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NOTES FROM THE EDITOR

This issue of the *Bulletin* is indicative of the breadth and depth of interests of Borneo scholars. "Research Notes" include an overview of Borneo prehistory, language change, ethnography, and guides to the study of oral traditions.

Providing a forum for the publication of current research results is a primary purpose for which the *Bulletin* was established, and we encourage all persons engaged in any scientific research to share results of their work with readers. In future issues, we plan overviews of research in other disciplines, similar to Professor Bellwood's article.

This year, 1992, was marked by the extremely successful Second Biennial International Conference of the Council in Kota Kinabalu. Despite a number of daunting challenges, the staff of the Yayasan Sabah provided a venue and unexcelled hospitality for participants. We plan to meet in Pontianak in 1994 and in Brunei in 1996. Please plan to attend and participate. The opportunities to meet persons who for years have been only "pen-pals" is particularly rewarding.

The Directors plan an Annual Fund Campaign in which we write to all Members and Fellows to provide an opportunity to contribute to the work of the Council. Much of this work has been borne by a few individuals and, as with the future direction of the Council, the time has come for all responsibilities to be shared more widely. When you receive your letter for the Campaign, we urge you to give generously.

Commencing with this issue, we shall follow the simple and clean style for citations of the *American Anthropologist*. Authors are referred to "Information for Authors".

Please note that on the accompanying statement, we ask persons who pay their fees to the Midland Bank or our offices in Kuching or Jakarta, to please send a copy of their statement to us for our records.

We are grateful to the following persons for their financial contributions for support of the work of the Council: Laura P. Appell-Warren, Ralph Arbus, Jay B. Crain, Dale Dixon, John Elliot, Richard C. Fidler, Harmony Frazier-Taylor, Linda Kimball, John L. Landgraf, Michael B. Leigh, Allen R. Maxwell, Lesley M. Potter, Ann Schiller, William Schneider, and Leigh R. Wright. (If we have omitted your name, please forgive our oversight and send us a note so we can make proper acknowledgement in the next issue of the *Bulletin*. And, in the meantime, please accept our sincere thanks.)

MEMORIAL

MEMORIAL

HEDDA MORRISON IN BORNEO

Hedda was already an experienced photographer of the Asian scene when she arrived in Sarawak in November 1947. She had spent the years 1933 to 1946 in Peking. For the first five years in China she managed a German photo business. After refusing to return to Germany in 1948 she worked with an English lady interested in adapting Chinese craft work for European articles - mostly costume jewellery and embroidery. When her employer left Peking in 1940 she eked out a modest living as a freelance photographer. In 1946 she worked for the American Red Cross.

Neither Hedda nor I knew anything about Borneo when I was appointed to the Colonial Service in Sarawak but she came out fully prepared for photographic work. The equipment included a little portable enlarger which could be operated on batteries. This was invaluable because for my first two tours of duty we never had mains electricity. We were also dependent on rain water.

Our first station was Sarikei in the Lower Rejang. Here I was the Cadet working with an experienced District Officer Bob Snelus. Hedda lost no time in starting to take photos. Some of her earliest studies were of a pioneer pepper planter Mr. Ngu Ee King and his family and of a small community of Bugis pineapple growers.

She did visit one or two longhouses as well as Paloh and Mayu on the coast and the question arose as to whether she could accompany me on Dayak tours which formed such an important part of an administrative officer's work. I sought approval to enable her to do this. The idea was a novel one in Sarawak but approval was eventually given. The final decision had to be referred all the way up to the Governor, Sir Charles Arden-Clarke.

After a year in Sarikei I was transferred to Binatang a little way upriver from Sarikei and here and always thereafter Hedda came with me. It never caused problems. In fact the people visited always seemed very glad to see her. And since I loved travelling this meant that she saw a great deal of Sarawak.

I was only in Binatang for six months but this included a memorable and very liquid tour of the area of Penghulu Nyjipa. It was liquid because not only was there an abundance of good tuak after an excellent harvest but leaving the last house I fell in the river to the great delight of the hosts. We also took

advantage of a local leave to visit Kapit and Belaga, then up the Balui and over to Bintulu and Niah.

From Binatang I was transferred to Lawas, one of the most charming and interesting Districts in Sarawak. It is a beautiful place where the mountains of the interior come down much closer to the coast than elsewhere. Twice we walked up to Bah Kelalan and so came to know the Lun Daya people. Travelling was very different to that in Iban areas because it was all on foot and the people were devout Christians and teetotallers.

Hedda had to overcome serious problems in her travels. As a small child she contracted polio which left her with a shortened and malformed left leg and foot. In China she had undergone serious internal surgery. But she walked well, though slowly, and never allowed her physical handicaps to restrict her activities.

On our second tour to the Ulu Trusan we came back via the Ulu Limbang which involved a long walk through deep jungle. Here we met a little group of Penans. Lawas was a wonderful District. Oddly enough in the Rajah's day it was a punishment station to which officers who had misbehaved or who had upset the Ranees were consigned.

Lawas adjoins Sabah and we took the opportunity to see something of that State. First of all Hedda went there by herself. She went to Tenom and then followed the bridle tracks to Ranau and Kota Belud. Later we both went, partly to enable me to assess whether bridle tracks would be suitable for the Ulu Trusan. In fact the terrain and small population in the Trusan would have rendered them impractical. But it was a wonderful tour and from Bundu Tuhan we climbed Kinabalu. We continued around the coast to Sandakan (including a visit to the Gomanton Caves) and Tawau.

From Lawas we went on long leave. I was given special permission to spend it in the highlands of East Africa. We set out to travel there via India where I had served during the war but Hedda had never visited. Hedda found India so fascinating that she declined to go farther and we spent the entire leave there.

Return from leave saw me transferred to the mainly Iban District of Kanowit in the middle Rejang. My arrival was followed almost immediately by the dismissal of Penguhulu Naga for having brought over several longhouses from the Second Division to settle in his area. Kanowit in the thirties had been the scene of the Asun rebellion against the Rajah's authority. We met Asun who was still living in the Entabai. I was ordered to give priority to travelling the District.

This was no great hardship and by the time we left 18 months later I had visited, at least briefly, all 296 houses in the then District. It was later enlarged to take in the Ulu Julau. Hedda accompanied me on all my tours though her total was lower since I often left her in one house while I called on others nearby. These tours gave Hedda good opportunities for photography. And the configuration of the District allowed some interesting travel up the Ngemah and over to the Mujok, up the Mujok and over to the Poi, always trying to avoid having to return by the same route we had followed on the outward journey. Once we met the DO Mukah Ian Urquhart just over the border of his district and Hedda accompanied him down to the coast.

In 1952 I was allowed to take local leave to visit the Second Division overland, the leave to commence when we left the Ulu Entabai. We travelled across to the Skrang and Simanggang. On the way we climbed Bulit Sadok, the stronghold of the famous rebel Rentap. We went on to Lubok Antu but I was then immediately recalled to Kanowit. There had been a *penyamun* scare - one of the periodic rumours of ghostly headhunters - and our bungalow was quite falsely reported to have been attacked by armed and masked men.

Inevitably in such a District you form a particular attachment to one or more places. In our case it was the valley of the Ngemah. Hedda returned there a number of times to the house of Mandal Garu. Many of the photos in *Life in a Longhouse* were taken there.

In 1953 I was fortunate enough to be transferred to the Baram to stand in for the DO Francis Drake while he was on leave. This gave us the chance to visit the Orang Ulu communities as well as the Iban houses in Bakong. We attended Penan *tamu* (trading meetings) and made the Kelabit tour - up the Akah and round to Lio Matu. Another particularly memorable tour took us up the Apoh and down the Patah and so across to the Ulu Tinjar.

At the end of 1953 I refused a temporary transfer to Brunei as Information Officer and was forthwith sent on leave. This took us to Australia for the first time. On return from leave I was given work in Kuching. It was supposed to be temporary in nature pending transfer to another out-station. It did not work out that way. Thirteen years later we finally left Kuching on retirement.

Life in Kuching meant that Hedda could at last have a good darkroom. I was able to take her on a few official tours but she did much travelling on her own. She returned to the Ngemah, went on more Penan *tamu* trips and paid many visits to the coast. Sometimes she accompanied the Governor, both before and after the formation of Malaysia. When I became Information Officer she was

employed part time and on local salary in my Department to help train our local photographers.

Hedda's photography produced much material of documentary interest but she tried to ensure that it measure up to an exacting standard of what constituted good photography. She liked to photograph the way people lived and worked. Her photos were carefully composed and she was never happier than when peering into the ground-glass view finder of her Rollei. But she could also be very quick in the use of her cameras and she had a wonderful sense of timing. She enjoyed catching cheerful scenes at convivial parties. She had a great feeling not only for the interest but also for the dignity and beauty of everyday activities. She had no time for artificialities. Her portraits were straightforward representations of the individual. Her numerous landscapes and river scenes showed the beauty of the Bornean scene.

Hedda had a natural affinity towards Asian people and related to them easily and naturally. She was good-humoured and patient and treated everyone alike. My expatriate colleagues took a sympathetic interest in her activities but although being married to a senior official brought her special opportunities she never exploited her position. She was just as happy travelling on a Chinese launch as on the Governor's yacht. She was not a great linguist but made effective use of what she had.

Her solo journeys never gave me the slightest concern. I knew she would meet kindness and hospitality wherever she went. She became quite well known. On more than one occasion we received invitations addressed to Mr. and Mrs. Hedda Morrison. Even in Canberra I was once given a lift by a Peninsular Malaysian Chinese who I found knew Sarawak quite well. I thought it appropriate to reveal that my name was Morrison and that I had formerly been the State Information Officer. His response was immediate. "Ah", he said, "Hedda Morrison."

Her photos have appeared in many publications. Her book *Sarawak* appeared in 1957 and was reprinted many times. *Life in a Longhouse* appeared in 1962 and subsequent years. She provided the black and white photos for *Vanishing World* (1972), an up-market version of *Life in a Longhouse* and much better printed. She had so many Iban studies that she could illustrate the later book without using any of those in the earlier work. In 1969 the New Zealand Education Department published a little book about Iban school children entitled *Children of Melugu*.

She was disappointed in never being able to find a publisher for her Penan studies or for her extensive material on coastal life.

Her Asian photographic archive apart from the China material (now at Harvard-Yenching) and including all the Borneo photographs is now in the John Echols Library, Cornell. I have no exact idea what is the total number of negatives which are nearly all 6 x 6 cms format. But at a guess and compared to the China material which we did catalogue in detail and numbered rather less than 10,000 negatives, the total number of Borneo negatives is unlikely to be less than 20,000. Only some of the Iban material is catalogued and listed by geographical and subject sections. Often sections are classified and we had planned to complete the cataloguing after our move into a retirement village in August 1991. Unfortunately the move coincided with the discovery that Hedda had terminal cancer and she died in December.

Hedda bequeathed her treasured Borneo material to Cornell in the hope that this would provide the best prospect for its preservation and for its continuing use and be a testament to the many happy years we both spent in Sarawak among some of the world's most delightful people.

Alastair Morrison
Canberra, April 1992

RESEARCH NOTES

THE PREHISTORY OF BORNEO

PETER BELLWOOD
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Geologically, Borneo lies at the southern edge of Asia, on the continental shelf known as Sundaland. During the maximum cold phases of the Pleistocene glaciations, Sundaland extended as dry land from Malaya to eastern Borneo and Bali, owing to the lowering of sea level by up to 150 metres through the locking up of enormous quantities of water through the high latitude ice sheets. The last

NOTE: This paper is the original English language version (with slight modifications, including the addition of references) of an article entitled "*Fils du Pléistocène*", published in A. Guerreiro and P. Couderc (eds.), *Bornéo*, pp. 164-71. Paris: Série Monde H.S. No. 52, 1991.

time this degree of exposure happened was around 18,000 years ago, and before this at similar intervals back into the Lower Pleistocene. Such intervals of maximum low sea level alternated with interglacials, like that of the present time, when sea levels may have approximated those of today. Between these full glacial and interglacial periods the islands of Java, Sumatra and Borneo would have been joined by periodic land bridges of fluctuating width as sea level oscillated at intermediate levels. However, Borneo is flanked to the west and south by a deeper sea bed than those which separate Java and Sumatra from Malaya, hence it may have been cut off as an island from Asia for longer periods of time.

The first human settlement of Borneo must have occurred in one of these periodic phases of Pleistocene land bridging, perhaps about one million years ago. Although no early human fossils have ever been found in the island, many examples of the species *Homo erectus* are known from sites up to one million years old in central Java, where conditions for fossilization are good. Perhaps in Borneo no bone could survive in the hot, wet and acidic conditions, but it is also possible that early humans simply did not inhabit the equatorial rainforests and preferred the more open and drier environments of Java. There are still more questions than answers about *Homo erectus* in Southeast Asia and today there is a major debate about their evolutionary fate; did they die out with the arrival of modern humans, as many biological anthropologists appear to believe, or have they contributed at least some genes to modern Southeast Asian and Australian populations? Alas, Borneo cannot help us at present to answer this very important question of human evolution.

The true archaeological record of Borneo, in the form of human skeletal remains and archaeological assemblages of stone tools, can be traced back to about 40,000 years according to recent discoveries. (Of course, older sites may be found one day.¹) Radiocarbon dated archaeological deposits from this time onwards have been excavated in the enormous West Mouth of the Splendid complex of caves at Niah in Sarawak (Majid 1982), where people discarded stone flakes and pebble tools, bone points and spatulae, and the animal bones from their meals (pig, porcupine and monkey meat appear to have been favoured). They also occasionally buried their dead in the cave floor; several skeletons in sitting or flexed postures date back as far as 12,000 years ago. One skull has even been given an age of 38,000 years by its excavators, Tom and Barbara Harrison, although many archaeologists today prefer a younger date (Bellwood 1985: 89). Hopefully, this skull, referred to as "the deep skull" in previous publications on Niah (see Kennedy 1977), will be subjected to more accurate dating processes in the future.

These pre-Neolithic human remains from Niah are all of modern human type (*Homo sapiens*), yet they seem not to represent the direct ancestors of the modern Southern Mongoloid populations of Borneo. Instead, they appear to have characteristics in common with the populations of Australia, Tasmania and the western Pacific. Many such populations still inhabit the island of southeastern Indonesia today, although in Borneo they seem to have been completely assimilated with very little genetic trace into the present population.

Some recent excavations in Sarawak and Sabah (Kalimantan is still *terra incognita* in terms of prehistoric archaeology) have placed the Niah finds in broader perspective. In the Tingkayu valley in eastern Sabah some very fine bifacial tools of chert have been found in manufacturing sites on the shore of an extinct lake; these may date to about 20,000 years ago, although this is uncertain (Bellwood 1990). Nearby there are cave sites in the Baturong and Madai massifs which have produced cruder (non-biface) stone tools of chert dating between about 18,000 and 8,000 years ago (Bellwood 1988). Whether these technological differences reflect different societies, different ages, or simply the different functions to which the sites were put is still unclear. However, the excellence of some of the Sabah tools contrasts with the rather poor record of stone tools at Niah, a circumstance which seems to reflect a lack of suitable raw materials in the vicinity of the Niah Caves.

A major debate which directly concerns Borneo has developed recently, concerning whether or not human foragers were able to live deep within equatorial rainforests before the development of agriculture. (See a forthcoming issue of *Human Ecology* for further debate on this topic.) Foragers were certainly inhabiting the very centre of the Malay Peninsula at least 10,000 years ago (Bellwood, in press), and in Borneo we know that the inhabitants of the Niah, Tingkayu and Baturong sites 18,000 years ago were probably living 100 kilometres inland from the sea. Recent excavations in the caves of Gua Sireh in the inland western portion of Sarawak have produced humanly-deposited freshwater shellfish dating to about 20,000 years ago, when this site would have been 500 kilometres inland (Ipoi and Bellwood 1991).

So the inner fringes of the Borneo rainforest were certainly exploited by early modern foraging populations by at least 20,000 years ago. However, there is a definite possibility that some of these fringe areas were climatically drier than now during the last glacial maximum, which peaked around this time. Perhaps the extent of the equatorial rainforest then shrank, and this could explain why some animals, such as the Javan rhinoceros and the *Cuon* (a kind of dog) became extinct in Borneo about 8000 years ago as the Pleistocene was ending and the climate became warmer and wetter, with consequently denser rainforest (Medway

1977; Cranbrook 1988). Unfortunately, our environmental information for this period is still very thin, but it must be admitted that there is still no record of Pleistocene human occupation in the centre of the island, where presumably the wet equatorial rainforest was never reduced in density or extent. The complete absence of any Negrito populations in Borneo or Sumatra, despite their presence further north in Peninsular Malaysia and Luzon, suggests strongly that they, as representatives of the autochthonous Australomelanesian peoples of the region, did not favour the deep interior equatorial rainforests during the Pleistocene (Bellwood, in press).

The prehistoric record related so far thus indicates that much of coastal and semi-interior Borneo has been inhabited by populations of existing human type for at least 20,000 and possibly even 40,000 years. From the viewpoint of pre-agricultural foragers the edible plant and animal species of the island would have occurred in variety but not in profusion; the difficulties of making a good living in dense equatorial rainforest have been pointed out. However, major changes in the human picture of Borneo, changes which allowed humans to produce food rather than simply to take it from the wild, began to occur from about 4500 years ago as new populations of Austronesian-speaking agriculturalists entered the island from the Philippines. Agriculture allowed major increases in the size of the overall human population and perhaps the first major human inroads into the rainforest, which now had to be cut and burned to allow crops such as rice to grow. Pollen records from Sumatra and Java indicate the large scale deforestation which began to occur from this time onwards (Flenley 1988). From these agricultural pioneers of 4000 to 5000 years ago presumably descend all the modern non-Malay native populations of the island, except for a few possible later arrivals such as the Tamanic speaking peoples of the Upper Kapuas basin (Adelaar 1990).

The Austronesian prehistory of Borneo is far better understood than that of earlier phases, mainly because the record of comparative linguistics can now be added to the archaeology (Blust 1984-5, 1986-7; Adelaar 1990). All the modern native peoples of Borneo speak languages in the Austronesian family, which has expanded from an original homeland region in southern China and Taiwan since about 5000 years ago to encompass all of Island Southeast Asia and Oceania (with the exceptions of New Guinea and Australia), together with Malaya, parts of Vietnam, and Madagascar (Bellwood 1991). The Austronesian language family was the most widely-distributed of the pre-Renaissance world and the study of its expansion is a particularly exciting field of current research in prehistory.

The Austronesians who entered Borneo, perhaps via Sabah from the southern Philippines, brought with them a Neolithic material culture of polished stone adzes, pottery, raised-floor houses and clothing of beaten bark-cloth. They

tattooed themselves, used the bow and arrow, and travelled in canoes, probably with outriggers and sails. They also had domestic dogs, pigs and chickens, and a range of crops including rice, millet, sugar cane, greater yam and taro. A number of other crops such as banana, breadfruit and coconut were probably brought under cultivation more locally within the equatorial zone, to which they are native (Bellwood 1985). As far as Borneo is concerned it seems likely that these cultivators expanded rapidly around the coasts and up the rivers with little resistance from the existing but sparse foraging populations, although the latter may have contributed much to subsequent cultures in terms of their environmental knowledge.

The archaeological record of the Austronesian-speaking populations is now quite detailed from Taiwan, the Philippines, Sarawak and Sabah, Sulawesi, and especially western Oceania. Of course, it is not possible to equate prehistoric collections of artefacts with peoples speaking particular types of language, but there are grounds for making some very well-informed guesses. For instance, in the Pacific islands which lie east of the Solomons the Austronesian settlers were the first inhabitants around 3500 years ago, and their archaeological record, known as the Lapita culture, has many of the Neolithic indicators listed above (Kirch and Hunt 1988). That of autochthonous peoples such as the Papuan-speaking cultivators of New Guinea or the Australian Aborigines is quite different, lacking pottery and having different forms of stone tools. So the appearance in the archaeological record of items such as pottery, stone adzes, traded obsidian and a marked emphasis on fishing (both of the latter implying the use of seaworthy canoes) most probably does indicate the arrival of Austronesian-speaking peoples in Borneo, an observation reinforced by comparative linguistic reconstructions of the vocabularies of Proto-Austronesian and its close descendants (such as Proto-Malayo-Polynesian and Proto-Oceanic: Pawley and Green 1984).

Neolithic assemblages dating between 4500 and 2000 years ago are now known from sites in Sabah (Bellwood 1988, 1989; Bellwood and Koon 1989), from the Niah Caves (Majid 1982), from Gua Sireh near Serian, and from the recently excavated cave of Lubang Angin in the Gunung Mulu National Park (Ipoi and Bellwood 1991). In the Niah sites and Lubang Angin people buried their dead in the cave floors and seem now to have lived mainly outside the caves, perhaps in longhouse settlements, although there is no direct archaeological evidence for such structures at this time. The Lubang Angin burials were wrapped in barkcloth and simply placed in graves dug in the cave floor, but in the Niah caves there are many extended burials in log coffins or cigar-shaped caskets of sewn bamboo strips, together with a few secondary burials in large jars (B. Harrison 1967). Associated with the burials as grave goods in both Niah and Lubang Angin are some excellent examples of pottery - the so-called "three-colour

ware" with incised designs filled with red or black pigment, and double-spouted vessels perhaps for holding beverages consumed during the funeral ceremonies (T. Harrison 1971). Stone adzes, shell beads, shell bracelets and occasional bone ornaments also occur. At Gua Sireh in western Sarawak there is evidence that people used rice husks by about 4300 years ago to temper the clay from which they made their pottery (Bellwood et al. in press); this, of course, is also important evidence for the agricultural economy in this region.

In southeastern Sabah, in the volcanic rock shelter of Bukit Tengkorak, recent excavations have brought to light pottery dating about 3000 years ago which has resemblances with the Lapita pottery made by the initial Austronesian settlers of Melanesia and western Polynesia, to as far east as Samoa. This is a very exciting find, as is the associated industry of agate drills for shell bead manufacture made on superb prismatic blades, and the astounding discovery in the site of small chips of obsidian from the Talasea source in the Lapita heartland zone of New Britain about 3000 kilometres east of Borneo (Bellwood 1989; Bellwood and Koon 1989). The inhabitants of Bukit Tengkorak ate fish in profusion and used pottery stoves similar to those used even today by the Bajau *orang laut* on their houseboats. One must assume that they were a very mobile maritime population, perhaps related quite closely to those first Austronesian settlers in the Pacific from whom sprang peoples such as the Micronesians, Polynesians and Fijians.

By 2000 years ago further changes began to affect the peoples of Borneo. Knowledge of iron and bronze metallurgy was introduced into the islands of Southeast Asia from regions such as Vietnam or even India and China (the actual sources are still uncertain). Borneo has unfortunately yielded few of the massive bronze drums ("Dongson" drums) which appear to have been made in Vietnam and traded widely in southeast Indonesia about 2000 years ago (recent reports suggest that one has recently been located near Kota Waringin in Kalimantan). But sites such as the Madai caves in Sabah and Gua Sireh in Sarawak do attest to the availability of simple tools and weapons of iron and bronze, together with glass and carnelian beads, from this time onward. The finding of casting moulds of clay indicates that bronze was cast locally in many regions, even if the metal itself (as scrap?) had to be imported. The Madai, Baturong and Tapadong caves in Sabah have also produced many fine pottery assemblages of the first millennium AD, generally in association with jar burials placed originally on cave floors, a tradition shared with neighbouring peoples in the Philippines (Bellwood 1988).

Also from about 2000 years ago another major change began to occur in the coastal regions of Borneo. There is now evidence that Indian vessels, probably originating from Tamil Nadu and Sri Lanka, were visiting northern Bali during

the first century AD (Ardika and Bellwood 1991). The oldest direct evidence for Indian influence in Borneo (India being a likely source for some of the beads) is, however, a little later than this, and comes in the form of the Sanskrit inscriptions of King Mulawarman found near Samarinda in East Kalimantan, dated to around AD 400. Indian influence in Borneo was quite ephemeral compared to that in islands such as Java or Bali, but the pressure of the outside world became much stronger during the early and middle second millennium AD, when enormous quantities of glazed ceramics were imported into Borneo from China and central Thailand. This trade, focused on coastal entepôt settlements such as Kota Batu in Brunei (Omar 1981), around the mouth of the Santubong River near Kuching in Sarawak (Christie 1990), and also no doubt at many other coastal sites in Kalimantan, seems to have been associated with the expansion of the Malays to Borneo, perhaps from the last first millennium AD onwards (Bellwood and Omar 1980).

NOTE

1. It is worthy of mention here that radiocarbon dates close to the limits of the technique, i.e. those approaching 40,000 years ago, might in many cases be giving contaminated results for real dates of a much greater antiquity. Thus, the lower levels of Niah Cave might be much older than 40,000 years, although this cannot be claimed securely on present evidence.

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SHIFTS IN LANGUAGE ALLEGIANCE IN BORNEO:
THE BELAIT COMMUNITY OF BRUNEI DARUSSALAM

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A number of authors have commented on the inadequacy of our knowledge of the languages of Borneo (for example, Cense & Uhlenbeck, 1958:3; Rousseau, 1990:49). Such a paucity of information is especially regrettable in view of the rapid changes that are taking place on the island. With the increase in mobility and the general movement of peoples away from the interior to the coastal towns, the effects of intermarriage, and the influence of the supra-regional languages of the states that make up Borneo, new patterns of communication are emerging and an increasing number of indigenous languages are in danger of being lost.

The field of sociolinguistics in Borneo, too, remains largely unexplored, but it is, nevertheless, a rich and fruitful area, and one that presents a number of interesting challenges. One such challenge, potentially very revealing, especially in such disciplines as language maintenance, shift, obsolescence and survival, is the study of the changing patterns of communication among the indigenous population. Such a study should help to provide insights into the dynamics of language contact and language change. It could also provide information on

languages which are under threat of extinction, and will thus be a pointer for urgent work to be carried out. It is to be hoped that these and other language issues in Borneo will begin to receive the attention that they deserve.

A fundamental issue to be considered, for example, is the effect of the contact between the indigenous languages of Borneo and the various dialects of Malay around the coast of Borneo, including the national or official languages of the states that make up Borneo (*Bahasa Indonesia* in Kalimantan, *Bahasa Malaysia* in Sabah and Sarawak, and *Bahasa Melayu* in Brunei Darussalam). Writing in 1958, Needham deplored the fact that this area has been so neglected. He felt "impelled to record [some] notes" on Baram Malay, a variety of Malay resulting from contact between some of the indigenous tribes of the middle Baram with Malay speakers (1958). Unfortunately, Needham's plea for further research into this area has been largely ignored. The rapid linguistic changes that Needham mentions have been accompanied by a shrinking of the domains of many of the indigenous languages. It is becoming more and more likely that the majority of these languages will be unable to maintain the diglossic differentiation which is necessary for stable bilingualism (or multilingualism), and which would help to ensure their survival.

The notes presented here are a sequel to an introductory study on the linguistic entity Belait (Martin, 1990:130-138). This gave a brief overview of the sociohistorical background of the Belait speaking community, and outlined some of the reasons for language shift at the macrosociological level. The following notes are based on a on-going investigation into code choice by members of the Belait-speaking community. The investigation aims to consider how such macrosociological changes actually affect the communicative strategies of members of the community. In other words, how "individuals are motivated to change their choice of language in different contexts of social interaction" (Gal, 1979:3). The data offered in these notes indicate that there is a significant intergenerational shift in language allegiance, away from Belait to the dominant code of the country, Brunei Malay. Further data, and a fuller discussion of the preliminary aspects of this study, can be found in a separate work (Martin, 1991).

DATA COLLECTION

The data for this investigation are based on a partial analysis of an on-going interview study of informants who claim that at least one parent has Belait as a mother tongue. Potential informants were originally identified from a language usage survey conducted by the author and a colleague, as part of a study on verbal communication in Brunei Darussalam¹, as well as through contacts, and

visits to areas where Belait is spoken. So far 48 informants have been interviewed. The language of the interview was Malay, except in a few cases where the informant preferred to speak in, or initiated a switch to, English. The first few items in the interview schedule asked about the language background of the informants' grandparents, parents and children. The aim here was to try and gauge intergenerational changes that occur within the family unit. The informants were also asked which languages they used with their families in the home, and with friends of similar and different linguistic backgrounds.

Little information appears to be available on the pattern of language use by the various groups in Brunei in the past. One way of obtaining such information about past usage is the technique of retrospective questioning (see, for example, Lieberson, 1980), used with success by Florey (1990). Although some retrospective data have been collected, the findings are not presented here.

As well as informant sessions, data are included based on participant observation in Belait speaking areas, especially in the Kiudang area of the Tutong district. Some of the following discussion is, therefore, ethnographic in nature. The inclusion of data based on such observation of language behaviour helps to offset the possible disadvantages of using the interview technique.

SHIFTS IN LANGUAGE ALLEGIANCE

A total of 48 informants reported on their own first language use, and that of their spouses and children, their parents and grandparents. The data show a number of interesting trends and provide a number of useful insights into the intergenerational changes that are occurring among the Belait-speaking population.

The data are summarized in Table 1. The percentage figures illustrate the transmission of Belait between grandparents and parents, parents and informants, and informants and children, based on informants below the age of 35, and 36 years and above. The figures clearly highlight a marked decrease in the transmission of Belait as a mother tongue over the three generations recorded. The very low number of informants who pass on Belait to their children (3 out of 34 married informants) is striking. The raw data show that the overwhelmingly-favoured language for transmission by informants to their offspring is Brunei Malay.

TABLE 1
Intergenerational Transmission of
Belait as a Mother Tongue

Age	(Total)	Grandparents-->Parents--> Informants-->Children		
<35	(28)	92%	50%	0%
>36	(20)	100%	75%	17%
Overall	(48)	96%	60%	9%

Table 2 provides data on marriages where both spouses have Belait as a mother tongue. It can be clearly seen that the overall percentage for informants is very low, and there are no cases of marriages where both parents are Belait mother tongue speakers under the age of 35 recorded. For the informants' parents and grandparents, however, there is a much higher rate of marriage between Belait mother tongue speakers.

TABLE 2
Marriages in Which Both Partners
Have Belait as a Mother Tongue

Age	Grandparents Paternal-Maternal			Parents	In- formants
<35	35%	54%	(44%)	21%	0%
>36	65%	80%	(73%)	60%	15%
Overall	50%	62%	(56%)	41%	8%

There is no doubt that a major reason for the shift away from Belait as a language of transmission to children is due to an increase in the amount of marriage between different linguistic groups. However, there is a need to look beyond intermarriage trends for underlying factors which play a role in the shift in language allegiance, not just among the Belait community, but among other

minority groups in Brunei. The on-going study on code choice among the Belait community will attempt to address such issues as this.

Space does not permit a full discussion of the trends in language use in the family domain. However, from data obtained, it is clear that, for informants aged 36 and above, Belait is the predominant language in interaction between informants and parents. Conversely, informants below that age of 35 use more Brunei Malay in interaction with their parents.

Where parents use some other language, as well as their mother tongue, in communication with their offspring, an intergenerational weakening of the mother tongue occurs, and this ultimately may generate a complete shift. The monolingualism in the older generation has given way to bilingualism in the group language (Belait) and the language of wider communication (Malay). A number of factors have caused the bilingual equilibrium to become unstable. Lack of transmission of Belait by parents to their offspring nowadays appears to be the final stage of an on-going process of language shift.

Apart from the fact that most marriages cut across linguistic boundaries, usually necessitating the use of a code of wider communication with both spouse and children, most informants state a major factor in their decision to use Brunei Malay with their is that Malay (*Bahasa Melayu*) is the language of the lower primary school.

Data, then, suggest that Belait is only rarely transmitted to offspring as a mother tongue in the present day. However, this is not to say that informants' children do not learn elements of the language from other sources. They clearly do gain some competency in the language, and both data and informant comment suggest that grandparents, in particular, play a significant role in the transmission of Belait.

The important role of grandparents in the transmission, and thus maintenance, of Belait, should not be overlooked. Many of the informants who claim Malay as a first language have learnt some Belait through interaction with grandparents. In many areas, especially rural communities, the three-generational household is common, and it is in these communities that the grandparents often "counterbalance even the conscious efforts of the parent not to transmit the local currency language" (Dorian, 1980:90). Of course, exposure to Belait from a grandparent will, in most cases, not result in total fluency. Rather, individuals will, in most cases, become "semi-speakers" (Dorian, 1977), or have receptive competence only. Obviously, as the older generation of Belait speakers

disappears, use of Belait will clearly decrease and this form of maintenance will decline.

In conversations with peers, data show that most informants over the age of 18 do use the Belait language on occasion, particularly in the village setting. Observation in Kialang, a small village in the Tutong district of Brunei Darussalam suggests that the Belait language is still an important marker of group membership. Although many younger speakers lack real fluency and may only have receptive competence, the most common feature of interaction in such settings is code-switched Belait-Brunei Malay discourse. (Belait-Dusun and Belait-Chinese code-switching also occurs.) Code-switching strategies in the Belait community are an important aspect of the on-going study.

Speakers of Belait (and, indeed, of other minority languages in Brunei) even those with a limited grammatical competence, appear to have an excellent sociolinguistic competence, in that they know when to use the language and when it would be socially unacceptable.

Away from the village setting, in a study of communication strategies among 12 Belait speakers in one institution in Brunei, it was found that, with the exception of two brothers who habitually communicate with each other in Belait, and a pair from the same village who have a history of interaction in Belait, Brunei Malay is the normal code used for interaction with each other, with the exception of three individuals who occasionally use English. They all insist that the use of Belait would not only be totally inappropriate, but also embarrassing. Other informants suggest that use of the Belait language in an urban setting, or away from one's own group, is stigmatizing.

CONCLUSION

Data indicate that among the Belait community there is an intergenerational shift away from Belait to Brunei Malay. An important influence on this shift is intermarriage. Malay (Brunei Malay), as the most prestigious language, is the one that is being transmitted to offspring as a first language.

This shift in language allegiance is associated with a shift in ethnic identity, a process of de-ethnicization. This is especially so when one parent belongs to one of the three *Ma'lin (Brunei, Kedayan, Tutong)* groups in the country. The shift away from Belait reflects a lack of identification with Belait ethnicity and a desire to stress "Bruneiness" rather than "Belaitness". Rousseau (1990:73-4) has mentioned the "Bornean ethnic redefinition" brought about by conversion to

Islam. This point is discussed at length by Hasan (1979), who considers three communities related to the Belait group, the Narum, Kiput and Bakong. Pauwels (1988:95) has interpreted the dropping of a minority language as a strategy to transcend minority status. This may be so, but it must be seen in the light of other factors, such as, in the case of the Belait, the conversion of the majority of the group to Islam. Aside from the importance of ethnicity in determining shifts in language allegiance, intermarriage patterns and pedagogic considerations are also of significance.

The transmission of Brunei Malay to offspring, and the adoption of this code as the language of the family is an important act of identification of "Bruneianness". Not only do the parents identify themselves and their families with the Bruneian speech community, but also they hope and expect to be perceived as part of that community.

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BETWEEN TRADITION AND CHANGE
A RE-EXAMINATION OF SOME FUNDAMENTAL ASSUMPTIONS
ABOUT THE IBANS

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I. INTRODUCTION

The Ibans are one of the most studied ethnic groups in Sarawak. However, detailed studies of Iban politics are few in number to be found in the work of Komanyi (1973), Searle (1981), Freeman (1987) and (1991). In addition, some aspects of Iban politics are treated in general studies of Malaysian and/or Sarawak politics by Leach (1954), Roff (1953), Roff (1974), and Milne and Ratnam (1974).

The basic aim of this brief paper is to re-examine some assumptions about the Ibans particularly in relation to their social organization and behavior. In this review, I am concentrating on two main themes: (1) regional cleavage; (2) the concept of equality and the role of a variable political behavior based on the distinction between *pa'ar* and *pa'ar* Ibans. In that respect, I will be commenting on the work of Leigh who has dwelt on the factor of regionalism in his explanation of the 1963 election results; Komanyi, who argued for absolute equality between Iban men and women in decision-making, and Freeman, who asserted that the traditional Ibans were egalitarian; and Searle, who proposed that the distance of Iban settlement from the *pa'ar* helped determine the nature of their political behavior.

II. IBAN REGIONAL CLEAVAGE

Traditionally, the Ibans were divided by their riverine pattern of settlement. Even in the post-independence period, they still identify strongly with a particular longhouse, situated in a particular river system. But in my opinion, this riverine-based identification has been overemphasized by Leigh in his attempt to explain the 1963 voting patterns in Iban-dominated District Councils. While the Iban-based parties, SNAP and PESAKA, had certainly emerged out of these regional differences, other factors surrounding their development must also be considered. To some extent, it is true that SNAP was formed by and initially

served the Saribas Ibans and that PESAKA was closely identified with the Rejang Ibans. But this is a rather superficial observation. It is also clear that the formation of the two Iban parties was limited in scope then because leaders from each party did not have the advantages that the Chinese, Melanau and Malay leaders had with respect to the formation of SUPP, BARJASA and PANAS respectively. First, SNAP and PESAKA were built from scratch, as opposed to the SUPP, which was, in an important sense, an extension of Chinese cooperation in the many Chinese commercial organizations. Secondly, Ibans were widely dispersed as opposed to the more confined Melanau and Malay populations (i.e., the Melanau were mainly found in the coastal areas of the Third Division and the Malays in and around Kuching). Thirdly, against all odds, SNAP and PESAKA were formed barely two years prior to the 1963 election. Therefore, one should be aware of the problems which they would have faced in extending support outside their core areas, in such a short time, exacerbated by their lack of manpower and resources.

However, when Leigh (1974) tried to link regionalism with the pattern of Iban voting in the Council Election of 1963, I feel that he concentrated too much on the factor of Iban regionalism in explaining party support, especially for SNAP and PESAKA. First, Leigh failed to take sufficient account of the cooperation between SNAP and PESAKA in the Alliance. Although SNAP had won all their Council seats from the Second Division and PESAKA the Third, this cannot be strictly interpreted as reflecting regionalism because both parties had contested from a common platform--the Alliance. The Council seats for which SNAP or PESAKA had campaigned had been jointly decided by the Alliance components (e.g. SNAP, PESAKA, and BARJASA) (Sarawak, 1963). Hence, Iban support for SNAP in the Second Division could also, theoretically, be construed as support for PESAKA and BARJASA, as all three parties were members of the coalition. In my view, Leigh's observations that the Iban of Saribas had generally voted for SNAP and that their Rejang brothers had generally supported PESAKA was a rather elementary one.

In my recent study (1991), I have not put any significant weight on Iban regionalism. Furthermore, I have also argued that regionalism was not particularly divisive even in the traditional period of Iban history. Although Iban were divided by their riverine settlement, they demonstrated, in the headhunting past, that they could forge an alliance whenever circumstances warranted such action. This factor was particularly useful to the Brookes, who had often resorted to recruiting Iban mercenaries to stabilize their initial rule (Runciman, 1960; and Pringle, 1970). What is more, the 1969 state general election, which provided a better test of regionalism compared to that of 1963, did not decisively show that regionalism was present, although the election did demonstrate that SNAP was

the dominant Iban party in the Second Division and PESAKA in the Third (Jawan, 1991:253-55).

III. EGALITARIANISM AND THE IBAN CONCEPT OF EQUALITY

Iban society has commonly been described as classless and egalitarian (Freeman, 1970:129). However, to describe Ibans in these terms is to ignore various socioeconomic and political differences. While the Ibans do not have a social stratification system comprising named ranks or classes, all Ibans are not, as Freeman implied, basically equal. They have never possessed wealth, power and influence in equal measure. Freeman based his observations on the then newly-settled area of Balleh (Third Division), where social differences were clearly less pronounced than those of long-settled areas such as in the Saribas (Second Division).

In fact, socioeconomic and political differences among the Ibans do exist. For example, Sandin (1970) has discussed the different categories of leadership, which exercised different degrees of prestige and power. Sutlive mentioned the existence of a superior category of Ibans, who were referred to as *raja berani* (lit. the brave and wealthy) (Sutlive, 1978). *Raja berani* was traditionally a praise-term for individuals who attained the highest status in both warfare and farming. While Sutlive maintained that the title was open to all Iban males, this did not mean that there were many who eventually earned it. For although it was open, it was a praise-term to describe only the "best among the best" of successful war leaders and farmers. In that respect, *raja berani* was not an institution, which provided the basis for some limited success in Iban integration above the level of the longhouse and riverine system (e.g. in SNAP between 1974 and 1983 and very briefly in PBDS in 1987).

In traditional Iban society, one factor was particularly important for the emergence of the superior leader: the "favours of the *petaras*" (*tulong antu*), which Sutlive called the element of "luck" (Sutlive, 1978:112). For example, physical strength alone was not enough to ensure that one would be a good warrior or warleader, but one must also have been favored by the *petara* (Sandin, 1962 and 1970). Neither was it enough that a *bilik*-family might have many hands to tend the farm, but they must also have received the help of *Simpulang Gana* (God of Agriculture). Hence, contrary to what Freeman observed, and based on the fact that there were socioeconomic and political differences between one Iban and another, and between *bilik*-families, Iban society was not egalitarian.

Building her argument from Freeman's conclusions concerning Iban egalitarianism, Komanyi (1973:124-28) has erroneously concluded that there is absolute equality between Iban men and women. However, I find that this does not square with my general, everyday observations of longhouse life. In my opinion, there are a number of deficiencies in her study.

First, her conclusion might be attributed to her lack of understanding the Iban language, which could impair her interpretation. This may have impaired her interpretation. This may have resulted from her inadequate communication with informants and interpreters. Secondly, she seems to have relied heavily on adat pronouncements, yet she did not fully explore how *adat* regarded Iban women in relation to their male counterparts and how it affected the "real" participation of Iban women in decision-making. Although the *adat* may make no distinctions between men and women (e.g. either pertaining to fines or the division of *bilik* property), it would be mistaken to conclude that these translate into absolute equality. If Komanyi had examined the pattern of Iban socialization in more detail, she would have seen a fundamental division between the ways in which young men and women are socialized into their respective roles. Although both young males and females are taught to be aggressive and competitive as well as cooperative, there is a clear difference in socialization which inevitably leads to women displaying more submissive behavior (Jawan 1991:516). Women (and even children) may participate in longhouse conferences (*baum*), but Komanyi (1973:119) has exaggerated the role that they play when she concludes that "in reality, however, the women exercised more power in deciding whether to accept or reject a proposal presented at the conference." Her conclusion seems to have been based largely on observations of the roles of wives of *tuai rumah*, who are not representative of ordinary Iban women (Komanyi, 1973:120). It would normally be expected of wives of *tuai rumah* to play a leading role and set an example to other longhouse women. Thirdly, the role of *tuai rumah* is not the "highest leadership position" in Iban society; that position is held by regional leaders such as *penghulus* and above them, the *pemancas* and *temenggongs* (Jawan, 1991:128-32). Komanyi had limited herself to an analysis at the longhouse level; she did not examine the total reality of Iban socioeconomic and political structures. Lastly, in an attempt to support a weak conclusion (i.e. that there exists absolute equality between Iban men and women), Komanyi (1973:124-25) referred misleadingly to the work of Freeman on Iban egalitarianism, which is itself problematical in certain respects.

IV. LONGHOUSE-PASAR DISTANCE AND IBAN POLITICAL BEHAVIOR The difference in their exposure is not adequately accounted for by measurements in terms of physical distance.

In his short monograph, Searle (1983:75-76) discovered that Iban political behavior can be explained in terms of the distances of communities from the urban centers; he maintained that "... the nature of a longhouse's relationship with the *pasar* provided many useful indicators to their political attitudes." He identified three groups of Ibans, that is the *ulu*, semi-*pasar* and *pasar*, who exhibited variable political behavior based on their exposure to outside information and government. Searle (1983:76-80) argued that stable political behavior tended to be exhibited by *pasar* and *ulu* Ibans, while that of their semi-*pasar* brothers was highly volatile. Both the *pasar* and *ulu* Ibans have strong political convictions, which do not easily change, as opposed to those semi-*pasar* Ibans who switched political allegiance as often as there were promises of material benefits. Searle based these behavioral differences on the level of self-sufficiency of the three groups of Ibans. He found that the *pasar* and *ulu* Ibans were generally self-sufficient and hence more independent; the former, in terms of having some level of education and therefore the ability to obtain jobs in the town centers, while the latter, although they generally lacked education, could rely on the traditional pursuits of farming, hunting and gathering to sustain their independence. But, the semi-*pasar* Ibans, whom Searle described as having the "worst of the two worlds", were generally lacking in education; the problem of shortage of arable land faced by them further compounded the problem of meeting their basic needs; hence, they became overdependent on political punters, who promised to bring them immediate material benefits.

While I accept the fact that Iban political behavior might be explained by the distance of communities from the town centers, I would argue that it can now be better explained by the general accessibility of a particular Iban settlement to the town center. Improved communications and expanding opportunities may have blurred the boundaries between *ulu*, semi-*pasar* and *pasar* longhouses. For this reason, I have used in my survey a more refined *ulu-pasar* distinction. The basic determinant I have used in identifying longhouses as either *ulu* or *pasar* is their accessibility to given commercial centers. Their accessibility is measured in terms of travelling time, either by road or river (Jawan, 1991:520-22). In this sense, my classification, I maintain, takes account of the realities of access, whereas Searle's distinctions were based simply on physical distances from the *pasar*. In my case, certain physically distant upriver longhouses may be classified as *pasar* if the travelling time by river from them to the *pasar* is not more than a certain pre-determined number of hours; in contrast, some longhouses physically closer to the *pasar*, but which have communication problems, may be classified as *ulu* communities. The observation is a simple one. Accessibility determines the amount and level of exposure of the longhouse Ibans to the influence of the *pasar*.

V. CONTEMPORARY PATTERN OF IBAN POLITICS AND ECONOMICS

In my study (1991), I have discovered that the general pattern of Iban political behavior since the 1963 Council elections has tended to oscillate between two kinds of loyalties -- one regional, the other supra-regional. The former is support which tended to be given to regionally-based individual personalities, the latter to a particular political party (i.e. "personal" versus "institutional" loyalty). This tendency has, on the one hand, given rise periodically to Iban disunity and, on the other hand, led to temporary phases of relative unity. For instance, strong regional sentiments dominated the period from 1963 to the mid-1970s; although SNAP and PESAKA generally represented Iban political needs and aspirations, there were also some Ibans who supported the non-Iban-oriented parties such as the SUPP and the Alliance coalition. In addition, the precarious Iban unity in the Alliance was also shortlived. However, by the mid-1970s, this sentiment was replaced by the rise of supra-regionalism, which was expressed through SNAP, when the party managed to consolidate substantial Iban support behind it (e.g. by winning 18 out of 25 predominantly Dayak *Council Negri* (or later known as *Devuan Undagan Negri* [State Assembly]) seats. Iban unity in SNAP lasted until 1983, when the PBDS was formed, which broke SNAP's political strength. Up to that time, SNAP was equal in strength to the PBB, the dominant party in the BN coalition in Sarawak. The period between the years 1983 and 1987 represented a repetition of the disunity integration cycle of Iban politics seen previously in the years from 1963 to 1974; Ibans were divided between SNAP and the PBDS, but many were temporarily united behind the PBDS in 1987. However, the unity in the PBDS in 1987 was very temporary compared to that in SNAP between 1974 and 1983. Not long after the 1987 election, Iban unity under the PBDS was again undermined, when it lost half of its assemblymen, who defected to the BN3 after winning their seats for PBDS in the 1987 election. The defection of the PBDS assembly members signalled the repetition, for the third time, of the regional-supra-regionalism cycle; Iban disunity became further entrenched following the poor performance of the PBDS in the 1991 state election, when its members were returned in only seven of the 17 Iban seats.

Due to the political marginalization of the Ibans, their economic development has suffered. What is more, the goal of the Malaysian New Economic Policy of distributing economic benefits according to the population proportions of each ethnic group has not been realized in the case of the Ibans. It is a remote possibility that the Ibans might benefit from the newly-introduced National

Development Plan (NDP), which, unlike its forerunner the NEP, has not set any specific targets to be accomplished by the indigenous populations.

VI. CONCLUSION

In this paper, I have attempted to draw attention to several hypotheses about the Ibans, some of which have not been properly demonstrated and supported, while others have become irrelevant through the course of time.

I have argued that there was a regional division in traditional Iban society, but, contrary to Leigh's view, it did not prevent, to any significant degree, the emergence of Iban unity through the membership of the Saribas SNAP and the Rejang PESAKA in the Alliance of 1966; both parties supported Kalong Ningkan as the first Iban Chief Minister. Nor was there absolute equality between Iban men and women as Komanyi attempted to argue, following Freeman's emphasis on the egalitarian nature of Iban society. There is, in fact, clear evidence of inequalities in traditional Iban society that refute both Freeman's and Komanyi's conclusions. Furthermore, Searle has discovered that there were profound socioeconomic differences which gave rise to three distinct patterns of Iban political behavior. But, it is clear that Searle's classification of Ibans into *ulu*, *semi-pasar* and *pasar* has become outdated due to rapid improvements in communications and economic changes in Sarawak and therefore it cannot adequately explain contemporary patterns of Iban political behavior. Instead, I would suggest that "general accessibility" is now a better measure for the *ulu-pasar* distinction.

Finally, Iban political behavior can be further understood in terms of their political culture which encouraged, on the one hand, individualism, and on the other, cooperation (Jawan, 1991: 162-65). The failure of certain Iban leaders in capitalizing on the inherent spirit of Iban cooperation has accounted for much of the vacillation in Iban political behavior between regional and supra-regional (party) loyalties. Consequently, many of the socioeconomic questions and problems now facing the Iban community cannot be properly addressed because Ibans do not speak with a unified voice.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Alliance	Sarawak Alliance
BARJASA	Barisan Rakyat Jati Sarawak
BN	Barisan Nasional
BN3	Barisan Nasional Tiga (e.g. PBB, SUPP and SNAP)
PANAS	Parti Negara Sarawak
PBB	Parti Pesaka Rumiputera Bersatu
PBDS	Parti Bansa Dayak Sarawak
PESAKA	Parti Pesaka Anak Sarawak
SNAP	Sarawak National Party
SUPP	Sarawak United Peoples' Party

SKETCHES OF OUR LIFE AT SARAWAK
BY HARRIETTE McDOUGALL

R. H. W. REECE
AND
A. J. M. SAINT

INTRODUCTION

On 29 June 1848 there arrived in Sarawak the Revd Francis McDougall and his wife, Harriette. The McDougalls were pioneer missionaries sent out by the Borneo Church Mission at the invitation of Rajah Sir James Brooke. They were accompanied by their baby son, Harry, and his nursemaid, Elizabeth Richardson, and their voyage from England, in a 400-ton sailing ship around the Cape of Good Hope to Singapore, had taken exactly six months.

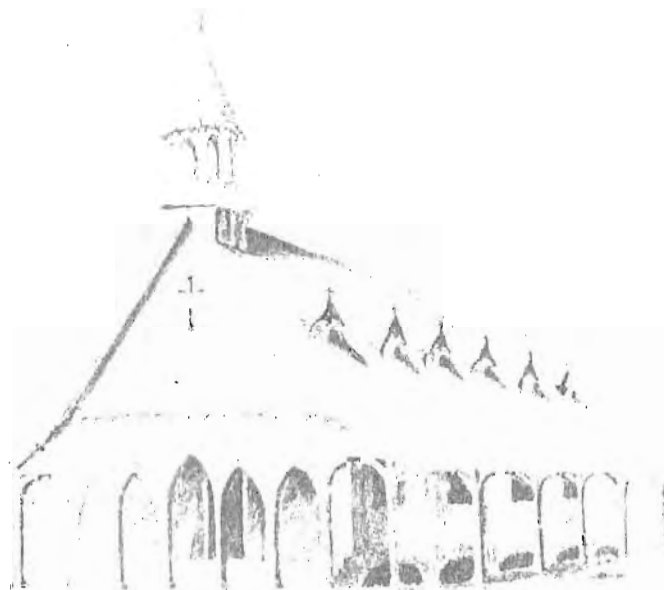
Thus it happened that Harriette and Elizabeth were the first European women to experience the rigors of life in Sarawak. Harriette, who lived in Kuching for nearly twenty years, was also the first European woman to record her impressions of the country. *Sketches of Our Life at Sarawak*, published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in London in 1882, was based on her journals and her letters home, especially those written to her brother, Charles Bunyon, and his wife, Eliza ('Lizzie'). The book was intended for English readers interested in the progress of Christianity in the East, but whose knowledge of Borneo was minimal.

Sketches had been preceded almost thirty years earlier by Harriette's *Letters from Sarawak; addressed to a Child* (1854), which is something of a classic in its own way. It consists of the early impressions of a sensitive, observant, and highly intelligent woman, set down in simple but by no means childish language for her eldest son, Charley, who had been left behind in England. Tragically, he was killed at school playing cricket when he was eight years old, just a few weeks before the book was printed. For the rest of her life, Harriette treasured a leather pouch containing his letters to her and other little memorabilia.

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Harriette McDougall, c. 1858
 Photography by Maul & Co., London
 (Courtesy of Dr. R. H. W. Reece)



Harriette McDougall's pencil sketch of St. Thomas's Church, Kuching, Consecrated by Bishop Wilson in 1851. The Church, built of *Belian* wood, was designed by Frank McDougall and Ship's Carpenter, T. A. Stahl, from Berlin.

(Courtesy of Dr. R. H. W. Reece)

Charley was the sixth child of the McDougalls to die in as many years, five of them in Sarawak and Singapore, a fact which shows just how precarious life was for European children born in the tropics in those days. So great a loss was the more remarkable in that Frank McDougall was a qualified medical doctor and an experienced obstetrician. Harriette's calmness and courage in the face of such adversity were characteristic of her exceptional personality. However, she certainly never saw herself as being exceptional.

The daughter of Robert John Bunyon, London secretary of the Norwich Union Fire and Life Insurance Company, whose family had old connections in Norfolk, she had been brought up and privately educated in London in the somewhat serious milieu of a Low Church, upper middle-class family.

Affectionately known as 'Harrie', she was particularly gifted in painting and music, taking lessons from the noted landscape and topographical painter, Henry Gastineau, and from Cornelius Varley. She sang well, accompanied herself on the harp, and also played classical duets with her elder sister at the piano. She was an avid concert-goer. At the time of her marriage, at the age of twenty-six, she was 'a pretty fair-haired creature of much vivacity and a singularly amiable temper'. Indeed, she did not lack suitors. 'Girls married as a matter of course in my day,' she told her biographer many years later. 'I always felt I had two or three strings in my hand that might come to something.'

As her brother, Charles Bunyon, found when he came to write his memoir of Frank McDougall, it is impossible to write about him without giving similar attention to Harriette: 'As the narrative fell into shape, it became more and more apparent how greatly the fine qualities of the man had been influenced and enhanced by those of his wife, who on her part had been no less animated by him. The two lives, were, in fact, inseparable, each the complement of the other....'

Frank McDougall came from a comparatively modest background, being the son of a captain of the Connaught Rangers who had served in the Peninsular War and been invalided out to work as paymaster, first for the 88th Regiment and then the 9th Fusiliers. However, his grandfather had been a general in the East India Company's army, and his great-uncle a vice admiral after Trafalgar. Much of his youth was spent in Corfu, Cephalonia, and Malta where he first demonstrated his linguistic skills, becoming fluent in Greek, Italian, Romaic and Maltese. One grandmother was Armenian, which may help to explain his swarthy complexion. The McDougalls, from the west coast of Scotland, were themselves a black-haired and stocky breed.

Frank was a man of diverse abilities and enormous energy. He was a skilled horseman, and his knowledge of navigation was picked up at Malta under Captain Thompson of HMS *Revenge* who made him a midshipman. Developing an interest in medicine in the military hospital at Malta, he spent some time as a medical student at Valletta before going to England in 1835. In 1836 he received the Gold Medal for general medical proficiency at King's College, London, and in 1838 was appointed Demonstrator in Anatomy.

After taking the diploma of the Royal College of Surgeons in 1836, he also won a blue by rowing bow in the winning boat against Cambridge. On one occasion, in 1840, he showed his physical courage by attempting to rescue a student from drowning in the river Thames at Iffley. Immediately before his marriage to Harriette at Pembrey, Carmarthenshire, in July 1843, he had been in Wales attempting to retrieve the fortunes of an iron-smelting works in which his prospective father-in-law had an interest. They had met through Charles Bunyon whom Frank knew at Oxford.

Frank and Harriette were a devoted couple. They had ten children, six boys dying young and three daughters and a son surviving. Harriette was calm, patient, and competent while her husband was impulsive, energetic and exuberant. It was a shrewd, if brave, decision when Harriette persuaded Frank, who had been ordained in 1845, to give up a comfortable appointment he had just secured at the British Museum to offer instead to go to Borneo. Indeed, she personally intervened to persuade the Museum's director to release Frank from his commitment. The Borneo Church Mission had appealed for clergy to go out and serve in regions 'which have hitherto been occupied by hordes of piratical adventurers, who by rapine and treachery and murder, excluding all legitimate commerce and destroying all inducements to industry have reduced the island [of Borneo] to desolation and misery'. The McDougalls certainly did not lack courage in responding to this challenge.

Altogether, it seems to have been Harriette who took the initiative, possibly influenced by the example of her uncle, the Revd Edward Bickersteth of Walton, who visited Sierra Leone for the Church Missionary Society at some risk to his life in 1816. Robert Bunyon was on the committee of the Church Missionary Society and her sister Frances was to go out to Africa with her husband, Dr. Jon Colenso, in 1853. 'I often think', she told her biographer thirty years later, 'that no one *really* wants to go out as a missionary who isn't a little queer in the head.' 'But you and the Bishop?', I said, somewhat shocked. "Well, Frank and I are not really like everybody else", she laughed.'



Frank McDougall may have been the first man to take a camera to Borneo. This photograph of Charles Grant, his young daughter, and two Dayaks, c. 1860 can definitely be attributed to him.

(Courtesy of Bodleian Library, Oxford)

In December 1847, when they left for Borneo, James Brooke, who had 'planted the settlement of Sarawak', was enjoying the height of his reputation of a man of heroic enterprise and vision. He had been honored by Queen Victoria, the City of London, and the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and his portrait had been painted by Francis Grant, RA. Brooke's almost Byronic appeal was reinforced by his personal proof of the popular belief that the peace of the world was attainable if only British Commerce, Justice, and Religion could be planted everywhere. British naval power had already helped to open up new trading opportunities for Britain in China and other parts of the Far East.

The ability and modesty of the author of *Sketches* will be at once evident to the reader, although the book does not convey how much Harriettè was generally admired and loved. In one important respect, however, the book is defective to the point of being misleading. In her Preface she wrote: 'I shall avoid all political questions and all individual histories among the English community.' The reason for this omission is plain. In 1882 Rajah Charles Brooke had been ruler of Sarawak for fourteen years. His succession, in 1868, had been inevitable after his elder brother, John Brooke Johnson [Brooke Brooke], the heir apparent and *de facto* ruler of the country for some years, quarrelled bitterly with their now emotionally unstable and vindictive uncle in 1863. Charles' acquiescence in this exclusion and subsequent benefit from it was morally ambivalent, and Harriette, who had taken Brooke Brooke's part in the dispute, could not publicly allude to such a sensitive matter. Although Charles kept in touch with her and Frank after their return to England, she was repelled by what she saw as his cold-hearted opportunism. At the same time, she could not write anything which might prejudice the delicate relationship between the second Bishop, Walter Chambers, and the second Rajah.

The principal problem of Bishop McDougall's episcopate (he was consecrated Bishop of Labuan in 1855 and later assumed the style Labuan and Sarawak) had been the loss of confidence in the integrity of Rajah James after his public and dramatic repudiation of the man whom he had formally appointed his heir and successor in 1861 when it was clear that his health would no longer allow him to remain in Sarawak for extended periods. It is not too much to say that the period from 1854 to 1868 was one of tragedy in Sarawak -- a tragedy in which James and his elder nephew were the chief actors. Far more was involved than personalities, of course, because the future of the state was at stake. However, the conflict was expressed in terms of personal loyalties and values and the McDougalls were in the middle of it all. They were politically and emotionally implicated at every turn of events.

The first act was the deterioration of the Rajah himself. The man who had elicited so much admiration, and indeed devotion, amongst those who worked with him, became increasingly isolated, absent from his country, jealous, unpredictable, and devious. His decline originated with the Commission of Inquiry set up by the British Parliament in 1854 to investigate his conduct during the early campaigns to suppress raiding by Illanuns from the southern Philippines and Dayaks from the Batang Lupar. The Commission, which sat in Singapore, exculpated Brooke, but its work was so venomously promoted and scandalously conducted as to destroy Brooke's confidence in British law and government. He began to play with the idea of selling Sarawak to some other

European power -- Holland, Belgium, America, even Italy, with no reference to anybody but himself.



Rajah James Brooke, c. 1863. In September 1861 the Rajah designated his elder nephew, Brooke Brooke, as his heir. Two years later, after bitter argument brought on by his own attempts to sell Sarawak, he disinherited him and banished him from the country.

(Courtesy of Dr. R. H. W. Reece)



Brooke Brooke (John Brooke Johnson), January 1857. During Rajah James' increasing absences, Brooke became the *De Facto* ruler of Sarawak. A close friend of the McDougalls, he was strongly supported by them during his dispute with his uncle. Photograph by Burrie (?)

(Courtesys of Bodleian Library, Oxford)

The Bishop himself thought that James Brooke's decline began with the smallpox which he contracted in 1854, accelerated by the Commission and by the Chinese Rebellion in February 1857 when he narrowly escaped with his life and his house and entire library were destroyed. Although he managed to return in force to drive off the rebellious gold-miners of the Bau kongsi, it was Frank himself who was the hero of the day and the last European to leave the town. Whatever its origin may have been, it is clear that the Rajah's position as 'despot' of Sarawak must have been the cause of considerable isolation and strain. He had subjects and servants but no genuine counsellors and friends. Nor was he married. 'The burthen, the risk, and the glory' became too much for him. Indeed, the Bishop privately confided to his brother-in-law, Charles Bunyon, that it had affected his sanity.

The chief targets of the Rajah's increasing choler were Brooke Brooke and the Bishop himself. McDougall was a strong character by temperament and training, and it was perhaps inevitable that such a small and isolated society could not contain two such determined personalities. The Rajah grew jealous of his forthright Bishop who found it impossible (in his own words) to keep his tongue behind his teeth. The situation eventually deteriorated to the point where Frank lost all confidence in the Rajah and believed that his hostility towards him was implacable. 'The old arch-hypocrite is doing all he can make me give up. He is ploughing with my clergy and thwarting our work right and left,' he wrote, 'I shall never trust him again.' On the final issue of the succession, the Bishop withstood the Rajah to the face: 'I told him the legal right might be his but the moral right was Brooke's.'

There was a solidity and a directness about McDougall which the Rajah notably lacked, and indeed came to detest. In this unhappy situation, Harriette's feelings were entirely with her husband. She wrote confidentially to Brooke Brooke in August 1863: 'We have long known that the Rajah is our personal enemy and for some time past lost all faith in his truthfulness and honesty, and also know him to be bitterly vindictive against all who oppose him. Until he can crush he cannot forgive.' The McDougalls' estimate of affairs is independently confirmed in the numerous letters of John Grant, the Laird of Kilgraston, who was Brooke Brooke's father-in-law. He was also the father of Charles Grant, one of the Rajah's first and best-loved officers who sided with his brother-in-law in 1863, and whose large collection of letters and other documents supporting Brooke Brooke's claim is now a major source of information on Sarawak history.

The Rajah had several times gone off to England and committed the government to 'his' elder nephew's charge. In 1861 he was a sick man and was generally thought to be leaving the country for the last time. On 19 September, with the utmost formality, he presented Brooke Brooke to the Assembly of the

Council and of the native chiefs and charged them to love and obey the 'Rajah Muda' as much as they had loved and obeyed him. He then honored his heir with the gift of his own sword in token on the transfer of power, and caused a royal salute to be fired. The next day he departed for England. Charles Grant and the other officers present had no doubt that this solemn and moving ceremony was, in fact, Rajah James' abdication, although, typically, he took care to say that he would return to Sarawak if he should be needed. The McDougalls were not present on this occasion, only returning to Kuching in March 1862.

The reasons for Brooke Brooke's 'challenge' (to use his own word) to the Rajah in his letter of 26 October 1862 were his uncle's secrecy, perversity, and avarice. The evidence Brooke now had before him appeared to him to make it certain that Rajah James had returned to the idea of 'selling' Sarawak to Belgium without reference to himself as the present ruler, or to the Council and native chiefs. The letters which Brooke Brooke wrote at this juncture to Lord Elgin, Governor-General of India, and to Earl Russell, Britain's Foreign Secretary, make it clear that although his own rights and claims were involved, his protest was on moral grounds.

The details of the whole sad business have been recounted at some length by other historians and need not be rehearsed again here. However, the broad outline is provided in order to establish the political background of Harriette's *Sketches* and her surviving letters to Brooke Brooke. In the event, the Rajah stormed off to the East and Brooke went to Singapore to avoid a confrontation in Sarawak. They met in February 1863, and, in what Frank McDougall called 'a nightmare of injustice', Brooke was outwitted, stripped of all his rights and honours, and sent home to England. Charles Johnson, who had accompanied his uncle on this voyage, then took the surname of Brooke, and as Charles Grant put it later, 'stepped into his brother's shoes, the measure of which he had taken long before'.

Brooke Brooke died heart-broken in England at the age of 47, just six months after his uncle. He had sought a reconciliation with him on a number of occasions, but always in vain. Charles Brooke's accession to the Raj was automatic, and he was not disposed to make any provision for his brother's only surviving child, Hope Brooke, who was later to make a rash attempt to claim his father's inheritance.

Harriette's letters to Brooke Brooke, before and after his disinheritance and expulsion from Sarawak, are an eloquent testimony to her love, wisdom, and sympathy, qualities which, in the circumstances, were rare indeed. Already in 1854 she had written of Brooke that he was grave, reserved, and handsome, 'with

a most winning smile, thoughtful and affectionate, with excellent abilities and judgement, a good temper and high principles, a soft heart ... but rather fastidious and a little inclined to satire. He is a special favourite of mine, but I have only lately learned to know him well -- he is so fond of wrapping himself up in a mist.'

It is clear that Harriette came to have a strong sisterly affection for Brooke and that she was tactful enough to exercise her gentle mediating influence when misunderstanding arose between the Bishop and the Rajah Muda. In February 1862 Harriette wrote that the Rajah was behaving like a school-boy, 'who having eaten his cake, still wants to have it back'. And in November: 'I cannot think Brooke that you mean to wound and grieve Frank as you have done ... you have plenty of cares and anxieties of your own. In all these you have our full sympathy and warmest friendship ... our love for you has been our only solace in the great, bitter disappointment of having to give up all faith in the old Rajah.' When the crisis came, Frank wrote to him: 'We got your letters and read them with grief and indignation', and Harriette: 'Oh Brooke! I will go with you. I will never speak to that crazy old man again. But why should you go?'

The Rajah's malice toward Brooke was quite extraordinary. He was proclaimed a traitor unentitled to defence at law. Should he even return to Sarawak and resist arrest, he was to be cut down with the sword. All his goods and money were confiscated, and his baby daughter, Agnes, the only child by his second wife, Julia Welstead, was pronounced a political difficulty. The Bishop was required to send her home with a nurse and pay her passage. In a letter to Brooke in the summer of 1863, Harriette advised him not to persist in his efforts to contend against the Rajah: 'Let the old man die in peace, dear Brooke, then step into your place amidst the hearty welcome of your subjects ... I don't think that quarrels between the Rajah and his Heir will do Sarawak anything but mischief. I do not believe that Charles will be disloyal to you.' To Charles Grant's wife, Matilda, she wrote: 'I only hope I shall behave myself when I go home for it is very important not to break the peace, but I have to bite my lips and uttering treason would not advance Brooke's cause I know.'

How greatly Brooke valued the loyalty and affections of the McDougalls can be seen in his letter to them of June 1867, in which he wrote: 'I have no more to say, dear Bishop, except that I shall never cease to appreciate your and Mrs. McDougall's devotion to me in seasons of the utmost sorrow and trial.' To his parents Brooke wrote: 'I remember the Bishop as a true and jovial friend who did me great services.'

Some extracts from Harriette's letters home will serve to show her liveliness as a correspondent, and her serenity amidst the perplexities, dangers, and griefs

of her life in Sarawak. Asking friends in England to write often, she says: 'There is no virtue in my writing in reply: it is my greatest pleasure which I could not be happy without.' Zest for life is the hallmark of her writing. In fact, there was a constant background of uncertainty and fear in Sarawak from the activities of Malay plotters, Sulu pirates, and Dayak head-hunters. She seldom refers to these hazards, and when she does it is half-humorously: 'That anybody who likes should take leave to cut our throats is very aggravating. I am not at all afraid. But if our throats are cut -- mind only if they were -- I should like to be avenged, not treated as an outlaw.' This was written in 1859 when Lord Derby's government had rejected the Rajah's request for the recognition of Sarawak as a sovereign state and for British naval protection. More seriously, she deplores the continual shortage of suitable food and the price of things that had to be bought locally; she had, after all, the responsibility of feeding the staff and children at the mission school and the numerous visitors to the Mission House, as well as her own family. 'We are almost at famine's door', she writes in 1859, 'every thing horribly scarce and dear, chickens nearly half-a-crown apiece as big as my hand, a small fish two shillings, rice, vegetables, every thing in proportion. We are living on salted junk, mixing it up with fowls into puddings and pies. We have five hungry Englishmen, 6 when Alan [the younger brother of Charles Grant] comes today.' The problem was compounded by the fact that she would allow no pork or shellfish in her house.

Sometimes sick visitors from Singapore came for a bit of Frank's medical 'tinkering', and ships' captains called in because they valued his opinion more than that of naval surgeons. Frank himself writes: 'One of our greatest drawbacks is, whether we will or no, we must take in strangers when they come. The Rajah's and ours are the only Public Houses and it entails no small cost in the most expensive of places. The missionaries think it is the Bishop's business to fatten them up when they get lean upon their jungle fare and it suits my vein, though not my pocket, to do so. Thanks for the preserved meats. They are a capital standby.' However, if Harriette is to be believed, some of the canned meat and soup sent by kind friends in England tasted as though it had come out of the Ark. She relates that at Lingga after the Chinese Rebellion, Frank sampled something from a tin, only to spit it out. 'We want no more like these. It was rather like Friar Tuck and his parched peas.'

The previous Christmas, the McDougalls had no less than seventy Christians to dinner at the schoolhouse and eighteen more at their own table. Frank had killed an ox for the occasion. They always kept a supply of port wine and sherry, largely for medicinal purposes, and Harriette was quite vexed when a ship's company arrived and quickly drank them dry. From 1862 all the clergy of the Diocese came together for an annual synod, and Harriette was a good deal exercised in 'the pudding way' in seeing that they were all sufficiently fed. In

that year she writes that since Mrs. Stahl (Elizabeth Richardson) has left to live in Singapore, all the jobs she used to do now fell to her -- 'clear-starching the Bishop's sleeves, making puddings and biscuits for company, looking after sick children, teaching the sewing class from 7 to 10 every morning etc.'

The variety of Harriette's activities is certainly remarkable. She also conducted choir practice and played the harmonium in Church. In 1849 she had a class to teach Englishmen to sing the 'thoroughbass' in the psalms in Church: 'I have eight pupils. I do not find them very apt at learning the theory, but it makes them feel wonderfully wise.' Sometimes she laughed at her 'idleness': 'Lizzie Chambers makes shirts for her husband, a virtue I have never attained to. Frank buys his wardrobe and I only pretend to mend or put in pocket or hem handkerchiefs and make a rochet or sleeves at a pinch.' Meanwhile, she was still having babies: 'I am very well and supremely uncomfortable.'

In November 1948 Harriette had lost a new-born baby and another a year later which almost cost her own life. The most tragic loss was three-year-old Harry, who contracted diphtheria in Singapore and died there after three weeks of suffering. 'We have lost three children in the course of fifteen months', she writes, 'but I can scarcely now believe that I could vex for my babies, so much harder has it been to part with my bright and beautiful boy. But do not think of me as grieving without hope; such is not the case; every day, I think, raises our hearts from our child's grave to his bright and happy home.'

Having just unwrapped a box of presents arriving from England after Harry's death she writes: 'It is a pleasure to see how he was loved, and perhaps to him also. Who shall say that our dear ones are unconscious of the gales of heaven that blow over the barren earth, making it bear flowers and fruits which belong to a climate where love is the very atmosphere? I could not help fancying that my child read with me the many papers inscribed "for dear Harry", although what they unfolded could hardly interest him.' In August 1852, having lost five children, she writes to Charles Bunyon of her anticipated visit to England: 'You must not expect to see me very sad or grave -- I do not think I am that; but I am more absent than formerly and I always have this on my mind.'

It was perhaps in her music and painting that Harriette transcended the constant trials of everyday life. She played the piano after the happy dinners they had during the early days of their relationship with the Rajah when Charley Johnson would bellow out his favorite Italian arias. Together with Brooke Brooke, she composed a national anthem for Sarawak, adapted from 'a German nonsense catch'. And in occasional moments of leisure she would take out her sketching block or water-colors and record what she saw around her. Indeed, her drawings and paintings provide the only pictorial record of life in Sarawak

during those years apart from the work of occasional visitors such as Captain Drinkwater Bethune and Frank Marryat. In particular, she left some pleasing water-colours of Kuching and its surroundings, and a sketch of Charles Grant asleep in a boat after the Chinese Rebellion. Much of her best work was destroyed in a tragic fire at her grandson's house in Chichester in 1983, but enough survives to establish her as a highly competent artist. It might well be said of her, as it was of her mentor Gastineau, that her work was 'technically accomplished but not particularly original'. For his part, Frank was a keen photographer and probably the first person to bring a camera to Borneo in the 1850s.

Her flowers were also a great source of joy: 'By degrees we had a very bright garden about the house. The gardenia, with its strongly scented blossom and evergreen leaves, made a capital hedge. Great bushes of hibiscus, scarlet and buff, glowed in the sun...the pink and one-hundred-leaves rose grew freely and blossomed all the year round. The plumbago was one of the few pale-blue flowers which liked the blazing heat. Then we had a great variety of creepers -- jessamine of many sorts, the scarlet ipomaea, the blue clitoria, and passion flowers....The jessamine and pergaloria climbed up the porch, and in the forks of the trees opposite I had airplants fastened, which flowered every three months and looked like a flight of white butterflies on the wing. The great mountain of Matang stood in the distance, and when the sun sank behind it, which it always did in that invariable latitude about six o'clock, I sat in the porch to watch the glory of earth and sky.'

Harriette's enjoyment of life is always instant, vivid, and selective. She has the eye of a natural artist and story-teller and examples of this are frequent in *Sketches*. A passage in her best narrative vein comes in a letter of 1858. 'Someone ran amuck up and down the bazaar. The Court was cleared in a trice. Peter Middleton nearly lost Brooke by trying to shoot the man. The whole neighbourhood turned out and the Chinese shut up their shops in a twinkling. Our servants came rushing up to the House. "Shut the door Ma'am, people are all fighting". "Who is fighting?" "O I don't know, but there is something dreadful the matter". They looked as white as cowards could. And there was poor little Mrs Hacket, not knowing the ways of the world here, and all in a tremble, crying and wringing her hands. I assured her that it was doubtless nothing, laid her on the sofa and sprinkled her with eau-de-cologne. I might have been serious to her in her condition. The man was shot down after seriously wounding a poor Chinese carpenter, whom Frank went forthwith to sew up. He is mending.'

Life was certainly eventful. 'Quite is unobtainable in our Noah's Ark', she writes after they have just adopted another orphan child. Frank was often away

for weeks at a time visiting Labuan by way of Singapore in the mission steamer, which he himself captained. On one such absence, Harriette took the whole school to Santubong at the mouth of the Sarawak River for a holiday. 'It is such a move! A cargo boat has just come for 2 cows and their calves and Don the pony. Said cargo boat will also take 2 chests of drawers, 3 bookcases, 2 iron beds and there will be three small boats full of us; we have 15 school-boys and what a din they make.' There follows a postscript: 'August 24th. We are settled at home again and yesterday Charley Johnson returned with his fleet in procession and was saluted from the Fort with 21 guns. We had a dinner party of Charley, the Grants, Mr. Alderson and Mr. Hay and plenty of music in the evening. The expedition had been perfectly successful: the sampitans [blowpipe darts] thrown by the Kenowits were very deadly, the wounds from them killed in a few minutes so strong was the poison of the arrows.'

Another characteristic passage is her description of the visit by sailors from HMS *Albatross* in 1849. 'Capt. Farquhar is staying in the house with us, sick and under Frank's care, whom he prefers to his new ship's doctor. He is a frank merry man and quite a gentleman, which is not always the case with sailors. What a constant dose I get here; some are nice fellows, some are rude vulgar creatures who care for nothing but drinking and smoking. We have a midshipman, Dyer by name, sick of intermittent fever. When he first came I was afraid, and Frank too, that he would die in the house. However, with care and nursing he got quite well. I am very glad he recovered, but such a disagreeable inmate I never had, a regular cub without manners or politeness of any kind. We have plainly let him see that we are tired of him, but he does not care and presents himself at meals and stretches himself in an easy chair with a book. I shall soon be moved to tell him that I cannot be tormented with him any longer; but after being his nurse when he was ill I feel loath to spoil it all by being angry. I expect that we shall have to tell Captain Everest to take him back to his ship.'

More distinguished visitors at the Mission House in 1865 were the Marchese Doria and Signor Odoardo Beccari, the naturalist and explorer. The Bishop surprised them by speaking fluent Italian while Harriette floundered in French. The party visited Lundu where they 'expressed their surprise and delight with the manifest good effects of the missionary operations as shewn both in the appearance and social progress of the people when compared with other tribes [not under missionary influence] which they had seen elsewhere'.

Harriette's patience with the young was considerable, but not inexhaustible. She writes of a small boy at a friend's house in Singapore: 'I never saw such a passionate child nor such a conceited irreverent little mortal. I am engaged in taking him down all day long.' Nor did her own children escape criticism. Mab

(Mary Colenso, the eldest of her four survivors) she describes as 'a very lazy and ignorant puss'.

There were problems, too, in having a Malay *ayah* to look after her youngest: 'Mildred is, I fear, the spoilt child of the family. She persists in speaking Malay, though I now speak only English to her, and it is difficult to make her understand anything while she sets herself against English. I tell her fairy tales in English to induce her to like it, but she is backward for her age for want of companions.'

When the mother of Nietfong, the four-year-old daughter of a Chinese baker, died in 1858, Harriette took her in as a companion for Mab. Nietfong stayed with them until she was thirteen, when her father sold her to a rich man in China and Harriette was unable to raise the money to buy him off. Many years later, Nietfong came back to Kuching to look for her: 'Her feet had been bound and she could hardly walk; but she tottered up the hill to the mission-house and asked for me, and she did cry, poor child, when she found I had left Sarawak for good!'

During the Chinese rebellion, while they were taking refuge at Lingga, everything movable at the Mission House was either stolen or smashed. Harriette reported that even her treasured piano was filled with solid debris. Some weeks later, however, 'when Prince Victor [Queen Victoria's nephew] was here he and the *Spartan* sailors turned it upside down and round and round till they got everything out of the interior and it has ailed nothing ever since.'

Another example of her sense of humour concerned old Bishop Daniel Wilson, whom they visited in Calcutta on their way back to Sarawak in 1854. 'He held out his two arms and kissed me very lovingly. But it is really killing work to be with him: now he is so old and quite absurd. His address to the students was partly very pious and partly ridiculous, descanting about himself in the middle of his advice to the young men, what he said about his doctor, etc. The Bishop prayed for Frank and his "beautiful and amiable family" by which no one could conceive what he meant unless Miss Brown and Miss Williams represented these perfections.'

Harriette's own religious convictions were strong and unswerving. She had imbibed something of her evangelical background and was influenced by the views of F.D. Maurice, Professor of Theology at King's College, London University, who was godfather to baby Harry and continued to write to her in Sarawak. His socialist leanings and more philosophical approach to theological questions, best illustrated in *Theological Essays* (1853), had some real appeal to her.

We know from her brother, Charles, that Harriette was 'a person who formed independent opinions on intellectual and religious subjects, sometimes arriving at different conclusions from her husband, when they would agree to differ'.

In the fierce controversy aroused by the writings of Dr. John Colenso, Bishop of Natal, who had married her older sister Frances, she took a very definite view: 'I confess to very little sympathy with John's opinions; it is impossible to part with the grand Old Testament at the dictum of one man. I am ready enough to allow mistakes in the figures or genealogies, but the history of the great facts of the Exodus and the early patriarchs I cannot give up, and do not see sufficient reason for doing so.' Frank himself would have taken a disapproving attitude towards Colenso's tolerance of African polygamy and his application of the German 'new criticism' to part of the Old Testament in his *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* (1861) and *The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua Critically Examined* (1862-79). We do not know what Frank and Harriette thought when Colenso was first deposed by his metropolitan and then excommunicated. However, the Colensos named their daughter after Harriette (the McDougalls named one of their daughters after Colenso) and when his brother-in-law died in 1883, Frank wrote: 'John did what he thought to be his work and duty most honestly and faithfully, and the good that he did or tried to do for others will, I trust, meet its reward.'

Frank's mother had been a strong Evangelical and this together with his time at Oxford, combined to make him what one biographer has called an 'Evangelical High Church-man'. Bishop Wilson was alarmed to find the works of Dr. Pusey and other members of the Oxford Movement in his library when he came to consecrate the newly completed St. Thomas' Church in Kuching in 1851. Nor did the Bishop approve of Frank's hearty manner and booming voice. After consecrating him Bishop at Calcutta in 1855, he wrote: 'I have taken the liberty to caution you, now you are a chief pastor and father in God, against excessive hilarity of spirits. There is a mild gravity, with occasional tokens of delight and pleasure, becoming your sacred character, not noisy mirth....'

A practical and zealous Anglican, Frank had little sympathy for the Unitarian inclinations of the Rajah, and was affronted by the sophisticated agnosticism and open immorality of his private secretary, Spencer St. John. When St. John influenced one of Frank's trainee priests from the Calcutta seminary, Charles Fox, to leave the Mission for the Rajah's service and to take a native mistress (as he himself had done), Frank was outraged. His remonstrations with St. John for his apostasy and immorality no doubt prompted the latter's trenchant criticism of the Borneo Mission in his *Life in the Forests of the Far East* (1862), which he published after leaving Sarawak. The Rajah's own antagonism toward

his Bishop was expressed in a pamphlet, *The Bishop of Labuan*, written by him but published under St. John's name in the same year. Frank's own response to St. John's attack was in the form of a letter to the Society for Propagation of the Gospel (SPG), which it published.

Like Colenso, Frank McDougall suffered his share of controversial exposure in the British press and in Church circles. In his case, however, this arose not from theological heterodoxy but from the sensibilities of some of his fellow bishops who were upset by his graphic account, in a long letter to *The Times*, of his own active part in fighting off a large fleet of Illanun raiders during a voyage with Brooke Brooke in the government steamer *Rainbow* in 1862: 'My double-barrelled Terry's breech loader proved itself a most deadly weapon for its true shooting and certainty and rapidity of fire.' Indeed, there was a clear inference that he was responsible for a good many of the estimated 190 Illanuns killed in the encounter.

This example of the Church Militant sent shudders through the more Evangelical humanitarian section of the Church, Bishop Baring of Durham protesting to the SPG about 'the extraordinary proceedings of the Bishop of Labuan with regard to shooting the poor heathen instead of converting them....' The Bishop of London, Dr. Tait, had to reassure Frank that 'the letter would soon be forgotten, but that when you next get into a similar encounter, you must have your wife write about it'. The adjudication by the Archbishop of Canterbury also fell far short of condemning his action. Nevertheless, Frank's reputation had been somewhat tarnished, and the portrait of him which had hung on the wall at Magdalen Hall (later Hertford College) was taken down at about this time and subsequently disappeared. Ironically enough, it was Brooke Brooke who had asked Frank to write the letter as a means of obtaining British naval assistance against piracy on the Borneo coast.

Unlike his steadfastly loyal wife, who offered never a breath of criticism of him in her letters, the Bishop was more a commander than a leader of men, and his relations with his missionary priests, catechists, and teachers were not always happy. In particular, he had problems with the Singhalese priest, William Gomes, who was a shrewd politician and managed to play on the strained relationship between the Bishop and the Rajah. At the same time, he had no say at all in the men and women sent to him by the SPG, which had taken over responsibility for the Borneo Mission in 1853. Some of them were unsuited to the task, and provided him with endless headaches. Daniel Owen, for example, the Mission schoolmaster, was a competent linguist but an alcoholic, and had to marry one of his students. As for the women, notably the disastrous Miss Coomes, he found that they mostly became 'queer and cranky'. Another teacher, 'Miss J.' almost

succeeded in committing suicide by cutting her veins and swallowing a bottle of laudanum. As Frank was away at the time, Harriette had to cope with the situation.

The student of social history, of dress, travel, diet, manners, and so on, will find a rich vein in Harriette's writings. In December 1859 she and Frank were in Singapore about to go home to England with their three children, she by sea and he by the overland route. 'The Governor gives a dinner party on 20th to meet the Bishop of Labuan and Mrs. McD.' As women will so often say, she found she had nothing to where. 'I have my old grey dress which Mrs. Smith sent me two years ago which well becomes my grave and ancient appearance. So I bought a new silk dress with red tartan flounces.' She thought that she should have worn mourning for her mother's only sister, 'but I then remembered that the 6 months would be nearly over by the time I reached home, so I gave it up.' The dress was as she had been told, 'half-mourning'. Did she perhaps sport the 'cage-petticoat' (crinoline) which she had acknowledged receiving a year earlier?

Nowadays, it will be expected that something be said about Harriette's attitude towards sexual morality. That her opinions were traditional and conservative is evident. What is not always remembered is that such opinions were based on the contemporary conviction that in everyday life people need to know who is related to whom and how. Sexual promiscuity would have been disastrous to such a system. Some, at least, of the prohibitions of the Table of Kindred and Affinity were seen to be essential to social health and stability. For Harriette, this was no doubt assumed rather than rationally arrived at. She was grievously affronted when St. John (who was always something of a show-off and a tease) brought his Malay mistress and child to the Mission House in Kuching and introduced her to Harriette as his wife. In the past, she had been better able than Frank to cope with St. John's witty agnosticism and appreciate his subtle, if sometimes perverse, intellect. After this incident, however, she felt 'nothing but disgust for him ... he had not a particle of shame'.

Again, she was angry and insulted when the Rajah presented Reuben George Walker to her as his illegitimate son at a London railway station. Apart from the illicit relationship which Reuben represented, there was the political question of his relationship to the succession. James had made it clear to his family that he wanted to take Reuben out to Sarawak and establish him there. Harriette always told people in her letters that she did not believe that Reuben was really his son, and that the Rajah had been gulled by some deceitful woman.

There seems, in fact, to have been three possibilities: first, that James was right; second, that he had been gulled; and third, that he fabricated the whole story for some devious end of his own, possibly to conceal a homosexual

relationship with Reuben who had been his groom. In any case, he was speaking lightly of what Harriette saw as fornication, whether it had actually occurred or not. This was something which Harriette simply could not condone. In Sarawak she was aware that temporary sexual relations between European men and native women were common, and she regarded this as sinful. Most of the original mission school children were Eurasian, and they turned out well. Racially mixed marriages were quite frequent. However, there is no indication that the McDougalls thought, as Charles Brooke certainly did (he himself being a practitioner), that the intentional mixture of races was actually beneficial and to be encouraged.

Harriette was also a conservative in matters of class and status. Abhorring vulgarity and familiarity, she was very much a middle-class gentlewoman committed to the idea that in a well-ordered society, people know and accept their place without question. When Miss Coomes, an eccentric middle-aged 'maiden lady' sent out as a teacher in 1856, took little notice of Harriette's tactful remarks about appropriate dress, she was horrified. Frank himself wrote: 'Fancy the old lady flouncing about in a Xmas gold and cream coloured opera cloak lined and trimmed with bright cherry coloured silk, with sash and streamers in her hat to match--got up in fact like a young girl of sixteen, smirking and smiling benevolently upon everybody she meets.' At the time of the Chinese Rebellion, when Miss Coomes obligingly gathered up some of Harriette's clothes for their precipitate departure, she found that the parcel consisted of nothing more than a black silk apron and a pair of stays. And when Frank rather naughtily sent Miss Coomes down to Lundu to 'stir up' Gomes, she scandalized the missionary by keeping two pigs in her room and turning up at the dinner table scantily clad.

During the first decade of his government, the Rajah's officers had all been bachelors. Sixteen-year old Bertha Crookshank, wife of the Rajah's senior officer, Arthur 'Fitz' Crookshank, was the first non-mission woman to join the tiny colony of Europeans. However, she was not at all Harriette's type, being 'very pretty and self-willed, and thinks of nothing but beauty and dress and admiration'. After Bertha's miraculous escape during the Chinese Rebellion, when she was severely wounded, Harriette was to nurse her, too.

Harriette's only social equal in Sarawak was Annie Brooke, the sister of Charles Grant, who had married Brooke Brooke in 1856. However, this intimate friendship was brought to an end by Annie's death in 1858, and it is clear that this had a deep effect on her. After visiting Brooke Brooke's second wife, Julia Welstead, at Government House (the Rajah's residence, later known as the Astana) for the first time in 1861, she wrote in her journal: 'The old days, when I had a seat in the garden while Annie worked so hard at her flowers, came over me like a cloud, and haunted me with sleeplessness. All through the night I kept

saying involuntarily, "My darling, why did you go? Where are you?" From then on, Government House was never the same and Sarawak was no longer 'home'.

A long and gossipy letter to her mother on 28 October 1866 is Harriette's last from Sarawak. 'Our synod is over', she writes, 'without a discordant note. Frank is loved and trusted by his missionaries. Every year makes him more patient and self-governed so that there is no excuse for storms in our little Church.' Soon after this they left on a voyage to Labuan and Manila where she caught the dreaded 'Labuan fever' and Frank feared for her life. There was no choice but to go back to England, with little possibility of returning to Sarawak. The Bishop resigned his see after the Lambeth Conference in 1868; Walter Chambers was consecrated in 1869.

During their last years in England, Harriette and Frank were often in poor health but their spirits did not fail. Frank was first made vicar of Godmanchester and then archdeacon of Huntingdon and canon of Ely before being taken by Bishop Browne to Winchester as canon in 1873. In the following year, he was made archdeacon of the Isle of Wight, and in 1885 they moved there from Milford for the sake of their deteriorating health. It is one of the passages in *Sketches*, which was written at Milford, that Harriette most poignantly recaptures their life in Sarawak: 'It is very pleasant on a foggy day in November, to return in fancy to that land of sunshine and flowers; to imagine oneself again sitting on the porch of the mission-house, gazing at the mountain of Matang, lit up with sunset glories of purple and gold. Then, when the last gleam of colour has faded, to find the Chinamen lighting the lamps in the verandah, and little dusky faces peeping out, to know if you will sing with them "Twinkle, twinkle, little star", or the hymn about the "purple headed mountain and the river running by", which must surely have been written for Sarawak children.'

Two acts of kindness in the Winchester years were related to Sarawak. First, Frank wrote to Charles Grant in 1875: 'You will be surprised to hear that my wife in her philo-babyism has taken charge of C.[harles] Brooke's baby, whom they left behind fearing to take him out so late in the year; and as they seemed to have no one else to leave the poor little chap with they appealed to Harriette until he can be sent out next November. He is a very fine baby, good-tempered and healthy-but it is an awkward charge that I would gladly have avoided. So we have a nursery again in our house with a wet and dry nurse to look after and two of our own rooms given up to the youngster.' The baby was Charles Vyner, who was to become the third Rajah. The reason for his parents' unwillingness to take him to Sarawak was the tragic loss of their first three children (including twins) from fever contracted during their voyage home from Sarawak in 1874.



Frank and Harriette McDougall and their youngest daughter, Mildred, probably taken at the rectory, Godmanchester, c. 1868.

(Courtesy of Dr. R. H. W. Reece)



Even in old age, Frank McDougall's stocky strength and Armenian ancestry were clearly marked.

(Courtesy of Revd. A. J. M. Saint)

The second act of kindness related to the two orphan sons of William Abe, a priest who had been the source of great anxiety to the Bishop when he (Abe) had been stationed at Quop, one of the earliest of the mission posts. The widowed mother arrived penniless in England in 1877, brought the boys to the McDougalls, and died shortly afterwards. The Bishop became fully responsible for them. His daughter Mab wrote later: 'I think many people who only know my father slightly would never credit him with the angelic patience he displayed for that family. And dear Mother, how she made and mended for those boys. And what a worry their clamorous and ill-conditioned German relatives were.' The three McDougall girls found the boys extremely trying during the school holidays. 'We found them smoking in their bedrooms and wearing hideous clothes and rose-embroidered slippers in the dining room.' One boy was placed at last in the Rajah's tiny 'navy'; the other went to Durham University and became a priest in Australia.

Although Frank had been highly critical of Rajah James in private, he sprang to his defence when, in the House of Commons in May 1877, William Gladstone referred to the joint actions of the Rajah and the Royal Navy as 'a shameful proceeding'.

Harriette died on 7 May 1886, six months before her husband, and they were buried at Shorwell, Isle of Wight. Harriette's last surviving letter, written on 29 January, is a reply to a request from someone for information about Sarawak. The style is as direct and modest as ever; the subject matter is of interest not only for its good sense but also for its charity, a quality that will be evident only to the reader who can appreciate something of the grief Harriette had suffered in the old days when the Rajah, whom she so much admired, clashed with his elder nephew whose courage, integrity, and sweetness of temper she never ceased to believe in.

The letter reads: 'Dear Sir, There have been several Memoirs of Sir James Brooke published too soon after his decease; consequently they are long and tediously full of details uninteresting to the general reader, though carefully written and in good faith. Such is the *Life of James Brooke* by Miss G. Jacob. There is a book written by L. Helms -- *Pioneering in the Far East* -- which has an interesting chapter on Borneo. There is also a *Memoir* by Spenser St. John -- very one-sided and inimical to the Bishop; the present Rajah says "it was written for the glorification of Mr. St. John and made the hero of the Memoir contemptible" but it is not an uninteresting work nevertheless. As for the Mission, Bishop Chambers is more acquainted with all that goes on in our old home than we are, because he has frequent letters from those missionaries who are under his care.'

Frank was devastated by Harriette's death. In a letter to a friend he wrote 'My life is broken now; it is but a feeble one, and all the brightness centred in her is gone, until the day in which the shadows flee away, and we shall join in our souls' darlings in the presence of Him whose name is Love....' On the memorial tablet to her in Winchester Cathedral he had inscribed: 'She first taught Christ to the women of Borneo.'

In his brotherly tribute to them both, which he published in 1889, Charles Bunyon drew extensively on Harriette's letters and journals to tell the story of their life in Sarawak. His assessment of her character is well worth reprinting here: 'She was very indifferent to dress or ornament, and so open-handed that it was difficult to give her anything for which she would not find some special reason shortly after for giving it away to some other person. But, in her simple and old-fashioned neatness, she was a picture of refinement, with a very quiet manner, and in her old-age somewhat dignified in her bearing.'

The chief merit of *Sketches* is that it closely reflects the content and style of Harriette McDougall's journals and letters, many of which have been lost. Her narrative of the Chinese Rebellion, for example, is a rewritten version of the account that she wrote at Lingga in February 1857 while waiting for order to be restored. There is a retrospective value as well. She is looking back in gratitude to consider the founding of the Church in Borneo and the rapid progress of Christianity amongst Dayaks, Chinese, and Eurasians. She is too modest by nature, and too well-trained a missionary, to take any personal credit. Success had been brought about 'by the Grace of God, not of ourselves lest any man should boast'. That Bishop McDougall's strategy determined the shape of Anglicanism in Sarawak is still evident today. It is thus appropriate that the Bishop of the Diocese should continue to occupy the house in Kuching into which Frank and Harriette moved in the spring of 1849, and that its walls should now be graced by some of her water-colours and sketches given by one of her grandsons.

In *Sketches*, Harriette is a participant in events which are the stuff of history. Her priorities and interests may be different from ours, but she emerges from these pages as a perceptive and intelligent woman with a particular viewpoint, deeply involved in the vicissitudes she describes and affectionately devoted to the people whom she believed she had been called by God to serve. Her various roles as wife, mother, friend, counsellor, and teacher emerge strongly from the narrative. Perhaps no other woman then or since has made such a contribution to Sarawak, although in her own time she found devoted helpers in Elizabeth Woolley (who was her first cousin) and Elizabeth Stahl. Nevertheless, when the McDougalls left Sarawak, the foothold of the Mission was still precarious. Since

those days, many other men and women, European and Asian, have given the best years of their lives to the service of Christ in that country, with the result that the Church is now strong, influential, and indigenous.

Headington, Oxford
September 1991

R. H. W. Reece
A. J. M. Saint



Harriette McDougall in November 1882 when she was 65. Photograph by Hughes and Mullin, Isle of Wight.

(Courtesy of Bodleian Library, Oxford)

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EDUCATION IN SARAWAK
FROM BROOKE RULE TO COLONIAL OFFICE ADMINISTRATION
1841-1963

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The Brookes attempted to rule Sarawak with as little change to the status quo as possible, particularly with regard to the cultural integrity and traditional livelihood of the native population. Education, inevitably an agent of change, was tolerated as a necessary evil. The Brookes sought to make education an instrument of material welfare and emphasized a curriculum teaching practical subjects such as carpentry and agricultural methods. By imparting these practical skills in the schools for indigenous peoples, the Brookes hoped to encourage young people to return to their villages and longhouses and improve their traditional means of production, thereby achieving a better quality of life than forefathers.

To a certain extent the Brookes succeeded in maintaining the natural integrity of Sarawak especially in the rural areas where the native population continued with their traditional subsistence-based livelihood. Although Christian missionaries were allowed to establish schools in the rural outstations the influence of the vernacular mission schools affected only a small section of the native population.

In urban Kuching the Brookes' fear of the phenomena of the Indian "failed B.A." proved to be unfounded. The Hammond Report of 1937 allayed the apprehension of the Brooke Government in the following manner:

The danger of Sarawak schools turning out a surplus of educated young men for whom there is no congenial employment is at present negligible, and precautions can be taken to prevent this in the future (Hammond 1937:8).

In other words, as a whole, the Brookes managed to preserve the cultural purity and traditional way of life of the indigenous peoples who were not greatly affected by the introduction of education and formal schooling. However, there was little evidence to show that the Brookes were successful in their objective of improving the peoples' livelihood.

The attitudes of the people towards education were largely determined by economic and social considerations, namely the prospects of obtaining white-collar employment and enjoying the elevated social status accompanying such positions. Therefore, the literary-based English-medium mission education was in demand as it gave its graduates opportunities to secure clerical positions in the Brooke civil service and in western commercial establishments and banks. The Chinese who attended the English-medium mission schools benefitted socio-economically from their education by securing civil service employment or positions in European commercial establishments, both locally and abroad. The socio-economic benefits accruing to a person with an English-medium education motivated some Malays, particularly those from the middle class in Kuching, to send their children to the mission schools to be taught by Christian missionary-teachers. The Kuching Malays also insisted that English be taught in the Government Malay Schools, thereby ensuring their graduates were competently bi-lingual to secure civil service appointments easily.

On the other hand, vernacular education with its practical curriculum, although encouraged by the Brooke Government, did not make much headway among the indigenous peoples. Vernacular education offered by the Government Malay Schools and the mission schools in the rural districts was unable to provide its graduate with socio-economic benefits like civil service jobs. Consequently attendance was low and irregular as there was no demand for vernacular education. The majority of the rural Malays and the other non-Muslim indigenous peoples, mainly Dayaks, did not benefit from vernacular education which only provided a poor quality elementary course. As a result the Malays and the Dayaks returned to their villages and longhouses with nothing to show for their brief period of formal schooling.

The Chinese were divided in their attitudes towards education. For those who valued Chinese culture and history the Chinese vernacular school was the ideal institution to learn the great tradition of the motherland. But for practical purposes the English-medium mission school was the best place to acquire paper qualifications, namely the Cambridge School Certificate, which created various economic and social opportunities for its recipients.

The environment therefore dictated the peoples' attitudes towards the type of education they sought. The fact that the Brookes allowed the establishment of the Kuching English-medium mission schools that taught a western literary curriculum and at the same time absorbed its graduates into the government civil service created a new avenue of socio-economic advancement for the people. The Brookes did not intend to bring changes to the peoples' way of thinking but the government's need for English-education civil servants inevitably created a demand for English-medium mission school education. The Malays, particularly

of middle class background, saw a position as a *kerani* or clerk in the civil service as an opportunity for economic advancement and social elevation in their hierarchical society. Similarly the English-educated Chinese benefitted socio-economically as a Brooke civil servant.

Undoubtedly the peoples in the rural areas, namely the Malays of lower class background and the Dayaks and other indigenous tribes, also aspired for government employment. But their hopes were dampened as the vernacular school education they received was aimed at making them more competent agriculturalists and fishermen, and not clerks. Consequently the rural population "rejected" this type of education.

The Brooke's attitude towards education resulted in the emergence of a plural school system. Four very dissimilar school systems founded on racial lines functioned simultaneously as shown in Table 1. The various school systems produced students with different outlooks and world-views. The plural school system further accentuated the differences among the existing multi-racial population.

Another outcome of the Brookes' laissez-faire attitude towards education was the imbalance in educational achievement among the population with the Chinese far ahead of the indigenous peoples in terms of formal schooling.

On the other hand the Colonial Government in Sarawak perceived the purpose of education differently. The colonial Government was in the process of preparing the country for self-government and eventual independence. In this context education was a means of unifying the diverse multi-racial population and creating in them a sense of belonging, identity and undivided loyalty in Sarawak. Another objective was to bring forth capable and qualified people to serve in the administration and consequent development of the country.

Therefore, the Colonial Government implemented education programmes aimed at correcting the disparity in education levels among the peoples of Sarawak. This policy had some success but there was a long way to go before any real parity could be achieved. Plans were also laid to bring together all the various school systems under one national education system, a policy primarily aimed at ending education along racial lines. The plural school system promoted communalism and separatism which the Colonial Government considered socially and politically unhealthy, a feature of the old regime that had to be eliminated as part of the process of preparing Sarawak for nationhood. A start was made at the secondary school level with the implementation of the Conversion Plan that made English the medium of instruction. The programmes to improve the

education of the indigenous peoples undoubtedly received widespread support although there still remained real difficulties that had to be overcome in the provision of education for the native population, particularly in the case of the Dayaks and other interior tribes. There were pockets of non-cooperation among some Iban communities in the interior districts but these were isolated cases. A small but highly articulate group of Leftist-inspired Chinese were vociferous in their opposition to the plans to replace the plural school system with a national education system, but their arguments of defending the great tradition Chinese culture did not have mass appeal in the Chinese community. In fact many Chinese parents and students were already leaning towards English-medium education for its obvious economic advantages which became even more apparent during the post-War years.

Sarawak's entry into "Malaysia" required a re-definition of the term "national" in the establishment of a national education system. The promotion of English by the Colonial Government as the medium of instruction in schools and the agent for unifying Sarawak's diverse multi-racial peoples would be replaced by Malay, the national language of the Federation. However, the purpose of education as an instrument of promoting unity, integration and loyalty among the multi-racial population remained unchanged under the Malaysian Government.

What then did education accomplish during the two periods under review? How did education shape Sarawak society?

The introduction of formal education in the vernacular among the indigenous population of the rural areas during the Brooke period did little to improve the livelihood of the peoples. English-medium mission education brought about the emergence of an Anglicized Chinese sub-group. However, their numbers were not large and they did not form a distinct cohesive group. The teaching of English in the Government Malay schools of Kuching and the attendance of Malays in the English-medium mission schools produced a new group of Malays who were competent both in Malay and English. Like their English-educated Chinese counterparts, this group of Malays consisted of mostly government clerks with a sprinkling of government school teachers. Both the English-educated Chinese and the Malay *kerani* class were highly regarded in their respective communities as well as in the wider society. It was from these two groups that the majority of the post-War political leaders of Sarawak were recruited (Leigh 1974:190, 194, 198, Tables 60, 62 and 63).

Chinese vernacular education emphasized Chinese cultural and ethnic consciousness. The identification with the motherland and the assertion of "Chineseness" became more pronounced with the ascendancy of *Kuo-yo* as the

medium of instruction during the Colonial period. The opposition to the Conversion Plan of the Colonial Government was undoubtedly part of the demonstration of Chinese racial and cultural chauvinism. Chinese Middle School students returning to the mainland and those of them involved with Leftist elements like the Clandestine Communist Organization (CCO) were not wholly attracted by communist ideology per se but were more influenced by the appeals of Chinese patriotism and their "Chineseness".

The creation of a national education system in place of communal education was precisely the Colonial Government's (and later the Malaysian Government's) plan to eliminate this undue Chinese identification with and loyalty to the motherland. Refocussing the loyalty and sense of belonging of the young generation of Sarawak-born Chinese upon the "the country of their birth and upbringing" was a major and vital task faced by the Colonial Government and its successor, the Malaysian Government.

The Brookes were "reformers in spite of themselves," to borrow Pringle's phrase (1971:53), in the field of education. Education did bring changes to Sarawak society like the emergence of social sub-groups and the introduction of new avenues of socio-economic advancement. The Colonial Government was undoubtedly a conscious reformer and intended education to play a pivotal role in building a unified and loyal Sarawak society. At the end of the Colonial period, there was greater availability of educational opportunities for the people and the emergence of a national education system. The Malaysian Government improved and expanded the educational infrastructure and continued to utilize education as a means of promoting unity and integration among the multi-racial population.

TABLE 1

School Systems and Ethnicity in Student Composition
During the Brooke Period

School System	Dominant Ethnic Group in Student Composition
Government (Malay) Vernacular School	Malays and Muslim Melanaus
Chinese Vernacular School	Chinese
English-Medium Mission School	Chinese and some Kuching Malays
Vernacular Mission School	Dayaks and Other Indigenous Peoples

NOTE

1. The writing of this paper was made possible by a research grant from the Sarawak Foundation (London) and a National University of Singapore Research Scholarship. I am grateful to Dr. Paul Kratoska for his comments and criticisms.

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ULU'BANUA
A LONGHOUSE OF THE TAMAN-DAYA¹

HENRY ARTS

Because recent information showed that an increasing number of Daya groups on Borneo have been moving to smaller family dwellings during the last few decades I thought it worthwhile to make a study of the longhouse. It seemed inevitable to me that the disappearance of this traditional type of dwelling would involve changes in society, changes with regard to housing but also, perhaps, changes that might have implications for all kinds of social relations and cultural beliefs. I was particularly interested in the changed settlement behaviour of the Taman, a Daya group that belongs to the Maloh and lives in the eastern part of the Kapuas Hulu regency in West Kalimantan. This community, that consisted of about 5,700 people in 1989, is spread over three areas. About half of the population lives in Sibau and in Semangkok, two Taman villages situated on the rivers Sibau and Mendalam respectively. The other half inhabits the villages of Suae, Melapi, Ekoktambe, Siut and Lunsu on the Kapuas river.

The material for these research notes was collected during a six-month period of fieldwork in Siut in 1989. During the period in question the focus of interest shifted from the entire village to one longhouse: *Ulu'Banua*. The concentration on this longhouse should not be taken to mean that its inhabitants constituted an autonomous unit within the village community: it was chiefly motivated by the limited period of time available.

In my investigation of the longhouse of the Taman-Daya I followed the insights presented by Nas and Prins in their article 'House, Culture and Development' (1988:114-131). They regard the house as a 'total phenomenon' that incorporates several different aspects, the most important of which are the material, socio-cultural and economic dimensions. In their analysis the house is evaluated as a social construction, in which culture and development are given central position. Both authors reject a static approach to settlement patterns. They argue that, in an investigation into the relationship between house and culture, the house should be viewed as a development problem.

A study of the relationship between house, culture and development should, according to Nas and Prins, pay attention to three levels: the cognitive, the normative and the domestic level. The cognitive level is related to the implicit structural principles of ordering the house. The normative level is connected with

norms and values concerning the house and the uses to which it is put. The third level is related to the social composition of the households living in the house in question.

The first two levels are dealt with in the fourth chapter of my study. With the help of the example of Ulu'Banua, situated in Siut, I successively discuss the architecture, layout, construction and symbolism of the Taman longhouse.²

The longhouse can be divided into four areas: the gallery (*ta'soo*), the family room (*tindoo'an*), the cooking area (*door*) and the drying platform (*tanjuk*).

The covered gallery or *ta'soo* of Ulu'Banua is situated at the front of the house. It can be reached by means of narrow ladders that are placed against the veranda at intervals. The tops of the ladders are sometimes decorated with anthropomorphic figures to chase away evil spirits.

The gallery is a public area and consequently freely accessible to all occupants of the longhouse. It is used for a variety of activities such as slitting rattan or repairing mats and baskets in the company of other longhouse occupants. In addition, the gallery also serves as a meeting place where guests are entertained, meetings are arranged and village ceremonies are organized. The older occupants get together on the gallery to discuss the events of the day, while the children use it as a playground. These gatherings are restricted to the mornings and the afternoons. In the evenings, as soon as it grows dark, the families retire to the family rooms.

Although the open character of the gallery gives the impression that it is common property (with reference to the Taman longhouse Diposiswoyo [1985:46] speaks of '*une maison collective*') every household has its own piece of the veranda. In some Daya tribes it is regarded as the domain of the men, while adjoining the family room is considered to belong to the women (see, for instance, Schneider [1975:208] on the Selako-Daya). The Taman longhouse shows a similar division during large ceremonial gatherings. At such times the men (together with the guests) occupy the *ta'soo*, while the women are indoors, preparing the food. An aisle between the gallery and the family rooms functions as neutral territory and is used by the women to serve the visitors and to watch what happens on the veranda. On normal days, however, there is no such opposition between sexes and both areas of the longhouse are used by men as well as women.

The *tindoo'an* is the wall-enclosed living space of the house which, together with the cooking area, constitutes the private domain of the household (*kiyen*). It is the place where the members of the household sleep, eat and receive their

guests. It is also the place where family rituals are organized, for instance, on the occasion of the birth of a new family member or the beginning of the new agricultural season.

All family rooms have a number of features in common. Thus, every *tindoo'an* has both front and side doors. The front door opens onto the gallery and serves as the official entrance to the family room. Opening this door without giving previous notice is considered offensive.

All the dividing walls in the Taman longhouse have communicating doors leading to adjoining family rooms, irrespective of the relations of the family in question with its neighbours. This is particularly useful during ceremonies that are attended by many guests: when all the doors are open, the entire length of the house becomes a corridor that serves as a dining area for the guests.

The wooden floor of the *tindoo'an* is covered with bamboo matting. In the evenings, oil lamps placed on the mats spread a flickering light. Rolled mats lying along the walls of the room serve as resting places or beds. Mosquito nets hung over the beds protect the occupants from mosquitoes and other insects. The nets moreover provide a certain degree of privacy for the older members of the family.

Personal possessions such as clothing and ornaments are kept in lockable cases or bags along the walls. The *tindoo'an* is also the place where family heirlooms are kept, such as gongs that have come into the household as part of an inheritance or dowry. The walls are hung with spears, blowpipes and shields.

Every family room has *one* cooking area, irrespective of the number of families living in the *tindoo'an*. It is situated at the back of the apartment or in a separate room that is built on to the *tindoo'an*. This kitchen is regarded as the most private part of the family room and guests are hardly ever allowed to enter it. When the cooking area is part of the family room itself it is usually separated off from the rest of the apartment by means of a partitioning wall of bark. A separately built-on kitchen is generally constructed from lighter types of wood than the rest of the room. The floor usually consists of strips of bamboo, while the walls are made of tree-bark and the roof of palm leaf. The kitchen is deliberately built with large cracks so smoke can find its way out. The hearth consists of a rectangular tray filled with clay. When food is being prepared, the cooking pots are placed on supports made of clay or iron. A wooden grid hung over the hearth is used to dry wood or smoke fish. The kitchen also contains a bin made of bark in which the household's supply of rice is stored. To protect the food from disease and evil influences an offering to the spirits is hung on the

bin. Depending on the number of families that make up the household a *tindoo'an* may have more than one of such rice store, but that is not necessarily the case.

Many *tindoo'ans* have a bamboo platform (*tanjuk*) at the back of the kitchen which serves as a drying area for agricultural products such as rice and coffee beans. These crops, however, are also often dried in the yard in front of the longhouse.

The way in which a longhouse used to be built differs considerably from the way in which it is constructed now. In the past when a new house was being constructed the longhouse members formed an economic and ritual unit, led by aristocrats (*samagat*). They carried the responsibility for the erection of the house and for the observance of certain taboos and ceremonies together, as a group. Nowadays, economic activities are much more individualized. Taboos relating to the building of a new house are not observed as strictly as they used to be and the (simplified) rituals are now often performed by each individual household separately. Longhouses are no longer built under the leadership of aristocrats.

In addition to the oppositions between private and public, male and female, the Taman longhouse also knows two cosmological oppositions. They manifest themselves geographically: the opposition between the upstream and downstream direction (symbolizing the upper world and the underworld respectively) and the opposition between the direction of the river and the inland direction (the one standing for safety and the other for danger). In the past, as was observed by King (1985:93) there was a dynamic connection between this world view and the social organization of the Taman in the sense that the aristocratic chief always occupied the room at the most upstream part of the longhouse. Nowadays these oppositions are less explicit. Thus, the family rooms that were situated in the upstream part of Ulu'Banua in 1989 housed families from what used to be the common people (*banua*) and the middle rank of the prosperous (*pabiring*). It is still customary, however, men who are respected for their advanced age to be seated in the most upstream part of the gallery during ceremonial gatherings. This place is still regarded as the most exalted area of the longhouse. The women sit in the most downstream part of the gallery during such gatherings. The division is so explicit that the veranda, too, on such occasions, might be said to have a men's sections and a women's section.

Chapter five of my study deals with the domestic level distinguished by Nas and Prins (1988). Here I sketch a picture of the Taman-Daya longhouse community by means of a description of the social structure of the households living in Ulu'Banua and an explanation of the way in which these families

manifest themselves as a group in society with regard to family-related, political, ritual and economic matters.

According to authors like Rousseau (1990:98) kinship plays a subordinate part in the social organization of stratified societies. In his view the stratified structure of such communities provides an alternative to kinship as the organizational principle. King implies that this also applies to the longhouse communities of the Maloh when he views their kinship relations in the light of Godelier's claim that "the appearance of real social class implies precisely the disappearance not of kinship relations but of their capacity to be the general forms of social relations" (Godelier, cited in King 1985:7). He argues (Ibid.:24) that kinship does not play a crucial part in the longhouse community of the Maloh. Is it not equally justifiable, however, now that traditional social relations within the Taman community are increasingly challenged, to assume that the 'disappearance' of the class system has increased the importance of kinship relations? In order to find an answer to this question I studied the kinship relations between the different households in Ulu'Banua. The genealogy shows a complicated system of family ties. In 1989 every household was related to at least two other households in the longhouse, through either the man and/or woman. Twelve households (60% of the total 20) had eleven or more related *kiiyen* living in the same longhouse. Kinship could run through the husband or the wife or both. In the past this would have been impossible because generally members of a particular social rank (*banua*, *pabiring*, or *samagat*) could not have kinship relations with persons from other social ranks because of the rule of rank endogamy.

The Taman-Daya (unlike, for instance, the Iban) have no formal rules that compels (close) relatives to live in adjoining family rooms in a longhouse (comp. Freeman 1970:89). The absence of such a rule, however, does not mean that kinship is not an important factor in the choice of living quarters: there is a clear preference for living next to relatives in adjoining *tindoo'ans*. In 1989 fifteen *kiiyen* in Ulu'Banua had neighbours of whom either the husband or the wife came from the same descent category (75% of the total of 20 households). Six households from this group (30%) lived next door to close relatives.³ They had obtained *tindoo'ans* adjoining relatives in one of the following three ways: they had inherited their parents' room; they had taken over the room from families that had moved elsewhere; or they had split up an existing *tindoo'an* into two separate rooms. If none of these options had been available, they would temporarily have had to move elsewhere.

In view of these housing preferences it will come as no surprise that the new longhouse (which was under construction in 1989) will contain an even higher

percentage of neighbouring relatives. Twenty-nine *kiiyen* (91% of the total number of households that will occupy the new house) will live next door to close relatives. Households that have to find a new *tindoo'an* apparently attach less importance to relations with former neighbours who are not relatives. In other words, the longhouse is dominated by clusters of related families living in adjoining rooms.

Although a person's membership of a longhouse community is first of all determined by his or her kinship relationship with other members (and the role of kinship is important if not decisive in this respect), the longhouse community must not be seen as a kinship unit: on the one hand because not all of the households are related through common ancestors and on the other hand because every household is free to settle in any longhouse in which a relative of either the husband or the wife lives. In this respect Ulu'Banua appears to resemble longhouse communities of other Daya groups. With reference to the Iban, Freeman (1970:104), for instance, writes: "it is an open, not a closed group, for families are entitled to leave and join at will". Appell (1978:157) remarks that "the significant feature of Rungus Dusun longhouses is that their membership is constantly in flux". In practice, however, the Taman are not nearly as mobile as the communities studied by the above mentioned authors. Whereas membership in a Rungus Dusun longhouse is "constantly changing, as member domestic families move in and out, with the average occupancy of a longhouse apartment being only a few years" (Appell 1978:157; 1987:162), the occupants of longhouses such as Ulu'Banua seldom leave. Moreover, the Taman Daya, when they are forced to move to another longhouse, nowadays seems to move as a group. All twenty *kiiyen* from Ulu'Banua will get *tindoo'ans* in the new longhouse. With the Iban, however, "it occasionally happens that a longhouse breaks up completely, its component families dispersing to as many as six or more separate, and widely scattered destinations" (Freeman 1970:127).

In other words, it would seem that the role played today by kinship in a social unit such as the longhouse is much more important than authors like King and Rousseau would lead us to suspect -- and that certainly goes for the Taman Daya.

The discussion about *house-owning groups* (small groups of closely-related family members who determine the politics of the longhouse and whose ancestors were among the founders of the longhouse) was no longer relevant for Ulu'Banua in 1989. In older days the aristocratic descent categories (descent groups) of the Taman were similar to house-owning groups in other Daya communities on Bornco. The construction of longhouses took place on the initiative of a small number of *samagat* families who, upon completion of a house, took on a decisive

part in the political, economic and religious organization of the longhouse population. However, Ulu'Banua has housed no aristocratic families anymore since the sixties. Earlier I wrote that nowadays the responsibility for the construction of a new family room rests with the individual *kiiyen*. That is perhaps one of the reasons why longhouse politics are no longer dominated by a small group of occupants.

Contrary to earlier times, the present-day Taman-Daya longhouse does not have a formal, autonomous political organization. Whereas in the olden days the community was ruled by an aristocratic chief, it is now headed by a democratically chosen village chief. On an informal level, however, the longhouse is largely autonomous, without too much interference from above. In 1989 Ulu'Banua was represented by Gaing, a longhouse member from what used to be the middle rank of *pabiring*. At the formal level, he also held the position of *kepala rukun tetangga* (neighbourhood chief). His position was comparable to that of the longhouse chief of the Selako-Daya in the sense that his power within the community was more a matter of persuasiveness than real authority (cf. Schneider 1977:88).

With regard to rituals the occupants of the longhouse still largely constitute an entity. When ritual activities are performed they are customarily attended by the entire community. Every household contributes to the food and drink required for the ceremony and every household has to submit to taboos.

Due to the fact that Ulu'Banua has a complicated pattern of kinship relations, different households often belong to the same property-based descent categories (*kapulungan*). Membership of such a *kapulungan* gives several households a right, among other things, to the indivisible land that used to belong to the ancestors they have in common. In practice this means that related *kiiyen* from the same longhouse generally farm fields that are situated close to each other. Consequently they often find it useful to join the same cooperative work groups (*situulis*). Sharing the same longhouse facilitates the formation of such *situulis* and enhances their efficiency.

A number of goods are owned by the longhouse community collectively: the ladder to the gallery, the rafts, and the planks leading from the shore to the water and vice versa. All households are jointly responsible for the upkeep and maintenance of this property.

The fact that the occupants of a longhouse often participate in the same *situulis* and jointly own a number of goods does not mean that the longhouse community constitutes an economic unit: there is no collective land ownership

and there are no agricultural activities that all families are involved in simultaneously. Moreover, *kiiyen* mostly work as independent households and live in separate field huts.

In the next to the last chapter of my thesis I look at the Taman-Daya longhouse in the light of social change and development and I also go into changes in the settlement behavior of the Taman since the sixties.

Settlement patterns in Borneo have been affected by (among other things) the following four developments: The ban on headhunting (which made the longhouse superfluous as a place of safety); Christianity (which resulted in a number of converts moving to separate houses); the increase influence of Malaysians and Chinese (longhouse members who came into contact with them started to adopt their settlement behavior); and the development of programs by the Indonesian government (designed to put an end to bad sanitary conditions, high fire risks and fear of communist plots).

An additional factor affecting the settlement behavior of the Taman-Daya in particular is formed by economic alternatives to the cultivation of rice. In 1989 the members of Ulu'Banua cultivated *ladang* land that had only been out of crop for four or five years so that its vegetation had not had time to restore itself sufficiently. Their reason for not waiting longer before reusing the *ladang* was not that they were short of land but that they preferred to work near the village. In this way parents of schoolgoing children wanted to save their sons and daughters from having to cover long distances between school and *ladang* every day. Moreover, this made it easier to travel to the village for other activities. A direct consequence of the intense use of the *ladangs* is that the land becomes unfit for good crops of rice. A bad *ladang* forces the longhouse members to grow additional crops in order to be able to buy rice and supplement the food stocks of the household.

However, the occupants of a long house do not normally have enough space available to lay out an extra garden in front of their *tindoo'an*. Therefore they often build a second separate dwelling. To prevent the crops from being stolen, the additional garden must be situated near their own house.

The most relevant reason for the increase in the number of private, separate houses, however, was the desire for social equality. Villagers with democratic ideals tried to express their independence by building their own single-family dwellings or by forcing the aristocrats to move elsewhere. Living in a longhouse that also housed *samaqat* came to be associated with accepting the power of the aristocracy. That is why the *samaqat* living in Siut were forced to move elsewhere

er a conflict, while the members of the former lower and middle ranks kept their *tindoo'ans* in the longhouse. In the middle of the eighties the occupants of the longhouse at Nga'k Banua (the only longhouse in Siut that still housed aristocratic families at the time of my stay) broke down the *tindoo'an* that joined their family rooms with those of the *samagat* that they had come to despise. In this way the longhouse was divided into two separate units: an upstream unit housing the families that adhered to the traditional hierarchical structure of Taman society and a downstream part in which the advocates of social equality lived.

Many *samagat* families built their single-family dwellings in the most upstream parts of the village territory. The tradition that aristocrats should live in the most elevated part of the village (or longhouse) was thus to some extent maintained.

The construction of the first separate houses has probably accelerated the construction of new single-family dwellings in the sense that detached houses came to be regarded as status symbols.

Living separately has proved to have advantages as well as disadvantages. Some major drawbacks are the lack of space for ceremonial gatherings; loss of efficiency with regard to the organization of cooperative groups; the individualization of ritual ceremonies; higher building costs; and the absence of a gallery, which means that guests can only be entertained indoors.

These drawbacks are considered so important that the Taman-Daya hold on to their *tindoo'an* in the longhouse even when they own a private house elsewhere.

The cultural traditions of the Taman also play an important part here: It is told by longhouse occupants that the longhouse was a creation of their forebears and should be held on to out of respect for them.

All in all it is not surprising that all Taman villages still had one or more longhouses in 1989. In Ekoktambe, a village that consisted only of single-family dwellings for a long time, two new longhouses were built when I was there.

Although changes in settlement behavior have greatly altered the villages of the Taman, the longhouse (contrary to what is claimed in the literature) still functions as a social, economic and ceremonial centre for its occupants. In everyday practice this means that owners of single-family houses normally live in their private dwelling but temporarily move back to their *tindoo'an* in the longhouse when their presence as longhouse members is required there (for a

wedding, for instance, or to help set up a *situulis*). It seems likely, therefore, that the longhouse will go on occupying a fundamental position in the society of the Taman-Daya. It will not, as is said in the literature on Borneo, be replaced completely by separate single-family houses but it will become part of an increasingly more complex village pattern that includes separate houses as well.

The entrance into office of the new district manager of the regency Kapuas Hulu (Mr. Japari) in the eighties coincided with a change in the government's policies concerning longhouses. Once it was established that these houses could be adapted and made safe and sanitary the Taman villages of Melapi and Semangkok even received government grants for the construction of new (more modern) longhouses.

According to some government officials this development is partly the result of a growing respect for the traditional culture. In addition, there are plans to promote tourism in West Kalimantan and the government authorities as well as travel agencies are convinced that longhouses are important cultural attractions for tourists.

NOTES

1. The research was partly funded by a grant from the University of Nijmegen. The text constitutes a brief survey of the thesis that resulted from the research carried out there.
2. Chapter two of my thesis describes the history of the Taman-Daya and presents a concise study of their social organization. Chapter three introduces the village under investigation. In addition to a general sketch of Siut this chapter also contains a discussion of the village's history and its system of government.
3. By close relatives I here mean the grandfather, grandmother, father, mother, brother, sister, son, daughter, grandson, and granddaughter.

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ERRORS IN BORNEO ETHNOGRAPHY: PART II

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INTRODUCTION

When eliminating errors in Borneo ethnography, I can find perhaps no more fertile field than my own work. Consequently, I shall begin first with my own publications, then comment on what I find to be misinterpretations of my own work by others, and finally move on to errors in the work of others.

THE LACK OF ABORTION AMONG THE RUNGUS

In Appell (1991a:102) I wrote with regard to the Rungus of Sabah, Malaysia: "Moreover, children are wanted and appreciated. Abortion does not occur. There is no term for it, nor does the concept arise in any discussion of pregnancies."

This is not entirely true. While the desire for children is correct, the statement on abortion needs modification.

It is true that there is no specific term for abortion. But the possibility of abortion is known, although not practiced. In our original interviewing on this in 1990, we asked older women, whom we thought would be most knowledgeable on this subject. And they all stated that abortion was unknown among the Rungus. Which is true as far as married women are concerned. However, recently I have elicited statements that **unmarried** women when finding themselves pregnant may resort to abortion, although in response to my inquiry my sources could provide no case of it.

Thus, in discussions with some men in 1992, abortion came up as a possibility, but in every context it was that of an unmarried woman who had been engaged in illicit intercourse. However, not every man has heard of how abortion might be induced. But men who did know about it said that physical means were used such as running and pounding the abdomen, or falling so that the abdomen would hit a rock. However, they could recall no cases of this.

When married women were told about the reports of the men, they tended to look askance at these. They were both amused at their naivete and repelled

by the idea. They said that it would be painful, and no woman would want to do that. But they also said that some women knew of an abortifacient you could drink made from forest plants. However, they did not know what these were, nor did they know who of anyone who knew how to prepare the drink. And they knew of no cases of it being used.

Consequently to correct my original statement, it is alleged that abortion may be obtained by both physical and herbal means, but there is no known case of it nor knowledge of what the herbal abortifacient might be.

THE RUNGUS TERM FOR SIBLINGS: OBPINAI, NOT OPINAI

In various publications I have written that the term for siblings among the Rungus is *opinai* (see Appell 1963, 1972, 1976, 1978).¹ This is in error and represents a failure of my linguistic ear.

The term sibling should be rendered as: *obpinai*.²

ERRORS UPON ERRORS: APPELL (1991C) AND THE SINANDAPAK

In my original article on errors (Appell 1991c) I stated there was an ethnic group unrecorded on my original map of ethnic groups of the Kudat Division (Appell 1967, 1968c). I rendered the name of this group as "Sindapak", an error that my Rungus sources corrected me on in 1992. The proper rendering of this ethnic group within the Rungus language is: Sinandapak. And I believe that this is the autonomy as well.

TYPOGRAPHICAL ERRORS IN APPELL (1986)

There were several typographical errors in Appell (1986) that should be corrected. These are: page 120, last line: "2.2 Divisible usufruct" should read "2.2 Devisable usufruct"; page 124, Title, last word: "USUFRUST" should read "USUFRUCT"; and page 125, sixth line from the bottom: "cae" should read "case".

THE TERM "ISOGLOT"

Omar (1983:184-85) draws attention to the fact in earlier publications I used the term "communilect" to refer to a self-conscious speech community (for example see Appell 1968a and 1968b).

However, shortly thereafter I concluded that the term "communilect" was somewhat clumsy. And I did not find the term "isolect", introduced by Hudson (1967), very much better (see Appell 1968c:13-14), although I have somewhat modified my position since then. Thus, in Appell (1968c) I coined the term "isoglot", and I have most recently defined it in Appell (1991a:114) to indicate:

a self-conscious speech community. That is, it refers to the speech of an ethnic group, the members of which consider their language or dialect to be significantly different from that of neighboring communities and thus have an indigenous name by which to identify it. I coined this term to avoid the problems involved in the terms "language" or "dialect", which imply a certain status in linguistic analysis. The term "isoglot" is neutral in this regard. But as it reflects the indigenous organization of their linguistic and ethnic environment, it has greater ethnographic validity

DUSUNIC ISOGLOTS ON THE KUDAT PENINSULA

Julie K. King (1984:283) in discussing the Rungus language gives the impression that it was Prentice in his 1970 article who first distinguished three isoglots on the Kudat Peninsula: the Rungus, Nulu, and Gonsomon. This is in fact not entirely correct. Prentice never visited the area and was dependent on discussion with me and my own published and unpublished work, as he fully indicates in his article when he discussed these isoglots. Thus, Prentice's classification follows the one I suggested in 1966 and 1968c, both of which presented maps of the distribution of these three isoglots and others in the Kudat District as well. This is of course now out of date, as I indicated in Appell (1991b). However, the distinction made between these three isoglots is correct, representing distinctions that the members of these groups make themselves, but their location on the Kudat Peninsula in those maps is approximate.

MUTILATION AS PUNISHMENT DOES NOT EXIST AMONG THE RUNGUS

The Rungus are found on the Kudat Peninsula and the Bengkoka Peninsula (also known as the Melobong Peninsula, see Rutter 1922) of the Kudat Bahagian.

This latter population of Rungus moved from Kudat to the other peninsula sometime in the early part of the 20th century, but they maintain ties to the Rungus living on Kudat Peninsula, and these involve trading, intermarriage, and visiting of relatives. In 1989 Masaru Miyamoto conducted research among the Rungus in the Pitas District of the Bengkoka Peninsula. After a month of intensive and otherwise insightful research among these Rungus he wrote the following:

There are two types of physical punishment: the *panansara* (punishment by means of cutting off a part of the offender's body; fr. *sansara*, 'to punish') and the *patazon* (capital punishment; fr. *patai*, 'killing'). There are two methods of *panansara*. In one method the offender's little finger is cut off by the *tosukod* [headman]. Another finger (from the little finger to the index finger, but not the thumb) is cut off one-by-one whenever he repeats the same offence, and finally his wrist is cut. In the other method the central portion of the offender's upper lip is cut off by the *tosukod* [headman]" [Miyamoto 1989:13].

Miyamoto also wrote that:

One who is accused for *sala do mongosiba* (guilt by insult) is given a warning by the *tosukod* at litigation:

1. The offender has to pay a *tavag* (gong) to the victim as a fine if he repeats the same offence,
2. The offender has to prepare another *tavag* if he repeats it the third time, and
3. If he repeats it the fourth time, his little finger will be cut off.

As mentioned earlier, the physical punishment will be inflicted until the offender's wrist is cut off. The same punishment is inflicted to the offenders of *sala do minangakal* (guilt of fooling), *sala do monongolimut* (guilt of creating a bad rumour), *sala do vudut* (guilt of telling a lie) and *sala do tipu* (guilt of deceiving) [Miyamoto 1989:19].

On reading this report, I was taken aback by the claim of mutilation as punishment among the Rungus for the spilling of blood intentionally is a major ritual and jural offense among the Rungus. I also had not heard of such punishments during my inquiry into the Rungus adat in 1959-60, 1961-63, and in 1986. And neither my wife nor I have ever seen a Rungus individual so

mutilated. Furthermore, some of the jural offenses Miyamoto lists are not considered to be jural delicts, as for example "lying". This also casts doubts on the validity of the claim of mutilation as punishment, but I shall not go into this aspect of the report any further.

During our research in 1990 my wife and I decided to investigate this matter further. Along with a number of Rungus friends, who were also interested in this claim, we made a trip to the Pitas District to visit the Rungus there. We were unable to make inquiries on this subject from the same sources that Miyamoto did, but we visited a neighboring village the members of which were intermarried with the members of villages visited by Miyamoto. The headman from this village and others had never heard of mutilation as form of punishment among the Rungus of the Bengkoka Peninsula.

But then how to explain Miyamoto's report? It was surmised both by those we visited in the Pitas District and our Rungus companions from the Kudat Peninsula that what had occurred was a mistake in communication. Miyamoto was being told what happened during World War II. During that time it was claimed by Rungus sources that the Japanese administration used mutilation as a form of punishment for stealing, although I can recall no actual case materials on this from our original research.

Therefore, it is important to correct the record. There is no form of mutilation used in traditional Rungus adat as a form of punishment of any delict.

NOTES

1. Amity Appell Doolittle (1991) follows my error in this.
2. I am grateful to Suruban Mabok, field assistant in the Sabah Oral Literature Project for drawing this error to my attention.

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AN UPDATE ON THE
PENAN OF BRUNEI

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A number of recent communications in the BRB have provided some, albeit scant, information on the Penan of Brunei (Sellato, 1990; Brief Communication, 1990). The aim of the present paper is to provide a brief summary of our knowledge of this group and, in particular, to highlight a number of sources on the Brunei Penan, including two recent Bruneian sources. In doing so we hope to be able to build up an ethnographic and historical picture of this group which will be of interest to readers of the BRB and, at the same time, provide the background for two on-going studies on the Penan in Brunei (Martin & Sercombe, 1992; Sercombe, in preparation).

Despite a number of bibliographies in the 1970s (Stuster, 1974; Lambert, 1975), the important contributions of Needham (for example, 1972), Hoffman (1986), and others, and the on-going work of Langub (for example, 1989, 1990), there are still large gaps in our knowledge of the Penan. The almost complete lack of serious linguistic studies on the various Penan groups, for example, is obvious. The fact that there is relatively little information on the Penan is quite ironic given the level of attention that has been given to the group in the media.

In this short update, we refer to the Penan of Brunei as the Penan Sukang. This is the only Penan community in the country, numbering 52 individuals. We use the term Penan Sukang based on the location of the group in, and its long association with, the *mukim*¹ of Sukang in the southern part of the Belait district, approximately 100 miles up the Belait River. Although *mukim* Sukang is the largest *mukim* in Brunei (292.5 sq. miles or 757.7 sq. km), the population is relatively small, estimated to be around 430 individuals (Penghulu Simpok, personal communication). At the beginning of the 1980s the population was 639 (Government of Brunei, 1981). Penghulu Simpok relates that migration out of the *mukim* is the main reason for the large reduction in the population.

The ethnic make-up of *mukim* Sukang is mixed, with Iban making up approximately 79 percent of the population, Dusun 13 percent and Penan 8 percent. The Iban are relatively recent immigrants into the area. The Dusun,

although not as numerically important as the Iban, are politically more so. Traditionally, the *penghulu* of the area is a Dusun, due to the fact that the Dusun are considered to be one of the "indigenous groups of the Malay race" (Government of Brunei, 1961:118-120), (referred to locally as the seven *puak jati* of Brunei).² The Iban and Penan, on the other hand, are categorized as "other indigenous" for census purposes.

The village of Sukang, the major settlement and population center in the *mukim*, is relatively isolated in that there is no direct road to the coast, although one is in the process of being constructed. To get to the village it is necessary to travel by private longboat, which involves, on average, a two-hour journey from Pengkalan Mau, approximately forty minutes by road from Kuala Belait. Sukang village is served by a rural clinic and regular visits from the flying doctor service. Primary education provided by a small primary school, one of three such schools in the *mukim*.

The Penan community lives in a longhouse on the left side of the river in the village of Sukang. The Penan house stands in isolation on the left side of the river, an area which has been designated as forest reserve land. The Dusun live in a small longhouse on the opposite side of the river to the Penan house. A small number of Iban are found in the village of Sukang, but the majority are found in the outlying villages of Buau, Bidadong and Dungun.

Little is known or recorded about the group of Penan in the interior of the Belait district, although a number of passing references to the group are made in the literature. Needham (1972), in his distinction between the Western Penan (to the west of the Baram River) and the Eastern Penan (to the east of the Baram River), makes brief reference to the existence of some members of the latter group in the "interior of Brunei State" (Needham, 1972:177). Urquhart (1959:74) also mentions the Penan in the "ulu Belait". Harrison (1975) provides some indication of the origin of the Brunei Penan in his statement that "a small element [has] for decades come over sporadically from the River Tutoh behind Marudi across into the ulu Belait".

The association between the Penan Sukang and the Penan of the Tutoh and Apoh rivers, as asserted by Harrison (1975), is borne out by Luyah Kaling, the present headman of the Penan Sukang. He claims kinship ties with the Penan of Long Buang on the middle Apoh (contrary to Sellato's (1990) statement in his brief note on the Penan Sukang). According to Luyah Kaling, his uncle was T. . . ng anak Uan, who Needham asserts (personal communication) was the elder of the group which migrated to the Belait River from the Linai River. Needham (1971:203-230), in a discussion of Penan friendship names, focuses on the Long

Buang Penan. He suggests that some members of the Long Buang Penan came originally from the Penipir River, a tributary of the Belait. Preliminary investigation suggests that there is a very close link between the languages of the two groups (Sercombe, in preparation).

Two recent local studies shed some light on the historical associations of the Penan Sukang group with the Belait district (Azmi, 1990; Bantong, 1986). Both of these papers are in Malay. A translation of the title of the former, "The Penan: Origins and Language", (Azmi, 1990) suggests that the article provides some discussion on the background of the Brunei Penan. However, it is, in fact, largely a description of the way the Brunei Penan pronounce Malay, and an attempt to account for this phenomenon. Both Azmi and Bantong refer to the fact that a number of tributaries of the Belait (the Keduan, Rawai and Penipir streams) had, for many years, been the hunting grounds of a group of nomadic Penan. Furthermore, these nomadic Penan had interacted with the settled population of Dusun in the area for the purposes of barter trade. Bantong (1986) makes the observation that, prior to the Japanese Occupation, the numbers of nomadic Penan in the Belait region were considerably greater than the present total of settled Penan. However, there are no pre-war population figures for this group. Seitz (1981:279-80) states that the Penan population in the interior Belait was 29 persons in 1949 and 39 in 1979. The former figure is the same as that recorded by Davis (1948), the first reference to "nomadic Punans" in the Brunei Annual reports. It appears that the nomadic Penan became so familiar with the settled Dusun (who themselves had moved into the area from Bukit Sawat, above Pengkalan Mau, in the 1930s), that in 1962 they were persuaded to settle in the village of Sukang. The same year a makeshift longhouse was built by the villagers close to the Dusun longhouse. This was later replaced by a more permanent longhouse, subsidized by the government, which was constructed on the other side of the river on Forest Reserve Land. The land was to be used solely for the purpose of building the longhouse, and not for farming or cultivation.

In line with their new permanent status, a program to issue identity cards to the newly-settled Penan was initiated in 1965 (Azmi, 1990:9). This was an important step and provided the Penan with an incentive to stay put. Further information regarding the economy, social structure, beliefs and arts and crafts of the Penan Sukang are provided by Bantong (1986).

In modern-day Sukang, the Penan still live in their longhouse on the left bank of the river. Since moving into the area, there have been a number of major changes in the way of life of this group. For example, intermarriage with both Dusun and Iban has become more common. In addition, old skills, such as blowpipe production, have disappeared, and hunter-gathering has become a

weekend recreational activity. A significant point here is the lack of contact with other Penan groups on the one hand, and the constant contact with the Dusun and Iban, who themselves have been influenced by coastal groups, on the other. Of equal importance are the rapid changes that have taken place in Brunei over the last two and a half decades. Lately, the men of the longhouse have been able to earn wages by working as laborers on the various road-building projects in the *mukim*. This has considerably reduced the reliance of the Penan Sukang on growing and gathering food. Linguistically, the new generation appears to be as fluent in Iban as in Penan, although language shifts towards the Iban is undoubtedly taking place (Martin and Sercombe, 1992). Above all, the influence of Islam has been considerable. In the adjacent *mukim* of Melilas, a large number of Iban have converted to the Islamic faith. A similar situation is occurring in Sukang, and recent information through the national media has indicated that, to date, 13 members of the Penan community (that is, one quarter of the total) have adopted Islam.

The Penan Sukang, then, who for over a century, have lived in and around Brunei territory, with a unique identity, culture and language, now appear to be succumbing to the pressure of change which is occurring all over Borneo.

NOTES

1. A *mukim* is an area under the leadership or control of a headman or penghulu.
2. The puak jati of Brunei consist of the Belait, Bisaya, Brunei, Dusun, Kedayan, Murut and Tutong groups.

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IBAN ORAL LITERATURE

Tun Jugah Foundation

A. INTRODUCTION

The importance of oral traditions in influencing the lives of a society has been universally acknowledged and recognized. This importance can easily be observed among illiterate communities as it was in the Iban society in which oral tradition played a very important part in relieving the Iban from the burdens and stresses of life. The importance of oral traditions among the Iban community can thus be appropriately compared to the importance of books, novels and movies to the modern literate society. Admittedly, this importance will continue to influence the values, attitudes and culture of the Iban in years to come because embedded in the old stories, chants and songs are coded messages to the Iban beliefs and ways of life.

Steps have been taken by government authorities in Sarawak, like the Ministry of Social Development, Majlis Adat Istiadat and Sarawak Museum to preserve and perpetuate the growth of Iban oral literature and its appreciation by our modern society. Recently, The Tun Jugah Foundation also has undertaken the collection and recording of oral literature. (The Foundation's oral literature programme is briefly mentioned towards the end of this paper.)

This paper attempts to identify the various types of Iban oral literature which have been categorized here as Rituals, Entertainment, Healing and Riddles/Proverbs/Quiz. Each type of oral literature is briefly described and its purpose and significance mentioned. Examples or excerpts of versions of chants, songs and poems, with rough translations, are given. The aim of this paper is to provide a brief insight into Iban thoughts and customs.

These chants, songs, poems, legends and invocations are rich in religious and historical allusions, symbolic metaphors, expressions of social values and shared assumptions regarding the relationship of man, nature and the spiritual world.

Religious allusions for example are reflected in the calls or prayers made to the Gods - Sengalang Burong, Simpulang Gana and the other deities seeking blessings, guidance, protection and assistance.

The words and the creative use of the imagery in Iban oral literature presentations are examples of the language skills of the bards, shamans, singers and the other experts. Each of them has his/her own distinctive style of presentation as reflected in the originality, personal inspiration and command of the esoteric language. Their usage of local allusions, varied imagery, rhyme, repetition and stress, enriches the basic form of the Iban language.

B. TYPES

1. Rituals

1.1 *Timang*

Timang (ritual chant or invocation) is perhaps the most elaborate and complex form of Iban oral literature. It is performed during major festivals or ritual ceremonies. The chants are usually songs of praise. The nature of the chants depends on the type of *timang* and each serves specific purposes and has its own ritual significance.

The invocation of *timang* for rituals of high significance varies from one-and-a-half days to seven days and seven nights. The *timang* usually involves four persons: the *lemambang* or bard, the *lemambang's* assistant or *Orang nimbal* (the person who replies) and a two-man "chorus" or *Orang nyagu*. The *lemambang* begins by chanting the first "stanza" (*genteran*), and the two-men chorus sing the refrain. When they have finished, the assistant *lemambang* (or the *timbal*) then chants the second 'stanza'. This is again followed by a refrain from the two-man "chorus". After this, the whole process starts all over again, and in this way the whole plot unfolds.

Timang Tuah is performed during major festivals by the *lemambang* and a few assistants. The *lemambang* chants and recites a call to the Gods to bring wealth and prosperity to those organizing the ceremony.

Timang Kenyalang is chanted during the occasion of *Garwai Kenyalang* (Hornbill Festival) during which the *lemambang* concentrates on invoking the greatness and immortality of the *Kenyalang*.

Timang Benih is another form of ritual invocation chanted or sung by the *lemambang* during various Farming Festivals. During these ritual occasions, the *lemambang* chants or invokes ritual blessings for the padi seeds to be sown in the coming planting season. This *timang* rite is still being performed during Farming Festivals among the Iban community in the interior where padi planting is still one of the most important activities in the longhouse.

Timang Sera is another type of ritual invocation chanted during ritual occasions during which the *lemambang* seeks blessings from the Gods to restore the appetite of a pregnant woman or an ailing child who has lost the appetite. In most cases, appetite can be restored after *Timang Sera* has been performed.

Timang Sukat is performed by the *lemambang* to seek blessing from the Gods to help a person whose life span has been suspected to be short, either through his own dreams or dreams of other people.

Timang Bulu is chanted to get blessing from the Gods for a person so that he will be impenetrable to evil charms or black magic. This ritual invocation is still commonly performed by the Iban people during ritual festivals.

Timang Jalong is a ritual invocation that is seldom chanted by the *lemambang* nowadays. It was once regularly performed during ritual festivals such as *Gawai Kanyalang*. This *timang* is sung to bless rice wine (*tuak*) inside a bowl (*jalong*). Once the rice wine inside the bowl is blessed with the invocation of *timang jalong*, it would turn into a sacred wine and no longer an ordinary *tuak*. As such, no ordinary person is allowed to drink except the group of "Bujang Berani" or well-known warriors and persons of outstanding characters. During the invocation of *timang jalong*, the spirits of the dead will be called from Heaven to bring charms for good fortune and success in war.

1.2 Pengap

The *Pengap* is a long ritual poem sung by men during ritual ceremonies or festivals. It may also be for invoking the presence of deities chanted during ritual festivals such as *Gawai Burong*, *Gawai Batu* and *Gawai Bungai Taun* and *Gawai Tajau*. The singers consist of a leader (*pun*); a second singer (*timbang*) who leads the "chorus" (*nyagu* or *ngelembong*) of two or more men. Each line or verse is given by the leader and taken up and repeated by the "chorus", often in reverse order and with embroideries or teasings. Each man carries a wooden or iron staff (*tungkat*) which is struck upon the floor at a regular or continuous beat with no change in stress. The singers pass to and fro along the house gallery (*ruai*) while performing the *pengap*.

The *Pengap* may take about one to five nights. In brief, the chants tell us how messengers are sent to invite the deities to a ritual ceremony or festival (*Gawai*); description of the journey of the deities to the *Gawai*; their presence (though not visible to the eye); description of the acts of the deities to help in the undertaking for which the *Gawai* has been held.

The shared features of the *Pengap* within each regional provenance are the internal verses' organization of the songs, their fixed verse pattern and the fact that the songs serve a liturgical function. The type and significance of *pengap* depends on the nature or type of ritual ceremony or festival.

Pengap Gawai Burong are long invocations addressed to sacred skulls and old hornbill images that have been brought, from host and visiting longhouses, to attend the ceremony, Iban Bird Festival (*Gawai Burong*). The invocations are chanted by bards who have been specifically charged with carrying the sacred objects, not by the principal singers. Two senior bards may not be the principal singers. Two senior bards may alternate in chanting different sections; they are assisted by as many as six other junior or apprentice *lemambang*.

Pengap Gawai Batu are invocations chanted by bards during *Gawai Batu* (Whetstone Festival) inviting the deity, Raja Simpulang Gana, to come to the festival to bless the whetstones so that the implements that will be used for clearing the jungle be made sharp and so that the following harvest will be better. This *Gawai* is held before the initial clearing of the farm lands.

Pengap Bungai Taun is a sacred chant sung by bards on the occasion of a sacrificial feast to invoke a blessing on the fruits of the field. It is chanted by four performers - one leader and a "chorus" of three. It commences towards evening and lasts throughout the night and often till the next morning.

In the case of padi, it is the earth deities, led by Simpulang Gana, who come to the *Gawai*, because the latter is the deity who has the earth as his domain and gives growth to the rice and blesses the land for farming. The *pengap* relates their journey from the heavens to the earth where the festival is being held. In the case of war, it is the bird deities, led by Lang, who come to the *Gawai*.

1.3 Renong

Renong is a form of oral literature sung in different forms for specific purposes. *Renong Kayau* is a form of narrative sung to embolden men going

to war, now commonly associated with *Gawai Timang Jalong*. *Renong Kelulu'* is a song praising the hearer. *Renong Main* is a song performed by women for their own amusement. *Renong Ngayap* is a love song by a man or woman for their lover. *Renong Sabong* is sung at cockfighting session. *Renong Sakit* is an invocation sung for the healing of a sick person.

Renong Main or *Renong* is a song cycle of love and courtship with a Romeo and Juliet theme in which love conquers all, and it was in the past popularly sung at festivals. Its purpose was essentially to entertain, and also to inspire young people and recreate memories among older people, and to pass on the tradition of the customs, both by what was said and by the expressions used to describe these customs. There are various types of *Renong Main* such as:

1. Song in praise of the longhouse (*Renong Timang Rumah*)
2. Song of the young women refreshing their lovesick feelings (*Renong Merindang Ati*)
3. Song of the young women seeking a bathing place (*Renong Indu Mandi*)
4. Song of the young women returning from their bathing (*Renong Indu Pulai Mandi*)
5. Song of the young women asking for a lovecharm (*Renong Indu Nanya Ka Jayau*)
6. Song while waving the fowl over the lovecharm (*Renong Miau Pemandang*)
7. Song of the young man's visit secretly by night (*Renong Bujang Ngayap ka-terubah*)

Renong songs are also sung during festivals with ritual significance such as the *Renong Ngalu Petara* (song of welcoming the Gods) and *Renong Ngalu Antu* (song of welcoming the friendly spirits).

1.4 *Bebiau*

A simple but important ritual ceremony, *bebiau* is the act of waving a fowl (*manok lelaki*) over a person or thing as a minor rite. At the same time, a form of prayer or ritual invocation is uttered pertaining to the ceremony. The prayers are brief if they are general prayers for health, wealth and strength. The fowl is killed afterwards so that its spirit may carry the message of the prayer. The *bebiau* may be performed by the *Tuai Rumah* (headman), the leader of the ceremony or any representative.

This is an example of a brief *bebiau*:

O-ha! O-Ha! O-ha!
 Aku ngangau, aku nesau,
 Aku ngumbai, aku ngelambai.
 Ngangau ke Petara Aki, Petara Ini.
 Aku minta tuah, minta limpah,
 Aku minta raja, minta anda,
 Aku minta bidik, minta lansik,
 Minta tulang, minta pandang.
 Awak ka aku bulih ringgit, bulih duit,
 Bulih tajau, bulih segiau,
 Bulih setawak, bulih menganak.
 Aku minta bulih padi, bulih puli.
 Agi ga aku minta gerai, minta nyamai,
 Minta gayu, minta guru.

Below is a rough translation of the above:

O-ha! O-ha! O-ha!
 I call and I summon
 The spirits of my grandparents,
 I ask for good fortune, in full measure,
 I ask for wealth, for riches,
 I ask for good luck, for clear-sightedness,
 For strength, for guidance.
 That we may have ringgit, have money,
 Have jars,
 Have gongs,
 I ask for good harvest, in abundance,
 And I ask for good health, for comfort,
 For long-life, for wisdom.

A *bebiau* may be performed when receiving guests at the waterside (*pendai*) and at the top of the steps leading to the longhouse. This is called *miau pengabang*. The prayers are aimed at appeasing or driving away evil spirits and to obtain protection from evil.

A *bebiau* is part of the Iban wedding ritual whereby the newly-wed couple are seated on gongs (*setawak*) while one or two persons (or more) take turns to perform the *biau*. Prayers are calls to the Gods, seeking assistance, prosperity, fertility and wealth for the couple.

1.5 Sampi

Sampi are invocatory prayers performed in most ritual occasions. They usually begin with the call 'Oha', repeated three times and sometimes the counting of the numbers 'one to seven'. These are summons to the spirits and followed by describing the favor or assistance which the relevant spirits are asked to grant.

They vary greatly in length depending on the occasion and the person performing the ceremony. They may be a few words sent to acknowledge an omen or a poem lasting an hour or more. They are poetical in form, consisting of repetitions, alliterations (words which begin with the same letter or sound) and decorative words with no real meaning.

Sampi are commonly associated with the *biau* ceremony and are usually accompanied by *miring* (offerings). Appropriate deities and others are called to take part in the offering to grant success and prosperity to those performing the rite.

Instances when *sampi* are chanted are during the first bathing of a baby (*meri anak mit mandi*), the seeking of dreams while performing a vigil (*nampok*), diving contest (*kelam ai'*), blessing of padi fields, setting out on an important expedition, going to war and during many other occasions.

1.6 Sabak

A slow and sad morning chant for the dead is sung by a professional wailer.¹ The professional wailer is usually referred to as a *Lemambang Sabak* and may be a man or woman, but most of them are women. *Sabak* is practiced by most non-Christian Iban communities in Sarawak.

The *sabak* is usually performed the whole night before the burial. The wailer sits by the *sapat* (screens)² and with her foot on a piece of iron to strengthen her spirit (*kering samengat*). In some places, she sits on a swing (*wa'*).

The chants describe the journey of the soul to join the relatives who have already died and are now in the Land of the Dead or *Menoa Sebayan* at Batang Mandai. In order to describe it, the wailer "loses herself" in the telling, where her spirit accompanies the soul to *Sebayan*, and precautions are taken to secure her spirit's return.

Sabak begins with a short introduction and an address to the dead. Each part of the room and house is mentioned with its importance to the living. When the souls of the dead (*Sebayan*) arrive, they are briefly described and persuaded to leave amulets behind in exchange for the soul. The soul is persuaded to follow them and each part of the familiar homeland (*menoa*), other places and dwellings they pass by is described with sorrow. For example, *Titi Rawan* (Fearful bridge) the abode of bird with *Bubut* (coucal) as the chief; and *Pintu Tanah* (earth's door).³ The party goes downriver (of *Batang Mandai*) in a coffin-like boat (*berangai*) of the new soul until they reach the longhouse where the newcomer is greeted and consoled by relatives long dead. The spirit of the wailer then departs on the back of *Dara Rambai Geruda*⁴ who flew her to her body among the living.

The theme is constant and the effect is to assuage grief among the living. A skilled singer can incite the listeners to take revenge upon enemies who caused the death. Versions are brought up-to-date. A full *sabak* take at least two nights to recite.

A *Sabak Bebuah* tells in detail the journey of the soul to *Sebayan*. This is a rite performed during *Gawai Antu* (festival of departed spirits) to mark the end of all mourning for the dead. The spirits of the dead are invited to join the living for the feast. After the *gawai*, there are no more mournings for the dead.

Sabak kenang are chants or songs of remembrance in which good memories and deeds of the dead are recalled and praised. *Sabak ngerengka* is sung after burial at the end of the period without which the soul's journey is delayed. *Sabak sebana* is a full *sabak* sung with sobbing and crying.

1.7 Naku

This is a form of ritual observed for heads (*antu pala*) taken in wars. The verses sung during the *naka* ceremony are meant to incite young men or warriors to go out and get more heads.

The verses are sung by several young ladies and they dance through the house, holding old skulls and newly-obtained "trophies". This form of oral literature is, however, no longer practiced as head-hunting is a thing of the past.

Excerpts from verses of *Naku* ceremony are as follows:

Aih! Ngambi agi!
 Ngambi ka aku sigi agi!
 Aih! Nambah!
 Udu pemalu aku naku antu
 Pala lama rangkah,
 Enda meda bedau bedarah!
 Malu aku, wai sulu,
 Naku antu pala lama
 Jentang indu aku inang
 Ada balut pukut empelawa
 Aih! Ngambi agi!
 Ngambi ka aku sigi da!
 Aih! Nambah!
 Malu aku, sulu, aku naku
 Antu pala rangkah!

The following is a rough translation of the above:

Aih! Get more!
 Get for me one more!
 Aih! Some more!
 I feel very ashamed praising
 this old head trophy,
 Not seeing it bloody!
 I am ashamed, my love,
 Praising this dried-up old head trophy,
 I have been keeping these warp threads
 Covered with cobwebs
 Aib! Get more!
 Get for me one more!
 I am ashamed, my love, praising
 Dried-up head trophy!

2. Entertainment

2.1 *Pantun*

Pantun is another form of oral literature of a high quality sung in poetic formula. It is very popular among the all Iban communities. Set in rhyming patterns, *pantun* are usually sung by women to men and vice-versa on ritual

or festive occasions and during small gatherings over glasses of rice wine (*tuak*). They may be impromptu songs for entertainment.

The singer of a *pantun* requires a person to be in command of Iban poetical language. The singer improvises, depending on situation and circumstances. To a person he/she likes and admires or to a very important figure, a song of praise will be sung.

2.2 *Sanggai*

Sanggai also is a form of *pantun* and commonly sung by the women during social occasions to honor well-known persons. It is meant to be understood privately for its hidden meaning by one particular person out of all others listening.

2.3 *Jawang*

Jawang are poetic songs sung by women, often with verses alternating to express conversation between a man and a women. In this song, only the woman's words are heard, except for the last verse, which is meant to be the man's reply. The *jawang* songs are sung while seated on a swing.

Excerpts from one of the *Jawang* songs:

Oh jenti, naka penyuma nelenga ka rasa' sregigi
 Nyerumba linda' lemali hari,
 Tang semadi tu tak nyau ditunga kita ke datai ari negeri.
 Ukai enda mai tali ga ngiga bagi ga nyawa bukai
 Jawang wai!

.....

Below is the translated version:

Oh, my dear.
 How reluctantly I open my mouth,
 Wide my parted lips showing the crowns of my teeth,
 At this time of evening dusk.
 Very unwilling indeed but already face-to-face with you,
 Who have come from the town,
 Who have come only to bring the string that goes around,
 Looking for many different kinds of songs
 Jawang wai!

2.4 Ramban

Rhythmic songs one sings during festivals or important occasions largely for amusement. *Ramban* is usually taken up as a chorus to *timbang* as it serves to take away the monotony of *timbang*. Sung by three to four males, comprising the bard and a few assistants who will sing the "chorus" (*orang nyagu*). As in *pengap*, they each carry a wooden or iron staff which is struck upon the floor in a regular rhythm depending on the tempo. The tempo may vary from slow to medium and to fast.

2.5 Ensera

One of the most highly respected forms of Iban oral literature is the *ensera*. It is an epic or saga sung in poetic language with explanations and conversations in prose. Any tales told will be partly in poetic form as opposed to simple prose tale (ordinary story-telling).

Ensera is a very much sought-for form of oral literature among the Iban people because of its entertainment nature. It focuses on the stories of legendary heroes and heroines (*Orang Panggau*) of the Iban people such as Keling, Laja, Kumang and Lulong.

Normally, a poetic singer of *ensera* performs his recital at night times after some gentle persuasion by the female members of the longhouse community. The audience would gather and sit around him and the recital may last until the next morning.

2.6 Sugi

This is similar to *ensera* - epics or legendary stories of *Orang Panggau* told in the form of a song. The *sugi* may also be performed by a bard for the sick where he calls to the deity, Bujang Sugi, to come and visit the sick person.

3. Healing

3.1 Pelian

Pelian are prayers/chants for a majority of healing rites for the sick and prevention of sickness performed by the *Manang* (Shaman). They are also poetical in form but are intoned exclusively by the *Manang*. They involve the experiences of the sick or dying person's spirit or soul in its encounter with the spirit world. They normally last for several hours and are performed at night.

No rite, except the most minor and informal, may be performed by daylight or many will fall ill.

The purposes are to defeat and cast out any evil causing the sickness; to pursue, catch and return a soul (*mulai ka semengat*) which is on its way to *Sebayan*; and to tend and fortify the *ayu* (vitality of body and soul).⁵ The *Manang* look into (*tinjau*) his seeing stone (*batu karas* or *batu ilau*) behind closed doors to see where the soul is and what has affected it: souls appearing as insects are probably evil. At the *ruai*, an "altar" (*pagar api*) is set up as *ranyai manang* - the starting point for his spiritual journey in search of the soul. The swing (*wa'*) is used to represent flying as the *Manang* must fly to overtake the speeding soul.

The *pelian* first describes the parts of the house - as an introduction. Then, with increasing speed, the *Manang* moves towards the spirit world. The *Manang* calls upon the reptiles and the small animals and birds, celestial and past *manang* and on *Selempandai* (deity, creator of matter and maker of man), *Aki' Ungkok* (Moon) and other dwellers of the heavens for help. The verbs used are lavish and decorative. The *Manang* tells/ expresses his moves, first to identify the spirit which controls the soul and then his efforts to obtain its release. Walking round and round, and becoming faster and more voluble as he intones the *pelian*, the *Manang* may in difficult cases fall suddenly to the floor in a state of trance and faints (*luput*). The journey to the land of the dead is difficult and dangerous because the *Manang* sends his own soul from his body among evil beings, to snatch the patient's soul from among the dead and bring both their souls back safely.

At the end of the rite, the patient is blessed (*biau*) and if the rite is a major one, the patient's name is changed to avoid further danger from evil. The *Manang* binds the soul (*ikat samengat*) by tying colored thread around the patient's wrist.

Pelian amat are the first rites that are used for a healing ceremony. If these fail, *pelian bebunoh antu* (killing the evil spirit) is performed especially for a woman who has had a miscarriage or difficulty of any kind in childbirth, to prevent her from being attached by an *antu buyu* (an evil spirit or incubus). *Pelian bejereki* is a rite conducted by a *manang* to protect a woman from possible miscarriage.

If all *pelian* rite fail and further treatment is needed, the *Manang* will perform the fullest rites for the sick (*Besaut* rites) and full *Gawai Sakit* (ceremonies for the sick) with *pengap* must follow.

The following is an excerpt of *pelian* verses (the part where the *Manang* calls to the dwellers of heavens):

Ni nuan Seraginda ke ngaga tanah enggau menoa.
Ni nuan Seragindai ke ngaga pantai Radai Raja Baya.
Ni nuan Seragindong ke ngaga kampong Lulong kerapa.
Ni nuan Seragindam ke ngaga malam petang kelita.
Ni nuan Seragindai ke ngaga hari rau rangkai keranjai ruai ransa.
Ni nuan Seragindit ke ngaga langit enggau dunya.
Ni nuan Seragindan ke ngaga bulan tanggar peranama.
Ni nuan Seragindang ke ngaga bintang tumboh segala.
Ni nuan Selampandai ke ngaga kerigai anak mensia.

The translated version:

Where are you Seraginda the maker of the earth and the universe.
 Where are you Seragindai the maker of beaches basking place for King of crocodiles.
 Where are you Seragindong the maker of forests swamps and marsh.
 Where are you Seragindam the creator of night and pitch darkness.
 Where are you Seragindai the creator of day dried leaves scratched by peacocks.
 Where are you Seragindan the creator of the sky and the world.
 Where are you Seragindan the maker of the moon full moon.
 Where are Seragindang the maker of stars shining brightly.
 Where are you Selampandai the maker of ribs of mankind.

3.2 Puchau

This is a very secretive type of oral literature and cannot be chanted loudly. Very few people are able to recite verses of *puchau* and it is believed that much of the *puchau* is acquired from the Muslim experts.

Basically, *puchau* is a spell or prayer which is chanted in a very low voice. Examples of *puchau* are *Puchau Pedis Perut* (spell for stomach ache), *Puchau indu'* (lovecharm spell) and spells for catching crocodiles (*Nyagu ka jagu*).

Since *puchau* is so secretive in nature, the likelihood of it being learnt by younger generations is very slim. As compared to other oral literature, *puchau* is not really popular among the Iban people now.

Excerpts of *Puchau*:

Tanah palai, tapang bekumbai,
Mengkuang nangis, buloh merindu,
Kaladi gatal makan ka chantong badan Abang,
Menyuroh ati Abang gila.

Below is the translated version:

The honey trees call to each other
 across the well-loved earth,
 the *mengkuang* fruit tree weeps,
 The bamboo tree is lovesick.
 May eating the yam make the organs and the body of Abang to itch,
 compel the feelings of Abang to go mad.

4. Riddles/Proverbs/Quiz

Riddles and proverbs are also among the important forms of Iban oral literature. Like other communities, the Iban love to test each other's wits and intelligence with riddles (*entelah*) during their leisure times. They also often say things in the form of proverbial and hidden language (*Jako sempama* and *jako kelaung*) as many of the Iban activities in the old days cannot be announced or communicated openly or directly due to numerous reasons known only to the Iban leaders.

4.1 Pelandai

Pelandai is a form of poetic riddle sung during festivals or any other occasions in the longhouse, usually without any ritual significance.

Pelandai is also a poetic song sung by a girl, expressing her state of loneliness and longings for her lover who is away.

Excerpts of a stanza from one of these *Pelandai* are as follows:

Kini ka lambu nuan, Dom Datu
Lama udah nadai negu aku,
Di timpu alang disimbang?
Kini ka nuan kau
Dom Bujang Ganggam
Lama udah nadai nekan

*Aku di tandan bau nukang?
Sataun tu udah nengali pun padi bangga
Kumbai aku lesi nuan Dom Bujang Mereti,
nyau ilang.
Kumbai aku danjan nuan Bujang Ganggam
Nyadi Sabayan alam tanah ngeruang.*

The translated version is as follows:

Where have you been,
that you have not come to (touch) me,
Upon the fair carved boards of the bed?
Where have you been,
that its been a while
since I touched your broad shoulders?
A year have I toiled, planting hill padi.
I thought you had perished and were lost.
I thought you had died,
to join the dead in the heavens.

4.2 Sempama

These are metaphors and parables, an imaginative way of describing something by referring to something else which reflects the hidden meanings. Used in conversations and for entertainment purposes.

Examples of *sempama*:

1. *Berani babi*
Brave like a pig

Reti: Amat berani tang nadai akal sereta enda jimat
Meaning: Brave but not intelligent and not careful

2. *Jai jari*
Bad hands

Reti: Bagas ngenchuri
Meaning: Likes to steal

4.3 Entelah

These are word puzzles or riddles with clues. They range from the simplest short punning puzzles to long and complex verses. The latter requires a familiarity with poetic diction and allusion to be understood, and are often made harder by having for clue, only a poetic description of where the thing is to be found (*menoa*).

Example:

Tuai sida Sebuyau ngumbai diri ngiga leka lingkau nepan sengkayau udah digitang.

Tuai sida Lasi ngumbai diri ngiga jani nemu diri tak tegali telentang buang.

ULU LUNGA: Singkang agi rapat.

LALAI: Manang ke ngambi semengat

Translated version:

The leaders of Sebuyau in search of millet already hung up in cords.
The leaders of Lasi is search of swine, found themselves fallen flat on their backs.

CLUE: Close steps (should rhyme with the wording of the hidden answer)

HIDDEN WORD (ANSWER): Bard bringing back the soul.

4.4 Jako Kelaung

This is a form of speech which may be literally translated as speech which is disguised/indirect/diverted. *Jako kelaung* are usually based on one or sometimes a combination of two general principles: insertion of a sound or sound segments in the base word or the transportation of syllables within a word.

Jako kelaung is believed to have originated from the fact that many activities done by the Ibans could not be announced openly or approached directly. A good example is when they go hunting or fishing. In most instances, they will not announce their intention to go hunting or fishing openly to their friends or neighbors. They will be more secretive if the trip requires them to go deep

into the jungle. It is believed that if they fail to observe this rule, they are most likely to come back empty-handed.

C. TUN JUGAH FOUNDATION'S ORAL TRADITION PROGRAMME

Iban oral tradition is one of the Tun Jugah Foundation's major programmes which was started in 1988. The Foundation records, collects and transcribes Iban oral traditions. It is the objective of the Foundation to preserve and perpetuate the growth of Iban oral literature and to encourage its appreciation by our modern society. The Foundation hopes to have these records printed in book form in the near future both for research and education purposes. Aside from that, these books should serve as permanent records for future reference. Through this programme also, the Foundation hopes to create an awareness and interest in Iban oral literature.

The Iban oral tradition that has been collected by the Foundation are mostly recorded voices of bards, shamans and other experts. Currently, the Foundation has collected some *Timang*, *Renong*, *Sabak*, *Pelian*, *Pantun*, *Ramban*, *Pelandai*, and *Berua* (See Appendix 1). The tapes (open-reel) are catalogued and classified by subject headings and arranged in alphabetical order.

The Foundation collects oral literature by several methods. The Foundation identifies oral tradition topics and identifies bards and experts proficient in those topics. They are then invited to the office of the Foundation where their chants are recorded. Alternatively, the Foundation's personnel go to potential bards' / oral tradition experts' areas as appointed to record their voices on specific topics. Another method is by identifying existing recorded sources, usually from institutions, government bodies like Radio Television Malaysia and also individuals. From these, the tapes or cassettes are copied onto open-reel tapes at the Foundation. The Foundation also commissions writers, researchers, and other experts to undertake oral tradition projects.

The Foundation employs a retired person with relevant previous experience to transcribe and come up with a typed-draft of the texts. This person works on a contract basis. Preliminary editing is done by the Foundation's personnel.

D. CONCLUSION

Editing of transcripts requires a certain amount of skill and tremendous amount of concentration. Transcriptions have to be as accurate as possible. The

whole process is slow and tedious. This is detrimental to the whole programme as there is an urgent need to record as much as possible before it is too late. There is a vast amount of oral tradition that need to be recorded as yet.

Unfortunately, the interest to maintain supremacy of the oral tradition among the literate Iban community today has greatly declined. The ready access of books, novels and movies to younger generations has further eroded interest in oral literature. The coming of Christianity has also effected a decline in oral tradition practices.

Furthermore, those who know the songs and meanings of archaic song-language are generally old and the previous tradition of training new singers, bards, and shamans in the essential aspects of oral literatures has been abandoned, since this literature is assumed to be no longer essential to the society. Today, only a handful of our bards and other experts are left and since most of them are getting old, there is a "fear" that once they leave this world, their knowledge will leave with them. To add to that, most of them are illiterate and therefore unable to put their knowledge into writing.

Steps may be taken to train the younger generation to be singers, bards, and shamans. It is not known for an Iban to aspire to be a *Manang* for instance. However, to be one, a person has to be intelligent and sensitive. He has to receive the necessary authority from the spirits: he is summoned in a dream. To be a *Manang* is a vocation; he cannot make himself a *Manang*.

With the demise of the current generation of bards, shamans, and other skilled specialists, we shall be witnesses to the passing of an era of unexcelled creative genius. The Foundation's mission is to record as much of their work as possible so that future generations may both appreciate and learn from the past.

APPENDIX 1

Tun Jugah Foundation's Literature Programme Index of Recordings

1. *Timang Tuah - Kapit*, 1988 (8 hours)
Lembang Abon ak Dinggai
2. *Pekit Bapantun - Kapit*, 1988 (6 hours)

3. *Ramban - Lubok Antu*, 1988 (7 hours)
4. *Pelandai Karong - Kapit*, 1990 (2 hours)
Kanda ak. Balai
5. *Pelandai Araq - Kapit*, 1990 (1 hour)
6. *Pantun/Ramban - Kapit*, 1990 (1 hour)
7. *Timang Benih - Kapit*, 1990 (2 hours)
Unggat ak. Gesi
8. *Berua Sakit - Kapit*, 1990 (1 hour)
Sumok ak. Mandau
9. *Leka Timang Sera - Kapit*, 1990 (2 hours)
Lemambang Abon ak Dinggai
10. *Leka Timang Sukat - Kapit*, 1990 (2 hours)
Lemambang Sanggau
11. *Ngua - Medar - TjF*, 1991 (14 hours)
Lemambang Abon ak Dinggai
12. *Leka Sabak - Pre-recorded* (8 hours)
Minda ak. Janting
13. *Renong Ngalu Antu - TjF*, 1991 (1 hour)
Lemambang Abon
14. *Timang Kenyalang - Pre-recorded* (1 hour)
Cik Burai ak Sebau
15. *Renong Ngalu Petara - Pre-recorded* (1 hour)
Kap A. Liau
16. *Pelandai Karong - Pre-recorded* (1 hour)
Kanda ak Balai
17. *Pelian - Paku, Betong*, 1991 (2 hours 30 minutes)
Manang Asun

NOTES

1. One who has vocation and training in *sabak*. A few use visual aids when teaching others the details of complex passages but the main poem is always remembered by heart.
2. Usually, *pua kumbu*, or woven blankets suspended on strings surrounding the coffin area.
3. A pair of massive close-fitted doors of stone. Here, the worm queen (*Kumang*) opens the doors for them.
4. One of the people of *Sebayan*, daughter-in-law of *Niram*, ancestor leader of the *Sebayan* in *sabak* poems.
5. If evil spirits attack the *agu*, the body becomes sick. When the soul leaves the body in dreams or sickness, the *ayu* also becomes sick and wilts. It withers and dies altogether when the soul departs this world at death.

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OUTLINE FOR A COLLECTOR'S QUESTION LIST
FOR BORNEAN ORAL LITERATURE AND VERBAL TRADITION

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SHORT FORM: A field collector's summary

Brief history of collecting project: why this community and these particular informants were chosen. What previous collections have been made, if any? What has been done with the resulting material?

Equipment check: Notebooks and ballpoints; tape recorder with enough fresh cassette tapes for performances and interviews; extra batteries; camera with extra film and (if necessary) battery, flash with bulbs and batteries; tinned food, other presents for informants (medicines, clothing, craft materials, baby food, tobacco) and/or traditional fee in kind or cash; products of previous sessions (copies of tapes and transcriptions, photos) for further work with informants or as gifts.

Collector: Your name, age, sex, ethnic origin, schooling, profession.

Date and time: Duration of the visit; overall list of whom you saw and for how long (duration of each performance or interview).

Place: Where is the community and how big is it (population, area)? Who lives there (ethnic group/s)? What does it look like (longhouse, single houses, roads or paths)? What public amenities are there (piped water, electricity; padi mill; schools, how distant; health clinic; community hall; police or other administration post; shops; entertainment centers, televisions, radio)?

Informant (for each): Name, age, sex, ethnic origin, place of birth, schooling, professions past and present, languages spoken, travel experience, marriages and children, estimated economic status, social status (class origin, acquired status), religious affiliations and positions past and present. Take photos of

informants alone and with family, in their choice of clothes (to be kept with data, copies to be enlarged as presents for them).

Is the informant a specialist in performance of this tradition? What are his/her particular qualifications? When, where, and how was the informant trained?

Does the informant place any restrictions on the use of the material (use of his/her name, future returns from publication if any)? In some cases, a signed release or contract may be called for.

Performance (for each-- including repeat performances of the same items): natural or staged for you? If for you, how does this differ from a natural performance?

Language used: does it differ from informant's daily speech? How?

Setting: traditional fee (and modern), necessary equipment (costume, props, musical instruments), number of performers and what they do, full description of place (size of room, source of light), distractions (kids, animals, food, drink, tobacco, etc.).

Aspects other than verbal: sounds without meanings, exclamations, music, choral echos and harmonies, body movements, dance.

Audience: number of people, about how many of them are women and how many children, what sort of attention do they pay, for what parts of the performance?

Emotion: how do people seem to feel or say they feel during and after performance? What are the most moving or exciting parts?

Duration: including interruptions (for what?).

Is this a complete performance? If not, what has been left out?

Background on the Tradition

Is knowledge and performance of this type of material the business of specialists? Who may become one (by age, sex, class...)? How are they defined and trained?

Other than specialists, is this material traditionally associated with men or women or with any particular age group?

Are younger people still learning and using this material? If not, who not? If so, who? What parts, and how do they use it?

Does this material exist anywhere else (same ethnic group, other regions; other ethnic groups, same or other regions)?

What are the traditional reasons for and contexts of performances of this material? What are performance's effects, intended and otherwise? Look for:

religious aspects: is it part of a religious ritual? does it help heal, comfort and guide the dead or survivors, educate in religion or morality? Who at present believes or disbelieves in its religious value?

social aspects: does it entertain, does it overtly teach or prescribe right behavior? is it associated with other community get-togethers, celebrations or games? What are its links with class or social power?

economic aspects: cost in cash or kind and who bears this cost, returns direct or indirect, links to economic power relations in the community, to commerce (tourism?), to material culture, to activities affecting the environment.

Material Collected (for each item):

How did the informant learn this material, when and from whom? Who else knows it?

What kind of material is this? Find out the native name for the genre. Note what characteristics the informant mentions that differentiate it from other genres.

What is the specific name of this item, if it has one? What does the name mean or refer to? Has it other names?

Describe the item

by form: sung, chanted or spoken poetry or prose (alone or in combination); language; tune (specific to this time, or used for others?); musical accompaniment; length

by content: narrative or non-narrative; is it believed historical, and if so when did it happen; is it related to a particular place, and if so where; is it related to social, economic or ritual activities, and if so which; if characters are named, are they clearly human, animal or spirit, or hard to define; list character names, summarize the story; note relationship to other stories.

Disposition of material:

Number all recordings or photos, with brief description and reference to this data sheet and to any other information (see Long Form).

Who helps process material (field assistant, local interviewer, interpreter, transcriber, translator, typist)? Give names and personal data.

Post-collection contacts with the informant (copies returned, material re-edited, further information or material elicited).

Archiving: where the material is kept and how it can be consulted. Note subsequent publication history or other uses of the material.

LONG FORM

I. CONTEXT OF COLLECTION

1. Setting and Organization of the Collection Project.

1.1 Dates, scope, sites, special focus, sponsorship, funding, personnel of this project (see also 1.2, 2.4); its relation to other similar projects past and current, in this area and elsewhere.

1.2 For each locality: ethnic category and group (native and others' views, ethnicity relative to local and wider groupings), region (identify means of access; trail, road, boat, air), village, and contacts with neighboring groups (marriage, social, economic, cultural relationships). Religion: what influences have been present leading to change? What changes have taken place, and when? Languages used within the community, with outsiders (lingua franca, dialect?).

2. People: Performers, Other Informants, Research Assistants, Consultants

2.1 Performers

2.1.1. Who knows songs and tales now? Who is said to know them best? Who else knows them, less well? Where are these people, how old are they? What is their state of health?

What is said about them personally (character and skills)?

What are the criteria people use to evaluate and rank performers (knowledge; experience; voice quality; other)?

Exactly how was each performer--informant selected? Consensus, convenience, chance, other? Who made the decision?

2.1.2. For each performer: take a life history, recorded as told (for the analysis of narrative and rhetorical patterns). Question performer and other informants if necessary to get: age, sex, social status or class; family and kinship ties within community and outside; family or other relationship to any other singer; own economic status and way of making a living; education traditional and modern, travel experience, experience with other cultures and ethnic groups, languages known and used daily or in performance.

Describe and photograph performer, and his/her home and family (note decorations, modern equipment/luxuries, traditional objects of value, status symbols traditionally associated with class [possible indications of class in cases where people seem reluctant to discuss it]).

Consider performers as figures with multiple and ambivalent identities, making personal, improvisational life choices in context of change. How have their choices influenced the survival of this material?

- 2.1.3. Religion: formal allegiance? Other practices? Is the performer a spiritual specialist? What type? Officiating at what ceremonies?
- 2.1.4. Informants' history as performers: why did they decide to learn this art? How old were they when they started and how long did it take them? Who did they learn from, when and where? Who did that person learn from (and so on, as far back as possible)? Were there differences in that person's style or approach or emphasis from their own present style, and what were these differences?
- How did they begin, how progress? How develop their own style? Were they formally consecrated to perform? How? How old were they when they first soloed or led? How did their reputation spread? Do they perform only in local settlement, or also elsewhere?
- 2.2. Other informants (for background or related material)
- 2.2.1. Brief description of each: see 2.1.2, 2.1.3, 2.1.7 (motivation)
- 2.2.2. What is each one's area of expertise?
- 2.2.3. What help did they give? What have they received in return?
- 2.3. Research assistants (interviewers, scribes/transcribers, translators, workers on notes and glossaries, typists/work processors)
- 2.3.1. Brief description of each: see 2.1.2, 2.1.3., 2.1.7.
- 2.3.2. What is each one's training and area of expertise?

- 2.3.3. What help did they give? What have they received in return?
- 2.4. Consultants (associated or visiting experts: linguists, ethnologists, ethnomusicologists, dance specialists, ethnobotanists, human ecologists, craftspeople or artists, others).
- 2.4.1. Brief description of each: see 2.1.2, 2.1.3, 2.1.7.
- 2.4.2. What is each one's training and area of expertise?
- 2.4.3. What help did they give? What have they received in return?

3. Performance and Other Types of Collection

- 3.1. Non-performance sources, including: (a) dictation of texts by performer/informant to researcher or intermediary scribe; (b) manuscript personally written by performer. Describe form, length, quality, and the performer's reasons for making this effort. If no other source is available, try to elicit descriptions of traditional performance from past performers and audience members.
- 3.2. Staged performance, held for collection purposes: describe as below as far as possible, and try to elicit description of the full tradition.
- 3.3. Normal types of "natural" performance, as observed and/or described
- 3.3.1. Circumstances:
- 3.3.1.1. Who initiates the performance, who is felt to benefit and how? Is it paid for? by whom? amount and type of payment? what happens if payment is not made? who suffers? how, why? What other things are commonly or necessarily provided (food, drink?).
- 3.3.1.2. On what occasion is it performed, and why? What else is happening? Is the purpose of performance instrumental (to make something happen)? What? What other purpose may it have -- pleasure, entertainment? If characterized as entertainment, what values and cultural information might it nevertheless convey?

- 3.3.1.3. Is it religiously meaningful, and if so in what way? Have there been changes (once religious, now entertaining, etc.)? Are performances of the same text held at different times for different purposes?
- 3.3.1.4. Are there spiritual aspects to the performance itself? Does the performer become entered by spirit, inspired, possessed? What does this mean, what does it feel like? Must the performer be entered, or can performance be carried out without this? How is it different if so? What are the benefits of such a state, to performance, performer, others? What are the dangers, to the performer or to audience? how can these dangers be averted?
- 3.3.1.5. Is the length of the performances set or known in advance?
- 3.3.2. Parameters
- 3.3.2.1. Number of performers, singing lead or chorus, dancing, or playing musical instruments.
- 3.3.2.2. How are performer, chorus, audience dressed? any special costume or equipment? is anything traditionally or commonly used that is not now present? What is minimally necessary; what latitude is permitted?
- 3.3.2.3. Musical instruments or none? Why, in each case? If instruments are used, what are they? (Five types: self-resonant, using air vibrations, using strings, using a stretched membrane, using electricity: describe shape, size and sound, sketch or photograph in use and alone). Is there a special tune for the performance? is it unique to this or shared with others? Has the tune been used in non-traditional ways (perhaps in church)? Refer by cassette number to recordings.
- 3.3.2.4. Size and type of audience: characterize by age, sex, class, family relationship. Do they share other characteristics (interest group, guests at other event)? How far have they come? What else are they doing? Who else is present (babies? animals?)

- 3.3.2.5. Other performance parameters: time and level of lighting; size and shape of place, setting: heat, ventilation, seating arrangements, degree of crowding; what can be seen, heard, smelled, tasted (food, drink, betel, cigarettes); how often and when are refreshments served?
- 3.3.4. Features
- 3.3.4.1. Dramatic action: posture, gesture, expression, movement. How does it change? in relation to tune, chorus, text? Dance aspects: when and how long, by whom (leader, others)? How recorded (description; video; graphic notation)?
- 3.3.4.2. Sounds of performance: what mode or modes of delivery (conversational, recitation, declamation, chant, song)? Are there names for these? If more than one, when do they change, and in association with what parts or aspects of text? How do vocal changes relate to musical accompaniment, actual or symbolically parallel?
- 3.3.4.3. What types of performance can be interrupted? what interrupts a performance or makes it hard to follow, and when? noise level, poor visibility, amplification squeals, rest breaks? How long does performer go on without stopping? are stops fitted to internal (text) breaks, to performer's need to rest, to outside influences (such as tape-cassette side changes)?
- 3.3.5. Audience relations
- 3.3.5.1. Whom does the performance address? listeners, spirits, other?
- 3.3.5.2. How does the audience respond to and acknowledge different parts of the performance? verbally, by gesture or attitude, other? who reacts in what ways (by age, sex, expertise)? What appears to be, or is said to be, the effect of audience response on style, emphasis or length of performance?
- 3.3.5.3. What is the level of consciousness among those present? who is asleep, drunk, lying down; who is alert? How does this change over time?

How do performance parameters act to create an altered state of consciousness (night; drink; percussion, ceremonial context; language, music and performer's skilled expressiveness)?

What are the effects of changes in mode of delivery, or music, on audience response?

3.3.5.4. What is the apparent emotional tone of the performance, and the emotional and psychological impact of tales as sung? Observe and ask about nostalgic, erotic-romantic, exciting--encouraging, exhortatory and other aspects. How are these evoked and expressed?

3.3.6. Post-performance

3.3.6.1. How does the performance end? when? why?

3.3.6.2. How do audience members describe this performance compared to others they have been to?

3.3.6.3. Estimate immediate and lasting impact of performance: what points do people remember as most impressive? (Brief exit survey by age, sex, class; repeat at a later date.)

II. CATEGORIZING TEXTS

4. Genres of Traditional Oral Composition (Emic/Native, Etic/Outsider)

4.1. Genres are named in local language, described by performer or other specialized informants, with definitions of type given or inferred.

4.2. Relationship of these genres to each other: What are their distinguishing features? of form, of content, other (beliefs affecting performance, social meanings)? Are tales "stored" in one form, presented in others? What determines why a tale is presented in one form rather than another? If the same story is told in different genres, how is its substance altered by the change in form?

4.3. What is the ultimate origin of texts in each genre? (Possibilities include: dreams, other genres, borrowing from another ethnic group or same group in another region.)

4.4. What is the relationship of these genres to native genres in other groups with which the informant is familiar?

4.5. What is the relationship of native genres to outsiders (academic-folkloristic, etc) genres? Where does the etic classification system fail in characterizing local material, where is it adequate? Provide specific local illustrations of detailed descriptive definitions (sample of academic types: epic, folktale, fable, trickster story, morality tale, legend, myth, joke, proverb, riddle, epithet, euphemism, memorate, lyric, ballad, oral law codes, dirges, praise songs, spells, religious invocations and prayers, etc.).

4.6. What system of classification has been used to facilitate comparison of local material with neighboring material? with oral traditions from other parts of the world? Why was it chosen?

5. Form

5.1. Length: if performed, how many minutes? hours? nights? If written, estimate word count.

5.2. Poetry or prose? If poetry, define and describe its characteristics: end or internal rhyme, assonance, alliteration; meter, stress, relationship to breathing. What criteria, of form or syntax, are used in transcription to determine line length, verse length? Are distinctions always clear?

5.3. Modes of delivery: conversational speech, recitation, declamation, chant, song, etc.: variations and combinations.

5.4. Language:

5.4.1. Types of language: daily and/or "high" (poetic, flowery, ritual, arcane)? What defines high language? Why is it used, and where in the text? How well is it understood, by specialists, by audience members in general?

5.4.2. Lexicon: are there multiple synonyms for some words? Which, and why? Where do parallel or high expressions originate (are they archaic or borrowed from other local languages)? Why are

these used? can they be related to rhyme, meter, the process of oral composition?

5.4.3. Meaningless syllables within or between words: why? Common interjections and exclamations: when are these used? What is their intended or apparent effect?

5.4.4. Formulaic expressions (epithets or praise names, euphemisms): when are these used, how often? How are they put together? What is their function in composition, their contribution to effect? List and define.

5.5. Construction:

5.5.1. Formulaic elements (such as episodes of feasting, travel, battle and dancing, dressing for war or dance): how can these be defined? how long can they be, and how many they vary? how often are they used? What is their relationship to the varying length of any one performance (expanded, shortened or omitted)?

5.5.2. Relationship of formulaic elements to major themes. What is the overall structure of the item?

5.5.3. Stylistic devices: paratactic or hypotactic narrative linkages (juxtaposition or subordination), presence or absence of simultaneity ("meanwhile"), explicit signals of shifts of attention, signs of abbreviation or elaboration.

6. Content

6.1. Is the nature of the item such that it is restricted to, or more likely to be performed by, persons of particular religious specialization, age or gender? Why?

6.2. What is its overall emotional tone (heroic, comic, romantic, prayerful, mournful)? What shifts of tone occur? What values are explicit or implied (of a kind to be approved by most people? disapproved? why?)?

6.3. Setting (if distinctions of this type are made by local people):

6.3.1. The human world? past or modern, local (where the text is performed) or somewhere else (another human region)? Are there specific associations with mappable places or geographical features? with history? (See 7.1-10 for other human questions.)

6.3.2. A world of spirits? If so, where is this? Can it be located or mapped? Where is it? Does it connect or relate in other ways to the human, and if so how? What contacts do humans have with spirits (of what kinds)? How similar, how different is this world to the human?

6.4. Is the item narrative or non-narrative?

6.4.1. Non-narrative: identify and describe (some etic genres: songs, spells, epithets, folk expressions, proverbs, prayers, invocations, dirges, legal dicta)

6.4.2. Narrative:

6.4.2.1. Note named characters (check all alternative names, and characters; kinship relations with others in tale or other tales). Are these humans? If they differ, in what ways?

6.4.2.2. How are characters characterized? Is characterization consistent psychologically over the course of the story? Is there character development over time?

6.4.2.3. Type of narrative (i.e. war, quest): describe episodes, events, themes repeated. How does the plot develop? Are there sub-plots within one text, and/or trans-textual plots over a group of related texts (describe)?

6.4.2.4. What is the relationship of this tale to others the performer knows? Is this part of a longer series? How are they linked (by a common theme, common character/s, genealogical relation between characters)? Are there any other indications of a time sequence, and if so how is this determined? Or is this tale-setting timeless?

6.4.2.5. Can the performer describe the relationship of these tales to tales in other ethnic groups, or in other languages? Which ones?

III. COMMUNITY PAST AND PRESENT

7. Oral Material and Community Life

[Expanded, this same list serves to classify by topic types of material that may be sought for collection, and types of references within any material on which extra information might be gathered in the field. See **Topic List** below.]

- 7.1. The natural world: cosmos, climate and weather, landscape and natural features; natural events and disasters.
- 7.2. Humans in the natural world: weather and the calendrical cycle; plants, animals and birds; hill rice farming, other farming; social drugs; gathering, hunting, fishing; cooking and eating; travel; named places and their stories.
- 7.3. Material culture: architecture and building; everyday equipment and its manufacture; body modifications, clothes and ornaments; items of value old and new.
- 7.4. Other forms of traditional art: material (as in 7.3.: carving and painting, tattoos, weaving cloth or mats and baskets, ironwork, beadwork, costume; musical instruments, types of music, magical music, dance).
- 7.5. Religious belief and practice, traditional or modern: spiritual specialists, ceremonies; spirit-creatures; the gods and spirits and their actions; their relationships with humans; early humans and culture heroes; origins or justifications of custom and tradition; human souls; possession and trance; magic and magical influences; supernatural events.
- 7.6. individual life cycle: family structure and home life; conception, pregnancy and birth; childhood and adolescence; courtship and marriage; age, sickness and healing; death and burial.
- 7.7. Warfare and headhunting; war training and war-related status, equipment, attacks and defenses, group and single combat, heroes and villains, supernatural elements, taking and handling heads, effects of war.
- 7.8. Social statuses, ascribed or achieved; relationships among them; marker events and symbolic activities; technological initiations and rituals; praise songs.

- 7.9. The community: protecting it from intrusion; appeals for prosperity; communal festivals; laws and fines.
- 7.10. History: local and family histories; genealogies, movements (migrations), relationships with other groups, datable events (linked to genealogies?); modern changes (technological, social).

8. Tales and Audiences Today

- 8.1. What attitudes and feelings are expressed by different groups of people about traditional tales and traditional performances? What emotions do recorded performances or discussions of traditional material seem to arouse?
- 8.2. How well do people know the tales? Ask individuals of different ages, sexes and interest levels to retell narratives: define expert and unskilled audiences.
- 8.3. What do people think about fantastic aspects of narrative, such as spirit-powers, magic, shape-changing? Were these events really possible in the past? Are they still (under what conditions)? If they reflect life in a spirit world, does this world still exist?
- 8.4. Cultural values and moral judgments: what do people think about the characters and their actions? What about behavior traditionally acceptable but now perhaps immoral (night-visiting?) Is there a moral judgment involved, and if so is it based on tradition or on modern attitudes (religious?); Are any characters seen as models for behavior, to emulate or avoid? Do people identify with them? Do adventures teach lessons: what messages are conveyed and how? How do messages as perceived today differ from those of the past?
- 8.5. Do people ever refer to tales' heroes in everyday chat--tell tales spontaneously (to children? to each other?), refer to them to make a point or draw a moral, support advice? Are tales a source of proverbs?

9. Traditional Art and Modern Ethnicity

- 9.1. For each group under consideration, does traditional aesthetic material serve as a marker of ethnic identity, traditionally or currently? How?

What other aesthetic productions-- artifacts, decorations, ceremonies, skills-- serve to symbolize ethnic identity in the modern context?

- 9.2. Traditional aesthetic performances: how often and where do family and interest-group cultural productions take place? why? How have modern performances (costume, dance, music, song) changed from those of the past? Why (absence of traditional materials and contexts; presence of new materials and desires to modernize)?
- 9.3. Display of levels of identity: how ethnicity is dramatized in traditional and modern urban settings, to an increasingly distanced series of audiences: fellow members of the local community, other communities of the same ethnic group, other Dayaks, other ethnic communities, local officials, national officials and visitors from other parts of the nation, other Asians, Western tourists. How do performances differ in each context?
- 9.4. Are any of these dramatic manifestations expressly related to characters, themes or stories from oral literature? How important to modern group members is the existence of traditional literature in other forms (writing)? What is the role of writing in this context of ethnic self-presentation?
- 9.5. How do members of the ethnic group view and enact the relationship of ethnicity to cultural tradition? Three main current options: Ethnicity today may lack cultural content (urban Dayaks), culture may be dramatized with slight or no relation to traditional ethnic identity (tourist performances), cultural productions may focus or create modern ethnicities (as in popular culture): what happens in present cases? Are cultural markers now empty symbols, or focal to shifting realities?

IV. PROCESSING

10. Local Involvement

- 10.1. Has any of this material previously been recorded or written down? When? Who made and who keeps the recordings or writings, and have copies been kept locally? Try to find them, re-record and photocopy.
- 10.2. What do informants feel is the best way to preserve tales and make them widely accessible to local people?

- 10.3. Is anyone (other than people already listed as helping) interested in working to preserve the texts and traditions of this culture? Who? What is the background or training (origin, education, job, travel, etc.) of these people? What have they done? what would they like to do? what do they need in order to do it?
- 10.4. Have written or recorded versions of oral texts been used as the basis for performance in the community? Do people listen to tapes, or recite from written texts? If so, who does this and in what context, and why? How does such a performance differ from the purely oral? What do people feel about such permanent versions of texts (are they inferior? do they set new standards?) What effect does this have on oral performance?
- 10.5. Modern uses of traditional material:
 - 10.5.1. Aesthetic redevelopments of verbal tradition: Modern dance dramas, new poetry or literary treatments? Cinema, comic books? Public dramatizations of traditional culture? Expansion of traditional games, festivals, competitions? Political or market-related implications of such expansions?
 - 10.5.2. Non-literary uses of tradition: information on traditional human ecology affecting environment--related policy; traditional farming practices related to new; effects of healing knowledge on medical resources and delivery systems; influence of adat on modern legal systems; architecture; costume and fashion, decoration; arts and crafts as marketable culture and tourist attractions.

11. Transcription and Translation for Each Item Collected

11.1 Transcription:

- 11.1.1. Describe conventions of spelling used, whether pre-existing (following whose models?) or developed for the present project. To what group(s) in which area(s) do these conventions apply?
- 11.1.2. Describe guidelines followed in representing lines of verse (end rhymes? syntax? breathing?) and verses (or stanzas etc., if any), or in establishing sentences and clauses in prose. Number lines, verses or paragraphs.

11.1.3. Was the transcript given or read to the performer, and revised according to his/her advice? What changes were made?

11.2. Translation:

11.2.1. Who made and who assisted with the translation? What are their qualifications? What dictionaries or other linguistic aids were used?

11.2.2. Was a word-for-word version made (into what target language)? What procedures were followed in the case of words without direct or single equivalents?

11.2.3. What other types of translation have been made?

11.2.3.1. Minimally modified word-for-word, with target language syntax: at what level does this represent the original (by numbered words, line by numbered line, verse by verse...)?

11.2.3.2. Natural target version, nothing added, nothing omitted? With what supplementary material?

11.2.3.3. Adaptations: at what distance from the original? incorporating what, omitting what?

11.2.4. Reference summaries -- how produced, what was abbreviated or omitted?

11.2.5. Modern uses of and treatments inspired by the material: aesthetic or other productions (10.5)? When, where, by whom, what records exist?

11.3. Supplementary material:

11.3.1. Clarifications and addenda: provide an outline or description of any notes or glossaries (which should include, minimally, linguistic data; description of performative aspects, music; names of people and places in the text, with further description as available; and explanations of references environmental, cultural, mythic and religious, historical etc., as in 7.1-10 above).

11.3.2. How widely applicable are such notes (to this text, set of texts, one ethnic group/region, several?).

12. Archiving for Each Item Collected

12.1. Who has copies (of original MSS or tapes, of transcripts, of other supporting data)? Through what persons or institutions can these materials be accessed? Provide address, notes or means and charges.

12.2. Name of item, identifying description (outline, summary of plot) and archival classification. Specify system of classification, noting standard terms of reference and how widely they apply.

Source of material: name of performer/informant, place, ethnic group, date and time, modes of collection, details of performance as recorded (staged or natural, complete or partial, etc.).

12.3. Reference to fuller accounts of performance, background; reference to visual and sound records, by identifying numbers. If tape-recorded: length (hours and minutes; no. of cassettes of how many minutes)?

12.4. Outline of what was done with each type of record:

Tape recordings: transcribed when? by whom?

Written versions dictated or made by informant: rechecked with informant? rewritten? typed? when and by whom?

Other records (video; photos): indexed, keyed to notes, filed?

12.5. Contacts with the performer/informant after the collecting session: editing, payment. Was the performer asked to provide a written release or other formal permission to use the material?

12.6. Has the material been made public, where and in what forms?

TOPIC LIST: A Classification of Bornean Oral Traditions by Subject

The following is based primarily on George Appell's guide (1990:99-113), with addenda from Carol Rubenstein's first introduction (1973:11-15), and others of my own. It outlines the content, settings and sources of oral literature and verbal traditions, including also other types of tradition (ritual, social and economic and other behaviors, material culture) that may relate to verbal forms only indirectly, as aspects of the everyday experiences from which songs and stories draw their events and symbols. The list therefore has two uses: it suggests things to look for within a text (other than names of people and places) that might call for

expanded explanation in notes and glossaries, and it could serve collectors as a guide to forms of traditional oral literature that they might find, and probably should ask about, in any Borneo culture they work with.

Naturally, particular interests dictate particular classifications: any text pigeonholed by topic (or topics) could also be categorized in numerous other ways, by form and style, by performance criteria, by named genres local or foreign. The value of a list like this to the collector is ultimately pragmatic: it works best as a research guide if it is the classification most natural to the informant, closest to the ground. To the extent that it deals with human universals it may be; but if the informant prefers to group what he or she knows by genre, by hero, by characters' genealogies or by aspects of form or performance, then it is this mental map that the collector needs to follow at the time.

1. The Natural World:

Cosmos, climate and weather: descriptions, explanations
 Landscape and natural features: descriptions, aesthetic appreciation
 Natural events and disasters: eclipses, volcanos, earthquakes, fires and floods

2. Humans in the Natural World:

Weather and the calendrical cycle: change of season or seasonal activities, wet and dry seasons, phases of the moon, ascension of constellations, other aspects;

Plants, animals, and birds: fruits and other food plants, poisons, other useful plants; animals tame and wild; birds edible, omen-bearing, otherwise significant: practical, symbolic, spiritual, aesthetic aspects of their relationships with people; animal fables.

Hill rice farming: from land choice to harvest home, including stars, moon and sun as markers of planting time, establishing land rights and dealing with omens or spirits, cutting and burning, planting, calling and honoring the spirits of rice or ancestors, protecting rice, cutting and eating new rice, storing and keeping rice, protecting seed; the harvest festival.

Other farming: other staple grains (millet, maize, etc.), important crops (sugarcane, cassava); cash crops (rubber, pepper, cocoa, other); growing vegetables and fruits, increasing and protecting the crop.

Social drugs: make rice wine, other alcohol; growing tobacco, making *sirih* (betel, areca-nut, lime, etc.): preparation, presentation, use by association with age and sex, social meanings.

Gathering: wild fruits, wild honey, wild tubers, other forest products for use or sale (Illipe nut, birds' nests, cane, resin, etc.).

Hunting: making or empowering equipment (traps, blowpipes or spears, guns); raising, praising, encouraging dogs; honoring animals killed, disposing of meat.

Fishing: making or empowering equipment (traps, spears, nets), using it, receiving fish, using derris poison.

Cooking and eating: preserving foods (salt, smoke, sun-drying, fat), everyday foods, festival foods, forest cooking methods, recipes, taboos.

Travel: purpose, route, mode of transport (foot, longboat, other means; legendary transport); taking leave; seeking protection; description of journey, new lands, strange customs and dress; entering a new country, approaching a settlement; remembering distant persons, at home or gone away; return; bringing and presenting valuables; tales of specific journeys, failure, efforts, success and enrichment.

Named places and their stories, natural features and unnatural (tombs, petrified relics), special events associated with places.

3. Material Culture:

Architecture and building: longhouses, single-family houses, headhouses, padi stores, ritual huts/platforms, bridges; selecting a site, dealing with bad omens, clearing the site, erecting chief post and others, erecting central house, blessing the ladder; rectifying ritual delict of failing to complete house; feast on completion; dreams before leaving old house; moving from old house to new, moving sacred items; blessing new house, human (or animal) sacrifice to bless house; welcoming visitors human and spirit, averting disaster; laying out new land.

Everyday equipment and its manufacture (raw materials, craft techniques): for hunting and fishing (above), for war (below), for daily life: women's work and men's: dyeing and weaving cloth, making and using shuttle, loom, making ritual textiles, garments; making pots, minding fire; weaving mats and baskets, *sirih*-boxes etc.; making bamboo containers, baby carrier; making rice mortar, making longboat; carving door, coffin, figures, house ornaments, memorial poles; making memorial landscape sculptures, megaliths; working iron and other metal (gold), making sword or chopper, axe, harvest knives, etc.; decorative patterns, where

they appear, their meanings, spiritual significance; associations of ornament with class and leisure.

Body modification, clothes and ornaments: class and gender distinctions: tattoos, earlobe extension and pendants, fang earstuds, teeth filing, scarification, cutting head hair, plucking face hair, circumcision and other genital procedures, inserting penis pin; making ornamental sun-hats, dance caps; making decorated skirt, loincloth; arm- and calf-rings; beadwork, belts, necklaces.

Items of value old and new: to call souls of jars, gongs and other scarce goods, feed and honor souls of property, call spirit aid to get wealth; old beads; new machines and their effects.

4. Other Forms of Traditional Art:

Material arts and crafts (see 3 above).

Musical instruments: making and using xylophones, gongs small and big, drums, string instruments, gourd-pipes, flute, mouthharp, etc.; instruments with magic powers (flying drum, etc.).

Types of music, particular rhythms, tunes associated with texts; magical music, tunes as incantations, music with power to make something happen, to change minds or emotions.

Dance male and female, dances associated with particular occasions, with performances of oral material; invitations to dance.

5. Religious Belief and Practice, Traditional or Modern:

Spiritual specialists, ceremonies: priests/priestesses, spirit mediums, healers and their work, their training and inspiration; invocations and spirit-journeys.

Spirit-creatures: forest, river, mountain spirits, spirit-animals or birds, omen birds and their origins.

The gods and spirits and their actions: the world of spirits, its structure and people, its relationship to the human dead; genealogical relationships among spirits.

Their relationships with humans: general (creation of the world, of people?) and specific (personal contacts, marriages, kin relations); dreams; prayers for divine aid, to nullify bad dreams and omens, to nullify transgressions against gods or spirits, for protection against harmful spirits, for good fortune, to give thanks; divination by inspecting animal innards,

invocations and sacrifice; divination by animal and bird omens, offerings, omen-seeking, dealing with omens bad or good; human sacrifice.

Early humans and culture heroes: the first couple, the children, other important figures, their contributions to shaping the cultural and social world.

Origins or justifications of custom and tradition: just-so stories and charter myths, explaining details of the natural and human worlds.

Human souls: their origin and number, associations and functions; causes and consequences of soul loss, abodes before and after death, malignant souls (ghosts) and how to deal with them.

Possession and trance: dreams as visitations or revelations; obtaining, conversing with, appeasing spirit familiars; conversing with spirits; trance and illness, trance to settle disputes.

Magic and magical influences: amulets, stones, vines or horns, teeth, other material charms; spells, incantations and rituals to obtain spiritual powers, to obtain protection, to acquire protective spirit; to cast and cure love-magic; to make purifying or curing water; to harm or kill an enemy (associate with poison); to cause accident or illness or ill fortune; to find the cause of these; for invulnerability; for effective weapons; to protect property from theft, to locate stolen property; to influence a trial.

Supernatural events: storms and river changes; rain during sunshine; petrification of longhouse or individuals, its causes, how it takes place, acts and prayers to avert or minimize it; snake-dragon metamorphoses and migrating pigs; other disasters, sanctions, common happenings.

6. Individual Life Cycle:

Family structure and home life: renewal ceremonies, to ward off ill fortune, for farming success and material wealth, protection from illness, family blessings.

Conception, pregnancy and birth: appeals for fertility, conditions at time of conception, mythical human-animal matings; taboos in pregnancy, for wife, husband, others; childbirth spells, post-birth ceremonies, taboos; mythical midwifery, animal nursing, abandonment or exposure; songs welcoming the child; treatment of umbilical cord, of placenta.

Childhood and adolescence: naming the child or adding/changing names, for protection from spirits, for other reasons; invocation of ancestors and protective spirits; adoption and fostering, mythical and real; cutting hair and nails; lullabies, protection from bad dreams; songs to calm, amuse, quiet, warm, scare children; other songs sung to children; children's-own songs, games, riddles; mythic childhoods; children's versions of myths,

folktales; childhood learning; individual initiations, entry into adult skills and activities.

Courtship and marriage: wooing, love-charms, love-teasing (sendings), wooing in disguise, night-visiting, erotic encounters; thwarted love, fines for transgression and pregnancy out of wedlock, revenge of false lovers; love-challenges or lovers' tests; love between humans and spirits (creatures, things); incest and adultery, rules and sanctions; proposals, refusals and acceptances; engagements; negotiations over gifts; assessing and paying dowry or bride-price; omens, auspicious times for marriage, wedding celebrations, feasts, processions, rituals, prayer, dancing and drinking; averting or nullifying unfavorable omens; marriage contract and rules, new couple's residence, travel to residence, blessing it.

Age, sickness and healing: menarche, extending life span, role of elders; divine protection against sickness; accidents; native and biomedical classifications of disease; cause material and spiritual, contributing factors, onset, normal course, outcome of illnesses; minor illnesses, headaches, bruises, swollen joints; bad dreams, fainting, possession, fevers, stabbing pains, swellings, dysentery, tuberculosis, malaria, leprosy; epidemics; meaningful illnesses (psychospiritual transitions); types of illness and death related to virtue, wealth, spiritual power; personal accounts of illnesses; healing specialists, rituals, invocations; trance to diagnose illness, to restore lost soul, and where that soul went; gifts to healers, thanksgiving for recovery or preparation for death; sicknesses other than human, of padi, of other crops and trees, of animals.

Death and burial: types of death (sickness, age, accident, battle, suicide); differences in treatment according to social class; soul's final departure; announcement of death (gongs, drums); preparing corpse, dressing it, making coffin; effigy; making grave or grave-hut or post, or other disposal; funeral ritual, associated ceremonies, games, dances, songs; dirges and laments; spirit-journeys accompanying soul; grave-gifts; inheritance and reactions to it; primary and secondary treatment of corpse and bones; mourning customs; memorial ceremonies; ending mourning; associations with headhunting, with sacrifice of slave; erection of funerary column; treatment of skull; commemoration of dead; dealing with spirit that returns; freedom of spouse to remarry; death-names.

7. Warfare and Headhunting:

War training and war-related status: feathers, tattoos; dances and songs. Equipment: sword, swordbelt, shield, spear, warcape, cap; magical equipment, its acquisitions, care, powers, summoning (potions, jackets, flying boats).

Attacks and defenses: sending off warriors, fortifications and magical defenses, sieges and assaults.

Group and single combat: conventions of combat (trading insults, battle among followers, battle between leaders, spears, swords, wrestling, use of magic powers, announcements of victory/defeat); battle cries and songs.

Heros and villains: mythical, historical: when, what they did, how celebrated; moral examples, values specified.

Supernatural elements: amulets and charms, enlisting spirit help, obtaining invincibility, weakening the opponent, seeking omens; presence of helpful spirits, ancestors.

Taking and handling heads: welcoming heads home, displaying and honoring heads afterwards, building headhouses.

Effects of war: captives and slaves, other loot, trophies; destruction of villages, survivors and solitaries; loss and grief; mythic restorations to wholeness, to life.

8. Social Statuses Ascribed or Achieved:

Relationships among ranks: classes or classlessness, ideologies and realities; defining types of achieved power, ways of gaining and using power; origins and mutual rights and responsibilities of classes; shifts among classes, how common and why.

Marker events and symbolic activities: naming ceremonies, status initiations: traditional prestige, modern prestige, travel and modern jobs.

Technological initiations and rituals, craftwork and art, as associated with status.

Praise songs honoring/welcoming distinguished people.

9. The Community:

Protecting it from intrusion by foreigners or neighbors or by aggressive spirits; marking its boundaries.

Appeals for prosperity.

Communal festivals: for the dead, for heads, for other reasons (agricultural, personal, social: above); invitations to guests human and spirit; decoration of the house, special mats and hangings, other displays; special male and female costumes and ornaments; welcome and entertainment of visitors; games, jokes, dancing, songs; preparation and offering of alcohol, tobacco, betel; ceremonies of leavetaking.

Laws and fines: delicts and torts, spiritual/ritual offenses, definitions of wrongdoing; migration and land rights, resource tenure, theft, personal conflict, violence, divorce and other social disputes, negotiation and conflict resolution, peacemaking; sanctions, procedures for trial and judgment, legal precedents, enforcing judgments; relationship to religion and changes in religion; modern and traditional laws and sanctions, relationship of community and local or national legal systems.

10. History:

Local and family histories, personal recollections.

Genealogies of nobles, leading families, others; intermarriages.

Movements (migrations): mythical or real homelands, reasons for moving, who led movements, reasons for splitting up, stopping, moving on; real places passed, problems; articles taken and left; associations with genealogies.

Relationships with other groups: nomads, other inland groups, downriver traders, Chinese, Malays, Europeans; definitions of these groups; hostile or friendly relations; resultant relocations; intermarriages; religious, political, commercial interchange; nearby and distant administrations.

Datable events (linked to genealogies?): epidemics; raids by/on other ethnic groups; rebellions against administration; battles, wars (local, World); the Japanese occupation, privations; natural disasters.

Modern changes (technological, social): folktales dealing with changes such as introduction of a new crop; war technology (machine guns, tanks, planes, helicopters; uses in symbolism, art); uses of cash, modern and traditional things bought and sold, modern household equipment; school, work, logging and associated changes, medical care, TV, modern music and dance, etc.

11. Other (A Sample of Genres That May be Too Broad or Too Small for a Classification by Subject):

Jokes

Morality Tales

Trickster Stories

Epic Narratives

Lyrics

Folk speech, oblique language, euphemistic or laudatory word play, proverbs and riddles.

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NOTES ON THE PUNAN OF THE UPPER BELAYAN

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During the summer of 1992 I undertook a preliminary trip into the upper Belayan basin, Central Kalimantan, to obtain some first-hand information about the current distribution of the Punan in the area and investigate prospects for future research.

The months preceding the journey itself I spent searching for the bibliographical material pertinent to the area and its people. That proved to be a quite challenging task since all that I managed to gather were a few articles and only two major works shedding some light on the Belayan region and its Punan population. One of them is C. F. Hoffman's *The Punan: Hunters and Gatherers of Borneo* which furnishes a quite detailed description of the distribution of the Punan villages in the area as of 1980 (Hoffman 1986:15).

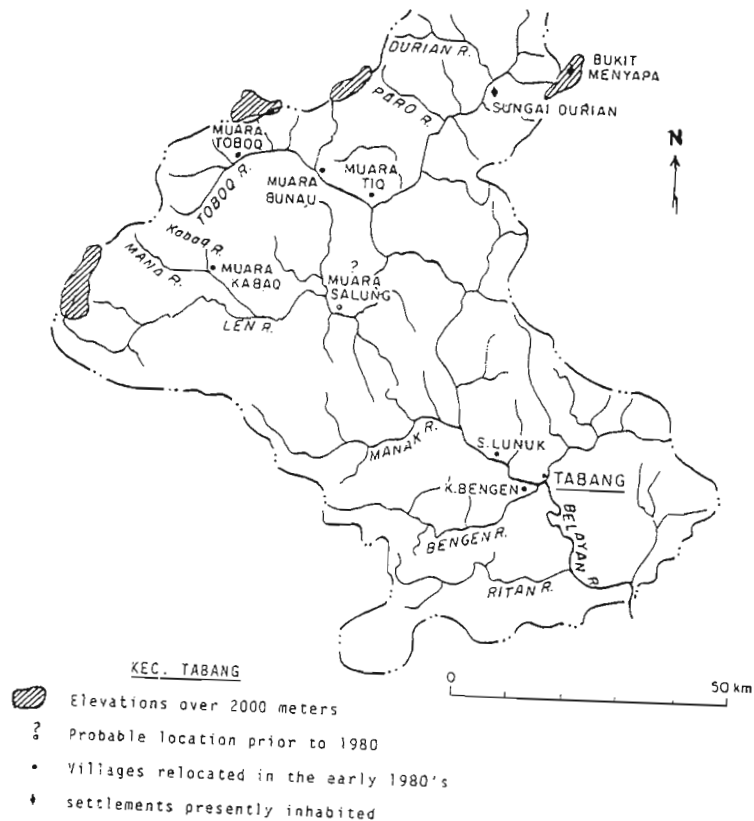
According to his observations, there were still two Punan settlements on the upper Belayan at the time: Muara Blinau and Muara Toboq, the later being larger and remoter. Hoffman also made reference to Sungai Lunuk, a village which had been designed by the government planners as major relocation site for, then still nomadic, Punan in the province. In the early 1980s this settlement expanded considerably due to the fact that the remnant of the Punan centered in Muara Toboq, Sungai Blinau, and Muara Tiq (not mentioned by Hoffman) had finally been induced to move downstream and settle on the allotted area within Sungai Lunuk.

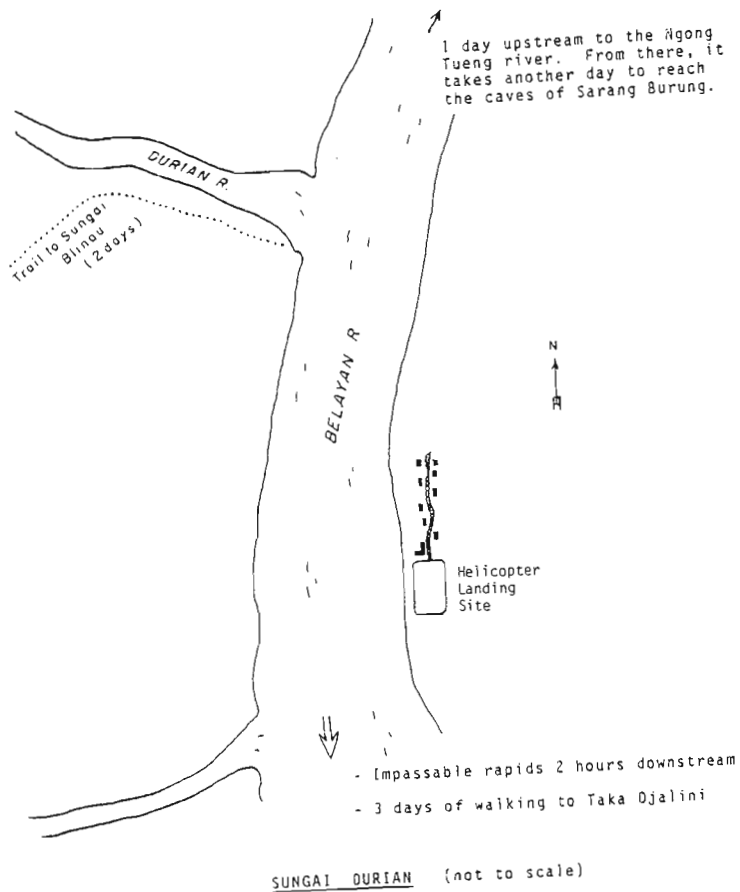
The second publication offering some data on the Punan of the Belayan is the *Central Borneo* by Jerome Rousseau. The data on the Belayan basin are virtually

identical to Hoffman's observations made in 1981 and omit significant changes that have taken place there due to the resettlement policy.

I began my journey to the sources of the Belayan River from a small Kenyah settlement of Kampong Bengen which is located about ten minutes upstream from Tabang, the last outpost of the Indonesian government. However, the government-controlled logging camps stretch north as far as the confluence of the Belayan and the Len Rivers (the WRK station at Muara Len is the northernmost camp) so that numerous speedboats and *kapals* hauling rafts of logs downstream are frequently seen on this section of the river. After about a half hour of pulling upstream I had reached the relocation site of Sungai Lunuk in order to find a person knowledgeable about the trails leading north and familiar with the remaining Punan villages there, if any. By then, I had already grown skeptical about my chances of contacting any Lisum or Baketan groups north of Sungai Lunuk due to the fact that, in numerous conversations with the locals in Tabang and Kampong Benegen, I was repeatedly told that the entire Punan population of Kecamatan Tabang (subdistrict) had been resettled long time ago. As soon as I arrived to Sungai Lunuk, the success of the resettlement project became abundantly obvious. Each relocated village retained its original name, but lost some of its population since some people moved farther downstream and a few got employed by timber companies, notably the WRK and the Bengen Timber. They are also said to become markedly more compact as a result of these changes.

Thus, Sungai Lunuk is not a village itself, but a string of small settlements, about five minutes walk apart from each other, stretching along the left bank of the Belayan for about one kilometer. Upon the entrance to each of them, one encounters a pole with a wooden board mounted on the top of it which reveals the name of the village and the name of its present leader. Having walked through new versions of Muara Kabaq (mentioned neither by Hoffman nor Rousseau), Muara Toboq, and Muara Tiq, I stopped in Sungai Blinau and decided to pay a visit to its new chief Mr. Labengo. It was he who assured me with all certainty that currently there is no Punan settlement on the Len, Toboq, and Blinau rivers (right affluences of the Belayan) since all have been moved to their present location at Sungai Lunuk. Interestingly enough, he emphasized that a number of people had stayed behind and in the case of Sungai Blinau, which apparently was resettled only a few years ago, a full one third of its inhabitants had chosen to move north to the place called Sungai Durian instead of heading south. Labengo estimated the village to be inhabited by about 90-100 people whose subsistence is entirely based on gathering of the bird's nests from caves in the base of the mountain called Sarang Burung.





I decided to visit the long abandoned Muara Kabaq at the confluence of the Kabaq River and Len River. From there, Labengo promised to lead me over the mountains to Sungai Blinau (or rather it remains) and then farther north to Sungai Durian, the only presently inhabited Punan village on the Belayan. One could take a shorter route which entails a river travel up to Taka Djalini (the farthest navigable point) and three days of climbing very steep slopes, but there is no trace of human presence on the way.

Muara Kabaq can hardly be called an abandoned village since nothing readily recognizable remains of it. I reached the site of this old settlement after two days of constant pulling the boat over innumerable rapids scattered throughout the course of the Len and realized that this was the place I was heading for only due to my guides' expertise and familiarity with the area. The village had ceased to exist even before Hoffman visited the region in 1981 so that it is overgrown with dense vegetation and only a close scrutiny of the forest's floor revealed some remains of houses. My inquiries about the population of the village produced conflicting responses from my companions as they seemed to be in disagreement about that among themselves. In the way I would call "guessing", they estimated the village be inhabited by approximately 100-150 people, mostly the Lisum group.

Similar lack of certainty had already become evident during our first day on the Len River when we paused at the place called Muara Salung, about three hours upstream from the confluence of the Len and Belayan. My two Kenyah guides and Mr. Labengo maintained that the site used to be a sizable Punan Lisum village, but had difficulty with establishing the exact relocation date. Finally, they agreed on 1970, but it is difficult to ascertain how reliable this date is unless one checks relevant sources in Tabang and Samarinda, if such are available.

Three days of walking in mostly northeasterly direction took me to Sungai Blinau, one of the two villages in the area I had read about prior to my visit (another one is a Punan Beketan village of Muara Toboq located further west). The village did seem to be still in quite good condition as all of its five houses were generally solid looking and the area surrounding them appeared to be fairly clean. The garden plots immediately behind the houses were largely overgrown with weeds and tall grasses, but here and there one could still find ripening pineapples and lemon trees with small green fruit up in the branches. It appears that, occasionally, small groups of people from Sungai Lunuk revisit the old settlement and remain there for the duration of the fruit season in July and August.

Two days of walking northeast of Sungai Blinau, just below the confluence on the Durian River and the Belayan, there is a settlement if Sungai Durian, the only presently inhabited Punan village north of Sungai Lunuk. It is situated on the left bank of the river and composed of nine houses on stilts. The population of the village is mainly comprised of the former residents of Sungai Blinau with smaller numbers from Muara Tiq and Muara Tobaq and is believed not to exceed one hundred individuals. The village is peculiar in many ways. On its southern end there is a wide clearing constituting a landing site for helicopters which arrive here a few times a week to bring in shipments of various consumer goods and carry off harvested bird's nests to Sungai Lunuk, but sometimes they fly directly as far as Samarinda. The air route is the only way of supplying Sungai Durian since the river below is broken by a series of impassable rapids and even if one reaches the water falls and attempted to carry supplies overland, an extremely rugged terrain and vast distances would render such an undertaking virtually impossible.

Surely, the air transportation is costly which is reflected in the prices the locals have to pay for such items as rice, coffee, sugar, etc. (roughly two or three times more than in Tabang), but they are capable of meeting these expenses and even manage to save a little due to the profits they derive from the bird's nest trade. I am not able, however, to quote an exact amount of money given to a Punan gatherer for a specific quota of nests since my stay in the village was too brief to allow for any depth analysis of the trade relationships. I was told that traders from Tabang sell nests farther downstream charging approximately one million rupiah per kilogram. Undoubtedly, the nest gatherers from Sungai Durian receive substantially less money for the same amount of nests.

The bird's nest trade constitutes the core of the village's economy as the people do not engage in rice cultivation or any other sort of agricultural activity. I suspect that the nest trade is the only reason why the village still remains at its present location since a few locals told me that they would move downstream as soon as the sources of nests in the vicinity got depleted.

The caves of Sarang Burung, the major nest site exploited by Sungai Durian villagers, are said to possess large quantities of this valuable substance. It seems, therefore, that the relocation process is not a prospect of the nearest future.

MEMOIR

STEPHEN MORRIS

During the second world war it became clear to politicians and officials in London that the days of the British, the Dutch, and the French empires were numbered, a conclusion that was made very plain at the Yalta Conference by Roosevelt's refusal on the part of the U.S.A. to continue underwriting them. Although British officials had for many years past discussed devolution of power in the colonies, very little had ever been done about implementing it. In 1945 the development of economic and political institutions in the colonies suddenly became urgent. Proposals of various kinds were put forward, among them the appointment of anthropologists to make reports on what were seen to be the most urgent problem in the rapid development of colonial institutes. A study of the Chinese community was high on the list: it was economically and worryingly dominant in ways that could not be satisfactorily explained in London by the remaining officials of the Brooke regime and the newly-appointed officials, often with experience in African colonies but little knowledge of south-east Asia. Second on the list were the Iban. Not only were they a majority of the population of Sarawak, but they were also regarded as backward shifting agriculturalists whose farming was endangering the country's forest resources. The Bidayuh of the First Division were seen as an example of the devastation poor farming could produce, but nobody was quite sure what to do about the matter. Finally, the sago industry of the Coastal Melanau was seen as a problem. In the past the area had been and still was economically important in producing a substantial part of the revenue, but relatively little was known about the industry.

During the war the Rajah, convinced that he could not command sufficient resources to re-establish the country after the Japanese invasion, had sold Sarawak to the British government, and until 1964, when it was absorbed into Malaysia, its administration was supervised by the Colonial Office. It was a colony unlike any other in the British Empire, and the period between the rule of the Rajahs and the entry into Malaysia was one of considerable difficulty. The economy was mostly in ruins, many of the pre-war records were lost, expensive rebuilding of bazaars and government offices was needed, and large parts of the administration had to be re-vamped, not only to fit in with the standard expectations of the Colonial Office, but also to accommodate the country's eventual independence.

The colony was indeed unlike any other the British had handled in living memory, even India or Malaya. The Rajah had governed with the help of a few

British administrators to supervise a largely Malay and Chinese administration. His European officers were not permitted to marry until they were relatively senior, but were not discouraged from taking local concubines. Indeed, the second Rajah, a man of somewhat idiosyncratic views on racial mixtures and leadership qualities, had encouraged such unions. In the view of many of the newly-appointed officers from Africa and the young ones from Britain, often just married, the informal and easy-going situations which the Rajah's views had produced were, to say the least, startling, and to their wives, when they began to arrive, undesirable. The social situation was perhaps most vividly displayed most evenings a little before sunset at the Rest House in Kuching. The Rest House was an unusual and beautiful building on the summit of a small hill where today stands the new extension to the Museum. It was partly surrounded by a verandah where the European officers and their wives on visits to Kuching or those just landed from the boat from Singapore sat and gossiped and drank sun-downers. On the grassy slope running down from the bungalow groups of children, in charge of nurses mostly Malay and Chinese, laughed and played. Many of the nurses were in fact the children's mothers who had come to Kuching to meet the fathers newly arrived from leave in Britain, often with new English wives. Sarawak was indeed one of the strangest territories that ever came under British colonial rule; many of the habits of life and mind which had been graphically and not always flatteringly drawn by Somerset Maugham, were, as also was much of the life of the indigenous peoples, still those of the nineteenth century. At one level the scene in the prisoner of war camps and the fighting to drive the Japanese out of the country, together with the urgent needs for reform were taken into account, the scene was far from comic.

It was against this background that four anthropologists were chosen to undertake the research agreed between London and Kuching. In making his report Leach had not encountered overt hostility from local officials, but he had met very considerable skepticism and doubt as to whether in the space of a couple of years research workers could possibly learn anything about the people of Sarawak that the Rajah's officials did not already know. After all, they had lived closely with and among the people they governed, as well as having spoken their languages for many years. Tom Harrisson, newly appointed as curator of the Museum, had lived among the Kelabits and organized guerrilla resistance to the Japanese for an extended period during the war. He deeply resented the fact that he was not put in charge of the research projects, especially as he was also closely involved in the administration's security arrangements. Some of the Rajah's former officers doubted the wisdom of allowing research workers with no practical knowledge of the country to live in close proximity to a population so recently dangerously disturbed.

The four workers engaged to make the socio-economic surveys were immediately labeled the "socio-comics". For the most part they were treated as a not very important irrelevance, though Tien, a Chinese national, was viewed with caution by officials in charge of Chinese affairs, especially after 1949 when the communist regime took over in China. His work necessarily required a close examination of the economic system and the system of patronage and indebtedness in the Chinese community that sustained its economic position. His command of English was not of the best and he had difficulty in making clear his aims to the British Protector of the Chinese and his Chinese colleagues who feared a threat to the community's livelihood. The misunderstanding was never fully resolved, and his report was rejected by the Sarawak Government, even though it was written in close collaboration with Barbara Ward, an English anthropologist, and was crystal clear in language.

Tien was the first of the "socio-comics" to arrive in Kuching in 1948. I arrived a couple of months later and together we were able to allay a few of the doubts about his work. Although some of the former Rajah's officers doubted the wisdom of the projects, they had little difficulty in accepting anthropological methods of field work; after all the Rajahs had made them spend a large part of their lives in touring and living in local communities. The newly-appointed officers with other colonial experience had more difficulty; the anthropologists whom they had met in Africa lived in tents outside the villages and employed interpreters and servants. I personally resolved the difficulty by retiring into the field and emerging as seldom as possible. Fortunately for me the Melanau were considered to be a peaceful and on the whole uninteresting population, so that less surveillance was needed.

The Coastal District, where the sago industry is located, is situated in what was the Sarawak's Third Division. The Divisional Officer at Sibu in charge of it held one of the more important posts in the administration. He had long experience of the Iban and had adopted more of their views on Sarawak than he was perhaps aware. He despised the Melanau, who, unlike the Iban, are a reserved and cautious people. He did not welcome my research and made his views clear, but never actively interfered. The atmosphere, however, was not exactly cordial. At that time Sibu housed about a dozen Europeans who quickly grasped the situation, but as I seldom left the coastal area everybody was spared discomfort. Fortunately the District Officer at Mukah was an exceedingly nice man with a great enthusiasm for the Melanau and his work. Once he grasped what I intended doing we were able to co-operate, and he and the Dutch missionaries at Mukah were endlessly hospitable, offering all the support and kindness that otherwise I might have had to seek in Sibu.

Almost three months after arriving in Sarawak I settled in one of the villages on the River Oya, chosen because the villagers were some of the most active in processing sago and because about two thirds of the population was still pagan, the rest being Muslim. In an odd way the village reflected the political situation in Sarawak as a whole. The Muslim villagers, in contrast to those in most other villages, supported the Anti-Cession political movement in not accepting the Rajah's sale of Sarawak to Britain. This aspect of the situation had not been brought to my notice before leaving London, but was unexpectedly raised in Singapore when Anthony Brooke, the Ex-Rajah's nephew and claimant to the rajahdom, called on me at my hotel to discover my views and enlist my sympathies. The encounter was re-enforced when I travelled by boat from Kuching to Sibü with Brooke's wife and mother. As he was banned from entering the country, they were visiting his supporters and recruiting on his behalf. At the time these meetings made little impression on me; the problems of how to set about field work with no knowledge of the Melanau language and a minimal knowledge of Malay, combined with all the other social and administrative complexities were enough to occupy the mind. But the Anti-Cession movement was to feature uncomfortably during my stay.

The District Officer at Mukah had a large area to administer. In the task he was helped by Native Officers who in the past, when the district was being pacified after its seizure from Brunei, were mainly recruited from the leading Muslim families of the coastal villages. In 1948 the Oya sub-district was effectively ruled by a member of such a family, who before the conquest had provided local representatives for the Sultan of Brunei and Native Officers for the Brooke government down to the present time. This very powerful and astute gentleman had carefully considered the political situation, as had his ancestor when Brooke conquered Mukah, and had decided to support the colonial regime. Only two villages disputed his decision. Apart from the fact that the leaders of the Muslim section of the village in which I settled regarded my activities with some reserve, the political disagreements did not appear to affect my work until 1949 when the newly-appointed Governor was assassinated on his first visit to Sibü.

Partly out of politeness I had gone there a week before the Governor's arrival and had finished the work I planned. At the time Sibü was a very small town in which everybody, especially Europeans, was highly visible. The night before the Governor's arrival I spent a couple of hours at an open coffee shop on the main street chatting to the assassin, Rosli, and his friends. Rosli, a school teacher, was young man from the Muslim section of the village in which I was living, and was an ardent supporter of the Anti-Cession movement. We did not discuss politics, but talked about mutual acquaintances and shot-guns, which at that time every young man in the country wanted and endlessly discussed how

to obtain one. That night I decided, politeness notwithstanding, that the programme planned for the Governor did not really need my presence --- perhaps, too, I was sub-consciously uneasy; I simply do not know. In any event I returned to Oya early next morning before the boat from Kuching arrived. The Governor landed at about ten o'clock and was knifed by Rosli as he walked from the wharf to the Divisional Office.

I knew nothing of it until two days later when a police launch drew up at my landing stage and moored. The principal passenger was the Chief of Police. He came up into the house for a drink while his men made enquiries in the village. I knew the Chief and liked him. He was easy to talk to and I had no great difficulty in showing him that though I was possibly a bad field-worker I knew nothing about the plot and not much about the plotters. The assassination shocked me deeply and I was very willing to give all the help I could, but we agreed that it was not necessary for me to go to Sibü, and I heard no more about the matter.

In 1945, at the end of the Japanese occupation, the Melanau district, like the rest of Sarawak, was in poor shape. During the war little sago had been cut in the plantations and, as cropping the palm can profitably be held over for several years, there was a considerable capital accumulation. Industry in America and Europe was short of industrial starch and for ten years after the war the sago industry boomed. Cash and consumer goods poured into the district and the people prospered as they had probably never prospered before. But after the Japanese occupation the population was still a nervous one, and the changes that were taking place bewildered people who still largely lived in a nineteenth century world. The extensive rebuilding of government offices and bazaars and political discussions about Cession and Anti-Cession confused many people. More than once during those years large areas of the country were swept by *penyamun* scares in which people were terrified by supposed head-hunters looking for heads to bury in the foundations of the new offices and bazaars. For several months the women in the village where I settled were convinced that I was a government agent looking for suitable heads, and the men, even when they did not share the women's views, thought I was probably sent to plan new taxes, since, unlike earlier European officers, who had occasionally lived in the villages, I was not apparently there to hunt or look for a concubine. For several months I lodged in the house of an elderly widow whose children used to visit her and rather bewilderedly asked my advice on sending food parcels to their retired father and their half-siblings in England where there was still strict rationing of food.

When I left Sarawak in 1950 the boom in sago flour had not broken; the cottage industry, which provided independent incomes for both men and women, was still intact; but there were signs, borne out subsequently, that the boom would break before the accumulation of palms in the plantations was felled, and that when it broke the life of the villagers would be seriously damaged. There was no other visible means of support. The changes being made in other parts of the country were not being made in the coastal area whose inhabitants depended on one crop or on traditional fishing in the coastal villages. A few of the effects of the slump were mitigated by the development of extensive logging of soft-wood timbers in the forests to supply the almost insatiable demands for post-war reconstruction in the industrial world. The Melanau were highly skilled forest workers and the young men in particular had no difficulty in finding work, but most of it was work away from home, and little of the cash earned came back to the villages. When I returned to Sarawak in 1963 the small-scale cottage industry which had supported the villagers for centuries was in ruins; and no other sources of income, apart from lumber work and a little employment in the Chinese-owned and fully mechanized processing mills was available for those who did not own a sufficient acreage of plantation to provide a living from the sale of palms. There was considerable poverty and an increasing migration out of the area. Suggestions I had made verbally in 1950 before leaving the country that half the industry should be preserved as a cottage industry and the rest mechanized and modernized had been rejected.

During the interval between 1950 and my visit in 1963 changes in other institutions were made, preparatory to self-government, which, as the cost of maintaining the colony became evident in London, increased the pressure from Parliament and the public to speed the process. Local councils, subsequently neglected, were successfully instituted; schools were set up in most villages; and a large part of the pagan population, a little unexpectedly, became Christian. Members of the national legislature in Kuching were educating their constituents, who for the most part were bewildered by the changes taking place. When, in a preliminary investigation to *merdeka* and the entry of Sarawak into Malaysia, representatives from the villages were summoned to give their testimony before a commission from London to enquire into and arrange convenient ways of transferring sovereignty from Britain to an independent Sarawak, the villagers, whose opinions were sought, were totally bewildered and uncomprehending. Their political education was not yet developed beyond the villages and the district.

After the transfer of sovereignty the changes accelerated. Developments made possible by the huge expansion of oil and timber revenue were far-reaching, especially in transport, communications, and economic institutions, developments

which rapidly transformed the country. Although changes in the sago growing district were noticeably less rapid than in other parts of the country, its people were brought into closer contact with the rest of Sarawak, though little was done to stem the tide of emigration or the creeping impoverishment of the area. But the changes brought about by entry into Malaysia are a different story from that of the colonial years, which in most ways prepared the ground for the later changes.

NEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

Second Biennial International Conference of

The Borneo Research Council

The Second Biennial International Conference of the Borneo Research Council was held in Kota Kinabalu, Sabah, July 13-17, 1992. This was the second meeting of the Council in one of the Borneo states, the first having been held in Kuching, Sarawak in 1990.

The Conference was opened by the Deputy Chief Minister who read remarks prepared by the Chief Minister of Sabah who was on government business in London. The Conference was hosted and generously supported by the Sabah Foundation whose staff were unstinting in their work to ensure the success of the meetings.

Three hundred people attended the Conference which included 12 paper sessions. Eight-nine papers were presented over the week-long program, and will be published in a series of volumes, including collections on tourism, language change, folklore and oral traditions, and development.

One of many highlights of the Conference was the presence and participation of 35 delegates from Kalimantan whose passage was supported by the Ford Foundation.

The Conference concluded with a dinner hosted by the Honorable Chief Minister, Datuk Joseph Pairin Kitingan, who used the occasion to announce the establishment of the Centre for Borneo Studies to be located at the Sabah Foundation.

The Directors have been invited to organize similar programs for Pontianak in 1994 and Brunei in 1996.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS MEETING

The Board of Directors met on Sunday, July 12th, to discuss the program and plan for the future of the Council, and took the following actions:

1. Agreed to express the Board's appreciation, on behalf of all Fellows and Members, for the superb leadership of Tengku Datuk Adlin and for the work of the staff of the Sabah Foundation in planning and hosting the Conference.
2. Agreed to plan for a transition of editorial responsibilities for the *Borneo Research Bulletin* when the current editor retires in 1996.
3. Elected Dr. Peter Mulok Kedit, Acting Director of the Sarawak Museum, and Patricia Regis, Director of the Sabah Museum, as Directors.
4. Discussed at length with Mr. John Pearson, of the Rutgers University Foundation and a former Peace Corpsman in Sarawak, strategies for fund-raising. The strategies are to include an annual solicitation among all persons and groups with interests in Borneo.

OPENING ADDRESS TO THE 2ND BIENNIAL CONFERENCE OF THE BORNEO RESEARCH COUNCIL¹

G. N. APPELL, Ph.D., President
Borneo Research Council

On behalf of the Borneo Research Council, I want to say how honored we are to have been invited to hold our second biennial international conference here in Kota Kinabalu, and how pleased we are to be here. We are excited by the opportunity this offers to exchange ideas and knowledge over the next five days with scholars and interested persons from all over the world. And we are all

delighted to be here in a country with such rich cultural traditions and with such friendly people. We want to thank all those here in Sabah who have brought this conference to fruition.

And I would like to welcome all those participating in this exciting conference. To those of you visiting Sabah for the first time, let me urge you to take the opportunity to visit the Sabah Museum and go through the very interesting ethnobotanical garden created by Joseph Pounis Guntavid and view the unique collection of authentic traditional houses from some of the ethnic groups in Sabah, all located in an attractive area on the grounds of the Sabah Museum.

As you know, the Borneo Research Council was founded in 1968 to help forward the social, biological, and medical sciences in Borneo. It has been our experience that the usual academic division of disciplines found in universities hinders the understanding and the development of knowledge in Borneo. Knowledge of Borneo can be most profitably generated through an interaction of all the various disciplines. Thus, one of the important goals of the Council is to serve as a link between disciplines and also bring those working in disparate regions together to exchange ideas and knowledge as at this conference.

But of course research findings are of themselves not yet knowledge. They only become knowledge when they are shared with and accepted by the group of scholars involved in related research. This is one of the functions of the Borneo Research Council: to encourage those working in these fields to share and test their findings.

The importance of the exchange of knowledge and interaction between members of different communities can be illustrated by two instances. In the late 1940s and early 1950s Professor Derek Freeman made his ground-breaking study of Iban swidden agriculture and Iban society and Professor William Geddes made his critically important study of Bidayuh Land Dayak society. Yet at that time they were unaware of the work done on adat law in Kalimantan by the Dutch scholars during the first decades of the 20th century. As a result, their work fails to ask those critical questions on village organization that the Dutch scholars had discovered in their work. In contrast, today it is now taking an international effort of Canadian, American, Sarawakian, French, Indonesian and Japanese scholars to sort out the nature of traditional land tenure among the Kayan. And this discussion continues, as you will see from the program.

I think two important points might be drawn from this. First, it points out the importance of the participation by local individuals who are members of the cultural group in question in the generation of knowledge, such as Mering Ngo,

a Kayan himself. He has made an important contribution, and this has arisen by his willingness to engage in discussions with other scholars about the uses and validity of his conclusions. Secondly, this work should disabuse anyone of the notion that research is simple or easy. I, myself, still find after 33 years of research on Rungus society errors of omission and commission in my own work.

The Council thus wants to encourage and help those who take the time from their other work, and using their own funds strive to forward knowledge. Whether this is in collecting local oral histories, studying the distribution and behavior of birds and mammals, evaluating knowledge of local peoples for its value to understanding ecosystems or the uses of the plants and the forest for economic and medicinal purposes, in analyzing the distribution of disease and disability, mapping important cultural and natural sites. And so on. For there is much to do and too few to do it. Thus, one of our important goals is to encourage such research endeavors by all and help them progress, at times indicating what questions need to be phrased and how to phrase them.

Another one of the key reasons that the Council was formed was to try to develop a more systematic approach to scholarly questions in Borneo. For example, certain languages are dying out and it is critically important to mount an effort to record these. Thus, until recently, in many cases what knowledge we have had has been accidental knowledge, the results of accidents of history. And this has, for example, led to the development of more knowledge in some regions more than others. I find these accidents of history rather interesting, and if you will indulge me for a minute, I would like to mention just briefly several of these.

During the first decades of this century there developed in the Netherlands the study of adat law. This was partially, but only partially in response to questions raised in administering the Dutch East Indies. Adat law scholars from Holland began collecting information on the cultural traditions of Kalimantan. And it led to the development of an important scholarly discipline. Then, for reasons which are far from clear, this scholarly discipline lost its vitality, which is a great loss for it had much to say to us.

More recently, also it seems as an accident of history, the international scholarly community has again begun to focus on Kalimantan. Scholars have come from all over the world to conduct scientific research there, so in recent years Kalimantan Timur may have had the second largest number of ethnographic studies undertaken in all of Borneo.

Another accident of history occurred in Sarawak. At the end of World War II when the British Colonial Office took over from the Rajah Brooke, they selected a governor who originally had worked in the Colonial Service in Africa. And by

chance he had experience there with the basic research of anthropologists and ethnographers. As a result, he realized the important contribution that social scientists could make not only to fundamental knowledge but also to the sound development of government policy. And so he invited the British Social Science Research Council to send an anthropologist to make a survey of what needed to be studied in Sarawak. They chose, also perhaps by accident, the yet-to-become famous Professor Edmund Leach. And he produced in 1950 the well-known *Social Science Research in Sarawak*, which stimulated so much further research.

Once this tradition was started, it continued, which should not surprise those of us who study traditions. Traditions have a persistence of their own. At my last count there have been over fifty ethnographic expeditions of 18 months to two years among various groups in Sarawak by individuals from all over the world.

The selection of the first Governor of the Colony of North Borneo was again another one of those interesting historical events. The North Borneo Company was not as interested in the indigenous cultures as were the Rajahs Brooke. And the work of Rutter, Wooley, and Evans does not seem to have had much impact then or later on with the colonial government that succeeded the North Borneo Company after World War II. When I arrived 33 years ago in 1959 I found a rather frosty atmosphere created by many of the government officials to social anthropological research in contrast to what was occurring in Sarawak. But again, there was an accident of history which resulted in my being there. I had been offered a Research Fellowship at an Australian University, and the North Borneo Colonial government did not feel they could refuse entry to a scholar from a Commonwealth university. My work then in North Borneo was not welcomed in many quarters, although the District Officer and Officer Commanding the Police District (OCPD) in our area are still fast friends of ours. In fact the OCPD is honorary uncle to our children. I recall being called up to the Chief Secretary's office in 1959 and being roundly scolded for the American policy of pushing for decolonialization, as if I were representative of the government of the U.S.A. and it was my fault. When we left in 1963 at the end of my contract, we were invited to luncheon with the Governor, an outstanding gentleman. It was a lovely luncheon, and I tried to point out to him the unique historical gifts in Sabah's cultural heritage and traditions, and their immense value to the people themselves and to the world at large. But I left Sabah then with the general impression that if these historical gifts had been a Mt. Kinabalu, they would have been leveled for obstructing the building of a modern motorway rather than forming the scenery to enliven it and revealing a view to enrich us all.

For many years various events prevented us from returning to Sabah. Then, another unexplainable accident of history occurred. I was attending a symposium on Malaysia that had been organized at Tufts University by Ambassador Unger, who by chance was Datuk Dr. Jeffrey Kitingan's professor. At this meeting I met that splendid, kind individual, the present Chief Minister of Sabah. And we struck up a conversation in which in his usual friendly way he invited me to return to Sabah to continue my work. And true to his word, he arranged for me to do so. I have never had the opportunity to publicly thank him for this, until this moment.

And had it not been for this chance meeting at Tufts University in Boston, the Council might not be here today. For from it arose the invitation of Datuk Dr. Jeffrey Kitingan to the Council to hold its second biennial meeting in Kota Kinabalu.

It is a pleasure for all of us to be here and we look forward to the synergistic process of the exchange of ideas between scholars from all over Borneo, from all over the world. It is indeed exciting to see the interest and progress that is being made in scientific and scholarly research in Sabah, including the study of its history and cultural traditions, as attested to in the program and plans for the future.

In conclusion, I want to express our thanks to all those who have made this meeting possible. But particularly to that unique photographer of the many moods of Mt. Kinabalu, Tengku Datuk Zainal Adlin, who as chairman of the local committee with his usual skills and patience has ensured that this meeting will be a success.

Again, many thanks for your kindness, your welcome, your interest and your support of our attempts to encourage the growth of knowledge.

NOTE

1. Kota Kinabalu, Sabah, Malaysia, July 13, 1992.

RECENT ACTIVITIES OF THE BORNEO RESEARCH COUNCIL

G. N. APPELL, Ph.D.
President, Borneo Research Council

It is with great pleasure that we welcome all the participants to the 2nd biennial meeting of the Borneo Research Council. The breadth and depth of the program indicate a fast growing, lively field of inquiry. And the fact that there are participants from so many nations, from all over the world, illustrates that with modern communication knowledge is truly international and not the privilege of any one country or any one class.

It is also significant that the participants come from so many different scientific and scholarly disciplines. One of the unique aspects of Borneo research is how the various biological, medical, and social sciences are so interdependent on each other. A division of research activities along the usual academic lines just does not produce the payoff in knowledge that an integrated approach does. In fact it often produces only a distorted picture. Social scientists frequently cannot do an adequate job of research without advice and help from their colleagues in the medical and biological sciences. And alternatively, I believe that these sciences could benefit more from the input of the social sciences. This is particularly true with regard to understanding the social causes of disease and disability. The discipline of medical anthropology, which has produced some major findings and which is such an important field of inquiry in the United States and Europe, has had to date only a small impact in Borneo research.

The Borneo Research Council was formed in 1968 by various scholars. The Council originally began holding annual meetings in the United States. Scholars and scientists from Europe would frequently participate in these meetings as well as occasionally scientists from Borneo. In 1987 we held our meetings in conjunction with the American Anthropological Association in Chicago. And Dr. Peter Kedit from the Sarawak Museum joined us. At that time he suggested that we should hold extraordinary sessions periodically in Borneo where it would be possible for more local scholars, scientists, and interested individuals to attend, and he invited us to Sarawak. This led to the 1990 meetings in Kuching and then to our presence here today. We owe Dr. Kedit a great many thanks for his vision in suggesting this and his help in bringing it about.

At my opening address to the conference in Sarawak I briefly reviewed the history of the Council. This was then subsequently printed in the *Borneo Research Bulletin*. And so I will not reprise that history.

The Kuching meetings were incredibly stimulating and productive, and I would like to express here our thanks to the Government of Sarawak and the organizing committee that made that meeting such a marvelous success. And from the audience here today and the program itself I can see that we will again have an exciting meeting that will make major contributions to knowledge.

In my remarks opening the meetings today I emphasized the importance of the growth of knowledge. But why this is important is not often addressed. Some theologians argue that the search for knowledge is in fact an attempt to understand the nature of God. I am comfortable with that. And for those of you who perceive that at times I am too passionate in my attempts to stimulate the growth of knowledge in Borneo, perhaps this will help you understand why.

The more cynical and perhaps paranoid view of researchers and scholars is that they are interested only in their own advancement. I hope that we can all dismiss this view, for as I look around the audience I see familiar faces of those who have devoted their lives and resources, sometimes at great personal and physical costs, to contribute to knowledge of Borneo.

Other thinkers, maybe more rational, argue that knowledge is a good in itself. And still others, more realistically, argue that knowledge is the means by which human beings adapt to their world. And during times of rapid change, the development of new knowledge is more critical than ever. But this entails two assumptions.

The first assumption is that there will be no one with selfish motives who will try to prevent this development of knowledge. Yet there are those who feel that their own turf is threatened by the growth of knowledge and who will try to suffocate its growth.

And the second assumption is that once knowledge is gained it will be used for the good and betterment of all humankind. I tend to be somewhat pessimistic about this. But, nevertheless, the growth of knowledge and its potential uses to improve mankind's lot are ever there as a possibility. And if knowledge is an impulse of the human heart to know better the nature of God, it will be hard to stop its growth, as history has shown.

Whatever the reasons, human beings universally work to enlarge their knowledge. On this basis the goals of the Council were formulated as follows:

1. To promote scientific research in the social, biological, and medical sciences in Borneo;
2. To permit the research community, interested government departments, and others to keep abreast of ongoing research and its results;
3. To serve as a vehicle for drawing attention to urgent research problems;
4. To coordinate the flow of information of Borneo research arising from many diverse sources;
5. To disseminate rapidly the initial results of research activity;
6. To inform the interested public on research in Borneo.

The functions of the Council also were to provide counsel and assistance to research endeavors, conservation activities, and the practical application of research results.

One of our major concerns was the speed of social change in Borneo and the lack of research interest and funding to record both the cultural and natural features of Borneo for future generations. So our hope was also to stimulate interest in these in order to increase the level of funding.

It was also the explicit aim that this Council would be international in scope and include not only all scholars interested in research in Borneo but also all individuals, whatever their background or occupation, who are interested in forwarding research, contributing to this, or simply interested in the results of research.

From the beginning the publication of the Council, the *Borneo Research Bulletin*, was designed to appeal to several different audiences: (1) the research community; (2) government communities in the various parts of Borneo; (3) the community of interested laymen and amateurs who also make substantial contributions to knowledge and whom we wish to encourage to become even more involved; and (4) the commercial community who might find some of the research results of interest.

The policy has been that the *Bulletin* should not compete with already existing journals on Borneo. Instead, the goal of the *Bulletin* was to both complement existing journals and aid in their growth. In other words, the *Bulletin* was designed to fill the unoccupied niche of integrating research results from various regions of Borneo and also from research originating in a variety of countries around the world. This included the presentation of the preliminary results of research quickly so that they could be incorporated into on-going research and influence the direction of new research; keeping the readership up to date on the news of people involved in Borneo research; helping scholars keep in touch with their colleagues by serving as a medium of exchange of questions, information, and news; and also providing interested organizations with information on the development of research in Borneo and its possible application.

But what of the more recent activities of the Borneo Research Council?

Monograph Series

Our monograph series has started off well under the General Editorship of Professor Vinson Sutlive, with the publication of *Female and Male in Borneo*, and we have several additional monographs in process as you will have seen from the announcements at the registration desk.

Indonesian Office

Dr. Bernard Sellato has offered to head up an Indonesian office for the Council in Jakarta. And he has been developing some interesting projects, including the Kalimantan Cultural Center in Jakarta.

The Kalimantan Culture Center is being developed for the following purposes:

- to promote interest in Kalimantan cultures and develop an awareness of the importance of scientific research and the contribution it can make to understanding Kalimantan cultural heritages and to the planning process of development;
- to develop a network of interested people connected to the scientific community in order to facilitate the process of obtaining permissions to do research; and through this network,

- to help place researchers in the field, locate individuals possessing critical cultural knowledge, and encourage researchers to undertake urgent research on disappearing cultures and their knowledge bases;
- to help prevent the loss of cultural knowledge and the resultant development of social disorganization by creating an awareness of the importance of Kalimantan cultures;
- to provide feedback on the results of research to Kalimantan cultures and to the policy makers.

This promises to bring to Jakarta and the members of government there information on the cultural traditions of the various Provinces of Kalimantan. It will be a center that will contain all the recent publications on the natural history, the cultural history, and the cultural traditions of Kalimantan. It will be a place where people from Kalimantan living in Jakarta can meet, attend lectures and see slide shows. And it will identify urgent research that needs to be carried out before it is too late, and it will facilitate such research.

It is hoped to establish in the future similar cultural centers in all the provinces of Kalimantan.

We are very pleased with the development of an Indonesian Office and want to express our thanks to Dr. Sellato for all his work and effort in making this new office a viable undertaking. And through his help it has been possible for a number of scholars and individuals from Indonesia to attend these meetings.

Prehistory of the Island of Borneo

The prehistory of the island of Borneo has attracted a lot of interest over the years and is an intriguing subject to all of us. Some attempts to reconstruct this history is based on mere speculation, and some on reasoned conclusions that are, however, based on insufficient data. One of the best ways to understand the prehistory of Borneo and its peoples is through mitochondrial DNA research. Through this genetic evidence we can learn of the origins of the peoples of Borneo and who their closest relatives are both here and abroad. As you know there are close linguistic relations posited between the peoples of Madagascar and peoples of southern Kalimantan. It is thought that an ancestral branch of the Ma'anyan and Ngaju people at some undetermined date, but probably after 400 AD, left in small ocean-going canoes for that tremendously long, dangerous voyage to the coast of Africa.

To pin down definitely the history of the peoples of Borneo and their migrations, blood samples are the best and most complete source of evidence. But they are difficult to collect, and there are a number of government regulations that interfere with this effort. The collection of hair samples is another method, although they give more limited information than blood samples. But it is a less expensive method for collection, and we are hoping to elicit the help of many scholars and others visiting various areas to collect these samples.

We also hope to elicit the help and interest in this project of the medical departments in the various states and provinces of Borneo. But any collection must be done with the help of an experienced anthropologist to ascertain the ethnic identity of the donors. For it is a universal aspect of human behavior that when one is asked to identify oneself in terms of ethnic affiliation, one usually gives the most general term that he thinks the questioner will understand. For example, the term Murut is frequently used by those who have no in-depth knowledge of the distribution of peoples to refer to two distinct populations of peoples found in Sabah, Kalimantan, and Sarawak who are only distantly related. With the result that genetic samples from a so-called "Murut" can have little validity unless more specific identification is given. So the close collaboration with anthropologists who study the nature of cultural contours, the interrelations of ethnic groups, and the semantic levels used in identifying one's cultural roots are a prerequisite to success in this endeavor.

We are working with two laboratories that are interested in doing the necessary analysis.

We hope to answer questions such as: Are the Kayan relatively recent migrants to Borneo as some have claimed? Who are the Penan? Are they descendants of those originally peopling Borneo? Does this category of Penan represent one genetic group, or are the members derived from various groups? There are a number of interesting questions that could be answered by this research, but we will need help in accomplishing this task. And we welcome thoughts from anyone who is interested in helping in this project.

The Sabah Oral Literature Project

It has been the conclusion of some of us, certainly that of myself and our Executive Director, that while development research should have priority, almost as important is basic research on the cultural heritages of a nation. I think most universities in the western world seem to forget the importance of this and have in fact taken it for granted, because it forms such an integral part of their work. There are a large number of professors and scholars engaged solely in the study

of and maintenance of history and cultural traditions. And almost every small town in developed countries has its own historical society. There is evidence that people are better able to deal with the future when they understand and appreciate their past. Thus, the study of cultural heritages has an important contribution to make to facilitate development and social change.

This is one of the reasons we have established the Sabah Oral Literature Project. This project is an attempt to preserve the rapidly disappearing oral traditions of Sabah. But it is also a demonstration project to show how other projects can be designed for the rapid collection and preservation of this important literature in other regions of Borneo. It is based partially on the very successful Foxfire Project in the United States, but modified to local conditions in Borneo. It involves training young individuals who have had a more cosmopolitan exposure to tape record from their elders their oral history, the hymns, chants, and songs that form part of their religious literature, and their myths and legends. These tape recordings, after they have been transcribed, will be deposited in an archive, which has yet to be established.

At present, because of limited funds, the project is focused on the northern part of Sabah. But it is hoped that the technique for rapid retrieval and preservation of oral literature that we have developed will serve as a model for similar projects in other parts of Sabah and Borneo.

I will discuss this further in the session on oral literature, but here I would like to thank again the Right Honourable Datuk Seri Joseph Pairin Kitingan for his Patronship of this project.

However, it is clear that for some countries in Borneo, these cannot be the first priorities to which they devote their resources. And perhaps that is where we can be of help in providing personnel and trying to find resources to support that research. At present the cultural heritage of Borneo is rapidly eroding and is largely unrecorded. I estimate that 70-80% of this cultural heritage will be gone within five to ten years. Therefore, we have been discussing various avenues by which this cultural heritage can be recorded as quickly as possible. And we would welcome any suggestions from scholars, government personnel, foundations, on what can be done.

Ethnobotany and Pharmacopoeias of the Peoples of Borneo

The Council, in cooperation with the herbaria at Harvard University, is attempting to initiate a long-term study of the ethnobotany of the Ibanic peoples of Borneo.

The Iban are one of the most widespread groups in Borneo. They have experienced more varied types of ecological systems than any other group through farming, trading, gathering forest products, and travelling. Their traditional knowledge of the forest may be the most extensive and most productive in terms of practical use and scientific importance.

However, since this knowledge is passed on by oral tradition, there is considerable concern that it will be lost as the Iban move into urban environments and change their close dependence on the forest for subsistence. Thus, this project will make an important contribution to basic knowledge itself. But it is also hoped that through the knowledge of the Iban peoples of their forest and natural resources that new species will be identified, new chemotherapeutic agents will be isolated, new insecticides found, new forms of cultivars discovered, new genetic stocks for hybridization located, and new commercial uses for plants and trees developed.

For the project to be successful it is important that the ethnobotanist hired to do the study works closely with anthropologists who have a knowledge of Iban culture. Professor Vinson Sutlive will be in charge of this. And data from this project will also have important uses for the Iban Encyclopedia and the Iban-English dictionary now in preparation under the aegis of the Tun Jugah Foundation.

Conclusions

The Council is here to serve the interests of the scholarly and scientific community, government departments, and anyone interested in participating in the exciting endeavor of advancing knowledge on Borneo. We would welcome any thoughts on how to serve these communities better. We welcome any suggestions on how to expand our activities.

Finally, I want to emphasize that if it were not for the volunteer service, immense work, and dedication of one individual, if it were not for his energy and ability to get things done, the Council would not be here today, many of its functions would not have come about. To the long-time editor of the *Borneo Research Bulletin*, to the founder of our Endowment Fund, to the General Editor of the Council's monograph series, to the source of all the success of the Council, to what in Malay we would call the *pohon*, in Rungus the *pu'un*, but perhaps more appropriately in Iban, since he is working on an immense Iban dictionary and editing an Iban Encyclopedia, our *Pun, Pun* Professor Vinson Sutlive, many thanks from all of us.

BORNEO RESEARCH COUNCIL, INC.
Executive Director's Report
at

The Second Biennial International Conference
Yayasan Saban
Kota Kinabalu, Sabah, Malaysia
July 13, 1992

Welcome to the Second Biennial International Conference of the Borneo Research Council. It is an honour for us to be hosted by thy Yayasan Sabah, to whose leadership we are indebted for months of planning. I want to acknowledge the efforts of several people in particular: Tengku Datuk Adlin Zainal, Mrs. Zahra Yacoob, Sithi Zareena Razi, Edward Sung Burongoh, Donald S. J. Malinggang, Edwin Nelson Tan, Francis Kathil Toyong, Dr. Lungkiam Dambul-Minudin, Kassim Hg. Abdul Rahman, Noriah Palalun, Kok Wah Chu, and Shamsuddin Mat Isa. I also am grateful for the support of the Museum through its Director, Patricia Regis, and the Institute for Development Studies through its Director, Datuk Ghani Gilong and Deputy Director, Dr. Maximus Ongkili.

There are always many people far too numerous to name, and I want to thank everyone who contributed in any way to the planning for and work which has gone into the arrangements for this Conference.

I appreciate Professor Appell's generous remarks. The image of *buah* is more appropriate, however, than *pun*. I have been the beneficiary of much help and support from many Fellows and the Council's Officers, whom I thank for their all-too-often unrecognized contributions. I would remiss if I did not say that, for the past five years, my work for the Council has been substantially subsidized by the generous support of my research by the Sarawak Literacy Society and the Tun Jugah Foundation, without whose support much that Professor Appell has noted simply would not have occurred.

In light of events since we last met in Kuching, it seems foolhardy to attempt to predict the future of the Council. I don't mean to compare our efforts with the reunification of Germany or the dissolution of the former Soviet Union, but the rapidity of change in our time makes anything we say about even the near future perilous. With this caution, let me begin.

To project the future of the Council, we need to know what the Council is. Of one principle I am confident, however. To emphasize one of the points in

Professor Appell's paper. The members of the Council will continue to pursue knowledge for greater understanding of the world in which we live, and to get to know one another better.

At the risk of repeating some of the remarks Professor Appell has just made, and that I covered in my report in Kuching, let me identify the most salient features of the Council.

1. The Borneo Research Council is an international network of about 900 persons and institutions in three dozen countries and four continents who share interests in Borneo, its peoples and their cultures, and the world in which they live. Our membership is based upon the principles of inclusivity rather than exclusivity, accommodation rather than complication. The programme reflects these principles. Rather than effect closure early on through imposition of a deadline, we accepted paper submissions up until ten days ago: One hundred paper titles submitted, and to be presented. How exciting and encouraging! What a rich fare you have provided, and if your participation is indicative of interest in Borneo research, we may conclude at the beginning of this Conference that the future of the Council is very bright indeed.

In my mind, without question the most significant accomplishment of the Council in its quarter-of-a-century existence has been as a brokerage, getting people with common interests and concerns together. Sometimes the people agree, and sometimes they disagree. But knowledge of one another's work and better yet, of one another, is essential to understanding, and understanding to appreciation.

2. We invite any person interested in Borneo and in sharing her/his knowledge to join with us. We have purposefully avoided institutional involution or corporate bureaucracy which impedes exchange and effectiveness. As Max Weber observed almost one hundred years ago, a bureaucracy is based upon the predicate "cannot", i.e., bureaucrats tell us why we can't do something. Our Council is based upon the predicate "can", and we will work with you to get things done.

Bureaucracy is . . . an attempt to rationalize the flow of information, to make its use efficient to the highest degree by eliminating information that diverts attention from the problem at hand. (Postman 1992-84)

A bureaucracy is comprised of persons in sinecures whose chief concern is protection of their positions and the organizational structure. The Officers and

Directors have no interests in the Council other than its role in enhancing and increasing opportunities for research.

3. We distinguish two categories of individuals: Fellows are persons who have done research in Borneo, Members are persons who, though interested in Borneo, have not conducted research. The intention in the creation of the two categories is not to discriminate but to distinguish and to recognize the contributions of researchers. An additional benefit of being a Fellow is the privilege of paying a higher annual fee!

4. With these disclaimers, let me say also that we are a legal body, incorporated in the Commonwealth of Virginia with tax-exempt status granted by the Department of the Treasury of the United State Government through the Internal Revenue Service. Incorporation protects the rights and responsibilities of fellows and members, of Directors and Officers. Tax exempt status permits the Council to accept contributions from patrons and members who may deduct their gifts as charitable contributions to a legally organized corporation.

5. The Council is a non-profit organization. Some might say we are "unprofitable", for over the Council's quarter-of-a-century existence, predictably those most closely involved have contributed most. Officers and members of the Board of Directors have contributed almost half-a-million ringgit in cash gifts and subsidies to the maintenance and activities of the Council. For this reason we are entirely dependent upon gifts and contributions of individuals and organizations.

6. The Council is the only organization of its kind which attempts to relate researchers and their interests in all parts of Borneo. State and Provincial Museums have their missions as set by their governing agencies. They are responsible to ministries and departments, to present programs and arrange exhibitions according to the interests of the government. Such a mission of such institutions is much more focused and unavoidably state- or province- specific.

7. The Council has worked to provide what one philosopher has called "a reflexive superspective"; that is, an island-wide view of things. What are the similarities and dissimilarities between people in Kalimantan Tengah and Brunei, in Sabah and Balikpapan, in Kuching and Pontianak? What are the differences? Any why are there differences?

A member from Kalimantan said that he felt he knew more about what was going on in London or Washington than he did what was going on in Sabah. How many of you non-Kalimantanese have been to Pontianak? Well, in 1994 you will have your chance when the Third Biennial Conference will be held there.

Arrange your schedules, submit your paper topics, and make your reservations early.

8. One of the missions of the Council is to interpret the ways of life and the social philosophies of the people of Borneo to people in other parts of the world. You have developed behaviors and beliefs about what it means to be human which are important and beliefs about what it means to be human which are important to the maintenance of a humane humanity. For reasons that puzzle some of us, many of the insights we have gained from study of the peoples of Borneo have either been ignored or resisted. There are qualities of life among the members of your society of which people in other parts of the world should learn, and informing them will remain one of our central efforts.

To this end, we are interested in the study of "real behaviour", not upon preconceived biases or unassailable ideological commitments. Contrary to the comments of one reviewer of the first in our monograph series, as authors and editors we did not attempt, as the reviewer accuses us, of obfuscating the disempowerment of women in all societies. Our observations lead us to conclude that women enjoy both power and authority in many if not most Borneo societies, though both power and authority may be exercised in ways quite different from more formal political structures. The reviewer's comments recall Herbert Spencer's idea of a tragedy, viz. a theory contradicted by a fact.

9. With an increase and diversification of activities, I expect the organization to become more complex with much more responsibility being assumed by persons residing in Borneo. Happily, the workload has increased to the point that we need a greater number of participants in editing and managing the Council's work. We elected two new Directors, Dr. Peter Mulok Kedit, Acting Director of the Sarawak Museum and successor to Lucas Chin, one of the Council's original Directors, and Patricia Regis, Director of the Sabah Museum.

10. We expect and look forward to a much closer working relationship with the numerous research institutions in Borneo: the museums, the universities, and the government departments whose staff are involved in research and its application. We are particularly encouraged by and want to note the presence of scholars from Semenanjung, from Brunei, and from Kalimantan. With increasing emphasis upon "territorial integration," the integration of peoples from West and East Malaysia, it is important that bridges and exchanges of information and personnel take place.

Let me appeal to each of you to do "R & R" -- that's not rest and relaxation, but "read and respond". Read the publications of the Council, reflect on their contents, and do respond. As we have maintained a policy of inclusivity of

membership, so we also have maintained a policy of inclusivity of materials submitted in the *Bulletin*. If you submit it, you can expect to see it in print.

I commented a week or so ago to someone in Kuching that it is a pity that we are unable to retrieve and save all the knowledge that a certain person has accumulated about Iban culture and language. In the movie, "The Princess Bride", about which more later, there is a machine that can do just that. Until such a machine is actually invented, let me urge you to write and write and write, your life-story, your observations, what you know about your society and culture. A new section we have begun in the *Bulletin* is "Memoirs", suggested by Gene Dixon two years ago. In this year's volume, we are publishing the recollections of Professor Stephen Morris. Let me urge each of you to consider either (a) writing your own autobiographical account or (b) writing about someone whose life should be recorded. Such materials will constitute primary documents about ways of life which will be gone all too soon.

When you registered this morning, you received a form requesting information for a new directory. Please complete this form and return it to us during the week before you leave. We will announce publication of the directory by the middle of next year.

With this brief summary of the Council's status, let me turn now to topics of interest for future research.

Questions for Continuing Research

1. How do the people of Borneo become the people of Borneo? How does socialization to gender roles occur?

In our Introduction to *Female and Male in Borneo*, we raised a number of questions to which we hope many of you will be able to provide answers. Among the questions are:

- a. How does enculturation to sex roles occur? I.e., how do boys become men and girls become women?
- b. What are the sociodynamics by which young men and women get to know one another?
- c. What are the mechanisms by which marriages have occurred or have been arranged? How are these customs changing?

- d. What are the sociological and social psychological reasons for the unusual degree of sexual jealousy which occurs in many Borneo societies?
- e. What lessons may be learned about human sexuality from Bornean shaman?
- f. Does rape occur in "traditional" communities or settings? If hostilities and resentments based upon gender exist among Bornean societies and are not expressed in sexual violence, how are they resolved?
- g. To what extent have women as well as men been free to travel?
- h. How are foreign media changing the attitudes and behavior of men and women in Borneo?
- i. How do women become chiefs, as referred to by Jérôme Rousseau in this volume? Among which societies? What is the extent of their authority?

Insofar as I am aware, other than Dr. Michael Heppell's study of socialization in one longhouse community, we have no data about processes of personality formation or the sociodynamics of growing up in Borneo. There was one study a decade or more ago about growth and patterns of sleep, but to the best of my knowledge it was not published.

This basic information should be the subject of a variety of studies, and I encourage you who are directing research projects to consider its collection.

2. How do the people of Borneo rationalize and behave in situations of ethnic diversity and multiculturalism?

In its challenges to ethnocentrism and regionalism, the Council has consistently affirmed the importance of ethnicity, of ethnic identity, and of multiculturalism. Multiculturalism is an inexorable and irremedial fact of human existence. Limited by our mortality to time and place, we have different experience which we then interpret and re-interpret until such experiences become patterned. These patterned ways of thinking and behaving have led to the development of some 5,000 autonymic societies. Within each society, we regulate our behaviour in different ways--in most Borneo societies there is avoidance of conflict and climax, whereas in many Western societies conflict and confrontation are common. Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities* which

analyzes societies as human constructs is extremely important to appreciate the significance of ethnicity as basis for identity and well-being, and to understand the plurality of social forms which we humans have created.

As surely as Western technology is being imported and learned in Borneo, we in the West need to learn from you: Conflict avoidance, multiculturalism, ethnic diversity which parallels the biodiversity. Admittedly there are stresses in your societies--the word "stress" comes from the Latin *strictere*--from which we also derive "stretch", and there always will be some stress as we grow and learn. Though there may be successful techniques of stress management, there is only one proven way to stress avoidance, and most of us are not ready for that.

In a brilliant paper Eric Casiño, a Filipino anthropologist, traces the unsuccessful attempts at world decolonization. It seems appropriate to mention this effort, because this year we remember the discovery of the New World in 1492 and, in six years, the discovery by Vasco da Gama of the sea route to Asia, two discoveries upon which the modern world developed. Casiño notes that there were three contributions which transformed Europe and, in the process, the rest of the world. First, technologies which were invented in Asia and Africa and then refined to the technological superiority of Europe. Second, cultigens domesticated in Asia and Africa which improved considerably the diet of Europeans. And finally, a new perspective on polity or decision-making, based upon the observation of how people in Asia and Africa interacted. These observations led to challenges to the political systems of Europe, replete with sophistries and artifices best represented in the concept of "the divine right of kings." Further, these observations challenged the fundamental notion of what it means to be human. As Penniman has written:

Hobbes's state of nature, Locke's Indian in the backwoods of America, Defoe's man Friday, Montesquieu's Oriquois and Huron, Captain Cook's Boy Omai, and Rousseau's Carib on the banks of the Orinoco

blew away the Eurocentric view of humanity and led in time to the creation of the social sciences. Europeans were forced to recognize ethnic diversity, a fact of humanity which became the central issue in the nascent discipline of anthropology.

In his article, "Rojak is Good for National Building" which appeared in the *New Straits Times*, Wednesday, July 1, 1992, page 32, Salleh Ben Joned writes that

A living culture . . . grows naturally; it cannot be programmed or legislated according to an abstract recipe.

What we have discovered in the United States after almost four decades of "legislated integration" is that you can bring people together physically but cultural differences endure.

Roland Williams, an African-American scholar, has composed the "Black Intelligence Test of Cultural Homogeneity" which includes a list of English words to which Blacks have given their own spin. They are common, everyday words, but to illustrate the fact of cultural differences in an "integrated society" let me read four of the terms:

alley apple (a brick)
 Mother's Day (when welfare cheques arrive)
 when the eagle flies (payday)
 four corners (the streets)

There are two familiar responses to situations of ethnic diversity and multiculturalism, viz. "fight" and "flight". Events in Eastern Europe demonstrate that isolation will not work, and that imperialism is passé. Two years ago we visited our children who were working in Germany, and as we travelled from Stuttgart to Garmish, we saw cars manufactured in East Germany abandoned along the autobahn. The cars had been made in a safe, uncompetitive environment, but they could not make it when put to the test. Isolation may seem protective for a time, but in the end, one discovers that events and inventions have passed one by. Similarly, neither cultural nor technological imperialism will work. You may control people and keep them suppressed for a time, but in the end, the dynamic nature of the human spirit finds suppression revolting.

The me urge research institutions and appropriate government departments to consider the creation of ethnographic inventories. We may not have full-blown ethnographies, but we should at least have data about the number, location, and population size of all autonymic societies on Borneo, which currently we do not have.

3. What are the effects of modern education systems on the youth of Borneo?

Much that passes for education is in fact mis-education. Education derives from *educare* which means to draw out, to realize potential, to develop innate abilities. With the information glut overwhelming traditional cultures, we feel we must cram students full of information--value-free information, though there is none such--and then measure their abilities to return that information. Two of the most influential books in the past decade in American education have been E. D. Hirsch, Jr.'s *Cultural Literacy* and Allan Bloom's *The Closing of the American Mind*.

According to Hirsch, one is "culturally literate" if one can identify thousands of names, places, dates, and aphorisms. It is small wonder that "Jeopardy", a game of quick recall of trivia, is one of America's favorite game shows. The fact is that Hirsch's selective list has been shown to be deficient, but it is illustrative of the problem of modern education. Once again, Neal Postman:

... (C)ultural literacy is not an organizing principle at all; it represents, in fact, a case of calling the disease the cure (p. 75).

The first ever grading of students' work was done by William Farish, a tutor at Cambridge University, exactly 200 years ago this year.

No one know much about William Farish; not more than a handful have ever heard of him. And yet his idea that a quantitative value should be assigned to human thoughts was a major step toward constructing a mathematical concept of reality. If a number can be given to the quality of a thought, then a number can be given to the qualities of mercy, love, hate, beauty, creativity, intelligence, even sanity itself. (p. 13)

We commence quantitative evaluations immediately a child enters school, and the assigning of numbers for assessment of performance and, implicitly, ability, continues through life. What I find fascinating at our university is that the least numerate disciplines--our Departments of English and Religion--tend to be the most numerate in their evaluation procedures, and one of our most numerate departments--Chemistry--along with our Department of Anthropology, have been the least numerate. But look out for those numbers if you enter the American university system. You will have to face the TOEFFL, the SATs, and GREs--highly biased tests designed to quantify your abilities to learn.

4. What are the effects of technological change on Bornean Societies?

As surely as you are acquiring Western-borne technologies--and not uncritically one hopes--just so surely you need to be familiar with the history of technology and what you are facing. One of the best and simplest analyses I can recommend is Neal Postman's *Technology: The Surrender of Culture to Technology*, which is especially pertinent to a majority of our sessions: language change, the endangered future of oral traditions, change and development, culture and conservation.

Development is the focus of 11 papers. Development is irresistible, in the sense that there are varying degrees of creativity and self-expression in each

human being. Yet, all too often, development is measured in GNP, miles of roads paved, cubic metres of timber exported, cubic feet of office space constructed. Rarely if ever does one see assessment of development in human terms: Improvement of basic services, opportunities for personal growth and learning, enhanced quality of life. This is because we have bought into the model of the bottom line and in the spirit of Scientism--a false and unclean spirit at that--we feel we have accomplished something if we can produce some measurement. This mania for quantification begins early on, in school, and continues through life.

In *Technopoly*, Postman identifies three stages leading to technopoly, a state which currently exists only in the United States but which threatens all developed and developing societies. These three stages are: tool-using cultures, technocracies, and technopolies (p. 22). Most of Borneo's societies are at the first stage, tool-using.

In a technocracy, tools play a central role in the thought-world of the culture. Everything must give way, in some degree, to their development. The social and symbolic worlds become increasingly subject to the requirements of that development. Tools are not integrated into the culture; they attack the culture. They bid to become the culture. As a consequence, tradition, social mores, myth, politics, ritual, and religion have to fight for their lives (p. 28).

The technocracies in the West have their roots in three great inventions: the mechanical clock, which provided a new conception of time and by which we regulate our lives; the printing press with movable type, which attacked the epistemology of the oral tradition; and the telescope, which attacked the fundamental propositions of Judeo-Christian theology, as it has Islam and traditional religions.

Technopoly is totalitarian technocracy. It alienates alternatives to itself. It is "our way" or no way. It redefines what we mean by religion, by art, by family, by politics, by history, by truth, by privacy, by intelligence, so that our definitions fits it new requirements. It has many faces, among them "increased efficiency" (cf. Walter Taylor's *The Principles of Scientific Management*), "increased production" (for which Richard Arkwright, who was knighted for training workers, mostly children, "to conform to the regular celerity of the machine"), and "increased information" (about which see Elizabeth Eisenstein's *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*). Again Postman:

(We live in) a peek-a-boo world, where now this event, now that pops into view for a moment, then vanishes again. It is an improbable world. It is a world in which human progress, as Bacon expressed it, has replaced by the idea of technological progress. . . . We proceed under the assumption that information is our friend, believing that cultures may suffer grievously from a lack of information, which, of course, they do. It is only now beginning to be understood that cultures may also suffer grievously from information glut, information without meaning, information without control mechanisms (Postman, p. 70; as I quoted in the last Report, with a subversion of traditional wisdom [*BRB* 22(2):197-199]).

5. What are the effects of language change on language users?

Of the 100 papers to be presented this week, 34 have to do with shifting patterns of language change and the preservation of oral traditions. Nineteen are descriptive, 15, prescriptive. Nineteen describe significant changes which are occurring among the languages of Borneo, and 14 present not only a overview of the oral products of selected Borneo societies but also efforts at the preservation of some of these products.

When parents lament that they and their children "don't even speak the same language anymore", they are absolutely right. And the gap is one just of vocabulary; it also is one of values.

A concern I have with our study of language change and the decline of oral traditions is that we not neglect the producers. I don't understand a great deal of deconstruction theory--as much as I need to--but with one point we must agree: All too often we are impressed with the product rather than the producer. It is imperative that we look beyond language to speaker, beyond culture to actor. It is quite right that we be intrigued with the products, but what is happening to the people whose languages and traditions are changing. Oral traditions provided "sharpening stones for the mind". As you will hear in at least one paper, riddling was a major activity which challenged and stretches the processes of thought.

Wittgenstein identified language as our most fundamental technology, and said that language is not merely a vehicle of thought but also the driver. Iain F. C. S. Clayre: Language is the royal road to the unconscious mind. The person who teaches your child to talk also teaches a way of thinking. The ideas, values, and priorities of a culture are borne along on the stream of language that flows between generations.

One of the most exciting discoveries of neuroanatomists is that the brain is not a fixed sphere, that it is constantly changing. So, for some of us, there is still hope!

All brains consist of two types of cells: nerve cells, called *neurons*, and *glial* cells. The neurons, numbering in the billions, arrive in the world ready and waiting to connect themselves together in flexible networks to fire messages within and between parts of the brain. No new cerebral cortical neurons will be added after birth, but since each of these nerve cells is capable of communicating with thousands of other neurons, the potential for neural networking is virtually incomprehensible. Surrounding glial cells provide the catering service for the nervous system, supporting and nourishing the neurons as they go about their delicate task of creating, firing, and maintaining the connections of thinking. (*Endangered Minds*, p. 51)

With new experiences come new connections. With tens of thousands of synapses per neuron, and with 100-200 billion neurons in the human brain, each of experiences many trillions of synapses which increase in number and complexity as we learn. Any activity which engages our interest and imagination, which sparks the desire to seek out an answer, or ponder a question, or create a response, can be good potential brain food. So, the notion that we are "stuck" with the brain with which we are born simply is not true. In John Reznick's book, unimaginationally entitled *The Brain*, he writes that every new activity, ever learning experience--a new work, a new language, a new skill, a new discipline--stimulates new growth.

Talk to your children. Read to them--or, in some of our cases, to your grandchildren. It is psychologically rewarding for you and for them, and it is pedagogically stimulating and cerebrally constructive. For the first 11 years of life, as the brain responds to new stimuli it is actually building new tissue! Language use actually changes brains.

The people of Borneo are moving from what Walter Ong has characterized as Oral cultures to Electronic cultures in one generation. The intermediate Chirographic and Typographic cultures aren't even stops on the way, just stations being bypassed.

In *The German Ideology*, Karl Marx asks:

Is Achilles possible when powder and shot have been invented? Ans is the Iliad possible at all when the printing press and even printing

machines exists? Is it not inevitable that with the emergence of the press, the singing and the telling and the muse cease; that is, the conditions for epic poetry disappear. (*German Ideology*, p. 150)

In 1980, researchers Merrelyn and Fred Emery, at the University of Australia, reviewed a meager crop of studies and found reason for concern that prolonged television viewing might cause a syndrome of mental activity that would interfere with thinking and concentrating. In an article titled "The Vacuous Vision," they suggested that as viewing time by youngsters increased "this prolonged idleness of the prefrontal cortex would have serious consequences."

In Sarawak, we have discovered new forms of incubi and succubi, spirit lovers. They are called in Iban, *buyu' untak*. They vary in size but uniformly have only one eye. Once you look into that eye, it is difficult if not impossible to tear yourself away. In the delightful movie, "The Princess Bride," there is an awesome machine called "the brain-sucker." This is the potential of these spirits. They usually have a name attached prominently--Sony, Panasonic, Toshiba. And now there are little helpers in the forms of hand-held computer games. If you ever encounter anyone holding one of these little "cirtters", don't try to talk to them. Their souls and minds are in another world, from which even the highest ranking shaman may not be able to recall them.

Conclusion

In Elie Wiesel's message to university graduates in the United States, he asked the question, "Have you learned the most important lesson of all?" viz., how to get along.

May I share with you one of the principles that governs my life? It is the realization that what I receive I must pass on to others. The knowledge that I have acquired must not remain imprisoned in my brain. I owe it to many men and women to do something with it. I feel the need to pay back what was given to me. Call it gratitude.

There is divine beauty in learning, just as there is human beauty in tolerance. To learn means to accept the postulate that life did not begin at my birth. (We are the beneficiaries of "traditional knowledge--and wisdom".) Others have been here before me, and I walk in their footsteps. The books I have read were composed by generations of

fathers and sons, mothers and daughters, teachers and disciples. I am the sum total of their experiences, their guests. And so are you.

You and I know that knowledge belongs to everybody, irrespective of race, color or creed. Plato does not address himself to one ethnic group alone, nor does Shakespeare appeal to one religion only. The teachings of Gandhi and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. do not apply just to Indians or African-Americans. Like cognitive science, theoretical physics or algebra, the creations and philosophical ideas of the ages are part of our collective heritage and human memory. We all learn from the same master.
(and mistresses)

In other words, education must, almost by definition, bring people together, bring generations together.

Education has another consequence.

(There is) an evil that could jeopardize this generation's extraordinary possibilities. That evil is fanaticism.

True education negates fanaticism.

Literature and fanaticism do not go together. culture and fanaticism are forever irreconcilable. The fanatic is always against culture, because culture means freedom of spirit and imagination, and the fanatic fears someone else's imagination. In fact, the fanatic who wishes to inspire fear is ultimately doomed to live in fear, always. Fear of the stranger, fear of the other, fear of the other inside him or her.

Next year, the Council will be 25 years old. We have done a lot, but, in the words of a popular song, "We've only just begun." With the start we have, the next 25 can be even more rewarding. Let's ensure that they are.

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1985 *Amusing Ourselves to Death: Public Discourse in the Age of Show Business*. New York: Penguin Books.
1992 *Technopoly: The Surrender of Culture to Technology*. New York: Alfred Knopf.
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1992 *Have You Learned the Most Important Lesson of All*. *In Parade*, May 17, pp. 8-10.



Registration. Mrs. Laura Appell and Staff register Sarawak delegates.



The official opening of the Second Biennial International Conference of the Borneo Research Council by the Honourable Bernard Dompok, Deputy Chief Minister



The entrance of the Deputy Minister greeting Datuk Amar Leonard Linggi Jugah



The Deputy Chief Minister, accompanied by Tengku Datuk Adlin at the Conference Book Display



Tengku Datuk Adlin, Acting Director of the Sabah Foundation,
Delivering introductory remarks



Professor G. N. Appell, President Borneo Research Council,
Responding on behalf of participants.



Tengku Datuk Adlin presenting gift to Professor Appell



Conference participants.

Dr. Francis Jana Lian
during panel discussion



Sandra Moniaga, Indonesian
participant, in discussion on
land rights.

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

THE USE OF THE WORD DUSUN IN JAVANESE¹

S. O. ROBSON
State University of Leiden

The word *dusun* has a respectable ancestry in Javanese, as old Javanese literary sources take it back to the year A.D. 966 (see P. J. Zoetmulder, *Old Javanese-English Dictionary* 1982). Here we find the meaning to be "village, countryside, country district, district; (or as an adjective) country, rural, rustic."

The term *dusun* belongs to the ceremony vocabulary that is generally termed *Krama*, in contrast to the plain or basic level called *Ngoko*, where the word is *désa*. All this means is that when addressing a stranger or someone entitled to respect one should say *dusun*, not the usual *désa*. Further, the initial *d* is retroflexed, in contrast to the dental *d*. The meaning is simply "village."

NOTE

1. This note is in response to an inquiry by G. N. Appell.

BORNEO NEWS

REGIONAL NEWS

Dr. B. C. Stone (BISH) has finished revisions of *Loheria*, *Hymenandra*, and a new genus, *Systellantha*. Papers on *Tetrardisa* and a new species from the Philippines are in preparation.

A provisional working key to the species of *Ardisia* in Borneo has been prepared for testing. Interested persons may obtain a copy from Dr. B.C. Stone, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, P.O. Box 19000-A, Honolulu - Hawaii 96817, U.S.A.

In conjunction with J. Pipoly tentative beginnings have been made on a review paper that aims to reassess the genera. Comments and data invited.

As the new Index Herbariorum Part I: The herbaria of the world, ed. 8 (1990) will not be available to many readers in the Malesian area, an excerpt of the Institutes presented there plus some not included is given here. I have taken Malesia in a somewhat broader sense than usual and have included the Andamans and Solomons. I have noticed that especially telephone and fax numbers have changed in several instances, so check yours! Please notify me of any errors, omissions, or changes. -- J. F. Veldkamp.

BRUNEI

Bandar Seri Begawan (BRUN): Herbarium, Forestry Department, Bandar Seri Begawan 2067, Brunei. TEL (673) 3/61383. Fax (673)2/41012.

INDIA

Port Blair (PBL): Regional Herbarium, Botanical Survey of India, Andaman and Nicobar Circle, Haddo, Port Blair 744.102, Andamans, India. Tel. (91) Port Blair/21224.

INDONESIA

Ambon ('AMB'): Balitbang Sumberdaya Laut, Centre for Oceanological Research and Development, Guru-Guru, Poka, Ambon, Indonesia. Tel. (62) 0911/41281. Fax (62) 0911/41281 (between 9-15 hours, E. Indonesian time: GMT + 8).

Bandung (FIPIA): Herbarium Bandungense, Jurusan Biologi, FMIPA-ITB, Institut Teknologi Bandung, Jl. Ganesha 10, Bandung 40132, Java, Indonesia. Tel. (62) 22/84252; 84258, ext 325.

Bogor (BIOT): Herbarium, SEAMEO-BIOTROP, Regional Centre for Tropical Biology, POB 17, Bogar Java, Indonesia. Tel. (62) 251/23848.

Bogor (BO): Herbarium Bogoriense, Jalan Raya Juanda 22-24, Bogor, Java, Indonesia. Tel. (62) 251/22035. Fax (62)251/326425.

Bogor (BZ): se BO.

Bogor (BF): Herbarium, Lembaga Pusat Penyelidikan Kehutanan (Forest Research Institute), Bogor, Java, Indonesia.

Den Pasar (-): Dinas Kehutanan, Jl. Niti Mandala, Den Pasar, Bali, Indonesia.

Jakarta ('JAK'): Centre for Oceanological Research and Development, Pusat Penelitian dan Pengembangan Oseanologi, Jl. Pasir Putih 1, Ancol Timur POB 580 DAK Jakarta 11001, Indonesia. Tel. (62) 09/6221 683850. Fax (62) 09/6221 681943.

Manokwari (MAN): Herbarium, Section of Forest Botany, Forestry Division, Manokwari, Irian Jaya, Indonesia.

Medan (-): Balai Penelitian Perkebunan, POB 104, Medan, Sumatra, Indonesia.

Padang ('AND'): Faculty of Mathematics and Natural Sciences, Padang, Indonesia. (Former Herbarium of Payakumbuh, Universitas Andalas).

Pasuruan (PAS, see BO).

Samarinda (-): Faculty of Forestry, Mulawarman University, POB 227, Samarinda 75123, Kalimantan, Indonesia.

Yogyakarta (-): Faculty of Forestry, Gadjah Mada University, Bulaksumur, Yogyakarta, Indonesia.

MALAYSIA

Bangi (UKMB): Herbarium, Botany Department, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 43600 UKM Bangi, Selangor, Malaysia. Tel. (60) 3/82500011, ext 3970. Fax (60) 3/8256484.

Bintulu (-): Forestry Department, Universiti Pertanian Malaysia, Kampus Bintulu, POB 396,97008 Bintulu, Sarawak, Malaysia.

Kepong (KEP), see Kuala Lumpur.

Kota Kinabalu (UKMS): Herbarium Jabatan Biologi, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, Kampus Sabah, Locked Bag 62, 88996 Kota Kinabalu, Sabah, Malaysia. Tel. (60) 88/57155; 55289. Fax (60) 88/211450.

- Kota Kinabalu (-): Sabah Parks, POB 10626, 88806 Kota Kinabalu, Sabah, Malaysia.
- Kuala Lumpur (KEP): Herbarium, Forest Research Institute of Malaysia, POB 201, Kepong, 52109 Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. Tel. (60) 3/6262633, ext 424, 425, 428. Fax (60) 3/6367753.
- Kuala Lumpur (KLA): Herbarium, Department of Agriculture, Swettenham Road, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.
- Kuala Lumpur (KLU): Herbarium, Department of Botany, University of Malaysia, Pantai Valley, 59100 Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. Tel. (60) 3/7555466, ext. 356. Fax (60) 3/7573661.
- Kuching (SAR): Forest Herbarium, Department of Forestry, Baudruddin Rd., 93660 Kuching, Sarawak, Malaysia. Tel. (60) 82/441377 (Headquarters)>
- Penang (-): School of Biological Sciences, Universiti Sains Malaysia, 11800 Pulau Pinang, Malaysia. Tel. (60) 4/877888, ext 3181, 3535, 3961. Fax (60) 4/871526.
- Sandakan (SAN): Herbarium, Forest Research Centre, Forest Department, POB 1407, 90008 Sandakan, Sabah, Malaysia. Tel. (60) 89/531522. No fax.
- Sepilok (-) Sepilok Research Centre, c/o Jabatan Perhutanan, POB 311, 90007 Sandakan, Sabah, Malaysia. Tel. (60) 3/9486101. Fax (60) 89/669170.
- Serdang (-): Jabatan Biologi, Universiti Pertanian Malaysia, 43400 UPM Serdang, Selangor, Malaysia. Tel. (60) 3/9486101. Fax (60) 3/9483745.

Tree Flora of East Malaysia Project -- After the completion of the Tree Flora of Malaysia vol. 4 (F.S.P. Ng, ed., 1989) preliminary discussions were made between taxonomists and herbaria in Malaysia to embark on this project. Those specialists who have contributed to the Tree Flora of Malaysia will again be sought to contribute to this, especially on some difficult groups. Funding has been obtained for the period 1991-1995. Further information can be obtained from Messrs. A Latiff (UKMB), S.M. Noor (KEP), or E. Soepadmo (KLU).

RESOURCES FOR INVENTORYING PLANTS IN THE
SOUTHEAST ASIAN TROPICS: PLANS FOR THE FUTURE¹

J.S. Burley, P.F. Stevens & E.A. Wood

Harvard University Herbaria, 22 Divinity Avenue
Cambridge, Ma 02138, U.S.A.

We aimed to cover two issues in this workshop; the third arose during the course of the discussion.

1. The need for an increased rate of collecting in the South Asian tropical area ('Malesia' for short) if taxonomic decisions in the 'Flora Malesiana' and other taxonomical projects are to be soundly based and, more generally, if there are to be materials adequate for the future needs of taxonomy.
2. The likelihood that any attempt to increase collecting, or even simply to continue collecting at the present rate, without paying adequate attention to the distribution, mounting, and preservation of the specimens will be an ineffective use of scarce resources.
3. We have to consider how we justify the need for more collecting and the importance of the general maintenance of collections, and also how we can develop the general motivation and education of herbarium staff.

In connection with the first issue, there was no discussion of specific areas to be targeted for collection, or of conservation; both matters were covered in other sessions. Most of the discussion covered problems that are common to institutions throughout the world; institutions in more temperate climates suffer from dermestid infestations, infestations which, if unchecked, can render much of a collection worthless. But the problems can quickly be compounded in the tropics, where a combination of climate, inadequate buildings and cabinets, and a lack of funding to meet running costs may cause a remarkably speedy destruction of valuable collections.

The following points are a distillation of the comments made during the workshop:

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1. Reprinted from *Flora Malesiana Bulletin*, Special Volume 1, September 1990, pp. 37-40.

1. There is a generally acknowledged need for more collections. The rate of collecting in Malesia as compared with that in the Neotropics is low; collecting rate in many parts of Malesia has declined over the last ten years. Institutions involved in the writing of floras cannot divert some of their already scarce staff time collecting; institutions both inside and outside Malesia have insufficient support staff which include collecting; most institutions have relatively modest funds earmarked for collecting. We have to identify sources of new funds if there is to be an appreciable increase in collecting.
2. Collecting by itself, and even the formal taxonomic work based on the collections, is seen as being inadequate justification for requesting increased funding. For instance, forestry used to be justification for collecting and horticulturalists can be united under the umbrella of germplasm resources to provide the needed justification. Good projects in conservation and applied research generally will be able to tap into new sources of money. Collecting should be built as an integral part of these projects.
3. Collecting can be most usefully carried out by people who stay in one place and who become intimately familiar with an area; large expeditions are not necessarily an efficient way to use scarce resources. Few people collect in logging areas; however, these can be very productive for the collector. Even if such sites are slated for eventual forest conservation, the record of variability that the collections represent will be invaluable for future studies. We have to maximize the resources available in terms of numbers of areas visited and intensity with which the flora of any area is sampled.
4. If we are building a global resource, we cannot expect institutions which properly have more local interests always to be able to cater to these global needs. Collecting additional specimens places burdens on institutions worldwide, but not least on the host institution. Well-curated herbaria are vital for the more applied needs of the biological community.
5. The ideal institutional structure for the preservation of collections is a matter of some concern. In Indonesia there is one major active taxonomic center and not too much else; scaled down activities at smaller herbaria is desirable. In Malaysia there has been an increase in the number of herbaria, although there is no national herbarium. However, the maintenance of collections even at large herbaria presents a problem, witness the rather recent problems experienced in Lae. Smaller herbaria and collections can become moribund much more easily without the general botanical community being aware of

- their problems. To the extent that unique collections are lost irreparable damage results.
6. Money for only slightly out-of-the-ordinary herbarium operations is often lacking, and this problem in a few cases extends to their daily operations. The cost of both sending and receiving loans may pose a particular problem for smaller institutions; some larger institutions are sending loans via diplomatic channels because of the costs involved. Adding an amount to cover overheads for the Malesian collaborating institution when writing grant proposals is one way of helping with these vital basic operations.
 7. There was a widespread feeling that junior staff were not getting proper training and that work in the neotropics was seen as being more glamorous and so luring the better students away. Curatorial staff need to be adequately motivated and involved in the excitement of research; this greatly helps to build up a strong institution. Training for research taxonomists includes field experience, and this aspect of their training would be addressed by increased resources for collecting. Academic training of taxonomists has been covered by a variety of courses at the diploma, Master's and Ph.D. levels, as well as the courses such as that recently run by Leiden at Bogor. Training for non-research curatorial staff has also been addressed by a variety of programs, including that recently begun by Kew. Such programs should be strengthened, although international funding may be necessary. Furthermore, taxonomic education should not be seen as ending with an advanced degree, but should be a continuing process fostered by travel and exchange of staff. Fellowships that pay accommodation and local expenses are a relatively inexpensive way of enabling taxonomists to travel more widely and so broaden their taxonomic backgrounds.
 8. There is a tension between collecting and monographing of floristic work. This is evident both at the institutional level where collecting can be seen as a diversion of the efforts of those properly writing a flora, and at the personal level, where collecting can be seen as unproductive if advancement is measured in terms of publications. Collecting by specialists is in some groups essential and very often yields material of great interest, but such collecting perforce focuses only on part of the vegetation.
 9. Collaborative networks are well established in Malesian botany, and there is a general eagerness to collaborate because of the perceived benefit to all concerned. However, what is quite often lacking is the means, both financial and manpower, to collaborate, or to deal with the results of the collaboration (e.g., specimens). It is essential to build up all collaborating institutions in

terms both of material and personnel resources. Widespread dissemination both of expertise and plant materials is the surest way to ensure the health of Malesian botany.

The following five recommendations that represented consensuses expressed during the meeting of the whole workshop were endorsed by the plenary session:

1. *The rate of botanical collecting in Malesia needs to be increased if future taxonomic decisions made in the 'Flora Malesiana' are to be soundly based on a representative sample of existing biological variation, and the growth of plant systematic into the twentieth century is to be ensured.*
2. *Shortage of manpower, materials and/or space are seriously affecting many herbaria worldwide. Collecting programs which do not address the problems of documentation, mounting, distribution and preservation of specimens are not likely to function efficiently.*
3. *Education, field training and motivations of participating staff should be an integral part of future collecting programs.*
4. *There is a need for close communication and collaboration between systematic institutions and applied biologists if data resulting from collection programs are to be effectively utilized.*
5. *The establishment of new collecting programs should not result in the slowing down of existing monographic work, or delay the completion of the 'Flora of Malesiana'. Addition resources will be required.*

EXPLORATION EXPEDITIONS IN THE TROPICS:
WHAT IS NO LONGER NEEDED, WHAT IS STILL NEEDED AND
WHAT IS URGENTLY NEEDED?¹

A review of aims and goals

Peter S. Ashton

Harvard University
Arnold Arboretum, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.

BACKGROUND

Priorities of workers *within* the tropics are likely to substantially differ from those *outside*.

Within much of the tropics, including Indonesia, Malaysia, and Papua New Guinea many biologists do not view logging, which is generally the primary cause of modification of residual primary forest, as a likely cause of extinction except when followed by immigration and cultivation as it so often is in the Philippines and Indochina (and also some parts of Indonesia). These workers therefore anticipate increasingly intensive and diversified use of the forest flora as the area of natural vegetation declines. They want better access to appropriate knowledge to this flora for users, in the form of manuals in simple language with good keys based on field characters, and with field descriptions and information about ecology as well as distribution, and know potential or actual useful attributes. This requires collections of extensive field knowledge beyond museum specimens.

An excellent example for this argument is the specific case of flora design was made by Dr. Francis Ng, F.R.I.M., Kepong, at the last Pacific Science Congress.

1. Reprinted from *Flora Malesiana Bulletin*, Special Volume 1, September 1990, pp. 27-30.

Extratropical workers frequently take the apocalyptic view that accelerating demands on residual natural areas, including for logging, is heralding imminent massive extinction throughout the region. The objectives are often theoretical and specialized, and their priorities are likely to change over time. For current needs, and also to conserve options for the future, they want as comprehensive collection as possible of plant variation at and, increasingly, below species level including fixed or pickled material for cytogenetical, photochemical and developmental studies.

This case was forcefully made by Peter Raven and his colleagues in the U.S. National Academy Science Report (Raven 1980).

This second view implies that time left is finite and limited. The emphasis must therefore be on collecting specimens rather than field information and, particularly, collecting variations so far not yet represented in the herbaria, be it new taxa or uncollected character states. Description can wait until later.

No-one would argue the likelihood that massive extinction is already on us in the Philippines and in many areas of seasonal Southeast Asia, but how much of the Malayan flora has become extinct now that all but fragments of the old Lowland Dipterocarp Forest (LDF) has been converted to monospecific plantations? We don't know, but in relation to the richness of the flora Dr. Ng's recent list of potentially endangered species is rather short, particularly if only LDF species are considered. It is also rather remarkable that one 50 ha enumerated block on undulating and flat land in Negri Sembilan yielded slightly over one third of the known LDF tree flora, implying that much of the flora is widespread and constant; and only about ten taxa were unrepresented in the recently published Tree Flora. I would argue that most of the woody flora of Indonesia is in a similar state of survival. How much effort should we put then into the once collected LDF taxa from yesteryear?

But it is clearly absurd to argue that the whole flora follows the same pattern as trees. Shorter lived plants, notably epiphytes and ground herbs, especially saxicoles, are often habitat specialists, and their concentration in montane forests encourages geographic isolation and point endemism. We therefore need to work out a strategy based on the following criteria:

DISTRIBUTION

Biogeography

1. Where are the residual geographical areas of likely high diversity and high endemism of little previous collections, when grab-all expeditions of the old type, frequently on the move and often without collectors knowledgeable about the regional flora, can do a worthwhile job? Parts of the island of New Guinea come to mind.
2. Where are those areas which are already known and collected, but where discriminating and experienced taxonomists would still likely yield new information?

Ecology

1. Where are the specialized habitats such as karst limestone, podsollic and ultramaphic areas, which are likely to be rich in endemic species and ecotypes, or unusual geographic distributions? Here, discriminating collecting is again desirable.
2. Which mountain areas are most likely to yield new taxa, particularly herbs and shrubs including epiphytes?

(1 and 2 have been discussed and prioritized for our region in Campbell & Hammond 1988.)

Special groups

Now, the woody flora is relatively well known but some herbaceous groups are still urgently in need of more collecting. Epiphytes are an obvious example, but what about fungi?

Information about the plant -- In all cases well trained collectors at least, and experienced taxonomists by preference are needed.

Character states

1. Character states poorly represented in museums include those of wood, bark (morphology as well as anatomy) cytogenetic characters and, especially, ephemeral characters including embryogenesis. These materials require special preservation methods, as do soft tissue including delicate flowers such as those of orchids and gingers, which provide important taxonomic

information. Also increasingly important are secondary metabolites, many of which are retained in specimens dried by supplementary heat alone, but which are lost where preservatives such as ethanol are used.

2. Character states not observable in herbarium or other museum specimens. These include the size of plants which are larger than an herbarium sheet, and gross characters of architecture, leaf arrangement, bark, buttress and roots. On the whole, these have been recorded abysmally, and little attention has been paid to standardization of terminology in spite of Wyatt-Smith's valiant attempt (1951).
3. Natural history. The same comments apply. Plants are sometimes amazingly versatile, and more information is needed. Epiphytes can be terrestrial, and ecotypes of tree species can occur on a range of soils.

EXPLORATION PRIORITIES FOR CONSERVATION

All the above priorities are useful to the conservation biologist and manager, but what do they need to know most? Plant conservationists, like their zoological colleagues, are still of two minds, whether to push for sanctuaries to conserve beleaguered wild population of exceptional plants such as *Sararanga* or *Rafflesia*, or whether to identify forests exceptional for their species diversity or point endemism. The expeditionary botanist tends to collect information which biases him toward the first approach, but is it really practical? The second requires systematic inventory, and the identification of those dreadful fallen leaves or sterile twigs, anathema to the extratropical herbarium-based botanist; but the approach is a practical one, and will conserve a high proportion of the flora overall.

Whatever is finally conserved will certainly be in forest fragments far smaller than the original forest extent, requiring active management. For this we will need to know far more about biological interdependencies such as those in pollination and fruit dispersal. The natural history of pollinators and seed dispersers, and plant breeding systems and demography must be understood, all requiring long term research at well chosen safe sites.

So, what sort of expedition?

There do remain a few places where the travelling expedition, collecting everything in its path, is worthwhile. Who has visited the peat swamp or the

heath forests of Irian Jaya, for instance? But I would suggest that the priorities are now of a different nature, and recommended the two following:

1. Long-term research at permanent safe sites. Many of the least known plants are either inaccessible in the tree tops, requiring time-consuming methods by skilled field personnel, or rarely flower and have consequently been missed. *Allantospermum*, one of the commonest trees along the coast of North-west Borneo but only described in the sixties, come to mind. For this, the time-honored technique of Edward Beccari, who set up a base camp, Vallombrosa, on Gunong Matang, Sarawak for two years which yielded data for a lifetime of publication and countless types, is still the best investment. Certainly this is what is needed together field knowledge required for the practical Manuals demanded of our colleagues resident in the region. So is it also for the kind of careful observations in natural history, and the total censuses of forest samples, which the conservation scientist needs, and which we need in order to prise out those plants which rarely flower.
2. Small, highly equipped patrols of field collectors who can be sent out to logging concessions where major logging and forest conversion is taking place, with emphasis on areas of exceptional biogeography or ecology, in order to gather for the last time.

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1980 *Research Priorities in Tropical Biology*. National Academy Press, Washington, D.C. 116 pp.
- Wyatt-Smith, J.
1951 *Suggested definitions of field characters*. In: J. Wyatt-Smith & K.M. Kochummen (eds.), *Pocket Check List of Timber Trees*: 85-122. *Malayan Forest Records* 17.

Tropical Newsletter. Newsletters have become important facilitators of communication among researchers in the tropics, with *Tropinet* being a good example. Two other such newsletters are:

1. *Mata Kuching*, the newsletter of the International Working Group of Dipterocarps, which is designed to spread news and ideas about dipterocarps, trees of enormous ecological interest and economic importance in Southeast Asia. Information: Dr. Ian Turner, Editor, IWGD, Botany Dept., National Univ. of Singapore, Singapore 0511.
2. *AIFM Insight*, the newsletter of the ASEAN Institute of Forest Management, covering policy, management, training and silviculture in Southeast Asian forests. Information: ASEAN Institute of Forest Management, Forest Dept. HQ, Suite 903, IGB Plaza 6, Jalan Kampar 50400, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.

R. B. Primack, Dept. of Biology, Boston Univ., Boston, MA 02215.

Members of BRC who are interested in obtaining a copy of Peter Metcalf's *A Borneo Journey into Death: Berawan Eschatology from Its Rituals* (University of Pennsylvania Press 1982) at below cost can do so by sending a check or money order for US\$20.00 (surface postage paid) to the author: Department of Anthropology, 419 Cabell Hall, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA 22903).

The following students have completed the 1992 History Department Honor Academic Exercise at the Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia:

- Mohamed Zain Matusin, Sejarah Penubuhan PPKKS Dan Peranannya Dalam Perkembangan Industri Perkayuan Sarawak (1973-1991).
 Wong Hei Ping, Sejarah Perkembangan Sosio-Ekonomi Masyarakat Foochow Di Sibiu, Sarawak (1990-1980an).
 Suzi Surya Seruji, Datu, Ajibah: Kepimpinannya Dalam Bidang Politik Dan Kemasyarakatan.

(Submitted by Mohd. Kamaruzaman A. Rahman)

BORNEO NEWS

At the July 13-17, 1992 Biennial Meeting of the BRC in Kota Kinabalu Michael R. Dove - from the East-West Center's Program on Environment announced the interest of the Center in developing a collaborative research program in Borneo. The intended dimensions of this program were discussed with meeting attendees in Kota Kinabalu on July 18th.

The proposed research will focus on issues pertaining to policy environment, especially differences between policymakers and local communities in perception of the environment and natural resources. Possible research to include, in addition to differences in perception, environmental rhetoric, environmental classification, and the rise and fall of environmental myths.

In addition to discussing the proposed research focus, Dr. Dove explained the East-West Center mandate for collaborative research and training (it is not a funding agency), solicited comments on the best "niche" for the Center to focus environmental research in Borneo today, and discussed plans for follow-up with interested individuals and institutions. Persons interested in collaborative work in this field are invited to contact Dr. Dove at the following address: Michael R. Dove, Program on Environment, East-West Center, 1777 East-West Road, Honolulu, Hawaii 96848.

Colin MacAndrews, Ph.D., Chief of Party, Natural Resources Management Project, Bappenas - Ministry of Forestry, Indonesia, writes that this is a USAID project covering policy analysis on short- and long-term environmental issues to Bappenas, making a management plan and setting up of a research station at Bukit Baka in Kalimantan. The project started in October, 1991, and will have a life of approximately five years. Dr. MacAndrews' address is: Natural Resources Management Project, Associates in Rural Development, Madiun No. 3, Menteng, Jakarta 10320, Indonesia. Tel./Fax.: 62 21 327301

Network on Land Tenure, Conservation, and Social Change. At the second biennial meetings of the Borneo Research Council a network was formed of those doing research on the traditional adat of land tenure, the current nature of land tenure, the impact that national legal systems and development have had on land tenure, and issues of land tenure and conservation. It is planned to circulate papers among the various participants in this network and report on its progress once a year in the *Borneo Research Bulletin*. Correspondence with regard to joining this network and on the activities of this network may be addressed to: Stephen Djuweng, Institute of Dayakology Research and Development, Jl. S. Sumba 3,

Box 499, Pontianak 78243 A, Kalimantan Barat, Indonesia. Or to Sandra Moniaga, S. H., WALHI, Jl. Penjemihan I/15, Komp. Keuangan, Jakarta 10210, Indonesia.

Dr. D. Darnaedi (BO) is doing experimental studies on the rheophytic fern flora of Borneo and Sumatra.

Aquifoliaceae -- Ms. S. Andrews (K) is working on the *Ilex* of Borneo.

Bombacaceae -- Mr. & Mrs. A. Lamb (Tenom) are studying Bornean *Durio*.

Moraceae -- Mr. & Mrs. A. Lamb (Tenom) are studying Bornean *Artocarpus*.

Nepenthaceae -- Mr. & Mrs. A. Lamb (Tenom) are studying Bornean *Nepenthes*.

Mr. C. L. Chan (Kota Kinabalu) is drawing Bornean *Coelogyne*.

Pentaphragmataceae -- Dr. R. Kiew (UPM) discovered 3 new species from Borneo.

Ms. R. M. Smith (E) has completed a paper on *Alpinia* with a new classification. She is now occupied with additions and corrections to her review of the family in Borneo and she hopes to collaborate with Mr. A. Lamb, Tenom, on a booklet about the ginger of Sabah. After that she will study species of Bhutan.

BRUNEI NEWS

The holding of BRUN stood at 10,815 numbers at 31 December 1990. Of these, D.S. Edwards (Universiti Brunei Darussalam) contributed 113 numbers of Brunei ferns.

A checklist of the flora of Brunei Darussalam -- A collaborative agreement between the Forestry Department of Brunei Darussalam (BRUN) and the Royal Botanic Gardens, KEW, was signed on 30 March, 1990. Preliminary work on the Project, however, began in June, 1989, with field work carried out jointly by the staff of BRUN and K. In August, 1989, a systematic search began at K for all the Brunei specimens filed there and a computerized data base was started to record the label-data.

Mr. L. L. Forman (K) is co-ordinator of the Project, while Dr. J. Dra is responsible for the liaison with BRUN. In addition three students employed by K. In succession each spends one year assisting with building the database and general processing of the material.

Work on the Project falls into four main areas:

1. Collaboration field work. The principal aim is to build a representative collection as a base for the List. The total number of past collections is about 3,000, most of which are represented in BRUN and K (there are perhaps more than 4,000! JFV). Since the flora is thought to number around 4,000 species, many have not been collected yet. More field work for a more precise identification and data on distribution, habitat and ecology several specimens from different localities are needed. Thus the Project will require over 20,000 collection.

Joint field work has been carried out during four periods, each of about a month, so far. About 2,100 numbers have been collected, whenever possible in 8-10 fold. They are deposited in BRUN, while duplicates will be distributed from K, e.g. to A, AAU, C, L, etc. Mr. K.M. Wong, Former Botanist of BRUN, and his colleagues have collected another 2,100 numbers since 1988.

- 1-29 June 1989 to Bukit Batu Patam, Kuala Belalong in Temburong, Sungai Liang. 567 numbers.
- 9 October - November, 1989, to Batang Duri on the Temburong River, up the Belait River to Melilas, and Sungai Liang. 517 numbers.
- 23 March -- 22 April, 1990, to Belabau on the Tutong River, and up the Temburong River, up the Belait River to Melilas, and Sungai Liang. 517 numbers.
- 3 November - 3 December, 1990, to Selapon, Temburong, and Sungai Liang. 441 numbers.

2. Identification of specimens. Many specialists at K are involved, while those of other institutes (A, AAU, C, L, etc.) will be asked to assist. Numerous genera and species are being recorded for Brunei for the first time, confirming the great riches of the Brunei flora and the scientific value of the Project.

3. Recording of data from Brunei specimens in K. The search of the holdings at K have turned up 1,950 specimens so far, a few more than a century old. It will eventually also be available in BRUN.
4. Writing the checklist. The main product of the Project will be an annotated list of all fern and flowering plants of Brunei Darussalam arranged by the family. Where possible there will be identification keys, brief notes, e.g. on habitat, ecology, uses, local names, specimen lists, distribution, and literature references. At this stage not enough collections are available for the final writing of the text with the exception of the Dipterocarpaceae, as these were extensively collected and described by Dr. P.S. Ashton during his period in Brunei.

Progress has been most satisfactory and now that new collections are accumulating and identifications proceeding, the essential material and data for the Checklist are building up. However Mr. L.L. Forman, who has devoted much of his time to this work, has been retired in mid-1991. Other staff members at K are under considerable pressure of different work, it is therefore hoped that suitable funding can be found to allow Forman to carry on.

A collaborative project has been set up between the Forest Department of Brunei and the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, to produce an annotated check-list of the flowering plants and ferns of Brunei. It will contain keys to genera and species where possible, with brief notes on the taxa. It is estimated that there are more than 2,000 tree species and over 1,000 orchids. The total number of taxa will be over 4,000. The co-ordinator at K is Mr. L.L. Forman, and Dr. J. Dransfield is responsible for the collecting program being carried out in liaison with the Forest Botanist, Mr. K.M. Wong.

The project will last for at least five years. It will start with a general collection by staff of BRUN and visitors from K. The first set will remain in BRUN, duplicates will go to the herbaria K, SING, L, SAN, A, KEP. Collecting has been started in June 1989. At K a search has been initiated for all Brunei collections present to enter the label data into a database.

Between 28 December 1988 and 10 January 1989 Drs. P.J.A. Keblor, E.F. De Vogel (L), and Mr. K.M. Wong (BRUN) explored the Belait and Ingei River areas, mainly for Annonaceae and Orchaceae, harvesting 217 numbers. Mr. Wong climbed Mt. Retak in the last week of January for 140 numbers.

In June he accompanied Drs. J. and S. Dransfield, and P.C. Boyce (K) to Bt. Teraja, Bt. Batu, K. Belalong, Sg. Keriam, Lamunin, Bt. Patoi, and the Badas F.R. collecting over 800 aroids, grasses, and palms, and a lot besides.

Between 29 June and 29 July together with De Vogel he went again to K. Belalong, Bt. Patoi, Sg. Liang, the Andalau F.R., and Bt. Belalong for 177 numbers. At the last two localities Mr. C. Puff (W) was also present (79 numbers).

Between 9 October and 8 November Wong and Messrs. J.B.J. Blewett and L.L. Forman (K) made 423 general collections at Sg. Liang into the Tutong and Belait Districts, Temburong (incl. Bt. Biang, together with Angga, who had collected with Dr. P.s. Ashton some 30 years previously), and up the Belait River to Melilas. For part of the time (9 October - 8 November). Mr. D. Simpson (K) was also present (ca. 100 numbers).

The top 4 sets of Wong's collection went to BRUN, K, SING, and L.

"SHUKRI ZAIN":

WINNER OF THE SOUTH-EAST ASIA WRITE AWARD (1991)

A. V. M. HORTON

Yang Berhormat Pehin Orang Kaya Ratna Diraja Dato Seri Utama Dr. Usta Haji Awang Mohd Zain bin Haji Serudin, Minister of Religious Affairs in Negara Brunei Darussalam since October 1986, has been awarded the South-East Asia Write Award for 1991. The Right Honourable gentleman, who writes under the pen-name "Shukri Zain", received his prize from the Crown Prince of Thailand at a ceremony which took place on Monday 23 September 1991 in Bangkok.

The South-East Asia Write Award (hereafter "SEAWA") is bestowed annually upon one writer from each of the six ASEAN countries. Previous winners from the Abode of Peace were as follows:

- | | |
|------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1986 | Awang Muslim Burmat (<i>nom de plume</i> of Haji Muslim bin Haji Burut; born 15 April 1943). |
| 1987 | Yang Dimuliakan Pehin Siraja Khatib Dato Paduka Seri Setia Usta Haji Awang Yahya bin Haji Ibrahim, Deputy Minister of Religious Affairs (born 21 August 1939). |
| 1988 | "Adi Marhaen" (<i>nama pena</i> employed by Haji Leman bin Ahmad born 25 March 1938). |

- 1989 "Adi Kelana" (*nama samaran* used by Haji Ibrahim bin Haji Muhammad Said, born 25 September 1934).
- 1990 Mohd Salleh Abdul Latif (born 22 September 1947).

Pehin Dato Mohd Zain was born on 30 August 1936 at Kampong Lurong Sikuna, one of the wards of Kampong Ayer, Bandar Seri Begawan (Brown 1970: 46, 48, 59-61). His Excellency was educated in Malay and Arabic, studying at the Al-Junied School in Singapore (1950-1955) and at the Muslim College, Kelang (1956-1959). In 1963 he became the first Brunei student to obtain a degree (BA in Islamic Law) from the prestigious Al-Azhar University in Cairo (founded 970 AD). Pehin Mohn Zain was subsequently awarded a doctorate *honoris causa* by a religious institute in Jakarta (Mas Osman 1987: 133 and Anonymous 1991a).

The minister began his government service on 11 December 1963 as Deputy Kadi Besar. He was then appointed Secretary of the Department of Religious Affairs (1 February 1965) and Kadi Besar (1 October 1967). He became Principal of Religious Affairs Officer on 1 November 1970. When the Ministry of Religious Affairs was created in October 1986, Pehin Dato Mohd Zain was a natural choice for the new portfolio and has remained in office to this day (Chalfont 1989: 128, 138-140; Mas Osman 1987: 133; and Ranjit Singh 1988: 66). His Excellency also sits on many of the councils of the state. Honours awards to him by His Majesty the Sultan include the DK, PSSUB, DSLJ, and PHBS, plus the "traditional" office of "Pehin Orang Kaya Ratna Diraja" (listed in Brown 1970: 201, No 16).

As a writer "Shukri Zain" has been active since his school days. His Excellency is a master of many genres, including poetry, the short story, drama (whether for stage, radio, or television), non-fiction (more than thirty monographs on Islamic subjects, as at April 1986), and song lyrics. His work has been widely published. Note that in the 1950s he used the *nama samaran* of "Mohd Zain Brunei" and in the 1960s "Mara Siswa" (Mas Osman 1987: 134).

Concerning the SEAWA 1991, Shukri Zain interprets the honour as a mark of respect, not just for himself, but for Brunei writers as a whole, besides being an endorsement of his high ideals which the Abode of Peace seeks to uphold (Anonymous 1991b). Of his predecessors, Yang Berhormat has a special admiration for the work of Pengiran Shahbandar Mohammed Salleh (the "Mahkota" of nineteenth century Brooke demonology) and of the late Seri Begawan Sultan (Aiddin H. M. 1991b).

A thanksgiving reception for His Excellency (and certain other prize-winners) was held in Bandar Seri Begawan on Friday 4 October 1991. Shukri Zain

suggested modestly that, given the presence of many other talented writers in Negara Brunei Darussalam, his own success in receiving the SEAWA 1991 was a piece of good fortune (*nasib baik*). The prize followed the appearance in 1990 of his book *Damai Damal Sentuhan (The Touch of Peace)*, an anthology of fifty *sajak* (Anonymous 1990a). An English translation of the Malay original - the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka published the collection with parallel Malay and English texts - may have brought its author to the attention of the SEAWA panel of judges, Yang Berhormat surmised (Haji Ahat 1991b).

Although Shukri Zain's outlook is rooted firmly in the tenets of Islam, his message - that peace, security and public welfare should be fostered for the benefit of present and future generations - is of relevance to all nations in South-East Asia irrespective of religion, ideology, race or class (Anonymous 1991b).

Mas Osman (1987:134-136) lists Shukri Zain's publications as follows:

- I. Periodicals to which Shukri Zain has contributed:
Utusan Kanak-Kanak, Tunas, Majalah Belia dan Kebajikan (Brunei). *Suara Guru, Al-Huda, Qalam* (Singapore).
- II. Anthologies to which Shukri Zain has contributed:
Puisi Hidayat (Jabatan Hal Ehwal Ugama, Brunei, nd).
Puisi Hidayat II (Jabatan Hal Ehwal Ugama, Brunei, nd).
Pakatan (DBP, Brunei, nd).
Bunga Rampai Sastera Melayu Brunei (DBP, KL, 1984).
- III. Stage Drama
Tujuh Penghuni Gua (Muslim College of Malaya, 6 December 1957).
Seri Begawan Yang Pertama (October 1970).
Sultan Omar Ali Saifuddin I (20 February 1972).
- IV. Radio Drama
Pada Illahi Menderma Bakti (Radio Brunei, 1959).
- V. Television Drama (for Brunei television)
Membangun (1975).
Harapkan Pagar (1975).
Sebelum Senja Terbenam (1975).
Bersama Fajar Menyingsing (1976).
Kain Buruk Berikan Kami (1976).
Benderang Di Kota Mekah (1977).
See also, Section VI, No.1 4 (*infra*).

VI. Islam

- 1-5 *Dasar-Dasar Pengajian Islam* (joint author, 5 volumes; published between January 1968 and October 1969).
- 6 *Benarkah Ugama Islam Statik dan Konservatif?* (1972).
- 7 *Israk dan Mikraj* (1975).
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- 9 *Perwira* (1976).
- 10-12 *Kitab Pelajaran Ibadat* (3 volumes, 1977).
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- 14 *Benderang Di Kota Mekah* (1977). See also, Section V (*supra*).
- 15 *Guru Yang Digalati* (1971).
- 16-20 *Zainut Talib* (5 volumes, 1979-1980).
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- 27 *Apa Faedah Taubat* (1982).
- 28 *Peranan Ugama Dalam Pentadbiran Kerajaan* (1982).
- 29 *Masuknya Islam dan Kesan-Kesannya Di Brunei* (1983)²
- 30-31 *Mimbar Hadith* (co-author; 2 volumes; n.d.)

- 32 *Lambaian Islam* (co-author; n.d.).

Shukri Zain has also composed the lyrics for at least eleven songs, including the official anthems of the Brunei Youth Council (of which Yang Berhormat was President from 1969 until 1978) and the Seri Begawan College for the Training of Teachers of Religion (Mas Osman 1987:136).³

Shukri Zain is married to Datin Hajjah Yukmas binti Mohammed. They have one son (called Mohd Shukri) and live along the Berakas Road (*ibid.*: 137).

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ABBREVIATIONS

ASTERAWANI	Angkatan Sasterawan dan Sasterawani (Brunei Writers' Association). Founded 1962.
*	Denotes all illustrated articles.
DBP	Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.
Dk.	Dayangku.
DK	Darjah Kerabat Seri Utama Yang Amat Dihormati.
DSLJ	Darjah Paduka Seri Laila Jasa Yang Amat Berjasa Darjah Kedua.
ISEAS	Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore.
KL	Kuala Lumpur.
NBD	Negara Brunei Darussalam.
nd	No date.
PHBS	Pingat Hassanal Bolkiah Sultan, Darjah Pertama.
PSSUB	Darjah Seri Ugama Islam Negara Brunei Yang Amat Bersinar, Darjah Pertama.
sd	Same date.
SEAWA	South-East Asian Write Award.

NOTES

1. His Royal Highness Prince Vajiralongkorn had paid an official visit to Negara Brunei Darussalam in May 1991 (Abdul Karim and Haniza Abdullah 1991; Haji Ahat 1991a; Pengiran Bahar *et al.* 1991; Dk. Fatimah and Bolhassan HAB 1991; and Zubaidah HS 1991).

2. See also, Pehin Dato Mohd Zain 1989.
3. For three of Pehin Dato Mohd Zain's more recent publications, see "Sources".

KALIMANTAN NEWS

For a period of 3 years, starting in November 1989, Messrs. D. Darnaedi (B) M. Hasabe, and M. Kato (TI) studied rheophytes in East Kalimantan.

Messrs. B. Sunarno and Wardi (BO) visited the mouth of the Rekut River in connection with the Ulu Barito Project. A total of 483 species were collected.

Tim Laman, a Harvard graduate student currently conducting his Ph.D. research on plant-animal interactions in the Gunung Palung region Borneo.

RESEARCH REPORT ON CENTRAL KALIMANTAN 1991

KMA M. USOP
Borneo Research Council Correspondent

The impact of modernization on traditions seems to be a strong developing trend among foreign and local researchers on Dayak culture in Central Kalimantan (Borneo):

1. Lucia C. Cargill BSN, RM, MA; Ph.D. Candidate, Medical Anthropologist, of the Department of Anthropology of the University of Colorado at Boulder, since early 1991 till the end of May 1991 focused her study on the impact of modern medical services on Ot Danum Dayaks of the Kahayan upriver villages around Tumbang Mahoroy. This area represents a frontier or a "meeting point" of modern and traditional medical services. The traditional treatment of diseases among the Ot Danums has been a mixture of spiritually and physically-linked practices. It is expected that this study would show interesting results on the interaction between the two systems.

2. Christina Kreps, MA, Ph.D. Candidate, of International Studies, Department of Anthropology of the University of Oregon, Eugene, OR 97430, also of USA, has been about eight months in Indonesia, mostly in Central Kalimantan, studying functions of the museum functions in Indonesian society and its role in social relations. Miss Kreps said: "I chose to study this (Central Kalimantan provincial museum in Palangkaraya) museum because it is relatively new...It is therefore possible to observe the museum in its early stages of development...So how or in what ways does the museum differ from its European and American counterparts?... Points of difference lie in the social and cultural context of the museum ... how the museum handles two important museological concerns: the representation of culture through objects and the representation of time."
3. KMA M. Usop, leading a Dayak Study Centre of the Universitas Palangkaraya, has been developing such trend and co-ordinating his colleagues. The orientation among the local researchers has been making studies on different aspects of culture e.g. traditional laws, technology, mythology, languages, social changes; religious activities, etc. with the view of finding relevant and sustainable concepts for modernization or revival of Dayak culture with the national Pancasila ideological framework.

In 1990-1991, Usop has been doing studies on topics like:

1. A model of traditional marriage.
2. The secondary burial Tiwah: spiritual, social (economic) and physical aspects.
3. Bahasa Sangiang: semantic parallelism or semantic integralism.
4. Dayak Literature.
5. The problem of national and traditional/regional cultures.
6. The role and function of the "Demang Kepala Adat" traditional law officials in a modern context.
7. Mythology: reviewing Schärer's manuscripts.
8. What is a *budayawan* (culturalist).

9. Eco(logical)-tourism for an underdeveloped region.
10. The *Batang Garing* tree of life.
11. Studies on spirits.

Palangkaraya, October 10, 1991

SABAH NEWS

Dr. B.S. Parris (AK) is putting the results of 17 years of Grammitidaceae data in a database. There are about 300 species, probably less in the final account. Work on a new system of Old World members is also being undertaken. She (with Dr. M Kato) is finishing a paper on the ferns of Cream and Ambon.

Mr. J. Kulip (SAN) is writing up a family of the Tree Flora of Sabah.

Gramineae -- Mr J Kulip (SAN) studies the bamboos of Sabah. He has found *Schizostachyum jaculans* in Kinarut.

Sabah -- From 9 - 15 May 1988 Dr. B.C. Tan (now in FH) and Dr. H.J.M. Sipman (b) visited Mt. Kinabalu to study the bryophyte and lichen zonation (see Chapter VII for a preliminary report).

VII. A Field Impression of the Lichen and Bryophyte
Zonation on Mount Kinabalu¹

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Botanischer Garten und Botanisches Museum,
Königin-Luise-Strasse 6 -- 8
D-1000 Berlin 33
and
B.C. Tan
Farlow Herbarium
22 Divinity Avenue
Cambridge, Mass. 02138, U.S.A

Vegetation descriptions of Mount Kinabalu (4101 m), the highest mountain in tropical Asia between the Himalayas and New Guinea, have resulted in different, conflicting zonations. Some stress more floristic affinities, others more on physiognomy. A lowland zone reaching to about 1000 m is usually distinguished. The next 2000 m comprising the mountain forests are treated in many different ways. A summit zone (above 3800 m) is recognized rather often (ca. Stapf, 1895; Gibbs, 1914; Meijer, 1963; Van Steenis, 1964; Menzel, 1988). In our opinion the most convincing is the zonation proposed by Van Steenis, who stressed the floristic composition. This comprises three zones:

1. the foothill zone below 1000 m;
2. the montane zone from 1000 to 2500 m;
3. the subalpine zone above 2500 m.

Since this zonation was based on phanerogam it was tempting to investigate whether it is reflected in the bryophytes and lichens.

For a review of the bryological exploration of Mt. Kinabalu see menzel (1988). Substantial lichonological exploration started with the collections made by Mason Hale (US) in 1964 which remain as the main source of knowledge of the lichen flora. Before that time only scattered specimens had been collected and afterwards several more lichen collectors have been on the mountain, but their results have not been published. No list of the lichens of Mt. Kinabalu has been made as yet. A provisional search yielded records for 54 taxa mainly taken from a few recent revisions. The actual lichen flora may include several hundred species.

1. Reprinted from *Flora Malesiana Bulletin*, Vol. 10(3), Sept. 1990, pp. 241-244.

Our observations were made during 7 days of fieldwork between 9 and 15 May 1989. On the southwest-slope the surroundings of the Park Headquarters and the Summit Trail (1500-4100 m) were visited, and on the South slope the Poring Hot Springs (500-900 m). Most of our collections, ca. 400 lichens and an equal number of bryophytes still have to be identified. The present report is therefore provisional and based on field observations only. The lichens will be deposited in B and the Park Headquarters, the bryophytes in NY, F, FH, L, and NICH.

The sites visited are largely the same ones where earlier bryophyte and lichen collections had been made. Notably above 2000 m all collections seem to be from the same trail. Since this sometimes follows a ridge and sometimes goes along slopes or through valleys, the local conditions of fog and shelter may have given a biased impression of the bryophyte and lichen flora. The other sides of the mountain seem to be completely unknown lichenologically and bryologically.

Generally speaking the zonation based on phanerogam seems to be reflected in the cryptogamic vegetation. However, additional subdivisions seem to be recognizable.

1. *Foothills zone, below 1000 m* -- Here, in the dipterocarp rain forests, the lichen flora shows the characteristics of a tropical lowland flora: scarcity of foliose and fruticose lichens, abundance of Graphidaceae, Thelotremaaceae, and foliicolous lichens. *Sticta* appears near the upper end of the zone. Common bryophytes are Calymperaceae, Fissidens, Himantocladium, Dumortiera, and Pallavicinia among the hepaticae. Many are restricted to small populations on rocks along creeks or near waterfalls in the forest. Epiphyllous hepatics are not conspicuous. Sulphurous fumes seem to have impoverished the lichen flora near the hot springs.
2. *Montane zone, 1000-2500 m* -- In the cryptogamic vegetation a subdivision is recognizable. However, the upper zone appears to be lichenologically impoverished and bryologically characterized by increased biomass rather than species composition. This supports Van Steenis' concept of a single montane zone.
 - 2a. *1000-2000 m: 'Oak forest zone'* -- The lichen flora of the montane forests below ca. 2000 m is usually rather similar to the foothills in many aspects; crustose lichens are common both on bark and on leaves, and macrolichens are not conspicuous at ground level. However, differences in species composition are apparent, e.g. a higher frequency of Stictaceae, Megalospora, and Spharophorus. In the tree crowns *Menegazzia* and *Usnea* are common. The bryophytes flora is characterized by conspicuous *Garovaglia*, *Hypnodendron*, *Leucobryum*,

Rhodobryum, Trachyloma, and members of the Meteoriaceae, Mniaceae, and Hookeriaceae (mainly epiphytic Daltonia and epilithic Distichophyllum). On wet rocks in shaded sites Diphygium and Fissidens are found and near streams in forests epiphyllous hepatics may be plentiful.

- 2b. 2000-2500 m: 'Mossy forest zone' -- At this elevation condensation reaches its maximum. The humidity is so high and constant that bryophytes abound everywhere inside the forests and lichens are largely restricted to the emergent treecrowns. Especially crustose lichens are much scarcer than in subzone 2a. Few lichens are able to survive between the thick moss cushions inside the forest, e.g. Lobaria species. In treecrowns species of Cetraria, Parmotrema, and Usnea aff. longissima occur, while Anzia semiteres is very common. Bryologically the subzone is mainly characterized by spectacular amounts of biomass. The dominant genera are the same as in subzone 2a. Interesting finds were Marchantia (seen around the Kamborongoh Telecommunication Station), Spiridens (Meijer, 1963), several species of Rhizogonium s.s., and Sematophyllaceae. Sphagnum blankets start to appear on the slopes.
3. Subalpine zone, above 2500 m -- Most authors have divided this zone mainly based on its physiognomy. The distribution of cryptogams indicates a considerable differentiation:
- 3a. 2500-3000 m: 'Dense dwarf-forest zone' -- Above ca. 2500 m the humidity decreases and more lichens appear on the trees, at first on exposed ridges, here Menegazzia shows up with perhaps 5 species; furthermore Anzia, Bryoria, Cetraria, Parmotrema, and Usnea. The inside of dense forests is still very mossy, but there is much Megalospora, Sphaerophorus, and Astictaceae in the undergrowth, with Leptogium, Menegazzia, and Pannariaceae in the tree crowns. The bryophytes attain both a high abundance and a high species diversity. Notably the gullies off the main trail with frequent fog and the vicinity of the Paka Cave are very rewarding places with interesting species of Dicranoloma (especially D. blumei, Ditrichum, Macromitrium, Mastopoma, Orthodontium, Plagiothecium, Sphagnum, Furariaceae, and Hookeriaceae (mainly Calypstrochaeta). Andreaea, Racocarpus, and Racomitrium start to appear at about the elevation of the Paka Cave extending all the way to the summit and thus support the concept of Van Steenis' subalpine zone. Bryum russulum was collected here. Among the hepatics Takakia (collected by Meijer, 1963, near the Paka Cave) should be

mentioned. Species of Pallaviciniaceae, Bazzania, Mastigophora, Plagiophila, Riccardia, and Schistochila are very abundant. Leafy hepatics often hang down from the branches much like Meteoriaceae at lower elevations.

- 3b. 3200-3800 m: 'Open dwarf-forest zone' -- Between Laban Rata and Sayat Sayat the forest is more open with still more dwarfed trees. These are less festooned with bryophytes. Locally lichens become more conspicuous. This is probably due to both a drier climate and reduced shelter from the more stunted trees. The lichens essentially seem to be the same species as at 2500-3200 m, e.g. Bryoria, Evarniastrum, Heterodermia leucomela, Hypogymnia, and Gyalectaceae in the shrubs, Stereocaulon on rocks, and Baeomyces on the soil. Among the mosses species of Brauneria, Dicranoloma, and Schlotheimia form conspicuous clumps or cushions on trees. Campylopus and Polutrichaceae abound on bare soil. Polytrichadelphus was collected for the first time on Mt. Kinabalu at this evaluation. Hepatics are the dominant component of the bryophytes, both in terms of biomass and of species diversity.
- 3c. Above 3800 m: 'Summit zone' -- Here the landscape is dominated by bare rockflats, whereas epiphytic habitats are scarce. Bryologically this subzone is characterized by epilithic and epigein mosses of the genera Andreaea, Campylopus, Grimmia, and Racomitrium, and a few species of Bryaceae. Where water stagnates in depressions on the rocky floor Racocarpus may form mats. Lichenologically two subzones are apparent. At 3800-4000 m the rockflats are nearly devoid of lichens. Above 4000 m on the summit plateau the rocks show vertical faces with lichens. This concerns in part species which usually prefer such habitats, such as Acarospora cf. chlorophana, but also other species which normally grow on more exposed rockfaces, such as Rhizocarpon cf. geographicum. Other genera represented include Arctoparmelia and Umbilicaria.

In the vegetation of ultrabasic rock no special lichens or mosses were found. The stunted open forests near Layang Layang show only the restrictions due to the limited choice in substrate. There is no indication that the lichen or bryophyte flora here more resembles those of higher elevations, or that it is especially rich. The grassy vegetation on ultrabasic soil near the Paka helipad has no terrestrial lichens contrary to what one would expect on such primary soil exposures. Nevertheless this site yielded an interesting moss: Tetraplodon mnioides, a dung moss.

The soil banks along the trail, a man-made habitat, have offered new opportunities for often very showy bryophytes and lichens. However, these tend to be wide-spread pioneer species not characteristic for Mt. Kinabalu. They, also, show an altitudinal zonation. Below 2000 m Stereocaulon (on rocky places), Cladonia, and several crustose lichen species were observed. In the humid forest between ca. 2000 and 2500 m few lichens and many Polytrichaceae (*Dawsonia longifolia*, *Pogonatum*), *Breutelia*, and hepatics were present. From ca. 2600 to 3200 m the banks do not differ much from the surroundings the show *Baeomyces* and *Stereocaulon staufferi*, which can be encountered on the natural rock exposures as well. It is remarkable that no *Cladina* has been found.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The authors like to thank especially the Sabah Park Staff, notably Mr. Eric Wong, the Warden, Dr. Jamini Nasi, the Ecologist, who were extremely helpful during our fieldwork. In addition the Boanischer Garten und Botanisches Museum Berlin-Dahlem, the New York Botanical Garden, and the Field Museum, Chicago, are gratefully acknowledged for financial support.

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Mr. A.D.H. Mohamad (UKMB) has completed a preliminary survey of the moss flora of Pangkor Island (Perak) (52 species) and is preparing for the Danur Valley (Sabah) (115 species).

SABAH MUSEUM'S ETHNOBOTANICAL GARDEN

An ethnobotanical garden has been created in the grounds of the Sabah Museum Complex to provide a living store of information about the uses of plants by the indigenous groups in Sabah. The grounds itself covers 43.43 acre of undulating land sandwiched between Jalan Kebajikan and Jalan Tunku Abdul Rahman. This ethnobotanical garden is initially a small area being developed into a series of trails planted alongside with herbs, shrubs and trees used by local indigenous people.

BACKGROUND

The ethnobotanical garden was created as a result of the growing academic and layman's interest in the extensive knowledge in the use of plants particularly by the older generation in many local ethnic groups. There was also an urge need to document this knowledge and the uses before the information dies out with the older generation. Moreover, many ethnic groups in Sabah depend on a variety of plants for a wide range of uses and it was necessary to record this aspect as part of the cultural documentation of the Sabah Museum. Research and documentation of these plants are on-going and efforts are being made to plant as many of the local ethnobotanical flora for this purpose. For Sabahan, especially the indigenous groups, plants are very important economically, providing food, medicine and raw materials for making a wide range of domestic and ritual implements.

FOOD PLANTS

Sabah which is part of the Bornean Malesian region is very fortunate to have at its disposal one of the richest and oldest flora in the world. This plant flora provides its inhabitants with an extremely varied diet. It has been estimated that there are at least 10,000 species of flowering plants in Borneo with at least 95% of them found in Sabah. The indigenous ethnic groups of Sabah exploit at least a quarter of the Bornean floral species for food, while the world rely on 20-odd major crops for staple food.

MEDICINAL PLANTS

The 'materia medica' of Sabah is still in its early stage of compilation with the Sabah Museum having collected so far some 450-600 species of them. In the Sabah Museum Ethnobotanical Garden at least a couple of hundred medicinal plants have been planted. These plants are used in concocting traditional herbal medicine to treat a wide range of ailments from simple coughs, diarrhoea, consumption, eye infection, skin problems, sores, cuts, boils, wounds, etc. to physiological diseases like hypertension and even malignant cancerous complaints.

A wide variety of plants are sometimes used to produce certain concoctions. Only certain parts of the plants (such as roots, bark, leaves, fruits and flowers) and sometimes the whole plants may be used for the concoction. The effectiveness of these medicines depends on the chemical compounds present in the plants and which materialize during preparation. Common types of preparation includes decoction or infusion, pounding or mastication of the plant and producing alcoholic elixirs. The method of preparation, however, also depends on taboos and religious beliefs of the ethnic groups. How potent these plants in such medicine depends on time, quantity and doses of medicine used. Large doses of some traditional herbal medicine may be toxic and cause side effects such as convulsions and even death. So knowledge of the properties of these plants is extremely important and it is NOT ADVISABLE to experiment with such herbal remedies without knowing the type of species of plants used and the methods of preparation.

MATERIAL CULTURE

Apart from precious stones, bones and other animal by-products such as feathers, beaks and shells, Sabah indigenous ethnic groups also use a variety of plants for their cultural and social needs. They use different parts of plants to build shelters, boats, manufacture hunting equipment and handicrafts, carry out ceremonies, and prepare darts' poisons and medicines. The wood, bark, and leaves provide basic components of many cultural objects and paraphernalia for many Sabahan ethnic groups. Items such as containers, fibres, dyes and ritual artifacts are produced from these plants

Today, although many traditional domestic implements have been replaced by modern substitutes easily purchased from local shops, these groups still manufacture them for domestic use or for sale as handicrafts.

If you have any comment, suggestion or knowledge of any ethnobotanical plants and their uses, please contact Mr. Joseph Pounis Guntavid at the Sabah Museum and State Archives Department or tel. 53199, or 225033.

Rafflesia flowers are the world's largest and the 16 species have become a symbol of conservation in Malaysia. In April, the Sabah Forestry Department opened the first *Rafflesia* information center as well as the 356 ha Tambunan *Rafflesia* Reserve. The reserve is designated for scientific research, conservation, and to promote public awareness of *Rafflesia* and its habitat. Six years ago, there were only three known *Rafflesia* sites in Sabah; today, there are more than 80. Publication of a new book, *Rafflesia: Magnificent Flower of Sabah*, by K. Mat Salleh, coincided with opening of the information center. Information: Borneo Publishing Company, A928, 9th floor, Wisma Merdeka, P.O. Box 12606 88829 Kota Kinabalu, Sabah, Malaysia. K. Mat Salleh, Beal-Darlington Herbarium, Department of Botany, Michigan State University, East Lansing, MI 48824-1115 USA.

No.	Botanical Name	Vernacular Name	Uses
1.	<i>Derris elliptica</i>	Tuba (BM), Tubo (D/K), Tuo (MUR)	Fish Stupor
2.	<i>Cycas rumphii</i>	Paku Laut (BM), Bowit (BAJ)	Ornamental, Food
3.	<i>Casuarina sumatrana</i>	Sempilau Kubit (BM), Coh (BAJ)	Ornamental
4.	<i>Derris thyriflora</i>	Tuba Munyiit (BM, BAJ), Tubo (D/K)	Fish Stupor
5.	<i>Acorus calamus</i>	Jeriangau (BM), Komburongoh (D/K), Kusul (MUR), Lompungut (BAJ)	Medicine, Ritual, Talisman
6.	<i>Curcuma longa</i>	Kunyit (BM, D/K, BAJ), Kunit (MUR)	Medicine, Food, Dye
7.	<i>Andrographis paniculata</i>	Akar Bidara (BM), Mompoit (D/K)	Medicine
8.	<i>Cymbopogon citratus</i>	Serai (BM), Sogumau (D/K), Sahumau (MUR)	Medicine, Food, Perfume
9.	<i>Elephantopus scaber</i>	Tapak Sulaiman (BM), Saraman (D/K)	Medicine
10.	<i>Cymbopogon nardus</i>	Serai Wangi (BM)	Medicine, Perfume
11.	<i>Sesbania grandiflora</i>	Kembang Kuri (BM), Balanga/ Kambang Tuli (D/K)	Medicine, Food
12.	<i>Lepironia articulata</i>	Bundusan (D/K)	Mats
13.	<i>Piper betle</i>	Sireh (BM), Daing (D/K), Buyuh (MUR)	Medicine, Masticatory
14.	<i>Fagraea fragrans</i>	Tembusu (BM), Tambasu/Tomindation (D/K)	Medicine, Building Material
15.	<i>Centella asiatica</i>	Pegaga (BM), Pagago (D/K)	Medicine, Food
16.	<i>Basella rubra</i>	Remayong (BM), Dudula (BAJ) Tongilung/Dundula (D/K)	Medicine, Food, Yeart
17.	<i>Arcangelisia flava</i>	Lagtang (Bonggi)	Fish Stupor
18.	<i>Languas galanga</i>	Langkuas (BM), Hongkuas (D/K)	Medicine, Food, Yeast
19.	<i>Blumea balsamifera</i>	Sambung (BM), Tawawoh (D/K)	Medicine
20.	<i>Coix lacrychama-jobi</i>	Jelai (BM), Dalai (D/K)	Medicine, Food, Bread
21.	<i>Lawsonia inermis</i>	Inai (BM, BRU)	Dye, Nail Dye
22.	<i>Caryota mitis</i>	Beredin (BM), Botu/Bukato (D/K) Sasautan (MUR)	Medicine, Irritant, Food
23.	<i>Eurycoma apiculata</i>	Tongkat Ali (BM), Wonod Mondou/Tombuid (D/K)	Medicine
24.	<i>Angiopteris evecta</i>	Paku Gajah (BM), Paku Rundum/Pakuntiou (D/K)	Medicine, Food

No.	Botanical Name	Vernacular Name	Uses
25.	<i>Monihot esculenta</i>	Ubikayu (BM), Mundok (D/K), Ilui (MUR)	Medicine, Food, Alcoholic Drink
26.	<i>Pandanus odoratissimus</i>	Mengkuan (BM)	Mats, Artifact
27.	<i>Donax cannaeformis</i>	Bamban (BM, BAJ), Lias (D/K, MUR)	Medicine, Artifact
28.	<i>Tamarindus indica</i>	Asam Jawa (BM), Tansom Jawa (D/K)	Medicine, Food
29.	<i>Ficus fistulosa</i>	Arah Serapat (BM), Lintotobou (D/K)	Medicine
30.	<i>Cassia alata</i>	Gelenggang (BM), Gombizang/Gombirang (D/K), Balilang (MUR)	Medicine
31.	<i>Nymphaea pubescens</i>	Teratai (BM), Tongkuvavaig (D/K)	Food, Ornamental
32.	<i>Dryobalanops lanceolata</i>	Kapur Paji (BM)	Timber
33.	<i>Dillenia suffruticosa</i>	Daun Simpup (BM), Doingin/Mondoringin (D/K)	Medicine, Wrapper
34.	<i>Nephelium lappaceum</i>	Rambutan (BM), Langahau/Rangarau (D/K)	Fruit
35.	<i>Nephelium mutabilis</i>	Meritam (BM), Longitom/Rongitom (D/K)	Fruit
36.	<i>Artocarpus heterophyllus</i>	Nangka (BM), Nangko (D/K)	Fruit
37.	<i>Artocarpus odoratissimus</i>	Terap (BM), Timadang (D/K), Kikian (MUR)	Fruit
38.	<i>Baccaurea lanceolata</i>	Kunau-Kunau (BM), Liposu (D/K), Limpasu (MUR)	Fruit
39.	<i>Asplenium nidus</i>	Tapako (D/K), Tampako (MUR)	Medicine, Ornamental
40.	<i>Laportea stimulans</i>	Jelatang (BM), Tohipoi (D/K), Tahipai (MUR)	Trichomes Irritant
41.	<i>Magifera pajang</i>	Bambangan (D/K)	Fruit
42.	<i>Cocos nucifera</i>	Kelapa (BM), Piasau (D/K)	Medicine, Fruit
43.	<i>Psidium guajava</i>	Jambu Batu (BM), Biabas/Kaliabas (D/K)	Medicine, Fruit
44.	<i>Durio ziberthinus</i>	Durian (BM), Hampun/Lampun (D/K)	Fruit
45.	<i>Garcinia hombroniana</i>	Manggis Hutan (BM)	Fruit
46.	<i>Eusideroxylon zwagerii</i>	Belian (BM), Bulian (D/K), Tahas (MUR)	Timber
47.	<i>Alphilonia incana</i>	Paku Dita (BM)	Medicine
48.	<i>Podocarpus rumphii</i>	Mengilan Bukit (BM)	Ornamental
49.	<i>Bixa orellana</i>	Kesumba (BM), Pulog (MUR)	Dye
50.	<i>Antiaris toxicaria</i>	Pokok Ipoh (BM), Paliu (MUR)	Darts

No.	Botanical Name	Vernacular Name	Uses
51.	Mangifera caesia	Bulunu (DK), Bunu (MUR)	Fruit
52.	Bambusa vulgaris	Buluh Minyak (BM), Tamalang/Tamahand (D/K), Tambalang (MUR)	Medicine, Food, Artifact
53.	Vitex pubescens	Kulimpapa (BM), Kalipapoh (D/K)	Ornamental
54.	Cyrtostachys lakka	Pinang Raja (BM), Malawaring/Singkukutut (K/D)	Ornamental
55.	Gendarussa vulgaris	Gandarusa (BM), Tombiau/Salimbangun (D/K), Koungan Sidom (IDA)	Medicine, Ornamental

KEY TO THE LIST:

BM	Bahasa Malaysia
D/K	Dusun/Kadazan Language
BAJ	Bajau Language
MUR	Murut Language
BRU	Brunei Language
BONGGI	Bonggi Language
IDA	Ida'an Lanaugae
NO.	Number of Plant Label

SABAH MUSEUM PUBLICATIONS

The Sabah Museum has published 21 titles which appear on the following pages:

NO. TITLE	YEAR OF PUBLICATION	AUTHOR/EDITOR/COMPILER	SELLING PRICE MS
1. Sabah Museum Annals No. 1	1979	SIL Malaysia	3.00
2. Sabah Museum Annals No. 2	1980	SIL Malaysia	3.00
3. Commemorative History of Sabah: Hard Cover Soft Cover	1981	Anwar Sullivan and Cecilia Leong	35.00 20.00
4. Sabah History in Picture 1881-1981	1981	Johan M. Padasian	20.00
5. Sabah Museum Monograph No. 1	1984	Michael and Alana Boutin	7.00
6. Sepintas Lalu Mengenal: Adat Istimadat Dusun/Kadazan Kola Belud	1986	Mohd. Razalee Goroh	3.00
7. Cerita Dongeng Sabah Siri 2, Murut Timugon (Timugon-Bahasa Malaysia-English)	1986	Richard Brewis	3.00
8. Sabah Museum and Archives Journal Vol. I, No. 1	1986	Anwar Sullivan	12.00
9. Sabah Museum Monograph No. 1, Part II	1986	Michael E. Boutin	12.00
10. A Trilingual Phrase Book (Sungai [Labuk Sugut]-Bahasa Malaysia-English) Series A No. 1	1988	John and Julie King	8.50
11. Learn to speak Timugon (Timugon Murut-English Series C, No. 1)	1988	Kiello A. Brewis	11.00
12. Learn to speak Banggi (Banggi-English) Series C, No. II	1988	Michael Boutin	5.00
13. A Trilingual Phrase Book (Murut Timugon-Bahasa Malaysia-English) Series A, No. II	1988	Kiello and Richard Brewis	10.50
14. Sabah Museum and Archives Journal Vol. I, No. 2	1988	Anwar Sullivan	16.50
15. Sabah Museum Monograph 1988, Vol. 2 (Archaeological Research in S.E. Sabah)	1988	Peter Bellwood	21.50
16. Learn to speak 'Tatana' (Tatana-English) Series C, No. III	1989	Phyllis A. Dunan Chan and Inka Pekkanen	8.50

NO. TITLE	YEAR OF PUBLICATION	AUTHOR/EDITOR/ COMPILER	SELLING PRICE MS
17. A trilingual Phrase Book (Ida'an-Bahasa Malaysia-English), Series A, No. III	1989	David C. and Marsha Ann Moody	7.00
18. Belajar Bercakap Bahasa Kadazan (Kadazan-Bahasa Malaysia), Series C, No. IV	1989	John and Carolyn Miller	11.50
19. Labuk-Kinabatangan Kadazan-Malay-English Vocabulary Series B, No. 1	1989	Hope M. Hurlbut	14.50
20. Sabah Museum Monograph 1898, Vol. 3	1989	Chazally Ismail	13.50
21. Social Organization of Sabah Societies Hard Cover Soft Cover	1990	Sherwood G. Lingenfeller	28.00 14.00

SARAWAK NEWS

SAR organized four major trips in 1990. In March 606 herbarium specimens and 216 living ones were collected in the Hidden Valley and G. Mulu. In May 306 numbers were made in the Simalajau National Park Bintulu. In October a trip was made to Batang Ali, Sri Aman, where 368 herbarium specimens and 81 living ones were found. In November there was a joint expedition with the BM and E to the Eastern part of the G. Mulu.

Smaller trips were made as well. In March an ethnobotanical collecting trip was made to Limbang and Bekanu (297 specimens). Various assessments were made: in June that of the Rattan Trial Plot in Semengoh and Sampadi and of the Mangrove Ecological Transect at Sematan Stetlan Mangrove Forest; in July that of the Forest Arboreum, Semengoh; and in August that of the Ecological Plot in Heath Forest Sabal Kuching. -- H.S. Lee.

A team of 10 people from BM, E, and SAR spent 21 days (8-29 November 1990) on the western side of *Gunung Mulu N.P.*, an area not visited by the Sarawak-Royal Geographic Society Expedition of 1977/78. The expedition was lead by Yii Puan Ching, botanist of the Forest Herbarium (SAR), Forest Department Sarawak, and included botanist Runi Sylvester and four Forest Guards/tree climbers (SAR), and Josephine Camus, Clive Jermy (BM), and Maureen Warwick (E), and Harry Taylor(BM), who accompanied the party as a photographer.

The party was able to approach the western boundary of the Park (the Sungei Ubung) by logging road (not possible in 1979) from the Sungei Rumpit Logging Camp on the Tutuh River, and was grateful to the Sin Yang Timber Company for providing free transport for this phase. Penan porters and guides were hired at Long Iman where the Penan that normally live inside the Park have established, at their request, a longhouse; many had relatives living in forest in Ulu Ubung and knew the area well.

Once in the Park the party made for the mountain ridges between Tapin, Macong, and Ubung Rivers. The objective was to approach the summit of G. Mulu from the East, but steep and dense vegetation in the upper montane forest zone made this impossible in the time available. Collections were first made in the Alluvial forest by S. Ubung and in the logged area on the lefthand bank of the river where several trees were in flower.

The Mixed Dipterocarp Forest formation was narrow on this East side of the Park, due to the steepness of the ridge. A camp was made at 1051 m, and both the lower montane and upper montane (short facies) forest were worked to a height of 1450 m. There was a obvious rain shadow on this side of the mountain compared with much wetter 'moss forests' of the West route.

The UK party spent a further ten days based at Park Headquarters on the Melinau and at Camps 4 and 5 making specialists collections. The following specimen numbers were collected: Yii & Runi S. (297 nos, SAR, dupl. E), Jermy (no 18941-19076) & Camus (332 pteridophytes, 287 bryophytes, 116 phanerogams: BM, dupl. SAR, bryophytes L) Living plants were collected for E, K, and SAR.

Jermy also had discussions with Paul Chai (Min. of Tourism) and Park Development Officer, Victor A. Luna Amen, on aspects of Park management, developments since 1979, and the future of interpretation and ecotourism in the Park. The Park now attracts some 4,000 visitors a year, mostly Malaysians, but an increasing number of tours from North America and Europe. Considerable sums have been spent by the Sarawak Government to develop the Headquarters complex, and on board walks to protect the fragile alluvial forest floor. The caves, Mulu's greatest tourist asset, have been developed successfully and will continue to attract many visitors. Most of these people now want to see, and try to understand the tropical forest ecosystem.

A database containing the pteridophytes of the Park is now to be extended to include the 1,600 phanerogams, and the bryophyta and lichens collected and identified over the past ten years of botanical exploration of this rich tropical rain forest site. -- C. Jermy.

Under the **National Park (Amendment) Ordinance of Sarawak, 1990**, Sect 2 (1), part 1, 46 species of plants have been listed as 'totally protected': all *Rafflesia* spp, *Diperocarpus oblongifolius*, and as 'protected': a few palms, orchids, *Shorea*, *Sonneratia*, etc. It is hoped that these species will so be protected from extinction. (At least this is a beginning, but 46 out of many thousands of endangered plants is only a small drop in the bucket. (JFV)

A Seminar on the Status Herbarium and Systematic Resources, Malaysia, was held on 28 and 29 June 1990 in Kuching, organized by SAR. Among others the establishment of a National Herbarium was discussed as a central facility for reference to and research on all Malaysian species.

SAR by the end of 1990 had 101,813 sheets. 2168 number were collected in 1990.

The **Semengoh Botanical Research Centre** has a total number of 640 living plants collected in 1990. Most of the plants have been planted out as part of the ex-situ conservation program pioneered by the Centre.

Mr A Talib bin Othman joined the Botany Unit of SAR in February 1990 as Forest Botanist, to leave again in December to study at the Oklahoma University.

THE FUTURE OF BIODIVERSITY IN SARAWAK

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The Future of Biodiversity in Sarawak. Sarawak, on the northwest corner of Malaysia Borneo, is one of the centers of biological diversity in the Old World Tropics; it is also one of the world's leading exporters of tropical hardwood logs, primarily Dipterocarpaceae. Logging activity threatens the environment and social fabric of the country. Wildlife and fish populations have declined near towns and logging areas due to environmental damage and habitat loss. The problems of the Penan, a small group of indigenous hunting-and-gathering people, have captured the attention of Western audiences and led to calls for a timber boycott. Numerous international organizations have sent fact-finding missions to Sarawak. The conclusion is that most of Sarawak's production forests will be selectively logged by the end of the century at the current rate of harvesting, followed by a precipitous decline in export earnings and rural employment.

Despite the continued harvesting of logs, there are grounds for cautious optimism. Rural population density in Sarawak is low and most areas remain in forest following selective logging. In many other countries, selectively logged forests are clear cut by farmers. The Sarawak government has set aside 2% of its area as national parks and wildlife sanctuaries, and will devote another 6% of its land to parks. Malaysia has shown the ability to protect its established parks. Of the 9000 hunting-and-gathering Penan, only about 300 are still truly nomadic, with the rest transitional between nomadic and settled. The government intends to reserve two large forest areas in addition to the existing parks for Penan who want to remain in the forest. The Sarawak government has agreed in principle to reduce logging at a level that is sustainable, although logging will probably continue until most of the commercial timber has been removed. However, logging may decline in the next few years as inexpensive softwoods reach the market. Already, Japanese manufacturers are making plans to increase their use

of temperate softwoods for plywood. Finally, the issue of conservation has emerged as a significant topic on the political agenda of Malaysia as well as other southeast Asian countries, as a result of international pressure and an indigenous environmental movement that has elected at least one member to the Federal government.

Thus, while the forests of Sarawak are being reduced in area and altered in structure due to selective logging and shifting agriculture, most of the countryside remains forested and large sections of primary forest are being preserved in national parks, indigenous reserves and wildlife sanctuaries. If these parks can be maintained, most of Sarawak's species will probably be protected. Although this situation may not be ideal, it offers hope for a reasonable compromise between short-term economic gains and conservation. (*Tropinet*, Vol. 2, No. 2, Summer 1991, Biotropica Supplement No. 30.)

BOOK REVIEWS, ABSTRACTS, AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

BOOK REVIEWS

Wong Mee Lian, *Women in Health and Community Development. A Case Study of the Berawans in Sarawak, Social Issues in Southeast Asia*, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore, 1991, xiv, 48 pp.

The research on which this publication is based was undertaken when Dr. Wong held a one-year Rockefeller Foundation Fellowship in 1989-90, administered by the Institute of South-East Asian Studies in Singapore. The focus of the study is the relationship between the role of women and the promotion and development of health and more general social welfare in a Berawan community of the Baram District of Sarawak. It was from the 1960s that the Malaysian government began to realize and plan for the importance of health in community development. In the case of Sarawak a primary health care project for rural areas was initiated in 1979. It involved the training of local village health care promoters and the encouragement of a greater local self-reliance in these matters.

In the event, the health care programme had only limited success. Dr. Wong identifies various problems in the rural development process in Sarawak. It was the product of centralized, top-down planning, which led to greater local

dependency rather than initiative and resilience. There was therefore a lack of attention to the actual needs and views of village people. More especially, the role and status of women were neglected; there was generally a lack of attention to the important contribution which women make to such activities as the provision of health care and subsistence agriculture. Changes had also been implemented too rapidly, and there had been very little monitoring and evaluation of projects.

To begin to remedy this situation Dr. Wong established a "participatory action research project" in the Berawan longhouse of Long Jegan. The village comprised 450 people; households still practiced shifting cultivation, while many of the young men worked in the nearby logging camps. Dr. Wong takes us through the various stages of the project; initially the local women were encouraged to express their views and perceptions on health and illness; then to determine the extent of the problems which they faced through conducting a small questionnaire-survey, and then to identify and prioritize the problems. Finally, they had to organize a programme to help solve these problems; their priority was to effect improvements in their children's health. The solutions proposed to improve child welfare in the community were the establishment of a kindergarten and a child feeding programme.

After ten months the local women and Dr. Wong, as project coordinator, evaluated their progress. Clearly the pilot project had been successful in both qualitative and quantitative terms, not least in demonstrating that it was sustainable and that those involved could manage it by the use of their own resources and initiative. One has to be impressed by the ways in which the project helped the women to help themselves.

Dr. Wong, in her conclusions, therefore argues for a greater degree of involvement on the part of change agents, who therefore require some skills in handling human relationships. Logically, she also points to the need for greater flexibility in development project implementation to take account of local needs, interests and capacities. This in turn indirectly suggests a greater role for appropriate technology and *in situ* development projects.

All this is good advice, but one is still faced with the issue of the control which governments wish to exercise over development initiatives and the local population, and therefore of the reluctance with which bureaucrats are prepared to grant a greater degree of local participation and independence. Furthermore, the scheme described by Dr. Wong demonstrates a high level of commitment and skill on the part of the coordinator, capabilities which are often quite difficult to find among most administrators working in government development projects. Still, Dr. Wong does make a convincing case for a set of objectives for which we should aim.

What also intrigued me about her experiment was the way in which she managed to win over the support of the local elite and work through it. It is

clear that the dependency of the ordinary villager was not just a product of external circumstances. The village headman and his close relatives would seem to have had a dominant position in local organizations, so much so that they controlled and ran the main village development committees and, in the event, were also appointed to lead the new structures established by Dr. Wong's project. In this regard, Dr. Wong's description of village meetings as "democratic and rather officious", perhaps understates the power and influence of the village elite. She also argues that the traditional village class system "has lost its importance" (p. 14). She does not tell us whether the headman was of the traditional high rank, but I suspect that he was. In any case, it appears that the project would not have got off the ground had the village leaders taken exception to it, or if they had perceived that it threatened their established position. It would have been useful if Dr. Wong had explored this dimension a little more.

Finally, it might have helped had Dr. Wong provided more information on the Sarawak experience in rural development to provide a context of her own work. After all a rather similar experiment in encouraging local participation and community development had been conducted by J. K. Wilson among the Ibans of Budu in the 1950s.

Despite these quibbles, Dr. Wong gives us an interesting read which has both theoretical and practical implications in the field of development planning and implementation, especially with regard to the involvement of women in rural development processes. (V. T. King, Hull)

Malayan Naturalist 43/1 & 2: Conservation and Utilization of Malaysian Palms. November 1989. Malayan Nature Society, P.O. Box 10750, 50724 Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. Many black-and-white photographs. Price M\$ 4.00 for members; M\$10.00 for non-members.

The first three chapters deal with the conservation status of Malaysian palms in respectively Peninsular Malaysia (by R. Kiew), Sabah (by J. Dransfield & D. Johnson) and Sarawak (by K. Pearce).

Kiew gives a geographic description of the region, a very short account of the palm flora, a paragraph on threats to survival, and changes in the list of The Conservation Status of Peninsular Malaysian Indigenous Palms from 1987 by Kiew & Dransfield. In Appendix 1 a revised version of this list is given. Table 1 gives a list of endangered palms in Peninsular Malaya. Threatened palms occurring in protected places are dealt with in one general and some special sections. Also a list of Malaysian species cultivated in Botanic Gardens is given.

Dransfield & Johnson give, after a small introduction, a list of the Conservation Status of the Palms in Sabah.

Pearce again starts with a geographic description of the region, followed by an account of the palm flora, a checklist of indigenous palms of Sarawak and their conservation status (also giving local names). Sections on threats to palms

and the presence of threatened palms in the botanic gardens, public parks, and private collections are also included.

After the chapters on conservation status a nice chapter "Nature Notes" is given by Kiew & G.W.H. Davison, with sections on epiphylls, epiphytes, litter trapping species, palm-ant relations, fungi, palms as source of food for animals, palms as living space for animals and conclusions.

The last two chapters deal with the utilization of palms in Peninsular Malaysia (Kiew) and in Sarawak (Pearce). They give a wealth of information indeed, also on the economic aspects of the utilization. Palms are used for such different items as for making cigarette paper, sugar and alcohol, salt, building fish traps and bridges, weaving mats, hats, and baskets, and some of the fruits are eaten. The commercial value of rattans, which is by no means of little importance, is discussed. A section of palms used in villages is added.

In the chapter of Pearce photographs are given of the many ways of using weaved rattan as baskets, chair seats, mats, hats, etc.

This issue of the Malayan Naturalist is a very useful source of knowledge of palms and their uses, as well as their conservation status in Malaysia. -- H.P. Nooteboom.

Holm-Nielsen, L.B., I.C. Nielsen & H. Balsley (Eds.). 1989. Tropical Forests, Botanical Dynamics, Speciation and Diversity. xv. + 380 pp, illus. Academic Press Ltd., London, San Diego. ISBN 0-12-32355-6 £ 24.50 (hardcover).

These are the beautifully executed Proceedings of the Symposium on Tropical Forests, Aarhus, Denmark, 1988. Many of the subjects deal with aspects of neotropical botany, the theoretical ones may have applications to Malesian botany as well. There are four parts. The first deals with dynamics and is opened by R.A.A. Oldeman, who tries to provide a theoretical basis to link the various hypotheses.

G. Irion and J. Salo & M. Räsänen discuss the history and hierarchy of the landscape of the Amazon lowlands which may be compared to those of Malesia. Due to a turbulent history present-day distribution patterns are extremely complex and no overall explanation can be given to unify them. An example of the tree distribution influenced by the flood tolerance in Central Amazonia is given by W.J. Junk. It is curious to note that he does not mention the term 'rhephyte', nor refers to Van Steenis' manual on that subject, although he describes various aspects of the phenomenon.

Various authors show that the gap phase is the driving force in maintaining species diversity. I don't think that G.S. Hartshorn's conclusion that narrow strip clear-cuts in primary forests simulating natural gaps enhances species diversity should be misinterpreted as if logging roads would be 'good' for the forest!

E.F. Brünig & Y.-W. Huang observed surprisingly consistent patterns and species richness in the heath- and peat swamp forests of Borneo and the rain

forests of China. Richness is primarily controlled by site factors; the evenness of the mixture, however, is more closely species related.

D. Barthélémy, C. Edelin & F. Hallé summarize the architectural concepts which analyses plant development.

M.D. Swaine gives a summary of the current understanding of forest dynamics in terms of tree populations.

In the second part, speciation, A.H. Gentry tackles the question of why there are so many species in tropical forests. There is not a single answer to this, except that there is a rich array of speciation phenomena. For instance, hybridization may be much more wide spread and common than thought. Clearly tropical plants are not conservative but have a broad and diverse quiver of evolutionary strategies. The nice theory of refugia in South American has turned out to be artificial and probably only true in exceptional cases, just as the interruption of gene flow on habitat gradients followed by disruptive selection. Many Amazonian species are apparently edaphic specialists. Whether this can be said of Malesian species is another thing.

R. Geesink & D.J. Kornet argue that species are 'individuals' in the philosophical sense rather than sets of similar specimens constituting classes of objects. They see species as self-organizing information systems, and evolutionary process as an entropy increasing process. They then test these thoughts on some examples of *Leguminosae* mainly from Malesia.

Z.-Y. Chen briefly describes the evolutionary patterns in cytology and pollen structure of *Zingiberaceae* of tropical Asia, i.e. mainly Chinese, and suggests that active evolution is presently taking place.

K. Iwatsuki summarizes the present state of knowledge in the speciation of the *Asplenium unilateral* complex, whereby it is suggested that sect. *Hymenasplenium* may constitute a distinct genus.

The mainly continental Southeast Asia species of *Justicia* and *Rungia* are redefined by B. Hansen, and many are reduced.

In the third part, diversity, P.S. Ashton again tackles the problem of the extraordinary richness of species in tropical rain forests. Tilman has hypothesized that this would be primarily determined by the abundance of physical environmental resources, enhanced by small-scale heterogeneity in those resources which are limiting to plant survival and growth. This is confirmed to a remarkable extent by dipterocarps, but not by other species, according to data from plots in Borneo. There is a strong correlation with soil magnesium and to a lesser extent with phosphorus. Of great importance again is canopy disturbance. It is interesting to note that gap formation varies greatly with soils. On friable soils, fertile or not, large gaps are least frequent. On poor structured soils, however, they are more frequent, and here, too, species richness is the highest.

In the final part, a historical and ethnographical one, V.K.S. Shukla & I.C. Nielsen take the case of cocoa butter as an example of the possible application of

the harvests of agroforestry. Because of the uncertainty of the production of this butter with prizes fluctuating wildly, industry has been looking around for alternatives. These are provided by oils of several species, most of which are wild crops not yet commercially in cultivation, e.g. *Butyrospermum parkii* (shea), *Madhuca latifolia* and *M. longifolia* (both 'mowrah'), *Shorea robusta* (sal), and ca. 20 species of *Shorea* from Borneo (illipe), e.g. *S. macrophylla*, *S. stenoptera* (fruiting annually in Java!). -- J.F. Veldkamp.

Flora Malesiana. Rijksherbarium/Hortus Botanicus, Leiden, The Netherlands.

Malesia is a phytogeographical unit embracing the countries Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Papua New Guinea, Singapore, and Brunei Darussalam. Floristically, the area is one of the richest in the world and it contains an estimated 3,000 species of Ferns and Fern-allies as well as roughly 25,000 species of Seed Plants.

In Flora Malesiana eight volumes of Series I (Seed Plants) and one volume of Series II (Pteridophytes) have already been published. These revisions cover about one fifth of the species, belonging to some 170 families, ranging from very small to very large. Of the large families the Anacardiaceae, Burseraceae, Convolvulaceae, Cyperaceae, Dipterocarpaceae, Ericaceae, and Fagaceae should be mentioned.

At the moment some 90 taxonomists, recruited from some 20 countries around the world, are engaged in the preparation of new family treatments.

Plants form the basis of all food and most energy production on Earth: They are the Basis of our Life. our knowledge of plant biodiversity is made available in organized form in Floras, most prominently in those Floras that cover a large part of the earth's surface. Given its enormous scope and thoroughness with which it is being prepared, the Flora Malesiana must rate as not only a major achievement of plant science, but as a fundamental contribution to all applied activities making use of, of relying on existing knowledge of plants and vegetations.

Chin, Lucas, and Valerie Mashman, eds. Sarawak Cultural Legacy: A Living Tradition. Kuching, Sarawak, Malaysia, Society Atelier Sarawak. 1991.

Sarawak Cultural Legacy: A Living Tradition is the most recent in a series of coffee-table books, but no less important than earlier publications. Several years in production, the collection includes chapters on the environment, prehistory and history and peoples, together with chapters on representative features of the material cultures of all major societies: carving by Malays, Iban, Bidayuh and Orang Ulu; a general article on fabrics and chapters on the Iban *pua' kumbu'* and Malay *kain songket* and *selayah*; ceramics of Melanau, Iban, Kelabit and Chinese;

brassware and silverware; beads; basketwork; musical instruments; architecture; and an assessment of the probable future of the crafts of Sarawak's peoples.

Legacy is important because it includes the first major contributions of several local authors. There is considerable variation in writing-style among the authors, and the editors are to be commended for not overworking the chapters to achieve a single style and standard of authorship.

The book is well illustrated with color photographs and drawings, and the final product is quite handsome. The quality of the publication was made possible by generous financial support of the Shell companies of Malaysia and by the perseverance of the editors and those associated with them, especially Mrs. Dearna Ibrahim, chair of the Society Atelier's Book Committee. The launching concurred with the 100th anniversary of Shell's work in Sarawak.

Sarawak Cultural Legacy is available through the Curio Shoppe, Kuching, for M\$120 hardcover, and well worth the price.

Morris, Stephen. *The Oya Melanau*. Malaysian Historical Society (Sarawak Branch). 1991.

The Oya Melanau, "a parish history" in the author's words, is the climax of four decades research on the Melanau of the Oya River by Professor Stephen Morris, and yet another publication sponsored by a local organization devoted to scholarship. Morris' initial fieldwork was conducted from 1948 to 1950 under the auspices of the British Colonial Social Science Research Council and the Government of Sarawak. He paid subsequent visits in 1963-64, 1966, 1967, 1970-71, and 1981. His revisits provided opportunities to observe the changes occurring in Melanau society, and provides a basic analysis which "may persuade local historians to check and add to this account of some of the history of the Melanau's unusual and attractive civilisation" (vii).

The book contains 15 chapters with extensive (almost 100 pages of) notes. The chapters analyze Melanau history and relations with other societies, settlements, social organization including kinship and rank, economy, and changes in economy and administration between 1861 and 1950. Two of the most important discussions are reserved for the final chapters, viz. "Law, Custom and Politics" and "Sequel". The volume is well illustrated with photographs and maps.

Donald, Jimmy. *Keling of the Raised World*. Kuala Lumpur, Penerbit Fajar Bakti Sdn Bhd. 1991

Keling of the Raised World is a delightful English translation of "an ancient Iban tale" of the most popular of the Iban gods and his adventures. *Panggau Libau* is part of "a seamless universe" lying between earth and heaven. This epic, obtained by the author through recordings made with three Iban *lemambang*,

includes most of the major characters of Iban folklore, and many of the themes most important to understanding what apparently are inimical Iban culture and values, viz. modesty and pride, understatement and exaggeration, caution and daring. The story, as many Iban stories about Keling, is centered on his courtship of Kumang the Goddess of Beauty. Like most such stories, this account includes episodes of Keling's magical powers and of his ability to transform his appearance into something altogether repulsive, in this instance, "The Hunchback" (*Sebungkok*). He dispatches all adversaries and, in the end, discloses himself to Kumang whom he weds and with whom he lives in Panggau Libau.

One can urge publication of the Iban text.

Jimbun Tawai. Ayor: *Ensera Klasik Iban*. Kuching, Vanguard Press Sdn Bhd. 1991.

This story, like *Keling of the Raised World*, contains many of the themes central to Iban culture and is a well-written Iban epic. The principal character is Ayor, an unfortunate who is hideously ugly and with personal habits that many less compassionate peers found repugnant. Like Keling, Ayor demonstrates an ability to overcome every adversity. The story is reminiscent of the observation that "man looks on the outer appearance but God on the heart." Though physically unattractive, he is noble and brave. The author's skill in setting up the humorous incidents is most entertaining.

Just as one may hope to see the Iban text for *Keling of the Raised World*, so one may urge that this Iban text be translated into English for publication.

Belang. 1989. *Het belang van de buitengewesten: economische expansie en koloniale staatsvorming in de buitengewesten van Nederlands-Indie, 1870-1942/onder red. van A.H.P. Clemens en J. Th. Lindblad*. - Amsterdam: NEHA, 306 p. : bibl., ill.

This voume contains the following case studies: I: KOLONIALE STAATSVORMING: Het economische belang van Noord-Sumatra tijdens de Atjehoorlog, 1873-1910, door H. Bakker; De komst van Nederlandse banken naar Sumatra, 1877-1914, door C. J. M. Potting; II: BEDRIJFSVOERING IN DE VERTE: De Deli-Maatschappij aan de Oostkust van Sumatra gedurende de jaren 1900-1940, door A. van Kommer; De Steenkolen-Maatschappij "Poeloe Laoet" in Zuidoost-Borneo, 1903-1913, door J. Baks; De Mijnbouw-Maatschappij "Salida" in West-Sumatra, 1910-1933, door P. T. Scholte; III: HET INHEEMSE ONDERNEMERSCHAP: De niet-Europese bijdrage tot de economische ontwikkeling van West-Borneo, 1900-1940, door E. A. Ranken; De inheemshe rubbercultuur in Jambi en Palembang tijdens het Interbellum, door A. H. P. Clemens; De economische ontwikkeling van de Molukken, 1900-1938, door R. R.

F. Habiboe; IV: BIBLIOGRAFIE: Voorlopige bibliografie van de economische geschiedenis van de Buitengewesen, c. 1870-1042, door A. H. P. Clemens en J. Th. Lindblad. (CP)

Evers, Hans-Dieter. 1988. Petani Jawa dan pribumi di Kalimantan Timur: dampak sosial kebijaksanaan transmigrasi di Indonesia/Hans-Dieter Evers dan Wolfgang Clauss. - Sumber. - Vol. 4, p. 51-67: bibl., tab.

The Indonesian Transmigration Programme was launched by the Dutch in 1905. By 1941 about 257,300 Javanese had been sent to Sumatra and other islands. During the 1966-1986 period, more than 3 million were mobilized. One region chosen for this programme is Kalimantan. This article examines the problems of integrating the transmigrant families into the local economic and social environment. One problematic area is that the transmigration settlements and the local settlements are kept apart due to structurally different values, norms, traditions, social charter, language and, at times, religion. Competition in exploiting economic resources also aggravates the issue. The transmigration project is moulded on a subsistence economy, at least during its first year of existence. Later, the transmigration community will inevitably become part of the larger market economy. This article discusses some of the integration problems faced by the Rimbayu settlement, a transmigration community in East Kalimantan. (author's abstract)

Hadi, S. 1988. Swidden cultivation among the Tunjung of East Kalimantan with particular emphasis on socio-economic factors / S. Hadi and Y. B. Lung - Sarawak Museum Journal (Malaysia) Vol. 39, No. 60 (Dec. 1988), p. 111-148: bibl., fig., tab.

Swidden cultivation, and the problems associated with it, is still prevalent in Kalimantan. This article commences with an introduction about the geographical environment of the kabupaten Kutai, Kalimantan Timur, followed by an overview of the social structure of the Tunjung Dayak people. The second part deals with attempts to dissuade the people from swidden-based agriculture because of the environmental damage entailed. In 1978 the Indonesian government introduced a scheme for planting industrial crops (PRPTE), in this area specifically rubber. There is a discussion of the problems arising from conflicts with the socio-religious system and from the lack of suitably trained personnel. New sources of income and improved fertilizations projects are needed. Furthermore the people should be given more security about such matters as health. (RR)

Kiew, R. & M. Muid. 1991. Beekeeping in Malaysia: Pollen Atlas. vi + 186 pp, many figs. Malaysian Beekeeping Research and Development Team, Universiti Pertanian Malaysia, 43400 Serdang, Selangor, Malaysia. ISBN 967-960-023-8. Price unknown.

This book offers a wealth of information concerning 95 plant species visited by *Apis cerana indica* foraging for nectar and/or pollen features for identification of common nectar/pollen sources in order to improve bee plant management. To aid identification pollen of all species is represented by photomicrographs arranged according to size, shape and ornamentation of the pollen grain. The introduction includes many facts about pollen specters, flower preference, pollination, seasonality and migratory beekeeping. A method to prepare pollen slides for a permanent reference collection is also given. Such a collection is easy to compile with the present pollen atlas, and, to my opinion, obligatory for any pollen analysis. With help of a reference slide one will find out that pollen rambutan (*Nephelium lappaceum*) is very different from the micrograph used in the present book.

The main part of the book deals with 95 bee plants species in alphabetical order of Latin genus names. The index allows location by family and local names. Details are provided regarding the characters of each plant, the flowering season, pollinators, its origins, distribution, its status in Malaysia and significance as a bee plant. The illustrations (one full page plate per species) include the habitat, the flower and the pollen grain, all in black and white. A list of references is given as well.

This nice book is recommended to all interested in source identification of honey and corbicular pollen loads through pollen analysis, not only in Malaysia but in the entire Asian-Malesian region. -- R.W.J.M. van der Ham.

Latiff, A. (Ed.). 1991. Status of Herbaria in Malaysia. xii, 85 pp, illus. Malaysian National Committee on Plant Genetic Resources. FRIM, Locked bag 201, Jalan FRI, Kepong, 52109 Kuala Lumpur. Price unknown -- Proceedings of the Seminar on Status of herbaria and systematic resources in Malaysia, Kuching, 1990.

Thirteen chapters deal with the history and accomplishments of the herbaria present in Malaysia. Ng discusses the establishment of a national herbarium, something he is not in favour of, as he explains, but impartially also defends the advantages of establishing one. The designation of Kepong as the interim National Herbarium does not make it one automatically. For many years to come insufficient material is available from Sabah and Sarawak, while intensive cooperation at all levels with and among the regional herbaria is essential. The National Herbarium should be regarded as an additional facility and not as a competing one. Latiff outlines the role and function of herbaria in systematics and floristic studies in Malaysia.

In the other chapters the various local herbaria are being discussed, giving their history, size, specializations, past and future problems, and so on. It is too bad that some chapters are given in Malaysian without English summary, so that few outsiders can read them. -- J.F. Veldkamp.

Pfeffer, P. 1986. The bearded pig (*Sus barbatus*) in East Kalimantan and Sarawak / P. Pfeffer and J. Caldecott - Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. 59, No. 2, p. 81-100 : bibl., fig., maps.

The bearded pig (*Sus barbatus*) is the only wild Bornean suid and is of great importance for the human diet. Especially during migrations, which the animal regularly undertakes, there is large scale slaughter. It is not, however, the intense and continuous hunting that threatens the species, but the combination of light to medium hunting pressure with widespread disturbance of their habitat. Where this has happened the pig has become extinct, according to Caldecott's findings, which were gathered in Sabah and Sarawak (1986) and presented following a translation of Pfeffer's earlier published article (1959), the findings for which were gathered in East Kalimantan. (YdJ)

Vermeulen, J.J. 1991. Orchids of Borneo, Vol. 2. *Bulbophyllum*. x + 340 pp, 3 + 100 figs., 107 col. photographs on 19 plates. Bentham Moxon Trust, Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew & Toihaan Publishing Company Sdn. Bhd., Kota Kinabalu. ISBN 0-950-4876-9-4. Price £25 (Hard cover with dust cover).

Borneo has a very rich orchid flora: it is estimated that some 2000 orchid species occur on the island. Descriptions are hard to compare, however, because they are scattered over a multitude of publications. So far no attempt has been made to summarize them in a single work. A new series, 'Orchids of Borneo,' with series editor Dr. P.J. Cribb and series coordinators Messrs. A. Lamb and C.L. Chan, is an initiative to describe all Bornean orchid species in a concise and comparable way.

Each volume will contain 100 species, in most cases from different genera but some times a volume will treat (part of) one genus only. No identification keys are given. Most species are covered on two facing pages. One page gives information on the species with paragraphs devoted to literature (only the original description and synonymy) and types, a short diagnosis (preceded by a Latin diagnosis in case of new species), habitat and ecology, distribution in Borneo, general distribution, notes and derivation of name. The second page is filled with line drawings. Colour photographs are collected on plate at the end of the book.

Volume 1 of Orchids of Borneo is now ready for printing, and hopefully will appear soon. Volume 2 has just appeared. Three other volumes are announced forthcoming, one by A. Lamb, two by J.J. Wood. Volume 2 treats 100 species of

the genus *Bulbophyllum*, by the specialist J.J. Vermeulen. For this work Vermeulen stayed during one year in Borneo, mainly Sabah. At the start of his work some 80 *Bulbophyllum* species were known from the island. Doing extensive field research he personally collected over 80% of the more than 200 species which are now known to occur there, the remainder were studied from herbarium material. About 50 of these are new to science! The line drawings, of very high quality, are from his hand, most made under laboratory conditions in the Tenom Orchid Centre and at the Rijksherbarium, Leiden, but many sketches of live plants were made in the field. It was always a great sight to observe his almost 7 feet tall body curved over a tiny plant while sitting in his hammock under a sheet protecting against the rain, and see the sketch develop into an exact replica of the plant.

Of the 100 species here described, 30 are new to science. Many names are reduced to synonymy here for the first time. Some of the 11 habitat photographs are unfortunately somewhat off colour. The flower pictures, most made by Messrs. P. Jongejan and A. Lamb, are of high quality.

Because this volume treats part of one genus only, some additions to the normal contents of Orchids of Borneo are given. A checklist is presented of all Bornean *Bulbophyllum* species, arranged by section. Of these the literature is given as well as the general distribution and habitat and ecology in Borneo, and in notes they are characterized and further information is presented. Two identification lists are present, one arranged according to collector, the other according to the species treated in this work.

The *Bulbophyllum* volume is an example how, with limited description and high quality plates, a badly known orchid genus can display perfectly to the public. The whole series is a must for all interested in orchids in general, and especially in Bornean orchids. -- E.F. de Vogel.

ABSTRACTS

1587-1937 HORTUS ACADEMICUS LUGDUNO-BATAVUS, written by H. Veendorp and L. G. J. Baas Becking, reprinted in 1990, [10] + 218 pp., illus., large 8vo, hard-bound; price (Dutch guilders) Dfl. 50.00), is an interesting and attractive book sketching the history and development of the Botanical Garden at Leiden. It was published in 1938 and it is still the only book on the subject in the English language. Another, more comprehensive book, by W. K. H. Karstens and H.

Kleibrink, profusely illustrated, was published in 1982, but is in the Dutch language and presently out of print.

H. Veendorp was curator (hortulanus) of the Garden from 1931 to 1963 and L. G. J. Baas Becking was its director (prefectus) from 1931 to 1939. They started a major rehabilitation of the Garden, changed the ground plan, built new greenhouses, and also realized the 'Clusius Garden', a reconstruction in 2/3 size of the Garden in its original 16th century form and contents.

In their book the authors give an account of the people as well as the plants that have made the Hortus. The text is illustrated by 30 drawings of trees, people, buildings, and garden plans.

The book is reprinted without any change in size or appearance, on similar heavy paper as the original edition. An 8-page introduction by C. Kalkman, scientific director of the institute Rijksherbarium/Hortus Botanicus, reviews the most important developments in the garden over the last 50 years, and reflects on the future.

JAYUM A. JAWAN, Political Change and Economic Development Among the Ibans of Sarawak, East Malaysia, thesis submitted for Ph.D., Hull University.

There are two main aims of the thesis: first, to establish patterns of Iban political change since independence in 1963 up to 1990; and second, to determine the extent to which Ibans have benefitted from post-independence social and economic development in Sarawak. The emphasis on establishing patterns of Iban political behavior and attitudes is to determine the degree to which changes in Iban politics have moved towards creating Iban unity or led to factionalism. The pattern of Iban politics is then examined in relation to processes of economic development in order to establish whether there is any coincidence between them.

Both themes are examined against the backdrop of the Brooke Raj and the period of British Colonialism in Sarawak. This is to determine whether Iban development or the lack of it in the two periods has had particular consequences for the Ibans in the period of independence. In addition, the issue of what constitutes Iban political culture is discussed and an attempt made to explain some characteristics of Iban political and economic change in terms of political culture.

The study is also supplemented by a survey of 300 Iban respondents from two traditional Iban areas of Saribas and Kapit. Basically, the survey seeks to answer a number of issues: (1) Are there any fundamental differences in the general opinions of Ibans from the two traditional areas?; (2) What are the contemporary political and socio-economic perspectives and views of the Ibans?; and (3) What are the main issues that dominate Iban political choice?.

The main overall findings of the thesis may be summarized as follows. First, a relationship between Iban (or Dayak) political marginality and their economic underdevelopment can be demonstrated. This relationship is seen, for example,

when political power in the form of the Chief Ministership of Sarawak passed from the hands of Kalong Ningkan, an Iban, to those of Rahman Ya'Kub and Taib Mahmud, both Muslim Melanau; the Melanau period of administration was basically concerned with the creation of a wealthy urban-based "bumiputera (indigenous)" class to underwrite native political activities; hence little attention was given to agricultural and rural development, which would have benefitted the majority of the Ibans (or Dayaks). Secondly, in terms of the statistical and qualitative data available, Ibans (or Dayaks) are clearly lagging behind the Malays/Melanau and the Chinese in various fields of development, such as in education, business and employment. Despite the objectives of the Malaysian New Economic Policy to address the problem of uneven development and to restructure Malaysian society, the Ibans (or Dayaks) are still, as they have been for a long time, identified with agriculture and rural areas. Thirdly, from my survey one can discern an increasing awareness among the Ibans that they are being discriminated against by the leaders of the ruling coalition. This is the majority opinion of the sample from the case study. Although the Ibans are aware that the Brooke and Colonial governments contributed to their present plight, they assert that their current circumstances have been made much worse by developments in the post-independence period, which have benefitted the Malays/Melanau and the Chinese at their expense. Fourthly, the majority of the respondents in the case study (and many whom I came into contact with during the fieldwork) are of the opinion that the concept of "Dayakism", as it emerged in 1987, has been distorted to serve the narrow interests of the Chinese in the Sarawak Untied People's Party and the Malays/Melanau in the Parti Pesaka Bumiputera Bersatu. Furthermore, the notion of Dayak nationalism can be overstated in explaining the development of a Dayak-based party in the 1980s. Fifthly, there is also a demonstrably increasing awareness among Ibans of a political bias of the federal leaders, who, Ibans (Dayaks) charge, are determined to subjugate them by supporting the leadership of the minority Malays/Melanau in Sarawak. Sixthly, while the Iban respondents acknowledged that the above factors have contributed to their socio-economic problems, they also realized that the Ibans (and Dayaks) face a special problem of political unity. Iban political processes, which move backwards and forwards from an emphasis on regional loyalties to supra-regional organization, undermine their political bargaining position vis-à-vis the united Malays/Melanau and the Chinese. Finally, the study suggests areas for future more detailed research on Iban politics and economics, particularly with regard to leadership, political culture, income distribution and the question of poverty, as well as inter-ethnic political relations.

LEAMAN, DANNA J., RAZALI YUSUF, HARINI SANGAT-ROEMANTYO, Kenyah Dayak Forest Medicines: Prospects for Development and Implications for Conservation. A Report for the World Wide Fund for Nature Indonesia Programme, P.O. Box 29/JKSKM, Jakarta 12001, Indonesia. 1991.

This report describes the results of the inventory and bioassay screening of medicinal plants used by the Kenyah Dayak people of the Apo Kayan Plateau, East Kalimantan, Indonesian Borneo. The purpose of this research is to document traditional knowledge of tropical forest medicines, to identify species of potential value as medicines or natural pesticides, and to examine the need for conservation and management of these resources. This project was undertaken under the auspices of the World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) Indonesia Programme, sponsored by the National Center for Research in Biotechnology in collaboration with the Herbarium Bogorinse, Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI).

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