not popular in the Modang village of Long Bentuq. Among both language groups, musical instruments which resemble each other in type do not have the same name. The Kenyah call the long conical drum, *jatung*, and the suspended gong, *tawaq*, while these instruments are known among the Modang as *tëwung* and *égung* respectively, with variants in vowel openings.

#### Vocal Music and Dances

A call and response singing and group dancing related to harvest ceremonies, head-hunting, peace-pacts, processions and entertainment are a common feature among all the Dayak groups. Group singing as well as instrumental music accompany group and solo dances. In Long Léqës and in other Kenyah villages, a man intones a slow melody, and the male choir follows.

In contrast to a male chorus among the Kenyah, a female group predominates among the Modang, where overnight sessions of singing accompany *éraw anak* feasts (celebration given by rich families) and ceremonies of good will. In the same village, still another choral singing including men, women,

and children (*embos epaq plaë*) ends the harvest festivities. The text of those songs are known only to a small group of women. One of them dictates softly the words of the song in monosyllables and in monotone, before another woman soloist sings these same words, followed by a chorus singing the last words of her line. Curing rituals (*ënjuk*) are usually performed by one person, a woman or a man, in a particular singing style, but training and initiation of new mediums involve group singing.

Dancing in groups to form circles or rows of lines one in front of the other are usually an affair of the women, but in closing ceremonies and general entertainment, men, women and children mix and dance counterclockwise in a circle to the accompaniment of gong music. Dances are generally slow, with variations of an alternate swinging of the left and right hands. Solo dances performed by a man or woman on the floor, or more especially, on top of a gong lying flat on the floor, involve intricate movements of kneeling, bending and pivoting while displaying large, beautiful hornbill feathers tied to the hands. Other dance positions imitate the hornbill as it hops or spreads its wings. Even a fight between two warriors armed with long knives is executed with arabesques as well as sudden jerks reminiscent of gestures of birds. *Hudoq* dances by masked men with costumes of banana and palm leaves portray symbolic characters connected with the origin of rice and the continuity of its cultivation.

#### Significance and Accomplishments

This was an unusual music workshop which tried to put into practice in rather difficult surroundings some theories of field music research. It gave the participants, especially those who had little notion of what music research is, a direct experience in the field. It emphasized the need to bring to the urban world--in the form of writings, recordings, and performances--the music, cultures and thinking of many groups of people in the vast rural areas of Southeast Asia.

The workshop proved that an actual participation in a field investigation is the quickest way to know how to apply theories of field music study. Technics of recording, transcription of song texts, gathering ethnological data, and learning performance technics, were some of the specific facets of work. The experience of actually living in the village and imbibing a cultural atmosphere in the jungle cannot be duplicated in a conference hall.

A more precise and planned study could have been achieved if the workshop limited itself to one or two villages, and if there were fewer participants who were left alone to themselves to mix with and learn from the inhabitants without any special programs. A visit to the many villages however did give a panoramic view of the music culture.

Most participants have tape recordings of the music. Article reports, and long-playing records to be published would bring this music to a larger reading and listening audience.

#### Notes

1. The author was able to stay in Kalimantan until June 4, 1977. Notes from Muara Anchalong to Long Segar were provided mostly by Mr. I Made Bandem. Information in them is helpful in indicating field work in Kalimantan where only a limited bibliography exists.
2. The following marks are used in a preliminary orthography é = ə ; ë = ɛ ; e = e ; ö = ɔ ; o = ɔ ; ng = ŋ ; q = ʔ ; j = dz.

#### A Recent Bibliography on Music in Borneo

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Sulawesi Research Council Newsletter

The first issue of the "Sulawesi Research Council Newsletter" was forwarded to the Editor by John Sutter. The Council intends to publish the newsletter which will be "devoted to Sulawesi research and development." "One of the important functions which such a newsletter may be able to perform is to improve communication between Indonesian researchers and those from overseas." Persons interested in learning more about the Newsletter are encouraged to write W. Donald McTaggart, Center for Asian Studies, Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona 85281, USA.

Fifth International Symposium of

Tropical Ecology

The Fifth International Symposium of Tropical Ecology will be held in Kuala Lumpur from April 16-21, 1979. The theme of the Symposium will be "Ecology and Development," with emphasis on the biophysical and socio-economic aspects of land-use policy and planning; legislation; education and manpower; montane, lowland, hill-country and island resources; conservation; and evolution. Special sessions will include related topics, such as rural settlements and ecosystems; primitive tribal ecosystems; urban centers and ecosystems; aquaculture; dipterocarpaceae; ricefield ecosystems; and strategies for eco-development. Correspondence should be addressed to Professor J.I. Furtado, General Secretary, Organising Committee, V International Symposium on Tropical Ecology, c/o Department of Zoology, University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. Professor Furtado has indicated that the Organising Committee plans to publish the proceedings of the Symposium.

B O R N E O N E W S

Regional News

VICTOR T. KING has been granted a sum of money by the Centre for Southeast Asian Studies in the University of Hull to visit JAN AVE of the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde in Leiden. Professor King and Drs. Ave are working on a "Bibliography of References on West Kalimantan (West Indonesian Borneo) and the project is nearing completion. To date, they have collated well over 800 items on diverse subjects.

Kalimantan

NIKITA SIBEROFF is a member of the CEDRASEMI (Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches sur l'Asie du Sud-Est et le Monde Insulindien), 6 rue de Tournon, 75006-Paris, France (Director, Dr. Georges Condominas), and is planning to carry out research in the upper Mahakam River region, Kalimantan Timur. His research will include an ethnolinguistic survey of the region, a study of the ethnobotany, and a study of shifting cultivation.

Sarawak

JAMES MASING left Canberra on May 19 to undertake research on Iban *Timang*. Mr. Masing is now a Research Scholar of the Department of Anthropology in the Research School of Pacific Studies at the Australian National University, and is at present doing research among the Baleh Iban both on the *Timang* of the major Iban *Gawai* and on the vocation of the *Lemambang*. He will be staying in Sarawak until about August, 1979, when he will return to the A.N.U. to work on his Ph.D. thesis.

B O O K R E V I E W S, A B S T R A C T S  
& B I B L I O G R A P H Y

BOOK REVIEW

Vinson H. Sutlive, Jr. *The Iban of Sarawak*, in the series *Worlds of Man: Studies in Cultural Ecology*, Edited by Walter Goldschmidt, Arlington Heights, Illinois, AHM Publishing Corporation, 1978.



The Iban of Sarawak by Dr. Vinson Sutlive, Jr. captured my immediate interest because it attempts to present and analyse the broad spectrum of the Iban's world and culture in less than 200 pages. In spite of the author's brief overview of the Iban people, I find his material very informative and his presentation pleasant to read. His interpretation of the Iban culture and its paraphernalia offers many very useful insights to any student of Iban culture.

Dr. Sutlive's long and close association with the Iban, especially of the Sibu region, gives him a marked advantage in understanding their ways of life. In Chapter 4, entitled "In the Hills" (pp. 61-89), the author makes a most significant observation about the Iban attitude to rice farming when he writes: "Rice is not merely a crop or food to the Iban. Rather, hill rice cultivation has been considered by them as the distinctive feature of their culture" (p. 62). It is, in short, not only a way of earning a living, but a way of life.

The Iban's practical and functional attitude in their religious beliefs is realized by the author when he sums up their acceptance of Christianity as follows:

The Christian faith is not accepted in place of but rather in addition to traditional beliefs and practices (p. 188).

This, I feel, is a very important factor in understanding the Iban's reluctance to discard their old traditional beliefs. To them, religion is a means of achieving practical ends, and so the acceptance of two religious beliefs is looked upon by the Iban as two varying but compatible ways of bettering their lives.

Iban mobility, as Dr. Sutlive correctly points out, was in part spurred by the need for new land for their rice crops. But it was further encouraged by the Iban value system which accorded immense prestige to pioneers. "The pioneer cultivator of old jungle," writes Pringle, "like a successful warrior is a figure of tremendous prestige in Iban society" (Sandin 1968:xv). In the traditional days, pioneer-cultivators were also successful warriors, and thus they acquired not only new tracts of land on which successful cultivation was possible, but trophy heads, loot and captives which helped to increase their wealth and standing in the community. Thus, the author's concept of *Raja Berani* (p. 27) to describe

this special group of Iban.

The division of Iban social organization into units of concentric circles, with the family as the primary unit, occupying the centre position, is a new concept in analysing Iban society. The author's contention that, "Within each circle the principle of interaction was reciprocity; beyond each circle the expectation was exploitation" (p. 29) requires serious consideration by students of Iban culture.

In his brief account of the Iban concepts of *Petara* (gods) and *Antu* (spirits) Dr. Sutlive states that "the most popular if not the most important of the Iban gods is *Keling*" (p. 100). This statement I have found to be incorrect, at least among the Iban of the Baleh region. Among these people, *Lang Singalang Burong* takes the highest position in honour and dignity. Sandin holds this to be the case among the Iban of the Saribas region also when he writes: "Most honoured by the Iban are *Singalang Burong* himself and *Simpulang Gana* (Sandin 1977:3).

Dr. Sutlive's account of the concept of a longhouse, Iban egalitarianism, mobility, cooperation and competition, and other various aspects of their world and culture, though succinct, will be very useful for those who wish to become acquainted with the Iban of Sarawak. For further reading and other interpretations of the Iban way of life, those interested may consult the books and papers listed in the bibliography that Dr. Sutlive has provided. (James Masing, Australian National University)

Lela Garner Noble, *Philippine Policy Toward Sabah: A Claim to Independence*, The Association of Asian Studies, Monograph No. XXXIII, Tucson, The University of Arizona Press, 1977 (Map, acknowledgements, Bibliography, Index).

This book traces the Philippine Republic's claim to Sabah (formerly British North Borneo), officially announced by President Macapagal in June of 1962, and the extent to which Philippine policy in pursuit of the claim was a demonstrative of the politics of national integration; an effort by a fledgling government dependent on the United States for military and economic support to improve its national image and demonstrate its independence in the Southeast Asian region.

The British state of North Borneo was incorporated into the Federation of Malaysia in 1963. Because of the addition of Sabah to the Federation, the Philippine claim was consistently opposed by Britain and Malaysia until 1976 when the pursuit finally stopped. Noble states that the policies and perceptions surrounding the claim developed dialectically and it is the principal purpose of the study to trace the different perceptions and the conflict they engendered, which in turn, produced new perceptions, and hence, new policies. She argues that the policy explanation is intimately tied to British and Malaysian perceptions of the claim, its costs, and the Philippine national/regional image.

Employing a wide range of sources, including government documents and publications, private collections, newspapers, periodicals and books as well as evidence gathered from interviews, Noble details the various stages in the development of the Sabah claim as the legal-diplomatic wrangle dragged on for years, through a winding series of policy changes. The twists and turns at every stage of policy development emerge; the traditional claim of the Sultan of Sulu and his heirs, the press campaign and the inauguration of a national policy, the failure of reconciliation between Malaysia and the Philippines, the Corregidor incident, and the ultimate restoration of neighbourly relations between the two countries in 1976.

Prior to 1962 the claim to Sabah was identified with the Sultans of Sulu, their heirs and lawyers. Northeast Borneo had been the core of the Sulu Sultanate's littoral and riverine procurement trade in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In 1878, to prevent this area from falling into Spanish hands, the Sultan of Sulu transferred his rights to North Borneo to a private syndicate in exchange for a promised annual payment of five thousand three hundred dollars. In the twentieth century the heirs of the Sultan of Sulu continued to press their claims to North Borneo.

Towards the end of 1961 an active press campaign began, spear-headed by *The Philippine Free Press* advocating that the government itself should lay claim to Sabah. When Macapagal, contrary to expectation, officially announced the Republic's claim against the British, the dispute became a matter of widespread domestic importance. This policy for the "new era" was meant to shake off the image of the Philippines as a "puppet" of the U.S. Alliance. Those who opposed the American presence saw as an alternative an "Asia for Asians

policy." Establishing the claim against Britain and Malaysia could be perceived as an independent policy that was non-American in conception and direction. Although consistent with history, past foreign policy and current interests, the claim was pursued over the next decade and a half but never in such a way to make a settlement possible. Diplomatic relations were officially severed between Malaysia and the Philippines. Nor did the furor surrounding the Sabah claim subside with the installation of the Marcos regime in the Philippines in 1968; renewed relations between the countries were again suspended when Malaysia accused the Philippines of attempting to infiltrate Sabah--the so-called Corregidor incident. Hence, the claim dominated Philippine policy in Southeast Asia for 15 years. It not only created problems for Malaysia, but it also had a critical impact on ASEAN.

The author, a political scientist, carried out the research on which the book is based some 14 years ago. In the process of preparing her study for publication she has not taken advantage of more recent published work on the nature of the Taosug (Sulu) Polity, on ethnic-inter relations in the Sulu/Mindanao region, and the Sultanate's reaction to western incursion and colonialism by Mednick, Kiefer and Majul. As a consequence, Noble's discussion of the historical role of the Sulu Sultanate is weak. She readily accepts previous interpretations of the Sultanate's past; some statements are historically unverified, e.g., ". . . in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries . . . the Sultan of Sulu exercised influence from Sulu westward to Borneo, and northward and eastward to Luzon, the Visayas and Mindanao" (p.11). Other statements draw incorrect conclusions about the nature of traditional Taosug politics and society from the sources; e.g., "The terms of the treaty (of 1805 with the East India Company) were irrelevant. The Suluanos regarded North Borneo as a convenient pawn, its sacrifice temporarily necessary for continuing the larger game: when they had the power to do so, they reasserted control" (p. 12). The overall interpretation is unleavened somewhat by the author's uncritical acceptance of previous interpretations of certain historical events in the context of the claim. Nevertheless, it must be stressed that Noble has made a valuable contribution to the study of Philippine foreign policy and regional relationships with other Southeast Asian states. The book is well presented and the basic thesis on the relationship of the Sabah claim in changing the Filipino national image from dependence to independence is substantiated. (Jim Warren, School of Social Inquiry, Murdoch University)

ABSTRACTS

The following is a summary of the Ph.D. dissertation of Robert H.W. Reece, *The Cession of Sarawak to the British Crown in 1946*, Australian National University, March 1977. An abstract of Dr. Reece's dissertation appeared in the *Bulletin* 10:1, pp. 50-51.

The cession of Sarawak to Britain in 1946 was both the culmination of a process which had begun with the appointment of British Residents in the Malay States in the 1870s and the beginning of a post-war consolidation of British interests in Southeast Asia. For almost 100 years, the Colonial Office was happy for the Brooke family to rule Sarawak. There was little interest in acquiring a piece of territory whose limited economic potential would make it yet another charge on the British government. As British subjects, the Brookes could generally be relied upon to conform with imperial policy and to discourage other powers from becoming involved. Although there were some doubts about the quality of Brooke administration, it was recognised that their authority over their people was a unique phenomenon which could only serve British interests. The relationship between the two governments as defined by the 1888 treaty of protection precluded the introduction of the Malayan Residential system and made it difficult to bring pressure to bear on the Rajah. British intervention was limited to safe-guarding the rights of British subjects, although there can be little doubt that intervention would have been quick and decisive had there been a pressing need.

In the late 1930s a number of factors combined to bring about a change in British policy. Concern about administrative standards in Sarawak and Britain's effective international responsibility for the state suggested a degree of control over its internal affairs by means of an amended treaty. Sarawak's participation in the International Rubber Restriction Scheme and its inclusion in British defence planning after 1935 had also begun to end the state's isolation. Finally, it was becoming increasingly apparent that the Rajah was on the point of either divesting himself of his sovereignty or of transferring effective responsibility to another member of his family. However, there were still difficulties in the way of intervention. The Rajah was extremely elusive and unwilling to commit himself in any way. Nor did the Colonial Office wish to be seen to take the initiative. An opportunity presented itself in early 1939 when

Anthony Brooke, the Rajah's nephew who was administering the state at that time, agreed to the appointment of a General Adviser whose powers were extremely limited but whose position was regarded by the Colonial Office as providing a foot in the door. There was also the feeling among the Colonial Office bureaucrats that it would be easier to manipulate Anthony than his uncle. When the General Adviser was not allowed to give advice and Anthony was dismissed by his uncle, the Colonial Office's hopes of gradually increasing its influence were frustrated. The Rajah's surprise announcement of a constitution in early 1941 provided an opportunity to modify the 1888 Treaty and replace the General Adviser with a British Representative equipped with more substantial powers. But it was the Japanese invasion and subsequent Allied military administration which finally provided the Colonial Office bureaucrats with a long-awaited opportunity to decide Sarawak's future.

External pressure brought Brooke rule to an end, but by the 1930s it had run its course. First there were the problems endemic to all dynastic regimes which sooner or later produce a weak or bored ruler. Vyner Brooke was a more popular Rajah than his martinet father had been, but he was indecisive and could not delegate authority effectively. His reign displayed all the weaknesses and few of the strengths of personal rule. Nor was the arrangement whereby his younger brother Bertram shared responsibility calculated to improve matters. In such a political vacuum, it was inevitable that first the Rajah's private secretary, Gerard Mac-Bryan, and then his nephew, Anthony, should compete with the senior bureaucrats to exercise the Rajah's power. Like other dynasties, the Brookes were also plagued by conspiracies over the succession which had not been settled by the time the Japanese arrived. Although it was by no means certain that the Rajah would hand over to another member of the Brooke family, his distrust of Anthony was an important factor in determining Sarawak's future.

A solitary effort was made in the early 1930s to rethink Brooke administration with a view to ultimate native self-government. The Le Gros Clark Report of 1935 was a blueprint for a scheme which would have brought more Ibans into the government service and vastly improved the rudimentary education system. However, financial problems arising from the Depression, together with the inherent conservatism of European administrative officers, thwarted this scheme which was seen as threatening the perpetuation of their power position. The only change was in the direction of bureaucratic centrali-

zation which would have meant the eventual dismantling of the decentralized Resident and District Officer system. The gradual development of a business-like and centralized bureaucracy was inevitable but it, too, was resisted by the European officers who saw it as a frontal attack on their position.

With Anthony Brooke as their champion, the European officers made a counter-attack which secured the dismissal of the top bureaucrats in early 1939. But it became clear during Anthony Brooke's subsequent term as head of the government that his solution to Sarawak's problems consisted of little more than a restoration of personal rule and the old administrative system as established by the second Rajah. There was no indication that as fourth Rajah Anthony would do anything more than revive what he saw as the traditions of Brooke rule. If he had succeeded his uncle after the war, it is difficult to see how he could have coped with the significantly altered situation which had been brought about by the Japanese occupation.

In 1945 Vyner Brooke had reached the age of 67 and was unwilling to return to the task of rebuilding what was thought to be a war-torn Sarawak. His brother, Bertram, was physically unable to take his place and the Rajah was doubtful about Anthony's suitability for the position. As early as 1938 and again in 1942 while he was in Australia, Vyner had been willing to surrender his sovereignty in return for a satisfactory financial settlement. But he was now faced with the prospect of footing the bill for both the military administration and post-war relief and rehabilitation. Although we cannot wholly reconstruct the Rajah's reasons for deciding to cede his sovereignty to the British Crown in October, 1945, material considerations and the problem of the succession seem to have dispelled whatever residual resistance he may have felt to a Colonial Office take-over. At the same time, it is likely that he saw no middle way between Brooke rule and rule by the Colonial Office.

The Labour government appeared to be committed against the restoration of Brooke rule and to a policy of "consolidating" Britain's colonial interests in Southeast Asia. Nor was the Conservative Party prepared to make an issue of Sarawak, except in the context of Labour's attempt to break up the large, landed estates. On the advice of L.D. Gammans, who later emerged as the champion of the Malay sultans against the Malayan Union, they declined to oppose cession which was

subsequently confirmed by annexation without any reference to Parliament. In the final analysis, neither party was particularly interested in Sarawak. Cession was victory for Edward Gent and the bureaucrats of the Colonial Office who had been trying since the late 1930s to "tidy up" Sarawak where standards of administration were regarded as being inferior to those prevailing in British colonies. This policy was strongly supported by Lord Louis Mountbatten and the War Office who were concerned to strengthen the defences of Britain's Southeast Asian dependencies against the new phenomenon of nationalism.

Together with North Borneo, Sarawak became Britain's final colonial acquisition. However, it was acquired not so much in a spirit of imperial expansion as one of colonial consolidation against the insecurities and uncertainties of the post-war world. Britain had adopted a "hands-off" attitude towards Sarawak as long as there was no serious threat of third-power involvement. But the Japanese invasion meant that it could no longer afford the risks involved in not having full internal control.

Originating from the same planning office as the Malayan Union, the annexation of Sarawak was brought about with similar speed and lack of scruple. Had it not been for the agitation mounted by Anthony Brooke and the anti-cession faction in England through press and parliament, cession might have been managed smoothly enough. Instead, however, the first attempt had to be scrapped and an effort made to legitimize the arrangement by obtaining the consent of the two bodies re-established under the 1941 Constitution--the Council Negri and the Supreme Council. As a sop to British press and parliamentary opinion, two M.P.s were despatched to lend respectability to what was in reality a carefully stage-managed exercise. Even so, a little more attention was paid by the Colonial Office to the "interests of the natives" than by Anthony Brooke and the anti-cession faction who were doing battle with the Rajah and the Colonial Office in their name. When, in spite of the bribery and intimidation of Council Negri members there was still a native majority against cession, the Colonial Office hesitated in its course. In the meantime, however, one of those extraordinary accidents of history had made cession a fait accompli. Due to the sickness of a coding clerk, a cable from the Secretary of State calling a halt to proceedings was not deciphered until after the instrument of cession had been signed by the Rajah and the British government's

representative. Nor was it clear what course the Colonial Office could have taken if its ability to manoeuvre had not been so unexpectedly removed. Negotiations with Anthony Brooke, acting on his uncle's behalf, had broken down in early 1945 over the application to Sarawak of the Foreign Jurisdiction Act.

Cession was the final resolution of the relationship between Sarawak and Britain, the consummation of a long-drawn out imperial affair. It also spelled the end of a European dynasty which had successfully established itself over the diverse peoples of north-west Borneo. The "White Rajahs" had lent a romantic and exotic dimension to European imperialism in Southeast Asia but history had finally shattered their splendid isolation. Nevertheless, cession was much more than a minor event of imperial history. It was the catalyst of a new train of events which transformed Sarawak from a loose confederation of diverse cultures linked by little more than loyalty to the Rajah into something much more like a nation-state.

The reactions of Sarawak's different ethnic groups to cession provide the clearest indication of the strengths and weaknesses of Brooke rule. Under the Brookes, the Chinese were allowed to engage in trade and small farming, thus generating the revenue upon which Brooke rule depended. However, their prospects for economic advancement were limited by land regulations which protected native ownership and the difficulties involved in obtaining Sarawak citizenship. For all except the Sarawak-born who were well established both economically and politically through the *kapitan china* system, colonial status possessed the attraction of improved economic possibilities and citizenship rights along the lines of those provided in the Malayan Union constitution. Indeed, it was at first assumed that Sarawak would form part of the Malayan Union and it was not until May, 1946, that this impression was dispelled.

The general interests of the Sarawak Malays lay with the perpetuation of Brooke rule which had given the traditional elite a position of political power and social prestige only subordinate to that of the Brookes and their European officers. Consequently, it was they who provided the initial leadership of the main anti-cession party which demanded the restoration of Brooke rule. Inevitably, however, there was a conflict with the new educated Malay elite who saw the restoration as a means of preserving Sarawak's independence and achieving

self-government as foreshadowed in the 1941 constitution. Unlike the traditional elite, they were even willing to share political power with the Ibans whom they saw as their allies. In its first expression, Sarawak nationalism took the form of native coalition in defence against post-war Chinese assertiveness and British bureaucratic imperialism.

For most Malays and Ibans, cession posed an extraordinary dilemma, a dilemma which illustrated how deeply the Brooke monarchy had taken root in the soil of northwest Borneo. On the one hand, loyalty to the Rajah required that they should obey his wishes and accept cession. On the other hand, loyalty to the Raj and the principal of succession required that they should oppose its abolition. Brooke rule had in fact done very little for the Ibans in the way of educational and other improvement, nor was there significant political representation for this largest of Sarawak's ethnic groups in spite of their growing economic strength. There were pockets of resistance to Brooke authority until the late 1930s, stemming both from residual opposition to alien rule and resentment aroused by ham-fisted administration. Nevertheless, the question of loyalty was fundamental for all except those few who could see the benefits of education and an end to Malay monopoly of the second level of government administration. Only a handful of Kuching Ibans opposed cession and shared the educated Malay elite's vision of independence and self-government.

The anti-cession campaign failed for a number of reasons. Unlike the Malay rulers who opposed the Malayan Union, the Rajah appeared to be the initiator of cession and ignored all appeals from his subjects to retain his sovereignty. He could exploit the loyalty of the Malays and Ibans as well as counting on the support of the Chinese. Unlike Malaya, where Malay opposition to the Malayan Union was solid, Sarawak's Malay leadership was split by the support which one leading member of the traditional elite gave to cession. Unlike Malaya, where the differing attitudes of the Malays and Chinese to the country's political future threatened to boil over into racial strife, in Sarawak the main political struggle took place within the Malay community. Apart from a small group of educated Ibans in Kuching who supported the anti-cession movement, the Ibans and the Chinese were onlookers to the conflict. However, the support given by the up-country Ibans to the new colonial government suggested that physical action by the Malays would bring about a dramatic and bloody reaction. At the same time, the anti-cession party in Britain



could not match the big guns which the opponents of the Malayan Union trained on the British government. Furthermore, British commercial interests in Sarawak had favoured greater British control in the belief that this would allow easier access to Sarawak's resources.

Although the anti-cession campaign was unsuccessful in reversing cession, it provided Sarawak with its first political issue and its first political parties. The political development achieved during the immediate post-war years was brought to a halt in 1949 with the assassination of the second British governor and the subsequent collapse of the anti-cession movement. But when political life was resumed in the late 1950s, it was still largely based on the earlier pattern. And since Sarawak achieved nominal independence through its membership of the Malaysian Federation in 1963, the anti-cession movement has also provided the basis of a nationalist tradition and the means of legitimizing the power of the educated elite who have preserved Malay hegemony.

The history of Sarawak is significant in that it epitomizes one of the dilemmas attendant on imperialism--how to bring about economic development without disrupting the indigenous culture and unleashing forces which would eventually bring about political change. In the rest of colonial Southeast Asia, the relentless drive to exploit natural resources and consequent socio-economic change rendered this dilemma academic, but Sarawak did not seem to possess significant economic potential. While the Brookes made clear their determination to prevent the economic exploitation of their people by foreign speculators, the speculators were not greatly in evidence. Non-exploitation was as much by default as by design. Unlike Malaya and North Borneo, therefore, Sarawak was not opened up by mining and planting interests in the early twentieth century. It represented a different form of economic development whose emphasis was on native smallholding and the limitation of both foreign and Chinese economic power. Based on native ownership of rubber and pepper gardens, it was nevertheless dependent on international price fluctuations and the Sarawak government was even prepared to sacrifice smallholders' interests by participating in the International Rubber Restriction Agreement. Indeed, the Great Depression and its effects illustrated the inability of the Brookes to redefine the official rationale of their power--"the interests of the natives"--in terms of modern conditions and Sarawak's increasing involvement in the world economy.

While it seems harsh to label the Brookes and their officers as keepers of an anthropological garden, there was something essentially feudal and self-serving about their administration. They were instinctively opposed to socio-economic change because they sensed that it would undermine their power position vis-a-vis the natives. They held a vested interest in perpetuating the system of benign paternalism which had existed under Brooke rule. "The interests of the natives" apparently required that Europeans should remain indefinitely as their guardians. In this sense they were all "White Rajahs," or "little tin gods" as Vyner Brooke disparagingly referred to them in 1946. Their position prevented them from conceding anything more than lip service to the principle of trusteeship and the ultimate prospect of native rule. And when Sarawak was finally colonized and foreign interests began to extract its timber and other resources, the Ibans, whose protection was the particular concern of the Brookes, were least equipped to benefit.

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