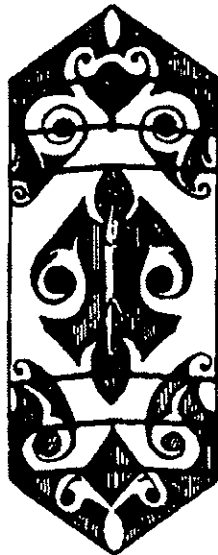


# BORNEO RESEARCH BULLETIN

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## NOTES FROM THE EDITOR

With the present volume, we return once again to a more familiar *BRB* format. The Research Notes and Brief Communications that follow, therefore, again range over the entire island of Borneo, taking in all of its modern political divisions, and treat a wide array of topics, from history, anthropology and language to biology and medical science. Included in this volume is a report on the BRC's Sixth Biennial International Conference, "Borneo 2000," which took place in July 2000, in Kuching, Sarawak, and also information on our next conference, the BRC's Seventh Biennial Conference, "21<sup>st</sup> Century Borneo," which will be held in Kota Kinabalu, Sabah, at the Universiti Malaysia Sabah campus, 15-18 July 2002.

The present issue opens with a paper by Carol J. Pierce Colfer describing the catastrophic forest fires that swept across East Kalimantan in 1997-98. Returning to an area she knows well, the author offers us an all-too rare view from the field of local experiences, impressions, and lives irreparably changed by the devastation that occurred. She also compares these fires to those of previous years and documents their effects upon human health, social institutions and livelihood, and upon the local environment. In the second paper, Reed Wadley and Andrew Smith add further commentary and discussion to two related papers that appeared in Volume 30 of the *BRB* (1999), Stephanus Djuweng's "Dayak Kings among Malay Sultans" and Bernard Sellato's "The Kingdom of Ulu Are in Borneo's History." The question of possible early Dayak polities raised by these papers remains a challenging one and will be taken up again in Volume 33.

Grace Wong's paper, "The Forest as Income," is also, in part, a follow-up to a paper by Lye Tuck-Po and herself, "Conservation and the Orang Sungai of the Lower Sugut, Sabah," which likewise appeared in Volume 30. In this new paper, Wong looks at the important question of the economic linkage between swidden cultivators and the forest. She documents the role of the forest to the Orang Sungai as a source of income and as a safety net, both long-term, in conserving soil fertility and natural resources, and short-term, as a hedge against economic shocks (e.g., price fluctuations, crop loss, etc), and suggests some ways in which the position of the Orang Sungai, as stakeholders with an interest in the sustainable management of the forest, might be enhanced. Herwig Zahorka's paper shows us that there is still much to be discovered in Bornean ethnography, as he describes the place of masks and other forms of disguise in a Tumon Dayak death ritual in Kalimantan Tengah. He also has something to add concerning the recently documented connection between the Tumon Dayak and the Minangkabau of Sumatra.

The next four papers by Poline Bala, Victor King, James Warren, and John Postill all take up the question of ethnicity, although each in a different way. Poline Bala is concerned with the effects of an international border, and its recent imposition, on ethnicity in the Kelabit-Kerayan Highlands. Especially fascinating is the way in which people who once saw themselves as "the same" now perceive differences, particularly as a consequence of the growing economic disparities that have come to distinguish those living on opposite sides of the Malaysian-Indonesian border. In "Who are the Maloh?", Victor King, drawing on recent ethnography, takes up some basic issues concerning the

anthropological definition of ethnic groups in Borneo. James Warren, in "Iranun and Balangingi," takes us back to the "Age of the Iranun," a roughly 80-year period of history, basically from 1762 to 1848, when the slave-raiding voyages of these two groups terrorized much of maritime Southeast Asia. This is a topic to which Warren has repeatedly returned over the last twenty years. Here he connects slave-raiding with the growth of global trade and relates this interpretation to the past historiography of "piracy" in the Malay world. Finally, John Postill looks at some current discussions of ethnicity and the nation state, relating these arguments to the momentary flourishing of Iban radio and vernacular literature, and its subsequent demise, in modern post-colonial Sarawak.

Gan Chong-Ying reports in her paper on the results of a continuing study of tobacco use among the indigenous peoples of Sabah, in this case focusing on gender differences in tobacco habits between rural Bajaus and Kadazans, and so adds to the results reported in her earlier paper which appeared in Volume 29 of the *BRB*. In "Healing Flora of the Brunei Dusun," Robert Voeks and Samhan Nyawa document the ethnobotanical knowledge of two elderly Dusun informants about medicinal plants and their uses. Especially valuable, in addition to the identification of these plants themselves, is the attention they give to different plant habitats as sources of medicinal plants, from nearly pristine forests to disturbed and managed areas, such as gardens, swidden plots, pastures, and roadsides.

Also in this issue, we note with sadness the death of a number of persons, who, in one way or another, as scholars or as public figures, made notable contributions to Borneo and/or to Borneo studies. In addition to the memorials that appear in this volume, two scholars died during the last year and a half for whom your editor had special regard, Anthony Richards and Derek Freeman. For an Ibanist, their passing marks the end of era. Also, both were personal friends. Because of the length of the present issue, as well as other constraints, memorials to Anthony Richards and Derek Freeman will appear next year, in Volume 33. "Bill" Morison, a close personal friend throughout Richards' Sarawak years, has kindly written a personal tribute to Anthony Richards, and Jayl Langub and I have interviewed a number of persons who knew Anthony well during his long career in Sarawak and will relate some of what we were told. Michael Heppell is writing a personal tribute to Derek Freeman, telling us what it was like to be a graduate student under Derek's supervision. Anthony Richards' family generously donated his personal library and papers relating to Sarawak to the Universiti Malaysia Sarawak library (CAIS). This material now forms a special collection, which is currently being cataloged by the CAIS staff. The Richards family also divided between the UNIMAS library and the Tun Jugah Foundation an invaluable collection of photographs and negatives, taken in Sarawak between 1939 and 1964. For Volume 33, I will present a brief report on these collections.

Once again, I would like to thank all of those who assisted me during the year with review and editorial assistance, or with news and bibliographic items, including Sander Adelaar, George Appell, Dee Baer, James Chin, Roger Kershaw, Michael Leigh, Vernon Porritt, Bob Reece, Bernard Sellato, Vinson Sutlive, David Tham, and Reed Wadley. David Tham also provided invaluable assistance with photo scanning. My special thanks go to Phillip Thomas (National Library of Medicine, Bethesda, Maryland), who, once again, single-handedly, performed the enormous and heroic task of computer-processing

all of the textual materials and photographs that appear in this volume. I was plagued during the year by a raft of computer problems, some of major proportion. As a result, virtually all of the *BRB* in computer form was lost. Luckily, it was possible to reconstruct nearly everything from paper or printout copy. One unfortunate exception was the bibliography section, and in this connection, I thank Dee Baer for her help in reconstructing much of the section that appears here. I also thank those contributors who kindly re-sent papers. Finally, I want to thank my new wife, Louise Sather, who helped to proofread and edit the present volume from beginning to end.

#### **Directory of Borneo Scholars**

Some years ago, in response to a number of requests, James Chin, with the help of others, began to compile a Directory of Borneo Scholars (see my Notes from the Editor, Volume 28). At the Sixth Biennial Meetings in Kuching, participants were asked to complete an information form and the information they provided was added to the Directory. Since then, an electronic form of the Directory has been placed on the Institute of East Asian Studies website.

The site can be visited by going to the Universiti Malaysia Sarawak home page at <http://www.unimas.my>, then clicking on “R & D” (Research and Development), and then “Institute of East Asian Studies (IEAS).” On the Institute’s home page, you will find the site for the “Borneo Scholars Directory.”

I would urge all our readers to check the site and make certain that your name appears in the Directory and that the information contained there is accurate and up-to-date. If you have corrections or additional information to include, for example, an address change or a significant new publication to list, please contact Cik Siti Zuraida by email [zszuraida@ieas.unimas.my](mailto:zszuraida@ieas.unimas.my). She will make the changes and enter the corrections or new information in the Directory.

Again, I would welcome our readers’ suggestions on how the Directory might be improved or made more accessible.

#### **The Seventh Biennial BRC Conference**

The Seventh Biennial Conference of the Borneo Research Council, “21st Century Borneo—Issues in Development,” will be held in Kota Kinabalu, Sabah, Malaysia, on July 15-18, 2002. The host organizer is the School of Social Sciences, Universiti Malaysia Sabah, and the venue will be the UMS campus. Information regarding registration, relevant themes, papers, panel and session proposals may be found below. Further information, including information on accommodations and local travel, may be obtained by email or by writing directly to the Secretariat, BORNEO RESEARCH COUNCIL Seventh Biennial International Conference, School of Social Sciences, Universiti Malaysia Sabah, Beg Berkunci 2073, 88999 Kota Kinabalu, Sabah, MALAYSIA. Information and a conference registration form are also available online by writing to the BRC Conference e-mail address: [brconference2002@hotmail.com](mailto:brconference2002@hotmail.com) or by consulting the Conference website: <http://communities.msn.com/brconference2002>

### **BRC CONFERENCE 2002**

BORNEO RESEARCH COUNCIL SEVENTH BIENNIAL INTERNATIONAL  
CONFERENCE

## 21st Century Borneo--Issues in Development

July 15-18, 2002

### CALL FOR PAPERS

Organized by: the School of Social Sciences, Universiti Malaysia Sabah, Kota Kinabalu, Sabah, Malaysia

#### Objectives of the Conference:

1. To promote research in the social, biological and medical sciences in Borneo;
2. To permit the research community, interested Borneo 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 and its results;
4. To help coordinate the flow of information on 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.

This will be a multi-disciplinary conference with plenary sessions, sessions devoted to special topics, and panels. Some of the suggested session themes are:

- Cross-Cultural Psychology in Borneo
- Health, Healing and Society
- Borneo and Regional Politics
- Gender Transformations in Borneo
- Ethnicity, Diversity and Development
- Indigenous Communities, Development and Change
- Rituals and the Spiritual World
- Tourism in Borneo
- History and Archaeology in Borneo
- Material Cultures
- Borneo Languages
- Marine Resources in Borneo
- Biodiversity Conservation: Challenges and Opportunities
- Labor and Manpower in Borneo

and other relevant themes related to Borneo.

Languages of Conference: English, Bahasa Malaysia, Bahasa Indonesia

#### **Pre-Conference Registration**

(up to 31 March 2002): RM 200 / US\$ 53 for participants and presenters RM 100 / US\$ 26 for students

Late Registration: RM 300/US\$ 78 for participants and presenters RM 150/US\$ 39 for students

Deadlines:	Pre-conference Registration:	31 March 2002
	Submission of Abstracts of Papers:	31 March 2002
	Final Submission of Completed Papers:	31 May 2002

Format for Papers: Spacing - 1.5

Font - Times New Roman, size 12

Total Length - not exceeding 15 pages (excluding illustrations, endnotes, lists of references, and bibliography)

Please note: All papers delivered at the Conference are copyrighted by the Borneo Research Council and are the property of the Council for publication in its Proceedings Series unless otherwise agreed upon by the Council.

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Conference e-mail: [brccconference2002@hotmail.com](mailto:brccconference2002@hotmail.com)

Conference website: <http://communities.msn.com/brccconference2002>

Those attending the BRC Seventh Biennial Conference may wish to combine the meetings with the Rainforest World Music Festival which will be held, as in previous years, at the Sarawak Cultural Village, Damai, Kuching, July 12-14, 2002. For further information, those interested should please consult the Festival website: [www.rainforestmusic-borneo.com](http://www.rainforestmusic-borneo.com).

**Textile Expert Sought to Work on a Collection of Bornean Textiles**

George and Laura Appell have a significant collection of Rungus textiles and also Bulusu' textiles. They are looking for someone to work with them in preparing this material for publication. The collection is located in Phillips, Maine, U.S.A. They are willing to pay transportation to Maine and can provide housing while working on this project. Please reply to Dr. George N. Appell, P. O. Box A, Phillips, Maine 04966. U.S.A.

**Errata from Volume 31**

In the article, "Understanding Patterns of Resource Use and Consumption: A Prelude to Co-Management," pp. 29-88, the order of authors was inadvertently altered and should have appeared as follows: Colfer, Wadley, Salim, and Dudley, i.e., with Colfer the first author, Wadley the second, and Salim the third, etc.

**Member Support**

Here we wish to record our thanks to the following individuals for their contribution over the last two years to the BRC endowment and general funds:

**ENDOWMENT FUND**

E. Kim Adams, Laura P. Appell-Warren, Ralph Arbus, Donald Brown, Patrick K. Cassels, Carol J. Pierce Colfer, Jay Crain, Otto Doering, Michael R. Dove, Dr. and Mrs. Allen Drake, Christine Helliwell, Linda Kimball, Godwin Limberg, James McLellan, Rodney Needham, H. Arlo Nimmo, Robert Reece, Graham Saunders, Vinson H. Sutlive, Phillip Thomas, Reed Wadley, W. D. Wilder, Robert Winzeler, Leigh Wright.

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Again, we thank all of these persons for their support.

## MEMORIALS

### DATIN JULIA CHONG NEE WU NGA CHEE

1926-2001

#### A LIFE DEVOTED TO MUSIC

Julia Chong passed away in Singapore on the 4th of November 2001. The sad news reached me while I was preparing an article on the Dayak Cultural Foundation Ethnic Orchestra, which I had intended her to co-author. Although she had been brought to Singapore in order to receive the best of medical attention, the diagnosis of multiple brain tumors came too late. Yet, it is fortunate that she did not have to suffer long. She was cremated in Singapore, after a moving and musical funeral ceremony.

Julia Chong was born in Canton, China, as Wu Nga Chee. Her father was a Malay-speaking Chinese from Penang, who sailed to China to work and search for a bride. He married and settled down in Canton. When the Second World War broke out, the family fled China and returned to Penang. Growing up in Penang, Julia received a Western education, and at an early age she and her sisters learned to play the piano. During the war she met her future husband, later to become Datuk Dr. Chong Chun Hian, then a medical student, who had come from Sarawak and spent the war years in Penang. Between 1949-1952, Julia was educated in Singapore at the English Teacher's Training College, where she obtained a Teacher's Diploma. After her future husband had completed his medical degree in Singapore, they married there in 1953. Then, after the wedding, the young couple returned to his native Sarawak to work and raise a family—their marriage was blessed with three daughters.

In 1958, Julia followed her husband to England where he pursued post-graduate studies in obstetrics and gynecology, while she further developed her musical talents at the Welsh College of Music and Drama in Wales. Here she was awarded the Victor Freed prize after scoring the highest marks in a piano competition. After a year at the Welsh College of Music and Drama, she continued to study at Trinity College of Music in London until 1961. She was a Licentiate of the Royal School of Music (LRSM) and of the Trinity College of Music (LTCL), of which she was also a Fellow (FTCL).

Being very energetic and passionately devoted to music, Julia succeeded in combining a happy family life with an academic and artistic career. When her husband received a scholarship to obtain a diploma of public health in Baltimore, USA, as he was slated to become the director of medical services, Julia followed him there and enrolled as an advanced student of piano. In 1964-65, she was Peabody Conservator in Baltimore.

Later, when her husband was appointed WHO Consultant to Korea in 1971, she again took the opportunity to further her studies. At Kyung Hee University, she studied music composition under the renowned composer Kim Dong Jin. She was awarded a Master's Degree in Music at Kyung Hee University, Seoul, Korea 1973-75.



Julia Chong was also an accomplished piano teacher and composer. Until the end of her life she taught music classes and was attached to UNIMAS as a university lecturer (adjunct professor). Her love for music was not only expressed in teaching and performing, she also composed music for piano and for orchestra. Moreover, she was the musical director for numerous concerts, operettas, etc. Among her compositions are several works created for institutions of classical ballet in Kuala Lumpur. These ballets often took their themes from well-known Malay sources, such as the *kancil* stories. The most successful ballet, entitled “Manorah,” inspired by a dramatic form originating from Thailand, had many performances in Kuala Lumpur, Penang, and Bangkok in the 1970s and 1980s.



While her compositions were solidly based upon the rules of classical Western music, Julia also found inspiration in popular Malay music, as may be heard in her Variations on Rasa Sayang. During the 1980s, she became more oriented towards the native environment of Sarawak. This was expressed in the music she composed for the operetta, “Life in the Jungle,” which was performed in Kuching in 1984. Her serious

concern for the indigenous music of Sarawak was expressed in an article published in 1989 in the *Sarawak Museum Journal* entitled: "Towards the integration of Sarawak traditional instruments into 20th century Malaysian music." In this article, she expressed the need for Sarawak composers to develop the indigenous music without destroying its local flavor. Moreover, she launched the idea of setting up a chamber orchestra of indigenous Sarawak instruments. This was not merely an abstract idea, as in 1988 she had already written a composition for a combination of Sarawak ethnic instruments entitled: "The Rushing Waters." In the following decade, Julia Chong managed to form an ensemble of Dayak musical instruments in cooperation with the Dayak Cultural Foundation. In 1997 her composition for Iban musical instruments called "The Sound of Sarawak" was performed during a workshop on Iban traditional music, dance costumes, and songs at the Sarawak Museum. In the following years, this small ensemble developed into the Dayak Cultural Foundation Ethnic Orchestra.



Julia Chong and Heidi Munan at the conclusion of the performance of the operetta "Life in the Jungle" based on an Iban Folktale

But Julia Chong was not only interested in developing Dayak music, she was also concerned that the folk music and playing techniques of the natives of Sarawak were becoming obsolete, and advised that these should be documented. Following this advice, her daughter, Pek Lin, carried out research on traditional Kenyah songs, which were documented and published with musical notation in 1998 by the Dayak Cultural Foundation. At the conclusion of her 1989 article, Julia Chong writes that, following the example of "specialised institutions in Korea and Japan for the training of traditional instrument players, ...a school for traditional music must be established to look after this

branch of music in Sarawak.” It is to be hoped that in the near future this excellent idea will be realized.

During her long musical career, Julia Chong was the recipient of several honors for her artistic work, including receiving a Malaysian award, the Sijil Kehormatan Negara, in 1968. Moreover, for her musical contributions to the state of Sarawak, she was awarded the Johan Bintang Kenyalang in 1988.

As she remained energetic and highly motivated until the end of her life, she must have accomplished many of her aspirations. Moreover, she had the satisfaction of seeing her daughters become successful people who followed in their parents’ footsteps and blessed them with nine grandchildren. Certainly she had every reason to feel satisfied about the life she had lived, and will rest in well-deserved peace. Many relatives, students, and friends, including myself, will always remember her with great fondness as a devoted musician and generous friend. She has also played an important role in the innovation of the Dayak musical tradition. The fact that she took up this difficult task during the last decades of her life proves that innovation is not the prerogative of the young—Julia has demonstrated that new developments can also be brought about by more mature people. Personally, I am grateful that the Directors of the Dayak Cultural Foundation brought us together. It has been a wonderful experience to share with her the excitement of a successful concert with the DCF Ethnic Orchestra in July 2000 (Clara Brakel-Papenhuyzen, Leiden, The Netherlands).

\*\*\*\*\*

Julia Chong nee Wu Nga Chee

**Education:**

Teacher's Training College, Singapore, 1949-1952

Welsh College of Music and Drama, Wales, 1958-1959 (Awarded the Victor Freed Prize in a piano competition)

Trinity College of Music, London, 1959-1961

Peabody Conservator, Baltimore, 1964-1965

Kyung Hee University, Seoul, Korea, 1973-75

Qualifications:

Teacher's Diploma (Singapore Teacher's Training College)

LRSM (Licentiate of the Royal Schools of Music)

LTCL (Licentiate of the Trinity College of Music, London)

FTCL (Fellow of the Trinity College of Music London)

Masters Degree in music, Kyung Hee University, Seoul)

**Awards:**

Sijil Kehormatan Negara, 1968

Johan Bintang Kenyalang, 1988, for her musical contributions to Sarawak

**Music for ballets and operettas:**

“Sang Kancil”

“Soraya”

“Manorah,” performed in Kuala Lumpur, Penang and Bangkok in the 1970s and 1980s

“Life in the Jungle,” performed in 1984, Kuching.

**Piano music:**

Variations on “Rasa Sayang”

Variations on “Katak Lompat”

**Ethnic orchestral music:**

“The Rushing Waters,” for a combination of Sarawak ethnic instruments performed in 1988

“The Sound of Sarawak” first performed by ethnic ensemble in 1997

“Liling, Merry-making”—performed by the DCF Ethnic Orchestra during the Borneo Research Council Biennial Meetings in 2000, Kuching.

## KENELM HUBERT DIGBY

1912-2001

Kenelm Digby was an unusual and courageous civil servant. His downtown colleagues at the State Advances Corporation and then the Health Department knew him as their avuncular office solicitor, but there was more to his bow than the exercise of legal niceties and legislative draftsmanship.

Were it not for a youthful event at Oxford University, it's doubtful if Digby would have emigrated with his wife and their two eldest youngsters to New Zealand in 1955. Digby moved in an Oxford Union debate in 1933 the following motion: That This House Will In No Circumstances Fight For Its King And Country. It passed by 275 votes to 153. Notwithstanding his pedigree—he was descended from the aristocratic Digbys—Digby, and some of his colleagues, were pilloried in the press as unpatriotic and untrustworthy. *The Daily Express* accused him, as mover of the King And Country motion, of being in a coterie of “woozy-minded communists and sexual indeterminates” who could not be relied on in the defence of Britain.

Digby went to pains to establish his credentials. He was a socialist, and proud of it, and said, “If war broke out tomorrow the students of the university would flock to recruiting offices as their fathers and uncles did.” Digby would have been with them. His remonstrations made little difference. After his admission to the Middle Temple in the expectation he would follow a string of distinguished Digbys in the law, it was soon apparent he was branded an outsider. In fact, for the next 16 years he made a career of it—in the service of Rajah Sir Vyner Brooke, the last of Sarawak's white rajahs, and in the post-Second World War administration associated with the British Crown. Digby went to Kuching, the tropical capital of the Brooke dynasty's Asian fiefdom, in 1934, as a cadet in the rajah's civil service.

Digby advanced through the grades from cadet to district officer and then the Bench, resigning at the end of 1938. He returned to London, to find that opinions about him in the legal world were unchanged. He had been subject to British intelligence surveillance while abroad, and his mail was inspected routinely at Singapore while en route to

Kuching. Security service attention would also dog him in the postwar years. His Oxford past, however, never made much difference to the Rajah who, in any case, had further use for the young lawyer.

Brooke, who was having trouble with succession matters, wanted a constitution to reduce the power of the Brooke autocracy with a form of self-government that recognised the trusteeship nature of the first Rajah's arrangement with the Sultan of Brunei. The Brooke family wasn't opposed to the idea, though when a 1 million payoff to the Rajah was disclosed there was no end of trouble with the Rajah's brother and nephew.

In 1940, Digby rejoined the Sarawak administration, as a legal adviser. He helped draft the new constitution, was Supreme Court registrar, Official Assignee, and in 1941 was a temporary judge.

Japan, however, had other plans. The first Japanese Army unit arrived at Kuching on Christmas Eve 1941. With 250 others—public servants, planters and the like—he was interned until September 1945 in a camp constructed by the inmates. The Rajah was in Australia at the time of the invasion, and the Tuan Muda in London. Civilian leadership fell to the officer in charge, Captain Le Gros Clark. In a postwar monograph of his recollections, Digby reveals a distinct distaste for some shocking accounts of the incarceration. There'd been a strong resolve, he said, to survive by creating a non-confrontational camp administration. Although there were incidents of violence, Digby says that by and large the civilian inmates survived in relatively good condition because self-discipline and leadership under Clark never collapsed, even after Clark was executed. Digby paid special tribute to Clark and to the camp's head gardener, who sustained vegetable gardening routines against opposition—not from the Japanese, but from some internees who viewed gardening as beneath their dignity.

Australian forces liberated Kuching in September 1945. For Digby, the relief brought fresh worries. For the duration he'd been unable to contact his fiancée Mutal Fielder. She'd been interned with her parents at Stanley in Hong Kong. They were reunited in England, and married before returning to Sarawak in 1946, where Digby had a number of positions, including editor of the *Sarawak Gazette*, Attorney-General and, later, a circuit judge.

Although he was a member of the State Council that voted by a majority of two to cede Sarawak to the Crown in 1946, he had not returned to Kuching when the vote was taken. Privately, he was uncomfortable with the way Britain contrived to secure Sarawak after a limited consultation period with local people, and it is probable he wasn't recalled in time for the crucial meeting owing to suspicion as to which way he would vote. The Brooke's former domain was incorporated into the Federation of Malaysia in 1963.

Digby returned to Britain in 1951. The odium attached to his Oxford days was unchanged. The establishment, scared witless by communism, had added the red stain to Digby's CV. He wasn't a Communist, and never had been, though he was proud of his socialist principles. None of it did much good. Solicitors rarely briefed him, so he found alternative work as a deputy coroner to five London boroughs.

New Zealand provided relief through its assisted-migration scheme. After working for the State Advances Corporation, Digby moved to the Health Department where his law-drafting acumen would be in demand, as well as his membership of important administration committees.

Kenelm Digby and his wife returned twice to Sarawak as visitors, but he never returned to his England to live. He led an uncluttered and modest life, and had few personal possessions other than some mementoes of his life in Kuching. He also kept a personal scrapbook containing vituperative clippings from the British press in 1933. Pasted in it are two white feathers from opponents. Sent anonymously, they were reminders that personal courage comes at great cost.

Kenelm Digby's grandchildren decorated his casket in black and red designs of Sarawak origin. He is survived by his wife and children.

#### Sources:

*Evening Post* library; Digby family; *The White Rajahs*, by S Runciman (Cambridge 1960), D Round, and others.

*Barbed Wire Between Us, an account of Kenelm and Mutal Digby's Life* by Derek Round, forthcoming.

Anthony Brooke, a nephew of Sir Vyner Brooke, was the last *rajah muda*. He renounced his claim to the title in 1951. He lives at Wanganui.

In Brief: Kenelm Hubert Digby, lawyer: B London, March 10, 1912; m 1946 Mutal Agnes Helen Fielder 2s 1d; Govt serv Sarawak 1934-39, 1940-41 (interned by Japan 1941-45), 1946-51 (rtd); 1951-55 barrister, coroner (London); emig NZ 1955 (solicitor State Advances Corp 1955-60, solicitor Health Dept 1960-77); MBE 1977, Companion of the Star of Sarawak; d Wellington Hospital, August 5, 2001. (Peter Kitchin, Assist. Editor, reprinted with permission from *The Evening Post*, Wellington, N.Z., August 23, 2001).

## CLIVE MARSH

1951-2000

### TRIBUTE FROM A FRIEND

I first met Clive when he was an undergraduate at Bristol, studying zoology. Oundle was an important way-point. He always told me that his biology teacher at Oundle had helped kindle his interest in the biological sciences. Unbeknownst to that teacher, he had lit a fire that burned through Clive's life and being. Clive's undergraduate days were, like all of us, filled with earnest study, but also with the building of friendships and the enjoyment of all aspects of life. For this marked another of Clive's most endearing characteristics, he was always generous with his friendship. He was a person who was happy to be alive, who brought smiles and good cheer wherever he went. He was a person whose glass was figuratively half full all the time, and literally when enjoying the company of his friends at some suitable watering hole in Bristol, Nairobi, or Kuala Lumpur.

While at Bristol, Clive continued to develop his knowledge of, and passion for, zoology and the natural world. In the summer of 1971, Clive and Rob Olivier from Bristol, Andrew Laurie from Cambridge, and myself from Liverpool were fortunate enough to arrange for ourselves undergraduate projects in East Africa. Clive headed up to Queen Elizabeth National Park in Uganda, where he carried out a project studying pied

kingfishers. After completing our project work, we all had the opportunity to travel round some of East Africa's most splendid wildlife areas: Lake Manyara, Ngorngoro Crater, the Serengeti, the Masai Mara. The experiences of that summer only served to stimulate his innate passion for nature and irreversibly define his life's vocation.

Clive then completed his undergraduate studies and immediately set off for Kenya to begin field work for his Ph.D. Clive's chosen study subject was the red colobus monkey, and his study site the riverine forest of the Tana river, close to Kenya's coast. In this remote bush location Clive built himself a rustic camp, which was to be his home for the next two to three years. During this time, Clive's innate passion for the wilderness had ample opportunity to grow and flourish as he spent thousands of hours walking through the forest carefully observing the minutiae of the daily lives of his arboreal study subjects and describing the ecology of their forest home.

As a result of his academic work and his deepening knowledge and understanding of the forest ecosystem he called home, Clive realized that scientific study was one thing, but that the very forest that he was observing and describing was itself under threat. Whereas many researchers are content to focus on their academic studies, Clive saw that he had dual responsibilities: on the one hand, to do rigorous research, but on the other, to ensure the survival of his adopted forest home. Creating new protected areas in Africa or, for that matter, anywhere, is not a simple task. But one of Clive's great qualities was his determination. As a result, he began a process that involved his intimate engagement with the local people who lived in and around the forest, with regional administrators, with Kenya's national Game Department (as it was then called), with international funding agencies and with hosts of others. As a result of these efforts, a new protected area, the Tana River Primate Reserve, was created and exists to this day. Such an accomplishment takes an enormous commitment, patience beyond measure, well-honed political skills and the ability to generate respect and trust amongst an enormous range of people. To see Clive sitting with village elders, engaged in intricate discussions, all conducted in Swahili, of land rights, grazing, logging, the economic benefits that could come from ecotourism, boundaries, and all the other intricate details of managing a protected area while enhancing the lives of local people, you realized what an extraordinary palette of talents were present in one individual. And you realized the appropriateness of his new nickname amongst those that knew him: Tana Bwana.

In 1976 it was time for Clive to return to Bristol to write his Ph.D thesis. By the end of 1976, Clive was duly labeled as a Ph.D. and was ready to set out on the next stage of his life's adventure. By this time he knew that his passion in life was to use his skills as an accomplished scientist to help save the great and enormously threatened tropical forests of the world. He started with three years of research in Malaysia on primate ecology and then found the ideal opportunity to pursue his vision with the Sabah Foundation. His role was a perfect fit for his skills and passion for conservation, for his job was to work within an organization whose primary mission was commercial forestry but which also had the foresight to understand the need to balance its commercial mission against the need to conserve and maintain the resources on which it depended.

Because Clive was a truly great field biologist, it was not long before he developed an intimate knowledge of the complex forest ecosystem where he now worked. And it was not long before he had identified the need for certain areas of the forest to be set aside as

protected areas that would never be logged. He had also identified one of these areas that he felt was especially suitable and critical. It was called the Danum Valley and it now stands as the most enduring monument to Clive's work and professional life as a scientist and conservationist. As a result of Clive's initiative and his solid grounding in science, combined with outstanding political skills, he was able to persuade the Sabah Foundation to create the 438 sq.km Danum Valley Conservation Area, which also included a 60 bed field center to promote research and education. In May 1995 full legal protection of the area was achieved when it was converted to a Class I Protection Forest Reserve, becoming Sabah's largest protected area of lowland forest. The Danum Valley also contains an ecotourism lodge, The Borneo Rainforest Lodge, which opened for business in 1994. Again, this is a product of Clive's creative thinking and incredible genius at bringing complex projects to fruition.

Not satisfied with his substantial contribution to conservation, Clive set out on a new project in 1992 in which he set up one of the world's first pilot projects to test whether economic incentives could be used to trade carbon credits. The object of this concept is for carbon dioxide producers, such as power companies in industrialized countries, to buy rights to emit carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases by paying countries such as Malaysia to maintain their forests, which act as sinks to reduce atmospheric greenhouse gas levels. Although there is much discussion in progress at present, this type of program may be able to contribute to long-term reductions in global warming, one of the most serious threats facing the globe today. On a visit to Washington to present this project to the Smithsonian Institute and undertake complex negotiations related to its implementation with the usual Washington suspects, such as The World Bank, Clive turned to me and remarked, "Well, now I suppose I have become a used-carbon salesman."

Clive's final years as scientist and conservationist were spent in Laos working for the IUCN trying to promote the conservation of some of the least-known tropical forests in the world in a country just emerging from the onslaughts of war and communism. I have read some accounts of Clive's unfinished opus from colleagues and the same characteristics again shine through in their unqualified admiration of his professional ability to combine the science and politics of conservation in achieving the objective of saving forests.

In spite of the hectic pace Clive kept with his professional responsibilities in Sabah, he knew that there was something missing in his life. When he was lucky enough to cross paths with Iggy, the wonderful woman who became his wife, he found out what that something was. In due time, as nature took its course, they were blessed with the birth of their two sons, Marco and Carl. Based on my observations and accounts from friends and colleagues who saw more of Clive, it is quite evident that Clive turned all his energy, skills and passion into the challenges and joys of fatherhood to become, in Marco's own words, "the best dad in the world." There was nothing that Clive enjoyed more than taking his family to share the wild places he so cherished himself.

Clive, the new millennium did not treat you very well but for all of us here and your absent friends from round the world, a final farewell. We will remember your life and your friendship as long as we all ourselves live. The Danum Valley and the Tana River are your eternal living legacy. We hope you find new forests to explore on your new



journey. (Written with love by your friend, Chris Tuite, Oxford). [Editor's note: This version of Dr. Tuite's tribute has been shortened from the original.]

## DATO SRI WILLIAM NAIS

1912-2001

Dato Sri Willaim Nais passed away at his residence, Sunny Estate, Kuching, on Saturday, November 3, 2001. He was 89 years old. He was laid to rest at the Anglican cemetery at Batu Kitang, after a service in St. Thomas' Cathedral, Kuching, attended by hundreds of friends and relatives, including local dignitaries and community leaders.

Dato Sri Nais' death is not only keenly felt by his family and friends, but by all Sarawakians, and members of the Bidayuh community in particular, for it was he, more than any other, who kept alive and promoted the rich culture and traditions of the Bidayuh through his pioneer research.

The late Dato Sri William Nais was born on February 2, 1912 at Kampung Quop, Kuching. He was the second of six children, three boys and three girls. He attended St. Thomas' school where he successfully passed the Junior Cambridge Certificate in 1931.

He then began his career as a teacher, first teaching at the S.P.G. Mission School in Saratok in 1933, and then at St. James' in Quop. After the death of Rev. Thomas Buda on 12 March 1936, as there was no priest available to replace the priest at Ta'ee, Dato Sri Nais was asked by Bishop Noel to take charge of church work there on August 1, 1936. He had shown himself to be a devoted Christian while studying at St. Thomas' School, and the Bishop hoped that God would call Dato Sri Nais to the priesthood. In addition to church work as a catechist, he was also placed in charge of St. John's school, Ta'ee.



Rather than become a priest, Dato Sri Nais joined the Sarawak Government as a Native Officer on July 1, 1946, and was attached to the Secretariat. After gaining experience at the Secretariat, he was posted as a Native Officer to various Resident and District Offices: Lundu, Sibul, Kuching, Betong, Engkilili, and Simanggang (now Sri Aman). In 1952, he was promoted to Assistant District Officer, Serian.

In 1954, he attended a course on local government in the United Kingdom. On his return to Sarawak, he was posted to Serian as Acting District Officer. After serving in Serian, he was transferred to Mukah and then Binatang (now Bintangor). While serving in Binatang in 1960, he was confirmed as District Officer. From Binatang he was transferred to other districts as District Officer. These included Bau, Limbang, and Bintulu. He was promoted to the post of Resident before his retirement in 1970. As Resident, he served in the Simanggang (now Sri Aman) Division. He was the first Bidayuh to hold the post of Resident.

After retirement, he was re-employed by the government on August 1, 1976 as Senior Research Assistant with the Majlis Adat Istiadat (Council for Customs and Traditions). In this capacity, as a Senior Research Assistant, he collected a wide range of Bidayuh oral traditions. These became the basis for the codification of *Adat Bidayuh* which was gazetted in 1994. Dato Sri William Nais also collected ethnohistory, myths and legends, folk stories, rituals, prayers, music, songs and dances. In addition, he compiled a long list of Bidayuh traditional medicines. His collections have not only been preserved for future generations, but have also been used as resource material by university students, researchers, and scholars, both local and foreign.

Part of his collection, particularly of Bidayuh folk stories, has been published. His major publication, however, was his Bidayuh-English dictionary which appeared in 1983. Dato Sri William Nais served with the Majlis Adat Istiadat for 17 years. On July 1, 1991, he was appointed as Temenggong for the Bidayuh community of the Kuching Division. Due to failing health, he relinquished the post in 1998. He was also active in social work. An active member of the Dayak Bidayuh National Association, he served as a member of the Board of Prison Visits, as well as a member of the Board of Visitors to the Charles Brooke Memorial Hospital.

For his dedicated service to the State, Dato Sri William Nais was awarded the Ahli Bintang Sarawak (ABS), Pegawai Bintang Sarawak (PBS), and, in 1991, the Panglima Negara Bintang Sarawak (PNBS) which carries the title of Dato Sri. (Robert Sulis Ridu and Jonas Noeb, Majlis Adat Istiadat, Level 4, Wisma Satok, Jalan Satok, 93400 Kuching, Sarawak, Malaysia).

### TAN SRI DATUK AMAR (DR) ONG KEE HUI

1914-2000

The notice in the local press read:

The cortege will leave No. 12, Taman Liong Seng, Rock Road, Kuching for the Sarawak United People's Party Headquarters at 1:00 PM on Thursday, 20th April 2000 for friends and party members to pay their last respects until 1:00 P.M on Friday, 21st April 2000 when it

will leave for St Thomas's Cathedral, Jalan McDougall, Kuching for a Funeral Service to be held at 2:00 P.M on the same day.

This simple notice encapsulates what were for Tan Sri the two most important aspects of his life other than his family: politics and religion—in politics, his chairmanship of the Sarawak United People's Party (SUPP), and in religion, his conversion to Christianity.



Tan Sri Datuk Amar (Dr) Ong Kee Hui

The history of Tan Sri's forebearers in Sarawak began in 1846 when the Brooke regime was still in its infancy. In that year, his great grandfather, Ong Ewe Hai (1830-1889), moved to Sarawak seeking fame and fortune. He established himself as a merchant and successfully bid for the lucrative opium, alcohol, and gambling monopolies. In time, Ewe Hai became Rajah Charles Brooke's confidant and adviser on Chinese Affairs and the *Kapitan China* of Sarawak. Ewe Hai built the customary ancestral home of an influential Chinese family, now a back-packers' hostel. Ong Ewe Hai's son, Ong Tiang Swee (1864-1950), ably developed the family business interests and expanded his father's roles in society, becoming *Kapitan China*, President of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce, and one of the first two Chinese nominated to the Sarawak Council Negri (Legislative Council) in 1937. Tiang Swee's second son, Ong Kwan Hin (1896-1982), the father of Tan Sri, had an avid interest in Chinese temples, on which he became a recognized authority. He also carried on his father's import/export business and became *Kapitan China* of the Hokkien community.

For the first sixteen years of his life, Tan Sri lived in the ancestral home built by his grandfather, in an extended family in which Confucian values prevailed. His grandfather, Tiang Swee, was treated with deference by everyone in the family. He had a profound effect on his grandson and Tan Sri dedicated Volume One of his memoirs to him, writing that his grandfather's footprints had guided and inspired him throughout his life.

Tan Sri won a scholarship to cover his secondary education in Singapore and subsequently studied agriculture in Malaya, where he graduated with a diploma. During this period, his views on the world, justice, and religion began to take form. In June 1935, he joined the Department of Agriculture as an agricultural officer. His subsequent travels exposed him to the many ethnic groups and cultures of Sarawak, which later proved

useful in his political career. On 14 September 1937, he married Wee Bee Siok, the daughter of a successful banker and businessman, in a traditional Chinese ceremony. However, the Japanese Occupation altered their lives irrevocably. In Kuching, Tan Sri and his wife, together with several other members of Ong Tiang Swee's extended family moved into the relative safety of Ong Tiang Swee's estate a few miles outside Kuching. As the manufacturing and animal husbandry interests of Ong Tiang Swee were essential, the Japanese authorities allowed them to continue relatively undisturbed. Also Ong Tiang Swee's appointment to the Japanese *Ken Sanjikai* (Prefectural Advisory Council) gave the family some degree of protection. Tan Sri resigned from the Department of Agriculture as soon as the Japanese Occupation began and turned to helping his grandfather. A growing shortage of rice as the Occupation continued motivated his applying for land and seeking self-sufficiency by growing padi and other crops. With helpers, he tried traditional Dayak slash and burn farming, but with limited success, as he had not anticipated the difficulties involved. Giving up this venture, Tan Sri returned to helping his grandfather.

After the initial excitement of liberation, Tan Sri resumed to his pre-war duties with the Department of Agriculture. Thirty-two years old on 1 July 1946 when Sarawak was ceded to Britain, Tan Sri concurred with his grandfather's view that Sarawak needed the resources of Britain for its post-war reconstruction. Cession would, he knew, introduce *jus soli* to Sarawak, so that all those born in Sarawak, irrespective of their ethnicity, would be recognized as citizens, whereas the Sarawak Constitution of 1941 deemed all Chinese as aliens, even if they had been born in Sarawak.

In the post-war world, Tan Sri quickly became dissatisfied with government service due to what he viewed as unfavorable conditions of service for local personnel when compared with those of expatriate officers. Leaving the Department of Agriculture in November 1948, he turned to banking and business in his father-in-law's business "empire". This exposed Tan Sri to business-oriented organizations such as the Rotary Club, the Chamber of Commerce, and the Hokkien Association, as well as to that bastion of Kuching social life, the Sarawak Turf Club. The British administration nominated him to the Council Negri in 1955. Being involved in governing proved irresistible and when the first direct elections were introduced in 1956, Tan Sri was an eager contender. He was elected to the Kuching Municipal Council, but did not achieve his aim of becoming its first elected President, becoming, instead, its second on 1 December 1959. However, he was one of five unofficial members selected for the Supreme Council (Cabinet), where he became privy to the inner workings of government.

An electoral system requires political parties and he, together with a group of colleagues, inaugurated Sarawak's first political party, the SUPP, on 12 June 1959. He was elected Chairman, a position he held until retiring on 25 September 1982. The original concept of a multi-racial party was overridden by a preponderance of Chinese members and the subsequent formation of other political parties along ethnic lines, following the model of the Alliance government in Malaya. The government gave Tan Sri tacit encouragement to form the party, but this turned to distrust as the extent of communist infiltration unfolded. Indeed, the Sarawak Communist Organisation (SCO) viewed the SUPP in its early years as its open front political party. On the other hand, Tan Sri and his Secretary-General, Stephen Yong Kuet Tze, held that the more radical party members needed a political outlet and could be controlled by the moderates. It was a

classic case of mutual dependence. The SCO needed a front of moderate leaders at that stage and the moderate leadership needed the support of its more radical members, as they commanded a large following in the party.

Tan Sri felt strongly that Sarawak should be a completely independent state and not be subsumed within the federation of Malaysia. For economic viability, he preferred a loose federation with Brunei and North Borneo, a solution also preferred by the British administration in the late 1950s. As complete independence was also the aim of the party's SCO and radical elements, the SUPP maintained this aim until the late 1960s, undeterred by government pressure, the Brunei uprising, subsequent government purges of communist elements, the Sultan of Brunei's unwillingness to join in a federation of the Borneo states, and the integration of Sarawak within Malaysia. In a replay of 1946, when no referendum was held on the cession of Sarawak to Britain, his and the SUPP's battle for a referendum on the formation of Malaysia also came to nought. Pressure from Indonesia resulted in a United Nations team assessing public attitudes to the formation of Malaysia and its controversial findings were deemed adequate by Malaya and Britain for the Malaysia plan to be implemented. For Tan Sri, any dreams of Sarawak achieving complete independence finally ended in the 1963 elections. Although his party won 27 per cent of the local Council seats, it was outmanoeuvred in the formation of political alliances, so that the SUPP had only five of the thirty-six seats in the Council Negri and none whatsoever in the Supreme Council. Alone on the opposition bench, the SUPP representatives were powerless to block the vote in the Council Negri in favor of Sarawak joining Malaysia. As he wrote after witnessing the official ceremony on 16 September 1963, the day Sarawak became a state within the Federation of Malaysia, "Fifty years old and my dreams shattered".

One observer held that Tan Sri had national ambitions, and these showed themselves when the SUPP nominated him to the Federal House of Representatives (Dewan Rakyat) in 1964. This he welcomed, viewing it as the party's role to ensure that the special rights negotiated for Sarawak not be eroded. He attended the first session of the second parliament, 18-22 May 1964 and as an experienced speaker, quickly began to build up contacts with other Federal Ministers. Although the SUPP was effectively sidelined in Sarawak, when Singapore was expelled from the Federation of Malaysia on 9 August 1965, Tan Sri and his party seized the opportunity to call for a plebiscite on whether Sarawak should stay within Malaysia. The Sarawak Alliance and the Federal Government quickly turned this down with Tunku Abdul Rahman saying it was his intention that "we should remain for ever and ever together."

Gradually, pragmatism prevailed and prior to the 1970 Sarawak elections, the SUPP top leaders decided that to be effective the party must be prepared to form alliances with non-socialist political parties to become part of the next Sarawak government. A very astute Federal Government encouraged this move, which would remove an effective opposition party from Sarawak politics, and Tun Razak, who was to become the Prime Minister of Malaysia on 22 September 1970, personally encouraged Tan Sri to "join the establishment". Needless to say, this was much to the chagrin of the SUPP's left wing members, who felt that their party's socialist ideology was being sacrificed to expediency and the personal ambitions of its leaders. But the moderates met this challenge and SUPP became part of the Sarawak Government following the 1970 elections.

Tun Razak personally invited Tan Sri to join the federal cabinet as the Minister of Technology, Research and Local Government. This offer was accepted immediately and Tan Sri, together with his wife and youngest daughter, moved to Kuala Lumpur in February 1971. Thereafter the remainder of his political career was in the Dewan Rakyat. His subsequent posts were Federal Minister of Local Government and Housing and Federal Minister of Science, Technology, and Environment. Showing how far he had moved in his political thinking from his early admiration of the Swiss system, which he referred to as "Democracy at Work at the Grass Roots Level", in July 1971 Tan Sri announced that the federal government had decided to abolish elected local authorities in West Malaysia. He said that it was redundant to have a tier of representative government at that level. Following his lead, five years later the Sarawak legislature passed a bill that replaced elected local councils with government nominated councils.

Tan Sri appreciated the trappings of power and was grateful that the Tunku and Tun Razak accepted the SUPP into the government fold. For the federal government, allocation of a Ministry to a politician from Sarawak had political merits. There were frictions, but the SUPP remained firmly in the Alliance fold and an opposition voice was thus muted. For Tan Sri, after ten years in the Dewan Rakyat, his term of office as a Federal Minister came to an end in April 1982 with the dissolution of parliament prior to parliamentary elections. As the SUPP selected other candidates, whom the party considered more likely to be elected, Tan Sri was not a contestant for a seat. Nor was he put forward for a seat in the Senate.

Tan Sri's main interest from 1971 onward had been in his federal ministries and he had become increasingly detached from Sarawak politics. He did not seek re-election as Chairman of the SUPP in 1982. Tan Sri was now sixty-eight years old and he settled into a comfortable retirement, developing some business interests, but not always with success. Three years later, his wife, Wee Bee Siok, died on 15 May 1985. Their married life had been very traditional, with Bee Siok keeping in the background, yet quietly giving him support and encouragement. They had eight children. Later, a longstanding friendship was renewed, leading to his second marriage in the Protestant church to Chong Guek Siew.

Under financial pressure, Tan Sri's situation was eased somewhat by securing a forestry license in the latter part of his life. Having converted to Christianity, religion became increasingly important. Towards the end of his life, he had two ambitions. One was to develop his small "beach house" at Buntal as a weekend and holiday retreat. He enjoyed converting the dilapidated kampung house into a habitable dwelling, smiling with amusement when it was compared with the grandiose buildings of other politicians. His second ambition was to write his memoirs, on which he began work sometime in 1993. Although he underestimated the amount of work involved, the first volume was published in 1998, by which time the debilities of old age were taking hold. He produced a few chapters of the second volume before his death and his old political party, the SUPP, delegated completion to one of its members, as a tribute to its first and longest serving Chairman.

But what of the man himself? He had the ability to gain the confidence and friendship of both sides in most situations. As Chairman of the SUPP, which was known to the Special Branch as an open front for the communists, he retained the confidence,

albeit sometimes guarded, and friendship of the British, and later, Malaysian administrations. Tan Sri was a “Chardonnay” socialist from a privileged background and enjoyed the trappings of power and success. But he managed to retain the support of a largely left-wing party membership, even when the SUPP joined the ruling Alliance. His astuteness in politics is unquestionable, as he, together with Stephen Yong Kuet Tze, managed to survive challenges from both right- and left-wing party members. His speedy acceptance by the Federal Government is also a tribute to his astuteness. But he was less successful in achieving his ultimate ambition, that of a completely independent Sarawak, an ambition he was pragmatic enough to put aside after Malaysia became *fait accompli*. Similarly, socialistic dogma was put aside. Tan Sri upheld the SUPP image of its members not being subject to corruption, although a Nelsonian ability to neither see nor hear what he did not wish to see or hear applied where other politicians were concerned.

In later private life, he was a rather lonely man. He does not seem to have built up very close friendships, having become remote as a Minister, which was even felt by his extended family on occasion. One of his children once remarked that he was more successful in politics than in bringing up a family, indicative of this remoteness. In his later life, his religious group tended to become the major focus of his social activities. Undoubtedly some of his happiest moments were in the late 1940s, when he was building his Shangri-La, a Minangkabau style house at the Twelfth Mile, and in the late 1950s when establishing the SUPP. Dying at the age of 86, his epitaph may well read “He had a few good innings, playing the great game with some finesse”. (Vernon L. Porritt, Murdoch University, Perth, Western Australia)

### TAN SRI DATUK AMAR STEPHEN YONG KUET TZE

1921-2001

Soft spoken and driven by a quiet determination, Stephen Yong will be remembered as a leading figure in giving the ordinary Chinese in Sarawak a political voice through his role as Secretary-General of the Sarawak United People’s Party (SUPP). Stephen’s life followed the classical rise from an impoverished childhood to becoming a respected statesman and, ultimately, a post-retirement businessman, all underpinned by a strong social concern for the inequalities in society and his legal training as a lawyer. Born of struggling first-generation immigrants, his early education, which was interrupted for three years by his father’s stroke in 1930, was only achieved through sacrifices by his family and his own determination. Stephen’s marriage on 11 October 1944 to the daughter of the owner of two ferry vessels, of which he was the manager, provided him with a supportive partner for the rest of his life. After many turns along the way, Stephen graduated from Nottingham University and finally became a Barrister-at-Law of the Royal Court of Justice in England at the end of 1953. He set up a successful law firm in Kuching, but soon turned to politics, first seeking to establish a political party in 1956 with a few colleagues. This was finally achieved in 1959 with the registration of the SUPP, an avowedly socialist party that attracted young radical Chinese.



Stephen was an ardent proponent of independence from the British and a zealous opponent of Sarawak joining a Federation of Malaysia in 1963 without a referendum, seeking either complete state independence or a federation of Borneo states. Clouded by communist infiltration, the SUPP failed to achieve these aims and was relegated to an opposition role representing the interests of its predominantly Chinese membership. Much of Stephen's time was then dedicated to protecting the interests of political detainees interned during Indonesia's armed Confrontation and communist insurgency. Ever pragmatic, he recognized that the SUPP on the state opposition benches had neither power nor even any real influence over government policy and, much to the chagrin of the more left-wing members, gave his full support to the party joining a coalition, non-socialist, state government in 1970. As Deputy Chief Minister of Sarawak, in 1973 Stephen played an unrecognized but vital role that resulted in 256 insurgents laying down their arms at Simanggang (now Sri Aman). Stephen's last political appointment was in 1982, when he became the Federal Minister of Science, Technology, and the Environment. Following ill health and a lost election, he resigned from political life in 1990 and turned to business until his death on 4 July 2001.

Stephen was proud of his offspring, one daughter and two sons, as they have all been successful in their own way, and they, together with his surviving wife, can look back on his achievements as a family man, a lawyer, a politician, and subsequently a businessman, with pride (Vernon L. Porritt, Murdoch University, Perth, W.A, Australia).

**Author's Note:** For an entertaining account of his life, see Tan Sri Datuk Amar Stephen K. T. Yong. *A Life Twice Lived: A Memoir*, Kuching: Borneo Adventure, 1998.



## RESEARCH NOTES

### FIRE IN EAST KALIMANTAN: A PANOPLY OF PRACTICES, VIEWS, AND [DISCOURAGING] EFFECTS<sup>1</sup>

Carol J. Pierce Colfer<sup>2</sup>

*Center for International Forestry Research  
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#### Introduction and Study Sites

In 1997-98, East Kalimantan was hit by the most severe El Niño of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The area burned was estimated at 5.2 million ha in that province alone (Hoffman 1999). Although this catastrophe spawned numerous projects and studies, few of these were field-based.<sup>3</sup> The study reported here, based on field research conducted in July and August 1999, attempts to document what happened from the perspectives of selected stakeholders.<sup>4</sup> It represents a starting point for our improved understanding of proximate causes (as supported by Vayda 1999), in the hopes, ultimately, of identifying some underlying causes.

To deal effectively with fire in the future, a better understanding of both proximate and underlying causes of these fires is essential. Nepstad et al. 1999 and others (including Indonesian officials) identify three things needed for a fire: fuel, dry climatic conditions and a source of ignition. Many researchers have identified aspects of the social and institutional realities that contribute to fire, such as land disputes, unclear tenure, land clearing for plantations, conflicting laws and regulations, etc. (e.g., Potter and Lee 1998; Bompard and Guizol 1999; Vayda 1999; Bowen et al. 2000; Suyanto 2000a,b). In this paper, an inductive approach has been used, identifying the factors perceived locally to be important in contributing to the ignition and spread of fire locally, in specific fire events.

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<sup>1</sup>This study was part of the CIFOR-ICRAF Fire Project, funded by the United States Forest Service (CIFOR/ICRAF/UNESCO 1998; CIFOR/ICRAF 1999a,b). Its initial purpose was to gain a preliminary understanding of the underlying causes of the fire events that have affected central East Kalimantan (and other areas in Indonesia). Grateful appreciation goes to the US Forest Service, to CIFOR, to my colleagues in the Fire Project, and mostly to the people in East Kalimantan who welcomed me into their lives again and shared what, in this case, were their sorrowful tales.

<sup>2</sup>Anthropologist and Program Leader, Local People, Devolution and Adaptive Collaborative Management of Forests, at the Center for International Forestry Research, in Bogor, Indonesia.

<sup>3</sup>See Dennis (1999), or Applegate et al. forthcoming; or Brookfield et al. (1995), for a more long-term perspective.

<sup>4</sup>By "stakeholders," I refer, in the context of this paper, to all of the parties who have an interest in the forest, including local people, settlers, oil palm and timber and industrial timber plantation companies.

The impact on the people residing in communities affected by fires has also been assessed.

My previous research experience among the Uma' Jalan Kenyah,<sup>5</sup> and consequent level of trust, prompted me to focus on their views. Efforts were made throughout to supplement their perceptions with those of other stakeholders in the areas visited. Beginning in Lg. Apui,<sup>6</sup> we follow the migration routes of Kenyah communities living in the fire-affected regions, and address the roles of other important actors in the area.

Long (Lg.) Apui has been selected as an important starting point for several reasons:

- Given the sensitive nature of research on causes of fires, I reasoned that my long-term connection with these people and resulting rapport with them might provide unique insights.
- Long-term data on land use in the area is available (Colfer with Dudley 1993; Colfer et al. 1997; LEAP 1980; Massing 1980; Mayer 1989, 1996; Sakuntaladewi and Amblani 1989; Moniaga 1990; Sardjono 1997); and the management system of the Uma' Jalan Kenyah represents that of many swidden systems in Borneo.
- Significant changes in land use and forest cover have occurred since monitoring first began in the late 1970s (cf. Colfer et al. 1997; Colfer and Salim 1998; Brookfield et al. 1995).
- The combination of concessionaires, plantations, and small-scale agriculture represents a common pattern in Kalimantan.
- Lg. Apui has spawned several other villages, all within the fire-affected areas of East Kalimantan, which form potentially informative comparisons:
- A satellite village called Lepo' Umit, up the Telen River (along the I'ut River and a parallel logging road) which is now intimately connected with the logging concession's Village Guidance (*Bina Desa*) activities, providing a potentially important divergence in experience (within the same ethnic group and natural resource management history).
- A daughter village in the Lg. Tutung Transmigration Location, where other Lg. Apui residents moved after the 1983 fires and drought. Here, again, there is significant interaction between the Kenyah and other ethnic groups, as well as other major actors (concessions (HPH), industrial timber plantations (HTI), and an oil palm plantation).
- A daughter village called Lalut Bala (initially settled after the 1983 fires), two to four hours from Samarinda (in the ex-ITCI base camp<sup>7</sup>), where marketing of agricultural produce is more feasible, where competition for land is more pronounced, and where inter-ethnic interaction is more common.

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<sup>5</sup>My first contact with Lg. Apui was in 1979, when I spent a year studying the community's interactions with the forest. I have maintained my research interest in this community, conducting historical studies of land use from initial settlement, studies of their agroforestry system, gender issues, migration, etc. periodically since then.

<sup>6</sup>Pseudonyms are used throughout to protect the privacy of those interviewed.

<sup>7</sup>ITCI, International Timber Company of Indonesia, was once a Weyerhaeuser timber concession; after the 1983 fires, the US-based company withdrew, leaving predominantly Indonesian military ownership.

- A daughter village, Lepo' Mading, about two hours from Samarinda, where the people had developed an agroforestry system including rice and pepper, fruits and coconuts, supplemented by handicraft production and periodic wage labor, before the fires.

The focus on the Kenyah experience of the fires is intended to contribute, ultimately, to the identification of important underlying causes (cf. Gonner 1999; Mayer 1989, 1996; Sakuntaladewi and Amblani 1989; Gellert 1998; Vayda 1999) and to the evolution of relevant typologies. This study has included use of surveys, interviews, and participant observation. The planned use of GPS<sup>8</sup> to identify locations and land use histories of unburned areas proved impossible: everything, except the villages themselves, had burned.

Lg. Apui, our point of departure, is an Uma' Jalan Kenyah community, initially settled in 1962. In the early 1970s, it, along with neighboring Payau (a Kutai village) and nearby Lg. Nyeng (an Uma' Kulit Kenyah village), was declared a "resettlement village" by the Indonesian government, and for five years received a variety of inputs (housing construction materials, guidance in "settled agriculture," agricultural inputs and implements, etc.). This occurred not long after an El Niño in 1972, followed by a second disastrous year in which rats decimated the people's rice fields (as in 1998-99). By 1979, however, Lg. Apui was prospering, and had grown to more than 1,000 inhabitants.

At that time, virtually all families were living by means of swidden cultivation, making upland rice fields a bit larger than the average size in other communities in that river system (Massing 1980). They were cutting the vast majority of their fields from primary forest, arguing that such lands were more fertile (Colfer with Dudley 1993). Their interest in laying claim to land, new access to markets for rice, and new availability of consumer goods, capital investments, education, and medical services, were also undoubtedly factors in this prosperity.

The community was located in an area given as a concession to the US-based Georgia Pacific Timber Company in 1972. Relations between the community and the company were occasionally marred by conflicts, but Lg. Apui was located in an area where the timber resources were not particularly good, compared to other areas of the concession, and compromises were usually possible.

Lg. Apui was badly affected by the 1983 El Niño, and many families moved away, some to Lalut Bala or to Lepo' Mading, near Samarinda, and some joined the Lg. Tutung transmigration site. This transmigration project began in 1986, bringing thousands of people to an area just north of Lg. Apui (Sakuntaladewi and Amblani 1989). About the same time, Georgia Pacific decided their concession was no longer profitable enough and sold it to P. T. Satu, a company with significant political problems due to its ownership by one of Soeharto's cronies. By the mid-1980s, Lg. Apui had shrunk to about 500 people. In 1990, P.T. Satu became one of the first companies to develop "TI Trans" South of Lg.

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<sup>8</sup>I.e., global positioning system; a hand-held device that links its signals to satellites and tells the user his or her exact position on earth.

Apui.<sup>9</sup> Four communities of transmigrants were brought into the area to provide the labor needed to develop the industrial timber plantation that the government was encouraging. Lg. Apui's total population, including Payau and Leo' Umit, is now 1,399 people (village statistics, 1999).

The last two decades have brought increasing pressure on the rain forest (lowland dipterocarp) in the area from timber concessions, from transmigration, from plantation agriculture, and from local communities, as well as sometimes devastating climatic fluctuations. The population density has steadily risen due to in-migration, with local people continuing to depend primarily on direct use of natural resources, and inadequate attention to sustainability issues on the part of the companies and the government. Policies relating to land tenure and use rights have been contradictory and unclear, with power and economic clout typically having greater influence than justice. The level of conflict among stakeholders in the area has risen dramatically, with local people often losing access to the resources on which they depend, particularly when pitted against the many plantation development schemes.

Enter the 1997 ENSO event.

### Methods

The methods employed have been both quantitative and qualitative. This research involved numerous in-depth individual and group interviews with residents, with the intention of improving our understanding of the causes, frequency/severity, and mechanisms for prevention and control of the fires. Specific comparisons of resource availability during previous years (El Niño and otherwise) were made; and changes in coping strategies between past and present disaster years were documented. The histories of 20 specific fire events were recorded, including locations, years burned, reported causes, crops planted and land use and tenure patterns in the area, insofar as obtainable. Seven such histories were recorded in Lg. Apui, three in Lepo' Umit, eight in Lg. Tutung, and two in P. T. Akasia's HTI.

I was assisted in this research by Yustina Doq Jau and Yohanes Ngerung, both residents of Lg. Apui; and Pesawat, the community leader of Lepo' Umit, all of whom received guidance in interviewing. Survey forms had been prepared in Bogor in Indonesian and Kenyah, and the two new survey forms were pre-tested and revised with the help of the field assistants. GPS readings were taken throughout the field research period whenever practical. Before the formal studies began, I explained the intent of the research in discussions with village leaders and in various informal discussions with community members, and obtained the agreement of the community members.

The Lg. Tutung component focused on the two settlements called UNIT 10-Lg. Tutung and UNIT 11-Lg. Tutung. The short time available required using an opportunity sample. The fact that some residents were in the village and some not should not, given the usual Kenyah practice of splitting residence between fields and the village, affect the validity of the sample. Interviews were conducted in the Kenyah language.

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<sup>9</sup>HTI stands for Hutan Tanaman Industri, or Industrial Timber Plantation. "HTI Trans" is one of these plantations that incorporates transmigrant labor in its operation. It is a particular kind of transmigration program that was very popular in the early 1990s.

Calculating the exact proportion surveyed was not possible. In Lg. Apui, official statistics use “KK” (or household head). However, life occurs normally there in extended family situations, with two to three official KK’s living in the same house, cooking in the same kitchen, and sharing the same rice fields. Our sample used the house/kitchen/rice field as the unit of analysis for our land use history (not reported here) and the comparative matrices on resources and coping strategies. Table 1 provides the best population-related data available, with the number of interviews conducted for the two fire-related studies. The matrices were household based; whereas the health and loss survey was directed at individuals.

**Table 1: Number of Kenyah Households and Study Samples—Lg. Apui, Payau, Lepo’ Umit, UNIT 10—Lg. Tutung, UNIT 11—Lg. Tutung**

	No. Official Households	Estimate of Extended Households	Comparative Matrices	Health/Loss Interviews
<i>Lg. Apui</i>	149	133	28	53
<i>Payau</i>	101	?	6	3
<i>Lepo’ Umit</i>	25	22	15	0
<i>UNIT 10<sup>10</sup></i>	?		21	30
Lg. Apui		35		
Lg. Po’on		23		
Lg. Cu’		6		
<i>Unit 11<sup>11</sup></i>	?		8	8
Lg. Apui		7		
Lg. Po’on		?		
Lg. Cu’		?		

The Lg. Apui and Lepo’ Umit household estimates are based on village statistics, reviewed and corrected by the field assistants. In Lg. Tutung, our estimates are based on a count of households by a group of Kenyah including the Neighborhood Leader (*kepala dusun*) with whom we stayed in UNIT 10. Interviews were conducted during the day in the fields where groups of Kenyah farmers were participating in *senguyun*, a kind of group exchange labor, clearing rice fields in preparation for burning. In the evening, the interviews continued at the settlement areas, in people’s homes.

The comparative matrix survey required respondents to compare the availability of various forest products and various strategies for coping with disaster during the following years: 1972-73, 1979-80, 1982-83, 1989-90 and 1997-98. The first, middle and

<sup>10</sup>These sub-categories (Lg. Apui, Lg. Po’on, and Lg. Cu’) refer to the place of origin of these local transmigrants.

<sup>11</sup>Sakuntaladewi and Amblani (1989) report 1,510 individuals from 357 households in UNIT 11—Lg. Tutung, in 1989 (about 2/3 in-migrants and 1/3 local).

last years were El Niño years. 1979-80 is the year I resided in the community; and 1989-90 is another representative year with a reasonable rice harvest. This survey was conducted among people 40 years of age and older, since those younger than 40 were unlikely to remember the first El Niño of interest.

Although the interviewers tried to interview half women and half men, they had very little success interviewing women directly, though women regularly contributed to the discussion. I suspect part of this had to do with the assistants' unwillingness to press them, and their own cultural biases. It also reinforces our previous perception that a quick assessment of women's views is difficult (cf. Colfer et al. 1998).

The health and loss survey was intended to enhance our understanding of what happened during the fires to people's health and to estimate the amount of losses the people had endured from the fires. In general, this survey was conducted along with the land use history mentioned above, with any residents eligible as respondents. The percentage of female respondents was considerably greater for the health and loss survey.

I also conducted a number of informal and open-ended interviews with various officials and company personnel (e.g. P. T. Satu and P. T. Akasia in Batu Bulan; and county (*kecamatan*) offices, P. T. Sawit, P. T. Dua in Lg. Tutung) about the causes and impacts of the fires in their areas. The responses of these various parties to queries varied greatly from apparently completely open and honest to extremely guarded, fearful and unhelpful.

The final phase of this research involved brief field visits to Lepo' Mading and Lalut Bala, both Kenyah villages a few hours from Samarinda. Here, open-ended interviews were conducted with as many people as possible during the time available (one and two days, respectively), and GPS readings with fire histories were taken. In Lalut Balan, eight people were interviewed with the comparative matrices and the health and loss survey forms.

## Results

This section is divided into seven major sections, one for each community or major stakeholder that shared their perceptions with me: Lg. Apui, P.T. Satu (HPH), Lepo' Umit, Lg. Tutung, P. T. Akasia (HTI), Lepo' Mading, and Lalut Bala. The order simply reflects the order in which they were visited, beginning at Lg. Apui, interviewing neighboring communities and stakeholders, and then moving back toward Samarinda. The Lg. Apui data are the most extensive, and provide a context from which to compare the other views.

### A: LG. APUI

#### Fires and Fire Context

Lg. Apui is a village of shifting cultivators. Although swidden cultivation remains their primary subsistence mode, most community members have been experimenting with tree crops (rubber, cacao, coffee, fruits). They are within P. T. Satu's concession and have been consistently involved in P. T. Satu's *Bina Desa* (Village Guidance) program. A significant number of local officials, teachers, and church people have in the past received salaries from P. T. Satu. Relations are not as good, perhaps, as those with Lepo' Umit, but there have not been very serious conflicts. Local leaders have recently negotiated with P.

T. Satu to clarify the village boundaries of Lg. Apui and three other neighboring communities. I saw good maps (based on those used by the company), on which the proposed boundaries had been drawn. Local leaders also knew about the Ministry of Forestry's plan for village cooperatives for timber management. Lg. Nyeng had recently accepted an offer of Rp. 17,500/cubic meter (from the reforestation funds or from the royalties) as a recompense for the wood to be taken from the area that is agreed to be theirs.<sup>12</sup> Lg. Apui leaders want more information about how the wood taken is calculated before they agree to such a figure.

In Lg. Apui, the fires were seen as coming from outside (see Table 2), from Lg. Tutung to the north, beginning in February. They could be seen coming slowly, low in the forest most of the time, burning high during the heat of the day and flying through the air during windy periods. Because the rice harvest was a complete loss, due to the drought, the people needed money. Part of the community went up the Mela River to pan for gold, and part remained in the community to guard it. March was a period of intense activity, with little food and even less water. The Telen River, usually navigable by fairly large trading boats, was about 50 cm high in the middle, during the worst period. The people realized they couldn't save their fields (most of which are far from the village, up the Telen and Payau Rivers), but they hoped to save their village. They mobilized the entire community, including all the men, women, and children, to cut a fire break through the forest around the back of the village from one end to the other. After that was accomplished, flying bits of burning debris continued to threaten the village. One house caught fire briefly, but was seen in time and put out. Another area behind the village (beyond the fire break) was protected by spraying with water in pesticide sprayers and by shoveling soil.

In Lg. Apui itself, there was little blame attached to any individual or company. The fires were seen as coming primarily from the direction of Lg. Tutung, as a sort of natural disaster, later surrounding them. The idea that people might burn the forest in this way to secure rights, or for cheap land clearing, was considered a bit ridiculous. Local people recognize the value of forest resources and the losses that accompany such burning. Another argument against purposeful burning by small farmers is the condition of lands burned in March, by the time rice-planting season comes (at the beginning of the rainy season). The burned areas are full of debris and messy, viney or grassy regrowth that is very difficult to deal with and to weed.<sup>13</sup> Planting upland (unirrigated) rice in March or April simply would not work.

Some Kenyah maintained that Kutai (from Payau) set one fire along the Payau River, though no reasonable proof was forthcoming. The Kutai practice of repeated

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<sup>12</sup>The exchange rate at this time was roughly US\$1 = Rp. 8,500.

<sup>13</sup>Cf. Mayer (1989). Her study was partially designed to evaluate the degree to which local people had taken advantage of the "free" clearing of land provided by the 1982-83 fires to expand agricultural areas (an idea I also considered reasonable at the time). She found that they had not; and their statements that successful planting is more difficult after a fire because of sharp increases in pests and weeds were confirmed by visual observation as Lg. Apui's inhabitants were struggling to clear their fields during this research period (more than a year after the fires).

burning of *alang alang* (*Imperata cylindrica*), to encourage the growth of new shoots which draw deer, which are then caught with *jerat* (a kind of trap), was mentioned repeatedly as a possible cause of smaller fires that occurred after the larger fires were thought to be controlled. A similar story is told in Lepo' Umit, relating to some Kutai who were reportedly hunting for turtles and lit some *alang alang*. These fires are thought to have been set because of envy since their fields had burned and the remaining Kenyah ones had not. I find this unlikely, myself, given their overall awareness of the effects of the fire and also the danger to themselves and their belongings from further burning.

**Table 2: Perceived Causes of Fire**

Lg. Apui, UNIT 10–Lg. Tutung, UNIT 11–Lg. Tutung

Fire from:	Lg. Apui (n=58)	UNIT 10 (n=30)	UNIT 11 (n=9)
Elsewhere	78%	47%	44%
People	3%	17%	0%
Kutai	3%	0	0
Javanese	0	3%	33%
UNIT 10 (NTT)	0	17%	0%
HTI (timber plantation) Company	2%	0	0
	0%	0	11%
Rattan coll.	5%	0	0
Hunting	3%	0	0
Cooking	2%	0	0
Cigarettes	9%	0	0
Grasslands	0	7%	0
Roads	0	30%	0
Accidental	5%	0	0
Purposeful	7%	13%	11%

The figures in Table 2 reflect summaries of responses to an open-ended question, "What was the source of the fires in 1997-98?" People were free to answer as fully as they liked, and each response was tabulated above.

In Lg. Apui, the attribution of fire causes to activities like hunting, rattan collection, and cooking in the forest reflects the greater involvement in and direct dependence upon the forest of most of the population there, *vis-à-vis* the other sites.

The magnitude of the losses from the fires is both difficult to imagine and difficult to measure. Amazingly, no loss of life or homes was reported (though six field huts were



destroyed). However, Care Indonesia did a survey in November/December 1998 (Tuffs 1999), and found a variety of indicators that nutritional levels were sub-standard.<sup>14</sup>

Table 3 summarizes the responses to our questions about losses. The fact that people could provide the number of hectares of particular tree species is indicative of an important change in their system in recent years. In the past, they practiced a traditional agroforestry that mimicked and/or made use primarily of natural regrowth, with minor "fiddling" by humans (weeding around or protecting desired species, periodically interplanting special plants or transplanting a desired species, see Colfer et al. 1997). It was very difficult for them to estimate the quantities of particular crops other than rice. With "guidance" from P. T. Satu and the Lg. Tutung extension personnel, they now include some more conventional (within the scientific world) agroforestry, planting the seedlings provided by these outside groups within specified areas after their rice crop. And they know how many hectares of those crops they lost.

**Table 3: Number of Hectares Burned, by Crop in Lg. Apui, UNIT 10–Lg. Tutung and UNIT 11–Lg. Tutung**

Crop:	Ha Burned Lg. Apui (n=56)	Ha Burned Unit 10 (n=30)	Ha Burned Unit 11 (n=8)
Coconut	1	44	16
Cacao	8	16	4
Fruits	17	2	2
Rubber	17	0	0
Banana	6	10	1
Coffee	6	4	0
Rattan	4	0	0
Cassava	1	1	0
Pine	0	2	0
Bean	1	0	0
<i>Sengon</i>	1	0	0
Cloves	1	0	0
Durian	1	0	0
Vegetables	1	0	0
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>23</b>

More difficult to estimate, and more important to Kenyah subsistence, is the damage done to the surrounding forest. The confusion about land tenure in the area makes it very difficult for the Kenyah to know how to respond to a question like "How much of your own forest burned?" In the past, the difficulty would have been in knowing the size of a

<sup>14</sup> Only 57% of the children under 5 are not "wasted" (weight for height); only 25% are not "stunted" (height for age); and only 26% are not underweight (weight for age) (Tuffs 1999).

hectare (which remains a problem). Ownership was clear: whoever had cleared the primary forest (or their offspring) owned the area. But the government, the industrial timber plantations, the transmigration authorities, the oil palm plantation, and the logging companies do not reckon ownership in the same way. Now the problem is determining which system of land ownership applies. People were able to estimate easily the amount of their most recent rice field that burned. But the secondary forest areas they listed (Table 4) did not include vast areas that would be theirs by their traditional system, and are typically available to them to use. Our earlier estimate of the land needed in that area for sustainable agroforestry production and maintenance of the people's life style (Colfer with Dudley 1993) was 15-40 ha per family (roughly 2,000-5,300 ha, with our current population estimate). Basically, it all burned.

**Table 4: Under-Estimate of Agroforestry Area Burned Lg. Apui, UNIT 10-Lg. Tutung and UNIT 11-Lg. Tutung**

Area Type	Burned Lg. Apui (n=56)	Burned UNIT 10 (n=30)	Burned UNIT 11 (n=8)
	Rice field	120	34
Secondary forest	148	0	18

#### Comparison of 1997 El Niño with Previous Ones<sup>15</sup>

The 1997 El Niño was unanimously considered the worst fire they had ever seen, much worse than the 1983 fires (see Mayer 1989 for a post-fire analysis) or the 1972 drought. Whereas in 1982-83 the Lg. Apui area was evaluated as among the worst affected, with more than 50% crown damage to trees (Wirawan 1987), the 1997-98 fires burned everything. The German Integrated Forest Fire Management Project produced maps showing Lg. Apui falling into the category of damage > 80%. There was nothing left for the birds to eat. Animals were easy to hunt because they needed water, and came to the river to drink. The fish were easy to catch because they were concentrated in such small amounts of water. Whereas in 1983 people had subsisted on cassava, this time much of the cassava was burned as well. Forest foods like ferns, bamboo shoots, and various kinds of leaves all burned. There was nothing to eat except the animals and the fish, and the price of rice was astronomical (if available at all). In 1983, many of the trees still stood. The fire had burned the underbrush and the small trees, but valuable ironwood and meranti remained. This time, there are very few living large trees left.

Lg. Apui appears to have depended even more heavily on gold panning this time than during the previous crisis. One problem they recounted with the 1982-83 gold-panning was the continual immersion in water and the resulting "rotting" of the skin (Colfer with Dudley 1993). This time, they said there was so little water, they didn't have

<sup>15</sup>Analyses of the impacts of the 1982-83 fires are available in, for example, Boer (1989); Mayer (1989); Sakuntaladewi and Amblani (1989); Wirawan (1987); Woods (1987).

that problem.<sup>16</sup> They had to dig holes, and let the water slowly seep into the holes before they could pan.

Table 5 provides a summary of their perceptions of the availability of various forest products, and, for contrast, of cash and rice.<sup>17</sup> The lower the number, the more available the product remains (1= a great deal, *kado' ale'*; 5, very little, *kedi'ut ale'*). There is a general trend for forest products to be less available, over time, with rattan, bamboo, forest medicines, forest foods, and wood the most dramatically absent recently. Cash seems to be slightly more common now than in the past, though not strikingly so. The rice situation is also deteriorating (confirmed by Colfer and Salim 1998).

**Table 5: Changes over Time in Access to Forest Products in Lg. Apui (without Lepo' Umit or Payau)**

	wildlife	fish	rattan/ bamboo	medicine	food	wood	cash	rice
1972-73	2.00	1.68	2.50	2.79	2.79	2.18	3.79	4.11
1979-80	2.29	2.07	2.21	2.61	2.46	2.29	3.54	2.32
1982-83	2.50	2.29	3.21	3.29	3.39	2.79	3.64	3.96
1989-90	2.39	2.25	3.00	3.07	3.11	2.75	3.25	2.64
1997-98	2.86	2.64	4.25	4.14	4.15	4.04	3.46	4.50

The years in bold are El Niño years.

We were interested to discover how people's survival strategies had changed over the decades, when the rice crop failed.<sup>18</sup> Table 6 (together with Tables 8 and 10) is presented at the end of the paper in Appendix 1. The first seven columns represent people's dependence on forest products as supplements in times of crisis. The next two columns represent customary mechanisms for surviving disasters: requesting help from family or others. The final two, HPH (timber concession) and HTI (industrial timber plantation), were anticipated as possibly increasingly important, but people on the average consider these options as fairly unimportant (4) to not important at all (5). The strong dependence on eating cassava, panning for gold, hunting pigs, and fishing, are clear.

#### Fire Management Strategies, Risks, and Sanctions

Traditionally, the Kenyah have a variety of fire management strategies (see Aspiannur et al. 1999, for a study of another Kenyah sub-group). They make a fire break between the field they want to burn and any adjacent area they fear might catch fire. Traditionally, healthy and normal living forest does not burn particularly easily in this

<sup>16</sup>Whitmore (1990) reported that between July 1982 and April 1983, East Kalimantan received only 32% of its usual rainfall. I have no comparable data on the more recent drought.

<sup>17</sup>No statistical analyses have yet been produced, since this report comes from the field.

<sup>18</sup>Comparable, more specific year-by-year information is available in Colfer and Agus 1998 for the years 1991-1997.

context. But a fruit orchard might. The firebreak is two *depa* (or two full outstretched arms' lengths) in width. Two of these breaks were seen in Lg. Apui fields.

Burning strategies include attention to time of day, amount of wind, condition of surrounding forest, slope, and dryness of slash in the field. Fires burn hottest at midday, and a hot fire is desirable for a good burn (which reduces weeding and increases ash fertilization). The more wind, the more dangerous the fire. When winds are high, small fires are started downwind, moving toward the wind. This allows for more control, but also often results in a less complete burn. Fires started upwind burn hot and move quickly when it is windy, potentially endangering unintended areas downwind. The condition (humidity) of the surrounding foliage also affects these decisions. Old growth is unlikely to burn, whereas an area used the previous year for a rice field is very susceptible to burning. Some said that fires move uphill more quickly/easily than downhill. Naturally, the drier the slash has become, the greater the fire danger and the greater the likelihood of a thorough burn. There also comes a time when there's a significant danger that rains may come and prevent a good burn altogether. The decision to burn is a difficult and stressful one, involving both the individual field owner and, normally, all the others with neighboring fields. The few cases of fires escaping that we were able to elicit were in situations where the adjacent owners had not been notified (and the adjacent owners' non-rice crops burned).

Care is taken that people can escape the fire once it gets going. If a large cluster of rice fields (or *ladang*) is being burned, people may start in the middle and work outwards, so as to avoid the danger of trapping people in the middle.

Technically, there are sanctions against those who do not take proper precautions regarding fire. In the old days, people could be fined a knife or a gong. In more recent times, fines have taken the form of cash. A person who burns someone else's fruit trees, for instance, is supposed to have to pay Rp. 25,000-Rp. 50,000/tree. In fact, in the only concrete examples that community members were able to dredge up, the person burning inappropriately had to pay a total of Rp. 10,000 (see below), even though the neighbor's garden was destroyed.

In fact, most people make their fields near their friends or relatives, and people are aware of the dangers of fire. When burning to clear rice fields, the whole group of people with adjacent rice fields typically discusses when and how to burn. On the fairly rare occasions when an adjacent rice field burns, it is likely to belong to someone who has a close relationship to the person burning, a person who is unlikely to want to harm or sever the relationship. In one case, one family burned its field before its neighbor's field was ready. The fire spread into the neighbor's not yet completely cleared/dried rice field, resulting in a less than satisfactory burn for the neighbor. The victim was angry, but not angry enough to pursue sanctions.

Only one man (A) had repeated problems with fire, and he had succeeded in getting a fine levied against one person who burned his garden of *salak* (snakefruit), bamboo, and fruits near the village. A woman had cut down some of his jackfruit trees and burned them and then the fire spread into the *salak*, bamboo and fruit garden. The woman had not made any fire break, and she was fined Rp. 10,000.

In March 1982, A had 70 newly producing clove trees burned in a frequently used area across the Telen River from Lg. Apui (one he originally cleared from old growth in

1972 and planted first with rice). The wind came up and blew the fire from where his neighbor was making a cassava garden in an area that was full of *alang alang*. A saw the fire from his house and wanted to put it out, but had no water. He tried beating the fire with sticks, but it just kept flaming. He told his neighbor that the government had set reimbursement prices for losses like that, but the neighbor said to let the *adat* [customary law] committee take care of it. Nothing ever happened. The area has been *alang alang* from then to now [in fact, the area was *alang alang* in 1979, as well].

On another occasion, a neighbor was burning to clear for his rice field. He did not make a fire break between his land and A's garden of sweet peppers, jackfruit, and rambutan, and the wind came up. A did not learn of this until he found the place burned. Again, no fines were levied or reimbursement required.

This man's experience was confirmed by other people who had trouble thinking of other examples of "intentional" (*sengaja*) burning. There were three examples of accusations of intentional burning levied against the Kutai. Only one involved sanctions. The Kutai set some *alang alang* afire in 1996, and the fire blew out of control into the Lg. Apui cemetery. This resulted in an intra-community dispute, resolved by the *adat* committee who required the Kutai to pay a fine of Rp. 100,000.

#### B: BATU BULAN—P. T. SATU CONCESSION

Timber concessionaires have been important actors in Kalimantan for a long time—at least since the 1970s. I interviewed groups of timber company employees in Batu Bulan (two hours downriver, by outboard, from Lg. Apui). As in Lg. Apui, huge areas of P. T. Satu's concession burned. The estimates of officials are 70,000 ha, with three particularly badly hit areas. Major parts of this concession burned in 1982-83 as well. The company appears to have tried hard to put out the fires, mobilizing their heavy equipment, converting gasoline tankers to water tankers, and making use of the workers (though their number had been significantly reduced because of Indonesia's monetary crisis).

Many of the positive management actions they had undertaken or planned were adversely affected. Nurseries burned, areas planted with meranti and making good progress burned. Personnel reported utter dismay and confusion, much like the people of Lg. Apui, about what to do now. The uncertainty that accompanies Indonesia's current political crisis (their owner, one of Soeharto's most famous cronies, is now in jail) added to their confusion; and to their feelings of job insecurity.

They reported feelings of fear and amazement as the fire blazed up during the heat of the day or during windy periods, carrying burning debris flying over their heads to land hither and yon. Both P. T. Satu personnel and people in Batu Matahari told of staying up night and day to guard against and fight fires that threatened their homes, and of frightening experiences on roads at night as their cars were temporarily trapped between falling, burning trees.

Although none of the staff members I spoke with was working in Batu Bulan during the 1982-83 fire, they reported that the recent fires were much worse, causing much more damage (both in terms of area and in terms of intensity). As noted above, Wirawan (1987) reported >50% crown damage in this area after the 1982-83 fires; whereas Hoffman (1999) reports >80% this time.

While the fires were threatening, the timber personnel used bulldozers to clear a swath around the villages of Batu Bulan and Batu Matahari, immediately adjacent to their main local headquarters, and kept tanker trucks filled and used (including delivering water to people who had drums to place by the road, and providing transport for people in the village of Lepo' Umit to go get water every other day). They reported having to attach ten lengths of hose to a tanker truck to get far enough away from the heat of the fire to work. The area around the camp is almost completely *alang alang*, so the fire danger must have been extremely high.

The primary risk, of course, from the company's point of view, was probably financial loss. I was unable to elicit any estimate of this, but of course the losses sustained are enormous, both in terms of standing timber that is no more, and in terms of the various activities they have undertaken to make the operation more sustainable (including the losses to the *Bina Desa* Program, such as those reported in Lg. Apui and Lepo' Umit).

One official mentioned the overall loss to be one that affected his professional life, since he was there because he was a forester, and he was a forester because he was interested in the forests. Now, the forests are burned in this area. His compatriots seemed to share his dismay.

The sanctions that have been applied to P. T. Satu do not seem to be related to the fires, but rather to political problems related to their owner. Local people are not blaming the company (except in a sort of general way that logging dries out forests) for the fires; nor do there appear to be sanctions within the company, which appears to be too preoccupied with its other problems to be much concerned with this issue.

### C: LEPO' UMIT

Lepo' Umit's situation differs from that of Lg. Apui in that it was essentially a locally initiated experiment in settled agroforestry. The leader, B, wanted to lead a group of people in a new way of farming that would protect the environment, confirm their rights to the land, and yield a good income for them and their children. In pursuing this dream, B worked closely, first with P. T. Satu, the logging company that was expanding by developing industrial plantations in the area, and later got additional help from the agricultural extension agents in Lg. Tutung. Lepo' Umit people continue to do swidden cultivation on a small scale, but their intent has been to switch to rubber as their economic base, supplemented by a variety of other crops (pepper, fruits, and possibly some industrial tree crops).

Their experience of the fires was much the same as that of the people of Lg. Apui's. From their perspective, the fires came out of the north (Lg. Tutung area), aided by wind and drought, burning everything in their path. The leader was committed to their experiment, and to all the effort the whole community had put into their endeavor. The community arranged for the timber company to bring their heavy equipment to the area and cut a clean swath through the forest to protect the community's rubber trees. This was done to the north, and another swath was cut to the south. Community members made heroic efforts to guard their area, putting out fires that ventured in, working night and day, dirty, hot, and short of water. For a brief time, the fires seemed under control. Because their harvest had failed totally, almost all of the community members followed their

friends and families from Lg. Apui to areas upriver (Mela and Telen rivers) to pan for gold—against the appeals of B, who told them that the rubber trees were their children, and would feed them when they were old if they remained to take care of them. While they were gone, another fire started in a patch of *alang alang*. Again, with heroic efforts and the help of the few people who could be found, B tried to save the community's fields, but the fire raced through too quickly and there were too few people to fight it. Five field huts were burned, and almost all the rubber that the community had so carefully tended.

The people blame the Kutai from nearby Labi Labi, whom they claim were out hunting turtles (the equivalent for that ethnic group to the Kenyah's search for gold, as a subsistence strategy during these times of stress), and lit the fire. Some say it was purposeful (jealousy because Lepo' Umit's rubber gardens represented the one green area), others say they were careless with cooking fires or cigarettes. No one saw them, and I found no evidence that it was purposely set. Although the suspicion was reported to the Kutai village head, no further efforts were made to recover damages—partly from fear of charges of slander.

Relations with the company continue to be good. The community is grateful to the company for trying, with their heavy equipment, to prevent the loss by fire, and the company also brought them water by tanker periodically and took them to the one remaining source of water (a dam that had been created by the construction of the logging road) every other day. P. T. Satu has political problems, and the company's situation now remains uncertain, which has resulted in diminished help to the community. The entire concession burned, along with all the *sengon*, *meranti* and about half of the *acacia*. The *gamelina*, however, seems to have recovered nicely from the burn.

The company, through the *Bina Desa* Program, has consistently provided assistance to this community, including helping with seedlings, transport, extension, etc. According to B, the company has also accepted some of his suggestions (such as planning to start an area of fruit trees that included both fruits from afar and from the local forests—*Hutan Cadangan Pangan*). B reports that the local company officials are prepared to hand over rights to the plantation in the area of Lepo' Umit, but he does not know if this will be approved at higher levels (though he says he has good relations with the general manager of Batu Bulan, in Samarinda). He has thought through what he wants to ask for and the rationale, including plans for the future. These include preservation of the burned old growth so that it can regenerate; planting of *gamelina* since it has proven to be fire-resistant, grows quickly, and is good quality wood for furniture; and replanting of the community's rubber.

I did not discover any evidence or perception that the company was responsible for any of the burning. Indeed, all parties with whom I have spoken appear to be genuinely appalled at the damage and almost overcome by the losses they have sustained.

This community had not been established at the time of the 1982-83 fires. The forest had been logged and partially burned (>50%, Wirawan 1987).

Table 7 provides Lepo' Umit people's average assessments of the availability of forest products, as that has changed over time. The people were still in Lg. Apui during the first three dates in the table. The availability of cash and rice are also assessed, for comparative purposes. Although the availability of wildlife and fish are assessed as about

the same as the Lg. Apui assessment (between “average,” 3, and “a lot,” 2), they remember fewer abundant times than do Lg. Apui residents. Rattan, bamboo, forest medicines and foods, and wood are also seen as scarce now in Lepo’ Umit. Roughly the same pattern is also evident for cash and rice as in Lg. Apui.

**Table 7: Changes over Time in Access to Forest Products in Lepo’ Umit. (The first three dates reflect experience in Lg Apui.)**

	wildlife	fish	rattan/ bamboo	medicine	food	wood	cash	rice
<b>1972-73</b>	<b>2.53</b>	<b>2.80</b>	<b>2.60</b>	<b>3.07</b>	<b>2.87</b>	<b>3.07</b>	<b>3.07</b>	<b>4.47</b>
1979-80	2.93	3.00	3.27	3.47	3.13	3.47	3.07	3.40
<b>1982-83</b>	<b>2.80</b>	<b>3.27</b>	<b>3.67</b>	<b>3.93</b>	<b>3.67</b>	<b>3.67</b>	<b>3.40</b>	<b>3.73</b>
1989-90	3.27	3.53	4.00	4.13	4.27	4.07	3.53	3.27
<b>1997-98</b>	<b>2.80</b>	<b>2.40</b>	<b>4.73</b>	<b>4.87</b>	<b>4.93</b>	<b>4.20</b>	<b>3.07</b>	<b>4.53</b>

The years in bold are El Niño years.

Table 8 (in appendix) shows the changing coping strategies used by people in Lepo’ Umit in times of disaster. Eating cassava and panning for gold were the primary coping strategies during the fires. Hunting for pigs, fishing, and making wooden beams were also important.

The local communities are also very familiar with the use of fire and methods for controlling the spread of fire (related to slope, wind direction, time of day, dryness of fields, as well as clearing paths between areas to be burned and areas to be preserved), as in Lg. Apui. Traditionally, they have used fire as a tool, and know its uses and its dangers. They also have traditionally held people responsible (fines) for inadvertently burning other people's property. In Lepo’ Umit, a relatively new community, there has not been any formal codification of traditional law, nor has there been a situation, other than the 1997-98 fires, in which unintentional fires have occurred that were considered significant enough to report, even within the village.

#### **D: LG. TUTUNG**

Lg. Tutung is a large transmigration area, originally settled in 1986 and 1987. The primary ethnic groups living there include people from Java, from NTT, NTB, Lombok, and local Kenyah transmigrants from Lg. Apui (primarily represented in this study), from Lg. Nyeng, from Lg. Po'on, and from Lg. Cu'. These groups practice very different kinds of farming and have responded quite differently to the opportunities and constraints confronted in the transmigration program. The Kenyah remain intimately involved in upland rice cultivation, while experimenting with the tree crops mandated by the government program. Every family interviewed had planted coconut, supplied by a peristatal plantation on credit, in the late 1980s. Shortly after that crop began bearing, a serious fire burned significant amounts of the coconut, and the government (with the help of the World Bank and, I believe, the plantation) made cacao seedlings available to the farmers. The farmers planted the cacao among the remaining coconut, using the coconut



as a shade tree. The year prior to the burn, they had good yields and were pleased with their ability to live on these tree crop yields. The fires of 1997-98 demolished almost all the coconut and cacao, leaving the people feeling helpless, dismayed, and quite uncertain about the future.

The people have titles to their quarter ha home gardens and Lahan I (one ha, the first field they were given, intended for food crops). Lahan II (2 ha) has been allotted but they do not have title to it, and of course they do not have certificates for the areas of forest they have cleared since moving to the area and discovering they could not subsist on the food crops they were able to grow on their official plots (cf. Colfer with Dudley 1993). Both Lahan I and II are covered with *alang alang*, the clearing of which the Kenyah do not consider consistent with their agroforestry system, the value of their labor, or their personal work ethic. Along both sides of the road between UNIT 11 and the area near P. T. Satu's rubber orchard, are areas that had been planted with coconut and cacao, but that are now vast expanses of grassland.

A group of 95 households in UNIT 11 arranged with P.T. Satu to use some land adjacent to P. T. Satu's rubber seedling area (which did not burn). P. T. Satu agreed to each household's getting 50 m along the road (Lg. Tutung—Sengatta) and 1.5 km back from the road. The leaders of two Kenyah farmer groups sent a letter to the Bupati (Tenggarong) on 2 July requesting permission to use this area. Their rationale includes several issues: 1) Their households have grown so that their children now need land, something the transmigration program will, they think, have to deal with for all the transmigrants eventually, 2) They have a traditional agroforestry system that includes hunting and other uses of the forest, so they need to be near forest (of which there are remains nearby), 3) If they are away from other ethnic groups and other agricultural systems, they will be better able to deal with fire hazards. They remain interested in a combination of food and tree crops. The area has been partially cleared and planted with corn, recently; and the clearing continues with the intention to plant rice in September.

Although information on the agricultural practices of the other groups is based on much briefer observation and knowledge, people from NTT have cattle they manage as an important part of their system. The Kenyah understanding of the system is that people from NTT burn *alang alang* so that the young shoots are available to the cattle for fodder; and the Kenyah consider these people to be careless with fire and responsible for much of the damage.

The complaints of the Kenyah in UNIT 10—Lg. Tutung focused on people from NTT, whereas those in UNIT 11 maligned the Javanese. I spoke with one Javanese farmer who was burning *alang alang*. He had cut the grass, let it dry, piled it up, and was burning it, prior to cultivating the soil with a hoe (*cangkul*). His previous days' work was visible, cultivated in front of the area being burned. He was standing there, watching the fire, which he had made in the middle of the cleared area. He expressed dismay at the farming practices of the other groups.

Although the Kenyah complained of the regular use of fire by the other groups, they also reported clearing the *alang alang* under their cacao trees with fire to protect them during the drought, the idea being that cleared areas are less subject to wildfire.

Every day of the study, smoke was visible in the sky. At one point, I saw three plumes in different places at once.

The earlier Table 2 demonstrates clearly the much higher internal suspicion in the transmigration area, *vis-à-vis* a more remote local community like Lg. Apui. Whereas in Lg. Apui, 78% basically saw the fires as coming from outside, in Lg. Tutung, this percentage dropped sharply (47% in UNIT 10 and 44% in UNIT 11). Indeed, no one responded that the fires were accidental in either transmigration community.

Tables 3 and 4 (above) show the number of ha burned that belonged to the 38 families surveyed in the two locations (UNIT 10–Lg. Tutung and UNIT 11–Lg. Tutung). Coconuts, cacao, and bananas were the primary crops grown by these people, and they represent important losses. Interestingly, no mention was made of the oil palm plantation that Sakuntaladewi and Amblani (1989) described as planted at the time of their research (and providing employment for local people). At that time, the intention was to distribute the land as part of Lahan II for UNIT 11–Lg. Tutung when the trees began to bear.

As in Lg. Apui, the problem of land ownership is confusing. These people, unable to subsist on their allotted plots, began opening forest land (consistent with their previous customs) in 1988 (Colfer with Dudley 1993). Sakuntaladewi and Amblani (1989) reported that some transmigrants had also begun to practice shifting cultivation at the time of their study. The people consider this land to be their own, but they also recognize that outsiders do not agree with them. These differences of opinion about land tenure account for some of the prevailing antagonism that characterizes Lg. Tutung. The Kenyah do acknowledge that, compared to the local indigenous communities like Bau Baru, they must be considered “newcomers,” now that they have joined the transmigration program. None of this land, to which they lay some claim, is included in Table 4—yet most or all of it burned.

There are three other major actors in this area besides the communities:

- P. T. Dua, a logging company in whose concession all this activity has taken place and which used to be in partnership with P. T. Sumalindo;
- P. T. Tiga, which has a huge industrial timber plantation (HTI) within P. T. Dua's concession area;
- P.T. Sawit, a large oil palm company, reportedly connected with the Sinar Mas Group.

P. T. Dua has had their concession since 1979.<sup>19</sup> It now covers 73,124 ha and was recently closed and then renewed on a trial basis for two years. Since 1979, its area has been reduced by the development of the transmigration area in the 1980s, by the addition of the HTI in the 1990s, and by the formal acknowledgement of “enclaves” arranged in cooperation with local communities (January 1999). P. T. Dua personnel whom I interviewed were open, cooperative, and appeared to have nothing to hide.

Large areas of the western part of P. T. Dua's concession burned quite thoroughly, but these were the areas they had already logged, by and large. The eastern area remains, they said, in reasonable shape, and they are logging (at km. 60—from the base camp/log pond in Long Pau).

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<sup>19</sup>Sakuntaladewi and Amblani (1989) reported five active timber concessions in the area (UNIT 11–Lg. Tutung) at the time of their research (P.T. Gunung Gajah, P. T. Satu, OTP, Rimba Nusantara, and Gruti).

There has been a serious conflict between the logging company, P. T. Dua, and the oil palm plantation, P. T. Sawit. P. T. Sawit's clearing activities within the P. T. Dua concession (covering 7,850 ha) began in May 1997, without permission from either P. T. Dua or the Forestry Ministry. They used three smaller companies to help them clear. Legal action against P. T. Sawit was initiated by a committee involving the police, P. T. Dua, local government officials and others, who investigated charges that P. T. Sawit's clearing was responsible for the fires that demolished the area. P. T. Dua served as a witness in this legal action (which fell under the criminal laws). The conclusion of the court was that there was insufficient evidence against P. T. Sawit, but P. T. Sawit still had to pay the court costs and reimburse farmers who had planted *sengon* along one of the affected roads, as part of a P. T. Dua greening program. P. T. Dua personnel almost refused to speak with me. My repeated explanations of the innocence of my intention finally convinced them to talk to me, but the views expressed were clearly "company policy," *i.e.*, "the fires were the result of the El Niño."

P. T. Sawit has also had serious conflicts with an adjacent local community, Bau Baru. In return for rights to use their land for oil palm, the company was said to have made promises to the community. The promises were reportedly not kept. The community of about 3,000 people (Kayan) was reportedly united in their disapproval of the company's action, and they went to the oil palm field and demonstrated, they went to the office and demonstrated, and they went to the county leader (*camat*) and demonstrated. A smaller number of people from Bau Baru also reportedly went to the field one night, took wood that had been sawn into smaller logs for their own use, using the company's tractors, and then drove the tractors, one by one, into a nearby swamp, in protest. The conflict appears to have been resolved by the company's moving its border somewhat so that it impinges less on local lands, and promising some other help.

The Kenyah community leader (*kepala dusun*) was involved in the current resolution of this problem, but he himself distrusts P. T. Sawit. He said that the field manager from P. T. Sawit approached him some time ago, wanting to use three ha of his land, and promising that he would be involved in a group of prioritized farmers. After the company got the land and converted it, the *kepala dusun* has been unable to contact the field manager. The *kepala dusun* believes he was tricked.

P. T. Tiga has a very large industrial timber plantation within the previous P. T. Dua timber concession that was opened in 1992. The species they have planted include *sengon*, *albizia*, *gamelina*, *eucalyptus*, and a little *teak* and *mahoni*. No one I spoke with mentioned the HTI until I saw it on the map that P. T. Dua gave me. It burned, along with the rest of the area, but no one mentioned anyone setting fires, or seemed to suspect the company of setting fires, given the obvious losses they would sustain in their own company.

The Lg. Tutung area was logged in the 1970s and 80s, and burned partially in 1982-83. Wirawan (1987) placed Lg. Tutung in the category "up to 50% crown damage" to trees. The area had not yet been converted into a transmigration location at the time of the 1982-83 El Niño, but it was partially burned during the shorter droughts of the early 1990s. Again, nothing compares to the 1997-98 fires for damage done.

Neither P.T. Tiga's HTI nor P. T. Sawit was operating during the earlier serious drought. Unfortunately, I did not get to talk with P. T. Tiga personnel, and no one mentioned the more recent droughts or their impacts on the HTI.

P. T. Dua was operating in 1982-83 and said they sustained significant damage, but again, nothing compared to 1997-98.

Table 9 shows local people's perceptions of changes in resource availability over time. There is a fair amount of consistency in the findings from the three survey locations in perceived resource availability.

**Table 9: Changes over Time in Access to Forest Products, Lg. Tutung (UNIT 10 and UNIT 11 combined) (first three years from Lg. Apui, last two from Lg. Tutung).**

	wildlife	fish	rattan/ bamboo	Medicine	food	wood	cash	rice
<b>1972-73</b>	<b>1.68</b>	<b>1.74</b>	<b>2.05</b>	<b>2.63</b>	<b>2.11</b>	<b>1.63</b>	<b>4.00</b>	<b>4.47</b>
1979-80	2.05	2.00	2.42	2.63	2.32	1.95	3.63	2.11
<b>1982-83</b>	<b>2.16</b>	<b>2.00</b>	<b>3.16</b>	<b>3.21</b>	<b>3.42</b>	<b>2.32</b>	<b>3.68</b>	<b>4.32</b>
1989-90	2.14	2.32	3.93	3.61	3.54	3.11	3.43	2.43
<b>1997-98</b>	<b>2.25</b>	<b>3.04</b>	<b>4.43</b>	<b>4.21</b>	<b>4.36</b>	<b>4.25</b>	<b>3.50</b>	<b>4.68</b>

The years in bold are El Niño years.

Table 10 shows the slightly more common use of wage labor as a supplement to income in cases of disaster than in the other two villages surveyed, though it is still not perceived as common. In 1999, however, a number of people (having no rice, whatsoever) reluctantly went to work for the oil palm plantation.

The Kenyah in Lg. Tutung use fire in the same way as in Lg. Apui, with the same safeguards. However, they do not feel they can use their *adat* laws regarding fire, because technically they are “newcomers” like the other transmigrants. Their custom of making rice fields together with close friends or relatives helped cement joint responsibility for fire, and that is impossible insofar as they use Lahan I or II for their rice fields (they do not, anymore). Lahan I and II were passed out on the basis of a lottery, so the fields of one ethnic group are interspersed with those of other ethnic groups. Since the Kenyah have made rice fields in places other than Lahan I and II consistently since the second year of their settlement in Lg. Tutung, their sense of intra-group community (or “social glue”) continues to function. In fact, being surrounded by other ethnic groups may in fact emphasize and strengthen their commitment to their own way of life and to other members of their ethnic group.

It seems probable that the emphasis on keeping the area under the tree crops clear goes along with a common agricultural requirement that areas between the trees be regularly weeded and that the growth of competing plants be minimized. This is incompatible with a system that allows forest re-growth. It probably also results in a drier environment. On the other hand, if the only regrowth under the trees is *alang alang*, the practice of clearing that away may indeed prevent fires, as local people maintained.

The geographical mixture of agricultural and agroforestry systems and the people from the different ethnic groups that practice those systems mean that one's neighbors may be involved in very different pursuits. In this case (as in other mixed transmigration

sites, cf. Colfer et al. 1989), there is also considerable antagonism between the ethnic groups and much suspicion that the other ethnic groups are responsible for the fires, which do, indeed, burn regularly. I was told that any time there is a week or so of no rain, fires begin to appear (though most are controlled). The day before our arrival in Lg. Tutung, the cassava garden behind the house of the *kepala dusun* was almost burned by an uncontrolled *alang alang* fire directly behind the plot. They said they did not know who set it, but were sure it was people from NTT (Nusa Tenggara Timur).

There did not appear to be any sanctions associated with fire, reportedly because of the difficulty in obtaining evidence about who started it.

The differences in agricultural practices among the different ethnic groups have already been mentioned. Within the Kenyah community, there were people who were able to protect their fields longer than others. The *kepala dusun*, for instance, carefully monitored his Lahan II field of coconut/cacao, burning the *alang alang* that came up under it regularly. He was able to protect it until May, when he believes a group of people from NTT purposely set it afire.

He experienced an increase in theft of his crops during the monetary crisis. On twelve separate occasions he caught thieves, four of whom he took to the police who put them in jail for three months, and eight of whom he only took to the village head (*kepala desa*). The latter eight thieves admitted their crime and apologized. No other sanctions were applied. He heard from an ex-priest from NTT and from the *kepala dusun* of the NTT community that these 12 men had made an agreement to burn his field if it remained after the fires. He did not pursue this legally, despite the fact that the *kepala dusun* offered to serve as a witness, and he believes quite firmly that it is true. He said, "What's the use? The crops are gone."

### E: P. T. AKASIA INDUSTRIAL TIMBER PLANTATION (HTI)

Since the late 1980s, there has been significant interest in industrial timber plantations by the Indonesian government and by companies (cf. Gellert 1998). For that reason, and the generally adverse effects of these plantations on local communities, I interviewed a number of officials at P. T. Akasia, as well as talking with a few transmigrants involved in the HTI scheme. About 90% of P. T. Akasia's 53,000 ha HTI burned (48,000 ha). The company officials stressed the efforts they had put forth to put out the fires and to protect the four transmigration villages within their area (see below).

The plantation had acacia, albizia, and gamelina planted in the early days of the plantation's existence (1984-1992). After that, the emphasis was on meranti (*Shorea leprosula* and *Shorea partifolia*), planted in strips with shade trees (*ulin*, *Eusideroxylon zwageri*; *kapur*, *Dryobalanops beccarii*; *bengkirai*, *Shorea laevis*; *benggeris*, and fruits). During the early days, they used fire to clear land, but after 1992, they report stopping using fire, after a directive from above.

There are four transmigration settlements in their area, initially with 300 families each (UNIT 1 was settled in 1991, UNIT 2, in 1992, UNIT 3, 1993, UNIT 4, 1994). These communities have seriously dwindled in numbers. Estimates from local people in UNIT I are that there may be 200 families left. They estimated less than 100 households

left in UNIT 2. The reasons given were economic ones, that they couldn't make a reasonable living.

The people in UNIT 1 include Javanese and Kutai, with smaller numbers of Banjars and Bugis. No inter-ethnic squabbling was reported (the two Javanese women I spoke with emphasized differences in food preferences only); and one of the two groups I spoke with was composed of a Javanese, a Bugis, and a Kutai. Although it seems probable that ethnic differences have some impact, it also seems likely that they are less problematic than in Lg. Tutung.

This area burned partially in 1982-83, though the area was still part of P. T. Satu's timber concession at that time. It burned seriously, as mentioned above, in 1997-98 (about 90%). No serious intervening fires were reported.

The company reported maintaining a fire control committee of 30 people (confirmed by a community member), using all the 1,000 employees at one point or another in fire control. They reported having a variety of fire control equipment (bulldozers, water tankers, mobile water tanks, graders, motorcycles, fire towers, radio units, pickups and water storage areas, and high pressure water pumps) that they used in trying to control the fires. They also made 10 m wide strips around the areas they were trying to protect, including villages. The company has an agreement with the Department of Transmigration stating that they have to supply year-round employment to the transmigrants in the four settlements within their area. Because of this, they paid the transmigrants to help protect the trees during the fires.

Despite all this, one articulate resident of UNIT 1 felt that one of the two most important messages he wanted to convey was the shortcomings of the company in terms of preparation for future fires. The other was their laxity in supervising clearing of areas under trees (weeding), particularly while the trees were young. He felt this laxity contributed to serious fire danger, and compared badly with the practices of P. T. Tiga (in another location, south from the one near Lg. Tutung), which he reported took better care of their trees and had less fire damage (confirmed by visual inspection).

Although the short time available (one day) did not permit much depth, there appeared to be only a small amount of agriculture (other than plantation) within the area. The transmigrants had 1/4 ha of land reserved for their agricultural use, but it was reported to be 1.5 kilometers from the settlement. People had planted a number of tree crops (mango, citrus, coffee, *salak*, bananas) and cassava on their land, but it all burned. The area is now covered by *alang alang*, primarily. No previous problems with fire (pre-1997-98) had been reported. People burned small areas of land to make orchards, but these were reported to be easily controlled.

Although the drought was a difficult time for everyone because of the smoke, fear, financial losses in crops burned, the rise in prices and unavailability of commodities, the people's dependence on the company (required to provide for them) may have lessened the impact on them, in comparison with local communities—though this is difficult to confirm. The typical poverty of transmigrants previously on their home island probably affects their interpretation of the severity of a disaster like this, *vis-à-vis* the other people in the area.

No traditional fire control measures or sanctions were mentioned by any parties I spoke with.

## F: LEPO' MADING

This community is officially part of the larger village of Lepo' Mading, which straddles the road from Samarinda to Bontang. To get to their neighborhood, one passes through Lempake where there was once a botanical garden (now burned) and a transmigration area, before reaching the official village of Lepo' Mading. Once there, one must negotiate a narrow, slippery, 3 km path (not passable by motorcycle except in very dry weather) to reach the Kenyah community. The first Kenyah community member arrived in 1982, with more following between 1984 and 1987, from Lg. Apui, Lg. Cu' and Data Do' (all communities further inland). Initially, they came to be nearer to their children who wanted to continue in school, spurred on also, in most cases, by the trauma of the 1982-83 fires.

Again, the 1998 fires burned the entire surrounding area. Only the houses and the areas immediately adjacent to the village were saved. Even the usually swampy area they use for paddy rice burned. The worst fires were from May to August 1998, and came from the direction of Ma. Badak (near the coast, I believe). All respondents (perhaps 10 people) felt that the fires were not purposely set, believing they probably started from cigarettes thrown carelessly away.

The community's agroforestry system was initially based on a rice-pepper combination. When the price of pepper fell drastically (from Rp. 10,000/kg to Rp. 1,000/kg) they incorporated other crops, including first rambutan and then coconut. They have also been more involved in handicraft production and sale than other Kenyah communities. The women make and sell beadwork; the men make carvings. Both are involved in making rattan weavings for sale.

They have had rice crop failures for three consecutive years. In 1997, the drought hit them early, killing their 1996-97 rice crop as it was about to bear fruit. Then the drought and fires killed the 1997-98 harvest; and this year, they, like the other communities, were attacked by *ulat* (underground grubs), locusts, and rats. Now in this time of crisis, besides their handicraft work, they estimated that 60% of the strong men are away working for money in concessions and plantations, some in Malaysia. Production of rattan weavings has been complicated by the fact that the rattan is gone from the forest, and they must now buy it, rather than collect it, for Rp. 17,000/kg (stripped). They estimated that whereas before, the average pepper ownership was about 500 sticks/family, after the fires, people have about 10, on average. They would like to replant them, but the cost of each stick has gone from Rp 100/stick to Rp. 500/stick. They are most interested in a plan for which they registered in February, to convert the area to oil palm. They do not know the details of the plan, but they think their land would remain theirs, with the company providing the seedlings and paying them to work in the fields. They would then share the profits (cf. Setiawati and Gunawan 2000). They said the plan was for at least 4,000 ha of oil palm in the area. They anticipate a system that includes paddy rice, fruits, pepper, and oil palm.

There are no significant companies in the area yet with whom the people interact. Their primary land-related conflict is with a huge farmers' group that was sanctioned by a Decision Letter (SK) from the governor in 1992. This group was given the rights to 21,000 ha of land just north of them, some of which covers their own territory (estimated at >1,000 ha). They complained to the *camat* and argued that they had cleared the land (had forest fallows), and that it belonged to them. The farmers' group was apparently

organized by Bugis from the city and included many people with no previous links to this land. This group was also in conflict with local Bugis who felt the land belonged to them, as well. The *kepala adat* (leader in charge of traditions) of the Kenyah community served as a witness in a court case against the large group, brought by local Bugis ("Bugis against Bugis," he said). The case remains unresolved. The importance of this case is also related to the facts that a) a new road is planned, linking Tenggarong directly with Bontang (bypassing Samarinda) and b) a new airport is under construction (stopped at the moment because of the financial crisis). Both projects are near the area of dispute.

Only one man from this community had moved to Lepo' Mading by the 1982-83 El Niño. His estimate was that the 1997-98 fires were worse because everything burned. Before, the area had all been forest and they still had rice seed when the fires were over.

There is a recognition that this area is generally much drier than the areas they were used to, with sandy soil. Indeed, all these Kenyah transplanted communities have made this adjustment to some degree, since Lg. Apui and Lg. Cu' are all in areas that have half the rainfall (around 2,000 mm/year) of their earlier homeland in the Apo Kayan (around 4,000 mm/year). They mentioned routinely making a fire break around areas they want to burn, taking care with the wind, and, in contrast to Lg. Apui, burning only in the morning or evening, when the fire will be more controllable.

### G: LALUT BALA

Lalut Bala is officially part of another village, about 2 hours by motorized canoe up the Jembayan River. There is a road beginning near the Mahakam River, at Tenggarong, but it was not passable without a 4-wheel drive vehicle.

As with the other sites, nearly everything except the village and its immediate surroundings burned. The worst fires were from May-July 1998, coming in two waves following closely one upon the other. The first wave burned the leaves off the trees, and those leaves provided the fuel for the second wave. One person emphasized the fires going along roads and where there was *alang alang*.

Lalut Bala, first settled by the Kenyah in 1986, was the site of P. T. Empat's base camp when it was actively logging in that area. The people are situated in a multi-ethnic environment, in that there are many communities of Kutai, Banjars, Bugis, and Tunjung Dayaks nearby, though their own village is composed only of Kenyah. The Kenyah are relative newcomers to the area.

Their agroforestry system is again based on the same traditional swidden system as in Lg. Apui, with a somewhat longer-term interest in tree crops. This community has been experimenting with tree crops since the late 1980s. Their primary losses, besides the forest area they claim, were fruit trees, cacao, coffee, and coconut. Seven of the eight families surveyed had lost tree crop orchards (estimates of 1-5 ha), with only one reporting losing none. Everyone reported losing their forest fallows. Six of the eight respondents also reported having lost their field hut and everything in it (rattan baskets and mats, cooking implements, rice stores). This is a much higher proportion than in the other communities, and may be related to the distance they must travel to their fields. They reported having to guard their village night and day, throughout long periods, from



flying, burning debris. The fires also came after the rice harvest (which typically ends in April) so they had little reason to monitor those fields regularly.

This community appears to be thriving, despite having lost their yields for two years in a row. There is indeed a shortage of rice. But there are also many more new houses, newly painted, newly expanded, with expensive antennae for televisions, than there were in 1997. People are buying the land around the village, which belongs to neighboring ethnic groups who were there earlier, in anticipation of the growth they expect to follow the road (now only occasionally passable) to their village. The educational level appears to have risen substantially among the young, and the community is currently funding its own school (grades 1-3). Older students can go to the school in Sentuk, the village of which they are technically a part, and Tenggara and Samarinda both provide comparatively close advanced educational opportunities.

Interestingly, there was only a single example of ethnically based suspicions related to fire. Indeed, most respondents (six out of the eight formally questioned) emphasized the fires coming from outside, from an unknown source. When pressed, people were willing to suggest that it might have been the nearby P.T. Empat's industrial timber plantation, either burning to clear land (as they were reported to do regularly), or workers carelessly throwing cigarette butts around. One person thought *alo'* (that is, any non-Kenyah) may have been getting wood, and clear-cutting skid trails with fire. The level of suspicion seemed markedly lower here than in any of the sites in the interior. This is interesting, given the more regular interaction among ethnic groups.

Relations with the company hit an all time low in January 1996, when all the men in the community descended (with blowpipes in hand) on the people sent to plant an area of the timber plantation that the community considered its own. The HTI personnel backed off, and relations have been good with the company ever since. The company's *Bina Desa* Program has reportedly contributed Rp. 1.5 million to their church, an estimated Rp. 4 million (some of it in materials) for their village meeting hall, and two water tanks, in the last few years.

The people in Lalut Bala were still in Lg. Apui in 1982-83. Indeed, they moved to Lalut Bala as a response to the disaster of 1982-83.

People emphasized that fire is not normally a problem for them. They said they use the same techniques for fire control they used in Lg. Apui. When asked about sanctions (and *adat*), they said there are none, unless the person is caught (which has not happened). If a person were caught setting a fire or letting the fire escape, that person would have to reimburse the victim for his/her losses.

### Health Impact

Although the environmental impacts of the fires have been dramatic, there was perhaps more publicity at the time about the haze that affected nearby countries (Gellert 1998). Little attention has been paid to the impact of such haze on the fire sites themselves (with Harwell 1999 a notable exception). For that reason, I collected some semi-systematic information on health impacts of the fires. My team and I interviewed an opportunity sample of 98 individuals in Lg. Apui, UNIT 10-Lg. Tutung and UNIT 11-Lg. Tutung, asking what problems from smoke they had during the fires. Table 11 provides the frequency distribution of reported ailments.

**Table 11: Health Problems During Fire Lg. Apui, UNIT 10 and UNIT 11, Lg. Tutung**

Concern	(n=98)	Percent
Breathing difficulties		57%
Stinging eyes		56%
Flu		36%
Watery eyes		33%
General ill health		23%
Coughing		23%
Sore throat		14%
Cloudy vision		9%
Runny nose		6%
Hot air		4%
<i>Mata Negelolo'</i>		3%
Stomach trouble		3%
Unknown		3%
Fever		2%
Headache		2%
Fatigue		2%
Environment		1%
Chest pain		1%
Fear		1%
Worry		1%

Similar problems were mentioned in Lepo' Mading and Lalut Bala.

The description provided by Harwell (1999) more clearly conveys the kinds of impacts these statistics reflect:

"The era of smoke" (*jaman asap*) is the phrase the people of Kalimantan use to describe the ten months that an impenetrable cloud of thick yellow smog hung over the island during 1997-98. People fainted and wheezed, coughing black phlegm, eyes burned and watered, soot accumulated in nostrils, ears and the corners of eyes. Some days the visibility was less than 20 meters.... Farmers returned from their swidden fields early, since without watches and unable to judge the time by the sun, they feared being caught far from home after nightfall. Although the island sits astride the equator, there wasn't enough sunshine to dry laundry or rice (for husking) or salt fish. Planes and buses crashed, ships plowed into each other in the near zero visibility smoke of the Malacca Straits and on the Barito River, killing hundreds. For months, the sun rarely appeared, and when it did, it was like something out of a vampire movie--a frightening blood-red ball that disappeared behind the smog as quickly as it had come. Apocalyptic imaginings were hard to resist (1999:20-21).

Besides the obvious problems of stinging eyes and respiratory problems, people were particularly concerned about their water supplies. People reported intestinal problems and worried about more serious ailments they might suffer. Tuffs (1999) found this still to be a problem in her November/December 1998 survey, where the point prevalence of diarrhea episodes in children under five was 71%. Drinking water for 72% of her respondents was from rivers, with 64% reporting disposing of raw sewage in the river. This conveys something of the dependence of local people on the rivers--whose water levels fell sharply or disappeared during the drought. She also found high levels of upper respiratory infections in the children surveyed (63%).

The psychological malaise is more difficult to describe, but is obvious. In all the interior communities, and even with company employees, I found serious dismay at the scale of the destruction. In most cases, there was sadness over losses to the fires (crops, timber, other forest products) and there was serious anxiety about the future. In Lg. Apui, Care International had provided food for work beginning in January 1999, but they were scheduled to stop immediately after this research [subsequent discussions with Care/Samarinda confirmed that the program continued into 2000]. No harvest was anticipated until January (assuming the pest problems would evaporate). The timber company had no idea what its future held either, being one of Bob Hasan's prime companies, and having lost most of the timber in its concession to the fires.

Moving to Lepo' Umit, we find all these emotions, compounded by a sense of bitter disappointment, of broken dreams. The community had considered itself a kind of experiment in a new agroforestry farming system. Although they still have upland rice fields, they had grown to hope for a "settled" way of life, more consistent with the desires of the government and the companies, and with what they had come to consider modernity. They were on the verge of reaping some of the benefits of their seven or eight year long effort when the fires demolished that dream.

In Lg. Tutung, the dismay, sadness and anxiety are mixed with anger and a sense of injustice. They are angry about the burning practices of their neighbors (both small and large scale) whom they hold partially responsible for the fires. Although they, too, have no rice harvests, they were not included in the food-for-work program offered to Lg. Apui by Care. And they feel that their history with the government and the local companies has been one of broken promises (confirmed by local officials).

The utter dismay was much less evident in the communities near to Samarinda. Although they also sustained significant losses, they seem to feel they have more alternatives.

### **Concluding Remarks**

In trying to make some sense out of these experiences, I developed ten propositions (explained in more detail in Colfer 2000), as a first step in trying to develop a typology of causes of fires. I reproduce them here to stimulate similar observations, additions (or subtractions) based on others' findings.

The table below (12) provides scores for each study site along the continua stipulated by the ten propositions. The higher the number, the more accurate and intense the relevance of the proposition in that context (1= not too important; 3 = very important).

**Table 12: Scores on Factors Affecting Fire Danger in Research Sites**

Propositions	Villages					
	LU	LM	LA	LB	BB	LT
1. Environment becoming drier (due to human activity)	3	3	3	3	3	3
2. Actors unused to combating large scale wildfire	2	2	2	2	3	3
3. Government acting in an uncoordinated and corrupt fashion	3	3	3	3	3	3
4. Number of new, external actors	1	1	1	2	2	3
5. Diversity of value systems and natural resource use patterns	1	1	1	2	2	3
6. Perceptions of inequity/injustice [revenge]	2	1	2	2	2	3
7. Perceptions of insecurity of access to resources [no stake]	2	2	2	2	2	3
8. Internal suspicion and lack of respect among people [low social capital]	1	1	2	1	2	3
9. Unfulfilled subsistence needs linked to uncontrollable uses of fire	1	2	1	2	2	3
10. Possibilities for financial gain from potentially uncontrollable uses of fire	1	1	1	1	1	3
<b>AVERAGE SCORE</b>	<b>1.7</b>	<b>1.7</b>	<b>1.8</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2.2</b>	<b>3</b>

1 = low; 2 = medium, 3 = high

LU, Lg. Umit; LM, Lepo' Mading; LA, Lg. Apui; LB, Lalut Bala; BB, Batu Bulan; LT, Lg. Tutung

Although all of the areas visited in this study were affected by the fires of 1997-98 in disastrous ways, the likelihood of fires *starting* in a given village varies. The average scores listed in the table serve as an index, showing the likelihood of fires starting in a given village. It seems probable that this likelihood will increase as we move from left to right in the table.<sup>20</sup> According to this reasoning, fires would be most likely to start in Long Tutung (LT) and least likely in Lepo' Umit (LU) and Lepo' Mading (LM), with Long Apui (LA) nearly as unlikely a source of fire. More refined attention to specific causes in specific locations should allow the development of focused fire management strategies—if these propositions prove relevant to other fire prone regions.

I would like to close with three observations: The first is to emphasize the drastic nature of the change in East Kalimantan's landscapes after the fires. Tall trees (except a few standing dead hulks) are almost non-existent. Where forest once stood, viney growth covers the forest remains; the areas of *alang alang* have increased dramatically. Since my first encounter with Lg. Apui in 1979, for instance, the landscape has changed from a beautiful and dense, humid tropical rain forest, full of valuable dipterocarp trees, a

<sup>20</sup>Using an average score, as is done here, may not be justified—since there has not yet been any attempt to weigh these respective factors. But this kind of analysis does provide a rough and ready means of assessing possible susceptibility to fire.

plethora of non-timber forest products, and abundant wildlife, to what can only be described as a degraded landscape, with little left of value.

The second pertains to the situation of local people. They are disheartened and confused. Their system of shifting cultivation has been under attack for years. They have therefore been experimenting with the tree crop systems that the government and the companies have urged them to adopt, putting large amounts of effort (both physical and psychological) into learning new systems with all the changes in labor allocation, values, subsistence patterns, and financial flows that such changes imply. From six to ten years of work, often just on the eve of real financial return, literally went up in smoke---along with the forest that had been their “insurance” in difficult times. In addition to this long-term concern, they had three years without rice yields, first due to the drought, and these past two years, due to an unprecedented plague of pests (rats, most consistently, but also locusts, *ulet* (probably cutworm or armyworm), *njau alang* (probably brown planthopper), and birds).

Additionally, the political confusion of the last two years, combined with the agricultural failures mentioned above, have resulted in an appalling level of uncontrolled timber extraction. Much of this extraction is reportedly organized by the police, the military, and other powerful people from the cities, though the “small fry” do the actual cutting. The main rivers are full of rafts and pontoons carrying wood, both legal and illegal, to market; the log ponds lining the river are also full of logs. One passes small rivers that are no longer navigable, their mouths choked with logs waiting to be rafted. The urgency of controlling this extraction can hardly be over-emphasized, since the last chance for the forest to recover is dwindling by the day.

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DAYAK KINGS, MALAY SULTANS, ORAL HISTORIES, AND COLONIAL  
ARCHIVES: A COMMENT ON DJUWENG (1999) AND SELLATO (1999)

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Djuweng's (1999) research note claims the existence of Ulu Are, a Dayak "kingdom" that had ritual seniority and historical precedence to the Malay kingdoms in the Ketapang regency of West Kalimantan. One might be excused for some initial skepticism of these claims as they sound much like an "invention of tradition" story, whereby people create oral traditions that favor them in contemporary political struggles (e.g. Hanson 1989). The essential ingredients are present in the Ulu Are case—feelings of disempowerment among Dayak peoples and colonial favoritism toward Malay rulers. What better way, one might ask, to build the self-esteem (and political aspirations) of an oppressed people than to create a myth of Dayak kings being both historically prior to and symbolically senior to the alleged oppressors, the Malay sultans?

However, research into the oral and colonial histories elsewhere in Kalimantan shows that at least some myths and legends have their bases in historical fact (e.g. Drake 1990; Dove 1997; Wadley 2000c), and Sellato's comment (1999) following Djuweng's note should be sufficient to check any outright dismissal of the historical value of such stories. In order to provide encouragement to those who might be interested in researching this topic (and indeed it is a topic that deserves detailed study), we offer this brief comment, drawing on information gleaned from Dutch colonial accounts.

As Sellato notes, the area centered around Sengkuang, although seemingly out of the way in the headwaters of the rivers that flow into the Pawan, actually includes the old inland routes that connected the south (Matan and Ketapang), west (Sukadana and Simpang), and north (Tayan, Meliau, Sanggau and Sekadau). A Dutch 1:200,000 topographic map based on surveys between 1887-1890 (Topographisch Bureau te Batavia 1893) shows a convergence of tracks and river routes on Sengkuang. A mid-nineteenth century map of West Borneo (Melville van Carnbee and Versteeg 1859), though not naming Sengkuang, also shows tracks in the area and a cluster of Dayak settlements so dense that the printing is at times very cramped. This area must have been under the influence of the Sukadana sultanate during most of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Following the overthrow of the sultanate at the end of the eighteenth century, and the increasing power of Pontianak, it seems very likely that the Dayaks south of

Sanggau and Sekadau and on the fringes of Matan's territory would have had greater opportunity to exert independence.

In 1816 after the end of the British Interregnum in the Netherland East Indies, the newly reconstituted Dutch colonial government set out to re-acquaint itself with the lands under its presumptive control. One of the men assigned this task for western Borneo was C. L. Hartmann, and in July 1823 he journeyed to the Ketapang area to investigate the kingdoms, peoples, and products.<sup>1</sup> He reported that the area's two kingdoms, Simpang which lay up the river of the same name and Matan (located at Kartapura), were descended from the kingdom of Sukadana, which had been itself founded much earlier by a Javanese nobleman (most likely connected to Majapahit as noted by Sellato). Reflecting the usual simplistic notions about Malay-Dayak relations, Hartmann observed that the number of Dayaks "belonging" to Matan amounted to 30,000 able-bodied men, although not more than a third of these acknowledged the sultan as their sovereign and paid tribute or corvee labor to him.

He also listed the names of the Dayak settlements "belonging" to Simpang, the titles of their headmen, and the number of households. (In the list reproduced here, I have retained the original spellings.)

Location	Headman	No. pintu
Baija	Sina Patee	30
Krimbra	Patee	35
Gree	Patee	60
Manto	Aria	43
Boekan	Patee Serinda	21
Banjor	Ria	35
Semandang Kirie	Patee	20
Sajan	Karte	47
Kwoile Iler	Patingie	200
Kwoile Oeloe	Kedepatie	300

With a rather generous estimate of four able-bodied men per pintu, he arrived at a force of 3,164 men capable of bearing arms.

This list is quite similar to one in the account prepared by Müller (1843:271) after his visit to Simpang and the Ketapang area in November-December 1822, but published posthumously twenty years later (Table 1). Müller did not give names of headmen or numbers of households, but estimated the total number of able-bodied Dayak men in the state of Simpang as 3,000-3,600 (1843:270), which agrees well with the rather precise number given by Hartmann. Most of the places can be identified confidently on the large-scale 1893 map in an area not more than about 50 km north-east of Simpang. Some are also shown on the 1859 map, and most match well with von Dewall's (1862) and Barth's (1896) accounts. They are mainly about 50 km in a more-or-less westerly direction from

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<sup>1</sup>Department of Historical Documentation, Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Leiden, The Netherlands (hereafter HISDOC), Sukadana of Simpang en Matam [sic], C. L. Hartmann, 18 July 1823, Pontianak.

Sengkuang,<sup>2</sup> across the Laur, which was the boundary between areas held by Simpang and Matan. *Bandjor* (Banjor) is only about four km from *Boekang* (Bukang), the village described by Djuweng as the meeting-place of the “king” of Ulu Are and the “sultan” of Matan in 1930.<sup>3</sup> The places listed as Upper and Lower *Kwoile* or *Kwalan* probably refer to the *Kualan*, north of the *Semandang*. The 1893 map shows few settlements on the *Kualan*, but the 1859 map shows several in the upper reaches.

**Table 1. Dayak Settlements and Rivers “Belonging” to Simpang (1822-1896)**

Hartmann (1823)	Müller (1843) from 1822-23	1859 map <sup>a</sup>	von Dewall (1862)	1893 map <sup>b</sup>	Barth (1896:68)
Baija	Baya	Baji	Baja-kembera	Bajeuh	Baje
Krimbra	Kembraë	Kombri		Kembereuh	Kembera
Gree	Kaerae-mantok	Gree	Gré-mantok	Geraï	Geraï-Mantok
Manto		Manto		Mantok	
Boekan	Boukang	Boekung			Boekang-Banjoer
Banjor	Banjaar	Bandjor		Bandjor	
Semandang Kirië	Samandang-kirië	Sei. Semandang Kiri	Semandang-kiri	Sei. Semandang Kiri	Semandang
	Samandang-kanan	Semandang Kanan	Semandang-kanan	Semandang Kanan	
Kwoile Iler	Kwalan-Iler	Sei. Kwalan	Koewalan-ilir	Sei. Koewalan	Koealan Oeloe & Ilir
Kwoile Oeloe	Kwalan Oedik		Koewalan-oeloe		
Sajan					
	Kakap				
	Mortee				
			Laur		
					Koman

<sup>a</sup> Melville van Carnbee and Versteeg (1859). <sup>b</sup> Topographisch Bureau te Batavia (1893)

<sup>2</sup>Distances are all “as the crow flies.”

<sup>3</sup>By the 1890s, the ruler of Matan had been “demoted” by the Dutch to *Panambehan*. Doubtless the local people ignored this distinction and continued to refer to him as a sultan.

Müller's account contains a lengthy description of the Matan sultanate, the capital of which was then at *Kajoeng* (Kayung), about 50 km northeast of Ketapang.<sup>4</sup> Again there is a list of Dayak settlements, this time based on the rivers and streams along which they occurred (1843:299): 300 Dayaks on the *Matan* (i.e. Pawan) itself; 150 Dayaks on the *Kineabar*; 300 Dayaks on the *Bengaras*; 30 Dayaks and 90 Bugis on the *Semandang* "belonging to" Pangeran Aria; 60 Dayaks and 80 Bugis on the *Djeka* "belonging to" Pangeran Dein Tjelah; 20 in the village *Laga*; 50 Dayaks and 30 Bugis on the *Blangahan* "belonging to" Pangeran Tjakra. (The numbers are again those of able-bodied men.)

The significance of this list in relation to Djuweng's account is that the rivers listed are apparently all in the Ulu Are area. About 50 km upriver from Kayung, there is a junction between the Pawan with the *Laoer* (Laur). Further on, the Pawan becomes the *Keriau* (Kerio), into which flows the *Djeka* (Jeka) from the north. Sengkuang is on the Kerio, about twelve km north of its junction with the *Bija* (Bihak). The *Bengaras* and *Kenjaboer* flow into the Kerio further north from Sengkuang. (There is another *Bengaras* that flows into the Laur from the east.) The rivers *Semandang* and *Blangahan* are the least obvious. They may be the *Semoetjong* and *Baelongan*, small tributaries of the *Keribas*, which flows from the north into the Bihak about ten km east of its junction with the Kerio; however, there are no settlements shown. Assuming that these identifications are mostly correct, the list shows that Matan claimed sovereignty over the area in the 1820s, even if the Dayaks considered themselves independent—not an unusual state of affairs.

Following the establishment of Raja Akil as Sultan of Sukadana in 1829, the influence of Simpang and Matan weakened even further. In 1840 two "intelligent American missionaries" traveled up the Kapuas (Anonymous 1856) and commented on the decreased population along the lower Kapuas following the fall of Sukadana and on the political instability and disputes between the Dayaks. There was also warfare between the ruling families in the area in the nineteenth century that involved Matan, Kotawaringin, Sambas, and Banjarmasin before the Dutch tightened their grip (von Gaffron 1860; translated in Ras 1968:618-620). Von Dewall's detailed account (1862) provides a picture of the region at this transition into more direct colonial involvement in local affairs. Among the variety of information he provides are lists of Dayak dependencies. For Simpang, he gives the following (1862:64):

River	No. of villages	Population
<i>Koewalan-oeloe</i>	5	450
<i>Koewalan-ilir</i>	3	450
<i>Semandang-kiri</i>	4	270
<i>Semandang-kanan</i>	3	270
<i>Gré-mantok</i>	2	126
<i>Baja-kembera</i>	2	72
<i>Laur</i>	1	54

<sup>4</sup>It is curious that Hartmann notes Matan's capital as Kartapura. Four decades later, von Dewall (1862) referred to "Matan of beter Kajoeng"—Matan or better Kayung—which is in keeping with Müller's account that predates Hartmann's by only 7 months.

The total population is 1,692 persons, a substantially lower figure than that produced in the 1820s. This suggests either an extremely exaggerated earlier count or a significant de-population of the area.

The account by J. P. J. Barth (1896) also focuses on Sukadana, Simpang and Matan. For example, the section describing the territory of Matan (by then based at Tanjung Pura and Ketapang) contains much information that is relevant in the present context. The list of dependencies held by Matan includes *Bea* (Bihak), and another list of Dayak settlements includes *Mriangin* on the *Kerio* (Kerio) (1896:84, 89). On the 1893 map, this is called *Mari Angin*, only 5 km downriver from Sengkuang. Interestingly, *Mriangin* and *Demit*, (the latter just south of the Kerio, near the junction with the Bihak) were said to be settlements of *Kriau* (Kerio) Dayaks, as opposed to *Bijah* Dayaks. Barth notes their special obligations to supply rice to the ruler. He also describes the range of titles that Dayak headmen held (1896:91, fn. 1).

Like Müller and von Dewall, Barth (1896:91-94) discusses in some detail the Malay *orang bukit* of Simpang and Matan, who were nominally Muslim but held Hindu-Javanese traditions. This in itself would be a fascinating line of inquiry and would go some way in providing some attention to the various and diverse Malay peoples whom researchers have tended to pass over in favor of the more romantically-portrayed Dayaks. The existence of these “intermediate” groups is one reason for speculating that Kayung and Tanjung Pura in West Kalimantan are possible sites for the early state of Tanjungpura (Smith 2000).

### Comparative Points

While one cannot discount contemporary political interests and advantages in promoting and retelling old stories of the kind in Djuweng’s note, this should not lead us to ignore the historical insight they may contain. For example, the *Bosi Koling Tungkat Rakyat* (an iron staff symbolizing the Dayak leader’s authority) described by Djuweng is reminiscent of the golden cane and special hat claimed to symbolize political authority among the Higaunon and Manobo peoples of Mindanao in the Philippines. These are not fanciful imaginings of downtrodden people who want to show outsiders that they, too, have a sophisticated political organization, but are rather important and meaningful myths built out of history: Spanish authorities often gave their native agents special canes and hats as symbols of their authority to carry out colonial policy, and this symbolism continues among peoples pulled into the Spanish empire from Mexico to highland Mindanao (Paredes 2000:87). A similar process may be at work in Ketapang.

Another point of interest is the use of “Javanized” titles for Dayak headmen seen as early as the 1820s. This is not, of course, anything unusual for the archipelago, but it highlights the important relationships between Malay kingdoms and subject or allied peoples. For example, the pre-colonial title of *temenggong* among the Iban of the upper Kapuas probably originated with Kapuas kingdoms seeking to ally themselves with these most capable of warriors who, more often than not, were quite willing to turn on their allies when it suited them (Wadley 2000a). The Ulu Are title of *tamongong* probably stems from a similar connection to (even older) Hindu-Javanese polities.

Yet the stories of the Ulu Are kingdom suggest a much more complex situation, something more akin to that of the Embaloh people of the upper Kapuas. When D. J. van den Dungen Gronovius journeyed up the Kapuas River to Sintang in 1822, he learned a

little about the various trade-oriented kingdoms farther up the river—Silat, Kapouas (Selimbau), Ambouw (Embau or Jongkong), and Malo. The last kingdom consisted of some 12 settlements, 1,020 households, and 5,100 able-bodied men on the Embaloh River.<sup>5</sup> (The final figure is probably a gross exaggeration [Wadley 2000a], but most of the names and locations of these communities match with Embaloh communities in existence today, indicating long-term settlement stability [see King 1985].) But only a year later when Hartmann made his own trip up the Kapuas past Sintang, he failed to mention this kingdom, although a sketch map derived from both expeditions repeated Gronovius's observation.<sup>6</sup>

So, what happened to this “Malo” kingdom? For one thing, it is unlikely to have existed in the form recognized by the Dutch; that is, with a single, ostensibly supreme ruler. Rather, it may have been much like Ulu Are, a loose confederation of closely related communities with hereditary elites who dealt most directly with other leaders and traders in the region.<sup>7</sup> The influence of the Embaloh and other Dayak people on the upper Kapuas Malay kingdoms comes out most strongly in the latter's royal genealogies, with many of the founding ancestors of these kingdoms being Embaloh or some other Dayak, and with the Malay nobles regularly marrying high-ranking Embaloh, Palin, or Taman women (see Enthoven 1903). Similar circumstances may have obtained for Ulu Are.

This brings up a very important point, and one that is most relevant to the Ulu Are question: The current, stark contrast in the distinction between Malay and Dayak, as seen quite strongly in Djuweng's conclusion, must be seen as a historical product of European colonialism, or rather as the interaction of European colonialism and local agency. Both Dutch and British were obsessed with assigning broad ethnic labels to the people under their control (e.g. Pringle 1970:283-319), and these labels set up assumptions and expectations about the people so labeled. Prior to European involvement with Borneo affairs, a Malay identity served to connect people into a regionally prestigious network, but the process of actually becoming Malay was not always fraught with the same political implications as it came to assume under colonialism and today. For example, Hartmann said of Selimbau, “The ruler and people, who claim to be Muslim, are however almost the same as the Dayaks, with headhunting being their greatest diversion” (see Knappen 2001:169 fn 94). He also noted the human skulls hanging in the houses of nobles, adding that “these miserable rulers are far off from the teachings of Mohammed.”<sup>8</sup> (By

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<sup>5</sup>Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Hague, The Netherlands (hereafter ARA), Ministerie van Koloniën, Aantekeningen betreffende Borneo, 1802-1827, Algemeen verslag der rijken Sintang, Sangouw, Sakadouw en Taijang enz., D. J. van den Dungen Gronovius, 7 November 1822, Tayan; HISDOC, Aardrijkskundige beschrijving van Borneo's Westkust, D. J. van den Dungen Gronovius, 1932; see also Gronovius (1849).

<sup>6</sup>HISDOC, Register der handelingen en verrigtingen, C. Hartmann, 23 May 1823-13 August 1825, Pontianak; ARA, Ministerie van Koloniën, Map No. 154.

<sup>7</sup>The Minangkabau of highland Sumatra offer an important (and better documented) comparison as well. There, settlements were organized into a confederation led by a council and a nominal ruler called *raja* (e.g. Andaya 1993).

<sup>8</sup>HISDOC, Register der handelingen en verrigtingen, C. Hartmann, 23 May 1823 - 13 August 1825, Pontianak.

the mid-1850s when the Dutch finally began administering the interior, the Malay rulers were more unambiguously Muslim, and Islam began to take on the same identity status among the upper Kapuas peoples as it holds today. But some nominally Muslim people on the upper Kapuas still lived in longhouses and drank *arak* in the 1890s and 1920s [Enthoven 1903:107; Bouman 1924:185; see also Wadley 2000b].) Thus, as Sellato points out for the Ulu Are Dayaks, instead of converting to Islam and thus eventually becoming Malay, many of the Embaloh and other native peoples stayed “Dayak” and lost their local influence with the increasing involvement of the Dutch from the 1850s.

Indeed, this loss of Dayak influence under colonialism was the result of a paradoxical situation. On the one hand, Europeans saw local Malay rulers and traders as being greedy, profiteering extortionists who oppressed the native peoples with unequal terms of trade, practices of debt slavery, and the like (e.g., see von Dewall 1862:39, 90; Barth 1896:71; Brooke 1842:11, 21-22). This certainly helped to justify colonial practices that favored colonial control though ostensibly designed to lift what they saw as the yoke of oppression. On the other hand, the European powers made a succession of treaties with these same Malay rulers and often allowed them to continue their activities while giving Dayaks less room to resist. For example, in 1881 the Dutch awarded the Empanang drainage to the kingdom of Selimbau in an effort to rationalize their administration of the upper Kapuas. This placed a large number of people, especially the Kantu’, under the rule of this kingdom. The Kantu’ would not abide this, and they abandoned their homeland wholesale (Enthoven 1903:70-71).<sup>9</sup> (Repeated Iban raiding also figured into this decision.) In the 1910s, lax Dutch oversight of Malay nobles out of the Sintang court resulted in a widespread Dayak tax revolt along the Ketungau River, which the Netherland Indies military had to suppress.<sup>10</sup> Dayaks were thus quite disempowered under colonialism, something that continued in the nationalist period with the favoring of Malays in education and employment.<sup>11</sup> Similar histories in Ketapang have no doubt influenced the way stories of Ulu Are are told today.

This brief survey leaves unresolved an important question: To what degree was Ulu Are independent even during the early nineteenth century? Dayak and Malay oral tradition and Dutch colonial archives about regional interactions in West Kalimantan may provide an answer. The Dutch literature of the period focuses heavily on the genealogies

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<sup>9</sup>This is curious as the Kantu’, along with their Undup Iban allies, had sought protection from Selimbau in the 1840s because of repeated Saribas Iban attacks, and many Kantu’ and Undup settled temporarily near Selimbau (van Lijnden and Groll 1851:583; Brooke 1853, Vol. 3:56-65; Brooke 1990, Vol. 2:207). Perhaps this experience only increased their distrust of that kingdom.

<sup>10</sup>ARA, Politiek Verslag, Verbaal 10 June 1912 No. 26.

<sup>11</sup>Yet, ironically, Dayaks overwhelmingly rejoiced at the return of the Dutch after the Japanese occupation (ARA, Repportage Indonesië 1945-1950, Resumé Politeke Verslagen, West-Borneo, 1946), and Oevaang Oeray (later first Indonesian Governor of Kalimantan Barat and now patron saint of the Dayak-Chinese *Partai Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*) declared, “Hanja dengan dan oleh Nederland sadja nasib Dajak moengkin akan diperbaiki” (ARA, Repportage Indonesië 1945-1950, Algemeen Overzicht, West-Borneo, 1-15 February 1947; original emphasis).



and political roles of the Malay ruling families but contains valuable geographical and anthropological information. Unfortunately, much of this is obscure to those who cannot read Dutch.<sup>12</sup> With these issues in mind, we would like to suggest some directions for future research on Ulu Are.

- Collection of oral histories among the Dayak and Malay peoples of the upper Simpang and Pawan rivers, their tributaries, and the upper Sekadau River. Special attention should be paid to how these oral accounts play into and are structured by contemporary political struggles, and how colonial and national contexts have shaped their narration.
- Study of published material. A detailed examination of the references we have provided here would be useful from the start, and a thorough search through *West Kalimantan: A Bibliography* (Avé, King, and de Wit 1983) will likely yield other useful works.
- Research in the Dutch colonial archives in the Hague and Jakarta (see Knapen 1997; Wadley, this volume). The archives of the Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC) may yield some information given the Company's early contacts with Sukadana (e.g. de Roy 1706; see Smith 2000). However, VOC trading factories in the area were rather short-lived and company interests focused on the main diamond-producing regions such as Landak. In addition, if it can be found (perhaps in the Jakarta archives), Müller's original account may provide more detail than that published in 1843. (He probably wrote it during leave in Batavia in 1824 before setting out the following year on his ill-fated expedition into Borneo's interior.) Special attention should be given to the application of ethnic categories by the Dutch and its influence on subsequent relations with native peoples.
- The Ulu Are confederation was most likely influenced by numerous, historical connections at various levels and intensities, and either line of investigation above would benefit from the study of wide regional sets of social, economic, political, and cultural relations, as King (forthcoming) demonstrates quite convincingly for the upper Kapuas and Brunei.

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<sup>12</sup>The best summary in English of nineteenth-century Dutch travelers in Kalimantan is also obscure (Posewitz 1892), the English translation of a book originally written in German.

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## THE FOREST AS INCOME: TESTING THE ECONOMIC RESILIENCE OF SWIDDEN FARMERS IN THE LOWER SUGUT, SABAH<sup>1</sup>

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### I. INTRODUCTION

In these sunny garden scenes, man is the Adam of a modern Eden ... in the Bornean forests Nature still reigns supreme. Here with us man wrests his sustenance from her—there she is lavish in the bestowal of gifts unsought (Burbridge 1880: vii-viii).

This paper examines the economic linkages between swidden farmers and the forest in Lower Sugut, Sabah. In rural societies throughout the developing world, the forest has been documented to be both a source of income and an insurance mechanism to buffer against shocks such as crop losses, illness and weather or price fluctuations (Pattanayak and Sills 1999, Godoy, Jacobson and Wilkie 1998, Falconer and Arnold 1989). The forest provides several forms of benefits to rural households. Non-timber products are relatively liquid assets that can be sold for cash income or used for household consumption, and can be capitalized quickly during crisis. In addition, the forest is a storage of soil nutrients and in a sense, can be regarded as a form of longer-term insurance by maintaining soil fertility for future swidden fields.

Timber extraction and forest clearing for human settlement or large-scale agriculture place severe pressures on indigenous forest peoples. As such, any current research about people and forests in tropical developing countries is inevitably about change and adaptation. The Lower Sugut, Sabah, provides a useful case study. First, the Lower Sugut is distanced from Kota Kinabalu (where the management institutions are located) and suitably isolated from the market economy (although the farmers have varying degrees of assimilation with the market). As such, the links between the people and the forest are defined more clearly. Second, traditional livelihood systems in the area are threatened by conflicting land-uses championed by the logging and plantation companies, bringing into question the long-term sustainability of a swidden cultivation system which requires a multiple of the amount of land used in a given year and requires fire as an integral part of site preparation. Sugut farmers adapt to the external pressures by manipulating the forest resources to suit their needs. In addition, the dynamism with which farmers use the forest

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<sup>1</sup>This is a follow-up article to "Conservation And The Orang Sungai Of The Lower Sugut, Sabah: Preliminary Notes" by Lye and Wong, in Volume 30 of *the Borneo Research Bulletin* (1999). The empirical analysis is adapted from Wong's study (1999) of the forest's roles as a source of income and insurance safety net.

resources must also be understood in the context of a constantly changing forest environment driven by unpredictable weather patterns and fires.

The interplay of habit and habitat (Sauer 1963) – that is, of natural ecosystems and learned patterns of behavior—is central to an appreciation of *adaptive human ecology*. We have to understand its linkages to be able to develop appropriate resource management policies that can achieve dual objectives of improving rural livelihoods while conserving the forest as an intact ecosystem. This approach which links together external socio-economic trends, climatic events and environmental conditions is also known as the *systems* approach (elaborated in the following section).

The plan of this paper is as follows. It begins with a summary of the basic *systems* philosophy which underlies the empirical analysis. A description of people and forest linkages in Lower Sugut follows. The main bulk of the paper is the empirical analysis. Economic methodology is used to demonstrate the adaptiveness of Sugut swidden farmers to unexpected shocks. Adaptiveness and resilience in people-forest relationships have important implications for successful community-based conservation. The average Sugut household income, based on subsistence farming and freshwater fishing, is closely linked to climatic changes. This paper is novel in that it employs econometric techniques to examine the impact of changes in weather patterns and large scale forest fires on the Sugut household economy and their livelihood decisions regarding their use of forest resources. Data for the analysis was collected during field research in the summer of 1998 (see Lye and Wong (1999) for details on the methods used in collecting data). Finally, a discussion of the empirical results and their implications for conservation-development strategies concludes the paper.

## 2. THE SYSTEMS APPROACH

There are two central rudiments in the systems approach: one is recognition of the many different elements in an ecosystem<sup>2</sup>, and second is recognition of the complexity of interaction between those elements.

An ecosystem is considered to be a relatively stable set of organic relationships in which energy, material and information are in continuous circulation, and in which all processes are seen in terms of their system-wide repercussions (Ellen 1982, Holling 1978). Changes within the system trigger adjustment and re-adaptation among the elements. Thus, a systems approach to the study of people and forests is broadly concerned with the interactions between human behaviour and environmental variables in their adaptation process to each other.

### Resilience

The people-forest relationship is a two-way adaptation process and includes the process of adapting human needs and resource use to complement the features of the forest on one hand, and manipulating the resource base to accommodate the demands of the former on the other (Jodha 1995). The composition of these adaptive measures represents society's responses to the objective circumstances created by the resource base

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<sup>2</sup>An ecosystem is defined as "a functioning interacting system composed of one or more living organisms (plants, animals and *humans*) and their effective environment, both physical and biological" (Fosberg 1963).

and driving socio-economic forces. Whenever social systems behave independent of consequences to the essential cyclical functions of the ecosystem, the two-way adaptation process becomes a one-way adjustment process where the resource base is increasingly manipulated and stretched to meet growing demands (Jodha 1995, Holling 1978). This can lead to a breakdown of the resource's resilience, its regenerative capability, and productive systems.

Following Holling (1986), "resilience" is the "property that allows a system to absorb and utilise (or even benefit from) change". This paper defines "resilience" in its description of the economic linkages between the human and forest systems. These linkages are embedded within a variety of socio-economic and institutional complexities. The ability of rural farming households in the Lower Sugut to rebound from income shocks resulting from forest fires is limited by constraints such as lack of land ownership and market inaccessibility, for example. Understanding the objective circumstances that induce rural swidden farmers to adopt measures that may not be conducive to the long-term sustainability of the forest allows conservation managers to identify functional substitutes or alternatives that would restore the people-forest resiliency while protecting swidden farmers from being vulnerable to shocks.

### **The Institutional Linkage**

The institutional aspect in people-forest relationships relates to the system of property rights through which people interact with their environment. North (1990) defined institutions as "the rules of the game in a society, or more formally, they are the humanly devised constraints that shape human interaction." In this study of people-forest systems, the institutional linkage includes issues relating to communal property rights, land ownership and tenure, and local knowledge. State imposed forest policies can inadvertently cause forest degradation because they dissolve the local management systems. These feedback mechanisms (local autonomy, communal enforcement, proximity to, and functional knowledge of, the resource) are balancing mechanisms for maintaining the two-way adaptive process in people-forest relationships (Jodha 1995, Watson 1989). Thus, effective property rights regimes must reflect not only their functional and structural attributes, but also the specific social and ecological contexts in which they are applied (Ostrom 1990).

Most current methods of reactive resource management typically ignore the concepts of ecosystem resiliency and feedback linkages by being too focused on problem-solving. Jodha (1995), Light (1995) and Holling (1986) suggest that problem-solving management may provide short-term successes, but it inevitably leads to a pathology of less resilient and more vulnerable ecosystems, more rigid and unresponsive management agencies, and more dependent societies. The systems approach advocates an adaptive environmental management process by integrating knowledge of the environmental with the economic and social systems, and understanding that the interplay between those systems is neither static nor pre-determined (Holling 1978). The uncertainties intrinsic in these systems are not recognized in traditional resource management policies. This paper contributes towards the process of adaptive management by mapping out the economic linkage between Lower Sugut swidden farmers and the surrounding forests, and depicting the adaptiveness of this linkage.

### 3. PEOPLE AND FORESTS

Among the Tsimane' Indians of the Bolivian rain forest, Godoy, Jacobson and Wilkie (1998) found that misfortunes such as deaths and crop losses induce households to clear larger areas of old growth forest for swidden farming. The results were even more prevalent when the analyses were controlled for the households' level of autarky (Godoy et al. 1997). Households will resort to using the forest as insurance only when alternative forms of self-insurance are unavailable (Kocher 1995, Townsend 1995). Households closer to market were more likely to rely on salary advances or market credit to cope with short-term income shocks. Similarly, households in the Knuckles National Wilderness Area of Sri Lanka showed significant increases in their extraction of non-timber forest products when faced with income risks associated with price uncertainties (Hegde et al. 1993).

The swidden farming system in the Lower Sugut begins with burning of the forest in June-July<sup>3</sup> and ends with harvesting in March or April. The preference is for a swidden in a forest with growth between 10 and 20 years old. Primary forest is preferred for a swidden if one intends to use the same plot for longer than a single planting season. As population and logging pressures dramatically increase the demand for land, secondary forests are often cleared for farming after only 5 years of fallow. The soil is rarely farmed with drainage or irrigation and is largely dependent on the short-term nutrient supply provided by fallow biomass. Swiddens typically endure from one to three seasons. Although limited swidden cultivation could arguably be considered ecologically beneficial by promoting habitat diversity, inappropriately short fallow periods inevitably lead to soil impoverishment or erosion.

Swidden harvests are rarely bountiful<sup>4</sup>, the average yield in the Lower Sugut was only 477 kg/ha for the 1997-98 season, less than half of the harvest obtained in an "average" year. Most households suffered significant crop losses due to the forest fires that raged in drought-stricken Sabah in early 1998. Harvests are largely consumed by the household, although between 10-20% of yields may be traded within the community in bumper crop seasons.

Villagers in Lower Sugut continue to access the forests for timber and non-timber products although these activities have gradually declined in recent years as accelerated logging affects the abundance and availability of these products. Households here depend mainly on fish and prawns from the Sugut River for their protein needs, and freshwater fishery is an important source of cash income. The drought has also significantly impacted this livelihood by causing saltwater intrusion and affecting spawning rates.

Although most forest harvesting now is on subsistence scale only, that doesn't imply that there is little value to the activity. All the surveyed households collect firewood for their fuel needs. The bark of the *kapur* tree, for example, is used for constructing fish and

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<sup>3</sup>The time spent in the field (June 1998) was during the burning period, an opportune time for gathering information about the farmers' decisions with regards to their swidden systems.

<sup>4</sup>A "good" swidden harvest is estimated in the range of 800 – 1200 kg/ha in Sarawak (Chin 1985), and reported mean yields range from 300 to 1500 kg/ha in different parts of Sarawak (Lian 1987).



prawn traps and thus plays an important role in maintaining the household's livelihood. Non-timber food products, such as wild fruits (most common are durians, *tarap*, and bananas), nuts, bamboo shoots, wild yams, and a variety of fern vegetables are harvested to complement the household's daily diets.

Rattan, bamboo and *nipah* palm leaves are indispensable materials for a variety of household uses. Various hardwoods are also harvested for construction although these are now somewhat of a rarity given the extensive logging practices in the surrounding forests, forcing locals to use lesser woods. In addition, a wide variety of plants and herbs are collected for their medicinal properties although this study did not adequately capture this information.

#### 4. EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS

As mentioned earlier, this study of swidden farmers in the lower Sugut, Sabah demonstrates the adaptiveness of the household economic system to forest fires. It is now known that local climate cycles are not monotonous – periodic long-term droughts followed by subsequent extensive forest fires have always been part of the natural environment of Borneo over the last thousand years, although their impact over the past 10 years has been much more devastating than any time in at least the previous 100 years (Brookfield et al. 1995, Mayer 1996). Human adjustment is under pressure as well—increased logging and growing demands on the forest lead to forest fragmentation, thus creating an inherently unstable and combustible forest, a situation made worse with every drought.

The section begins with a brief description of the local economy and data. This is followed by an explanation of the econometric model and the rationale behind the model structure. Finally, a discussion of results concludes the section.

##### The local economy

The information presented here was gathered from a survey of fifty-one households (about 65% of all households) in the Kaliaga and Pantai Buring hamlets in June 1998, using both structured interviews and informal discussions. Lye and Wong (1999) provide a description of the geo-physical landscape in the Lower Sugut, ethnographic account of the Orang Sungai and their livelihood patterns. The tables and figure below briefly encapsulate some of the critical information for the economic analysis that follows.

**Table 1: Brief household demographic information (field data, 1998)**

	Kaliaga	Pantai Buring
Distance to nearest market (km)	45	15
Total number of households in village	12	66
Number of households surveyed	12	39
Average household size	8.4	7
Dependency ratio (#of children under age 15 to adults)	1.8	1
Gender ratio (#of women to men)	0.8	1.3

Most of the lands surrounding the study area are currently under application by individuals within or linked to the communities, or are licensed for logging and oil palm plantations. As of June 1998, no villager has obtained title to land. The one distinct difference between the two villages is their accessibility to markets—Pantai Buring is the

more market-integrated of the two. There are two small village stores, and it is reasonably close (15 km) to Terusan, the nearest village with trading and market facilities (and source of boat fuel). There is also a prawn trader and an extension office of the Rural Development Cooperative in the village. The agency supplies agricultural inputs like seeds and fertilizers (but not for free) and provides a ready market for village crops.

**Table 2: Household economic activities in the Lower Sugut (field data, 1998)**

	Mean per household	
	Kaliaga	Pantai Buring
1. Agriculture		
Average size of a swidden field in 1997 (ha)	0.68 (0.4 – 1.2)	0.68 (0 – 2)
Rice yields (kg/ha) <sup>1</sup>		
• Average in previous seasons <sup>2</sup>	1000-1200	850-1100
• 1997 season	556	446
Market price of rice (RM/kg)	2.10	2.10
Average losses from 1997/98 drought and fires (RM) <sup>3</sup>	454.20	377.15
2. Fisheries		
Prawns (kg/catch)		
• Season (Nov – Mar) <sup>4</sup>	10-15	15-25
• Off-season	2.6	5.5
Fish (kg/catch)	2	2
Market prices (RM/kg) <sup>5</sup>		
• Prawn	2.50 – 4.50	3.00 – 4.50
Fish	4.00 – 8.00	5.00 – 8.00

Notes:

<sup>1</sup>The unit of weight for *padi* is that of husked rice.

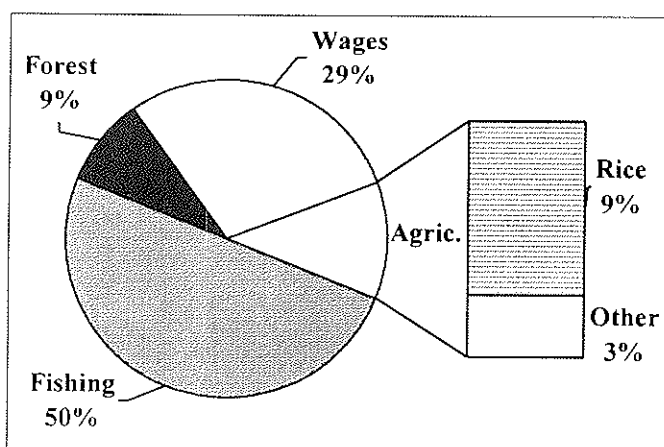
<sup>2</sup>Based on estimates by the respondents for the previous 2 seasons (1995 and 1996).

<sup>3</sup>The losses are reported as a one-time loss from burnt vegetable crops and foregone “income” (or value) from seasonal crop failures (*padi*). Households were asked about their rice yields for the two seasons prior to 1997, and that average was taken as the household’s “average” yield. Hence, *padi* losses were measured as [(average yield—1997 yields) \* village price].

<sup>4</sup>Figures for high season prawn yields are averaged from respondents’ estimates.

<sup>5</sup>Prices here vary according to season.

**Figure 1: Household income composition in the lower Sugut, Sabah (field data, 1998)**



**Table 3: Household cash incomes in the Lower Sugut (field data, 1998)**

Economic activity	Average cash income per household (RM per month) <sup>5</sup>	
	Kaliaga	Pantai Buring
1. Prawn fishing		
• In-season (Nov-Mar) <sup>6</sup>	200–250	400–500
• Off-season	76.40	209.40
2. Agriculture <sup>7</sup>	20.60	17.20
3. Wage earnings <sup>8</sup>	19.20	167.95
4. Mean cash income per household per month	84.60	217.80
• Minimum	20	25
• Maximum	160	5000

<sup>5</sup>Imputed household income includes the total value [cash generated from sale + household consumption] of rice harvests, fishery (prawns and fish) and forest products (plants and firewood) at the village price.

<sup>6</sup>Figures for the in-season prawn incomes are averaged from respondent estimates.

<sup>7</sup>Income from sale of surplus corn yields and vegetables to logging camps and oil palm estates. These secondary crops are normally planted inter-cropped within, or around the edges of the swiddens. These crops have different growth habits, root systems and maturation periods, and provide an almost continuous supply of edible produce during the occupancy of the swidden. The output of any one crop is usually small but in total, secondary crops make a major contribution to the overall productivity of the mixed swidden system.

<sup>8</sup>Includes occasional work at the nearby sawmill, logging concessionaires and oil palm plantation estates, working for the KPD, and teaching at the local schools.

## The Data

Table 4 provides the summary statistics of data used in the economic analysis.

### *Dependent variables*

The dependent variable, labeled *Hachange*, is a limited dependent (or dummy) variable representing the area of forest cleared for the 1998 season, as compared to the 1997 season. *Hachange*=1 if a household cleared a larger area of forest for their swidden field in 1998 than they did in 1997 and *Hachange*=0 if the area was less or the same. 37 households (72%) cleared more area of forest in 1998 than they did in the previous year.

### *Explanatory variables*

*AgLoss* attempts to measure the extent to which forest fires acted as a driver in influencing greater deforestation by households. The *AgLoss* variable is the value of rice crops burnt in the forest fires of 1997. I asked villagers about their rice yields for the two seasons prior to 1997, and took that mean to be the household's "average" yield. Thus, *AgLoss* is measured as [(average yield—1997 yield) \* village price] + estimate of secondary crop<sup>9</sup> losses]. In this way, the impact of forest fires is expressed in the form of an income shock to the household.

*Wealth* is the depreciated value of physical goods (such as chainsaws, power generators, televisions, boats and motors, vehicles), and livestock (chickens) owned by the household. Its main purpose is not to simply provide a measure of the household's level of affluence, rather the information lets us examine a household's capacity to participate in resource exploitative activities. Are wealthier households less likely to clear more forests during uncertainty because they are better able to cope with losses? Or are they more likely to clear larger areas of forest because they have the capability to do so? Studies from Latin America have shown that affluent households tend to practice more efficient resource extractive activities by either investing in better technology (i.e. chainsaws over axes), and/or hiring poorer households to help them carry out their extractive activities.

The *Forest* variable measures the household's dependence on the forest, it is the total value of forest and fishery products extracted by the household for both consumption and sale. *Income* represents the total cash income per month. Primary sources of wage income are the logging companies or oil palm estates. Cash can also be obtained from the occasional sale of secondary crops (corn or vegetables) to nearby logging camps. Income can be considered as an approximate measure of the household's level of integration with markets. This is appropriate since the average income in Pantai Buring (the more market-integrated village) is over twice that in Kaliaga (see Table 3). *Depend* measures the dependency ratio (number of children under the age of 15 to adults) in a household, and controls for the decision-making based on available labor in a household and nutritional needs.

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<sup>9</sup>Secondary crops include corn, sweet potatoes, and numerous vegetables.

**Table 4: Summary statistics of the data (field data, 1998)**

Variable	Definition	Obs	Mean	Std Dev	Min	Max
<i>Dependent Variables:</i>						
Hachange	Change in size of swidden fields between 1996 and '97; 0=same or smaller, 1=larger	51			0	1
<i>Explanatory Variables:</i>						
AgLoss	Value of lost potential crops from the forest fires in 1997, <i>RM</i>	51	396.80	448.11	0	2000
Wealth	Depreciated value of household assets, <i>RM</i>	51	6101.06	2177.70	553	12793
Forest	Total monthly value of forest and fishery products extracted, <i>RM</i>	51	122.73	75.52	0	360
Income	Total monthly cash income, <i>RM</i>	51	294.70	777.10	20	5600
Depend	Dependency ratio (#of children under age 15 to adults)	51	1.2	0.8	0	3.5

**Notes:** Monthly cash income refers to April 1998. Cash crops are rubber, oil palm and coffee.

The variables *Forest*, *Wealth* and *Income* were transformed into the natural logarithms to facilitate interpretation of the results. The coefficients for these variables can then be translated as percentages with respect to the probability of change in *Hachange*.

#### **The Probit Model**

The probit model, also known as the rational choice perspective on behavior (refer to Gujarati 1995, Maddala 1983 for more details), explains the behavior of a dichotomous dependent variable. In this case, the dependent variable (*Hachange*) is based on the household's decision to clear areas of forests for their 1998 swidden rice fields. A probit model was used here because of the high number of households (almost 30%) who decided to clear lesser areas of forest, i.e. *Hachange*=0. Thus, a household's decision to

clear more forests, or not, depends on an unobservable utility index,  $I_i$ , that is determined by a number of explanatory variables,  $X_i$  (Gujarati 1995). It is also assumed that there is a critical or threshold level of the index,  $I_i^*$ ; such that if  $I_i$  is larger than  $I_i^*$ , the household will clear more forests ( $Hachange=1$ ), otherwise they will not ( $Hachange=0$ ).

I draw this analogy of the utility threshold,  $I_i^*$ , to the concept of system resiliency. The  $I_i^*$  threshold is a measure of the household system's resiliency to changes, such that if  $I_i$  is larger than  $I_i^*$ , the household has to clear more forests to cope with those changes. This threshold level obviously differs for all households, the stability properties of a household are dependent on a range of explanatory variables. Keeping in mind that this study is at the household level, all the explanatory variables are household-level characteristics. *AgLoss* reflects the effects of the forest fires on the household's  $I_i^*$ .

#### *Hypotheses and model*

- Hypothesis 1: Households that suffered higher agricultural losses from forest fires (*AgLoss*) are more likely to clear more forests than households with lesser losses.
- Hypothesis 2: Households that are wealthier and have stronger integration with market systems (as characterized by cash income from wage labor and crop sales) are less likely to clear more forests than households with weak market links.

$$\text{Model}^{10}: \quad \text{Hachange} = f(\text{AgLoss}, \text{Income}, \text{Wealth}, \text{Depend}, \text{Forest})$$

(+)            (-)            (-)            (-)            (+)

The probit model tests the significance of the key explanatory variables in affecting the household's threshold,  $I_i^*$  to clear more forests. The key variables for explaining the hypotheses are *AgLoss* (+), *Income* (-) and *Wealth* (-). The signs inside the parentheses show how the explanatory variables are expected to influence the household's decision to clear more forests.

The rationale behind Hypothesis 1 is that households with higher losses due to an unexpected shock (i.e. drought and fires) are more likely to increase their swidden field size to compensate for those losses (following Godoy, Jacobson & Wilkie 1998, Godoy et al. 1997, Falconer & Arnold 1989). Unexpected climate events from normal weather patterns are expected to drive higher deforestation among rural households. Hypothesis 2 tests the effect of markets on the household system, the intuition being that the market system provides the household with cash-oriented alternatives for their adaptive strategies and replaces the subsistence economy (Godoy et al. 1997, Kochar 1995, Townsend 1995, Morduch 1994). A similar rationale is used to explain the predicted negative effect for *Wealth*. Wealthier households are better able to buffer against shocks and hence, less likely to clear more forests as an insurance mechanism.

<sup>10</sup>The model only uses five explanatory variables because of the small number of observations (i.e. households surveyed). Use of additional explanatory variables is likely to reduce the reliability of the results.

The probabilities of a household clearing more forests are estimated at the mean value of the explanatory variables. The  $dF/dx$  coefficients in Table 5 can be read as the change in probability of clearing more forests when all other variables are held at their mean value and the variable of interest increases by one unit. Hence, the model estimates the marginal effect of a change in  $X_i$  (the explanatory variables) on the probabilities of a household choosing  $Hachange=1$  (clearing more forests).

### Discussion of Results

The regression results are presented in Table 5. Discussion of the results focuses only on those that are statistically significant at the 10% level or above.

**Table 5: Results of the Probit model with *Hachange* as the dependent variable**

Variables ( $X_i$ )	( $dF/dx$ )	SE	t	$P> t $	x-bar
Ln (AgLoss) **	- 0.0004	0.0213	- 1.89	0.059	460
Ln (Wealth) *	- 0.3393	0.1924	- 1.74	0.082	8.6674
Ln (Forest) *	- 0.2761	0.1568	- 1.77	0.077	4.7452
Ln (Income)	0.1665	0.1076	1.51	0.131	4.7675
Depend	0.1382	0.0971	1.39	0.166	1.2604

Notes:

Regression is a probit with probabilities estimated at the mean value of explanatory variables. This means that the marginal changes in probabilities described in this chapter are applicable to the *average* household. Households on the margin will have the same direction of changes although the magnitude of change may be slightly different.

\*\* and \* represent significance at the 5%, and 10% level respectively. Pseudo  $R^2 = 0.2103$ . t and  $P>|t|$  are the tests of the underlying coefficient being 0. The software package used is STATA<sup>®6</sup>.

The sign of the coefficient for *AgLoss* is negative and statistically significant, which did not support Hypothesis 1. The average household with higher agricultural losses had a lesser probability of clearing more forests. Households did not appear to use their swiddens as a strategy to compensate for earlier losses. A probable explanation could be that households with greater agricultural losses lack the “capital” to invest in larger swiddens. Remember that *AgLoss* measures the amount of rice crops that was destroyed; since rice cultigens for planting are normally saved from the previous year’s harvest, higher crop losses in the previous year could mean that households do not have sufficient rice seeds to plant a larger field in the current season.

The *Wealth* variable has the expected negative coefficient and is statistically significant. This means that the wealthier than average household had a lower probability in clearing more forests, suggesting that wealthier households had greater resources at hand and were better able to buffer their losses.

The *Forest* variable was negative, suggesting that the households that have greater dependence on the forest are less likely to clear more land for their swiddens<sup>11</sup>. On the

<sup>11</sup>A common reason given by the respondents for not clearing more forests was that they were cautious of causing more damage to the already devastated forests.

flip side, the variable that accounts for market accessibility, *Income* was positive (although statistically insignificant) suggesting that households with higher income tend to cut more forest for swiddens. Together, the two variables lend credence to the theory that markets weaken the feedback linkage between the people and forest landscape. Heinrich (1997), Amacher et al. (1996) and Hammond et al. (1995) documented this effect in Central and Latin America. Markets create incentives for over-exploitation of resources, resulting in a clear trend of moving away from traditional diverse small farm systems to larger scale farming of single crops with commercial value.

As expected, the *Depend* variable was positive, indicating that households with more children under the age of 15 years relative to adults were more inclined to clear larger swiddens to provide food for the family. However, this variable was statistically insignificant.

## 5. IMPLICATIONS FOR CONSERVATION

This paper contributes to the growing literature on society–nature interactions. Here, the simple model constructed for the purpose of understanding the Lower Sugut household's adaptiveness and resilience to an external shock (i.e. forest fires) with respect to the forest allows for:

1. A diagnosis of the household's stake in the forest and its vulnerability to economic shocks. The results suggest a local welfare loss if the forest is either cleared for logging or plantation agriculture, or if resource use is banned by conservationist policies even though there may be welfare gains by private firms (from commercial exploitation) or by the world at large (from conservation). Risk of crop failure combined with lack of land tenure and the increasing effort required to farm on marginal land creates a class of farmers who are willing to invade forest reserves just to survive.
2. An understanding of local knowledge in, and sensitivity to, the health of the forest resources through their resource use strategies. Technical education and extension programs (in areas such as improved fallow management, agro-forestry or community forestry, for example) that are appropriate to the socio-economic stage of development and the economic potential of resources in each region are required. Direct consultation with the local population and effective two-way communication links between the institutions and the people are the important feedback linkages.
3. An approach towards facilitating local (or communal) ownership, control and management of the forest resources. Development of an institutional structure should build upon the strengths of the extant structure rather than attempt immediate wholesale replacement (Watson 1989). Socio-cultural organisation and their inherent resource management and enforcement arrangements are



important criteria for successful community-based conservation programmes.

Results from this empirical study of the Lower Sugut suggest that the market system provides temporary insurance to buffer against shocks. The market system is an outlet for sale of local produce, as well as a source of wage jobs and credit. I say "temporary" because dependence on the market pulls the vulnerable household system into increasingly complex links to external pressures (prices, regional demand and supply cycles, institutional or political influences). These pressures weaken the feedback linkages between the forest's natural processes and social processes influencing the same resource base, and in doing so, dilute the local communities' concerns for sustainable use of the forests.

Forest conservation policies that are adaptive to these changes can best deal with uncertainty. Decision-makers must recognize the key interactions between the social/economic and ecological systems to provide for robust solutions. As such, a multi-disciplinary approach is crucial. There are important benefits from ensuring that policies are chosen with a proper respect for complexity and uncertainty. Irreversible environmental and social problems are likely to arise if the resource management policies are unable to keep pace with the changing social, economic and environmental conditions. Regulatory decisions that oversimplify the choices involved, disguise policy choices as science, or favor the status quo automatically when faced with a certain level of complexity or doubt create public hostility (Flournoy 1994, Watson 1989).

A challenge for conservation policy is to identify functional substitutes for the traditional circumstances conducive to sustainable management of the forest resources. The objective circumstances characterizing the traditional system in Lower Sugut include a strong dependence upon the forest resource, sensitivity to the health of the resource base, and regulation through community sanctions. Communal property regimes have proven to be surprisingly resilient and are a principal means of ensuring livelihood security on the basis of a shared system of land use and production (Nugent and Sanchez 1998, Ostrom 1990). Since it is now both impossible and impractical to reinstate the isolated or semiclosed nature of traditional systems, a useful approach would be to focus on enhanced local participation to generate new forms of users' dependence on resources and stakes therein.

The analysis suggests that if the larger society is truly committed to assisting the swidden farmers in Lower Sugut, the focus should be to expand local ownership and control over the productive use of existing resources. Thus, the challenge for integrated conservation and development policy is not to merely search for strategies to supplement income, but also to mediate the integration of swidden farmers into broader political and economic arenas so that they are not disadvantaged by their remoteness.

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A TUMON DAYAK BURIAL RITUAL (*AYAH BESAR*):  
DESCRIPTION AND INTERPRETATION OF ITS MASKS, DISGUISES,  
AND RITUAL PRACTICES

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**The settlement areas of the Tumon**

The main settlement areas of the Tumon are located in the border region between Kalimantan Tengah and Kalimantan Barat, along the upper reaches and at the headwaters of the Lamandau River, particularly along the Delang tributary, the Batang Kawa (the Minangkabau use the term *batang* for river) and the Belantikan River, all in *kabupaten* Kotawaringin Barat, Kalimantan Tengah. In recent years a logging road has been dedicated to public transportation, providing access from Pangkalan Bun to the Tumon villages along the Lamandau and Delang rivers to Kudangan, the head village of the *kecamatan* Kudangan, and further across the hills to Kalimantan Barat. The Batang Kawa River and the Belantikan River areas are still without road access.

**The claimed Sumatran descent of the Tumon**

The Tumon call themselves Tumon Dayak, but claim to be descendants of the well-known West Sumatran Minangkabau cultural hero, Datuk Parpatih Nan Sabatang, called by both the Minang and the Tumon “Parpatih” or “Perpatih” for short. Their oral history relates that their ancestors migrated 22 or 23 generations ago from the Minangkabau kingdom of Pagarruyung, West Sumatra, to their present settlement areas in Kalimantan (Sandan, 2001; Sengken, 2001). The reconstructed palace of Pagarruyung and several ancient pool ruins are just adjacent to the presentday Bubati office in Batu Sangkar, *kabupaten* Tanah Datar, in the traditional Minang heartland and cultural center in Sumatra Barat.

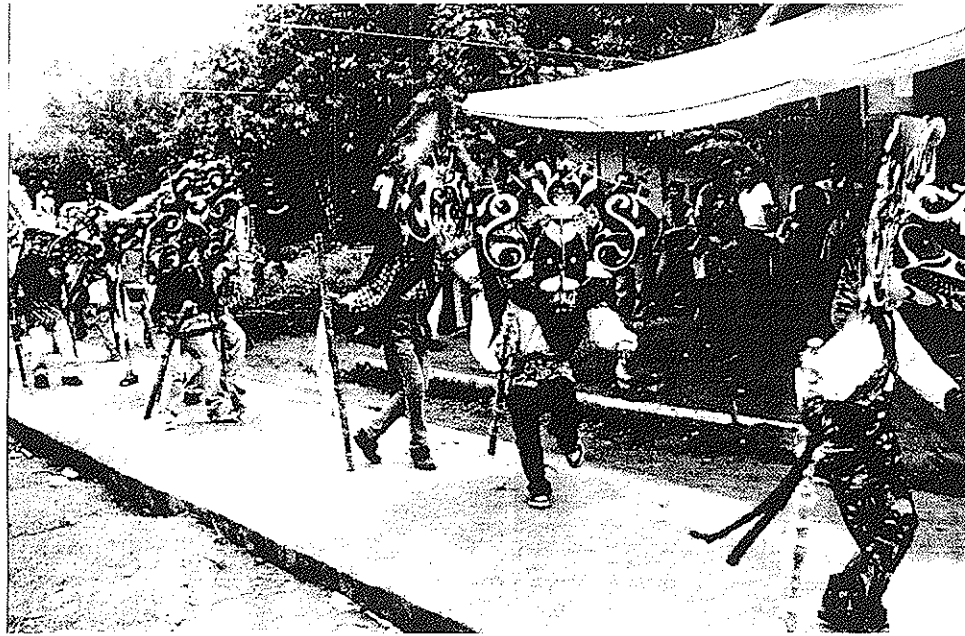
The most persuasive evidence of a Minang origin is the language of the Tumon. They speak what appears to be a language related to an older version of the presentday Minangkabau language. My wife, Ir. Zahara Zahorka, is a Minangkabau from Batu Sangkar and she can understand about 90% of their words. There are also some influences of Ngadju Dayak and Ot Danum Dayak cultures evident, particularly in the eastern and southern Tumon settlement areas which are closer to these Dayak communities. I plan to carry out more research on Tumon origins and ethnohistory to attempt to verify the claim that the Tumon represent the descendants of an old Minangkabau colony in Kalimantan Tengah.

Unlike the Minangkabau colony of Negeri Sembilan in peninsular Malaysia, which has been well studied (see Josselin de Jong 1980, Kato 1997, etc.), there has been little systematic research on the Tumon Dayak.

**The masks used in the *Ayah Besar***

The Minangkabau in West Sumatra are known today for their firm adherence to Islam. However, 22 or 23 generations ago, Islam had not yet penetrated Minangkabau

society. The religion of the royal courts in pre-Islamic times was a Sumatran version of Hindu-Buddhism documented in a number of Sanskrit stone inscriptions in *Kawi* character, found in and around Pagarruyung. One may conjecture, however, that the rural population at that time was still generally bound to its ancient animistic beliefs, with very few Hindu ideas, at most. For instance, there was never a caste system. It seems that the former migrants carried over their animism, including a touch of Hinduism, to Kalimantan, and have since maintained many traditional rituals, among others, an elaborate set of death rituals. Some variations in the performance of these rituals have been reported among the populations of different river systems, and even from village to village.



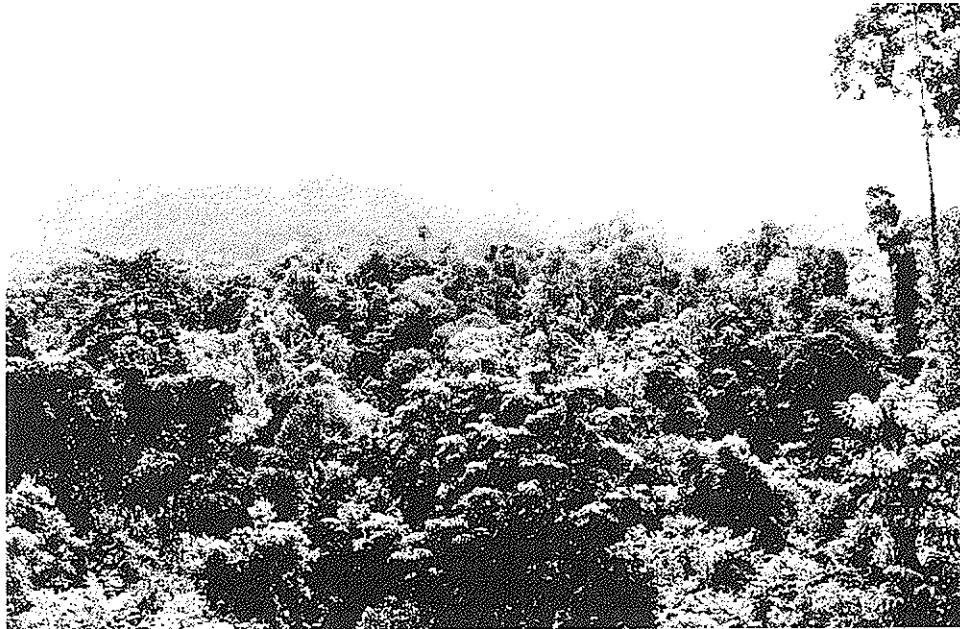
1. The arrival of masked figures, carrying *kakotok* noisemakers, at the deceased's house on the day of burial. Sepoyu, Kalimantan Tengah.

### The entrance of the masks

The Tumon call their principal death rituals *ayah besar*. *Ayah* means 'father,' and *besar*, 'great.' I observed *ayah besar* performances the whole burial day, and even participated in some of the rituals, in the village of Sepoyu, Delang River, 200 km NNW from Pangkalan Bun, on 5 May 2001. My helpful main informant in regard to the meanings of the rituals, the masks, the disguises, and the behavior of some of the participants was the knowledgeable adat judge of Sepoyu, Kepala Adat Sengken. The old woman to be buried that day had died fifteen days earlier. Her wooden coffin was hermetically sealed with the latex from rubber trees.

On the day of the burial, numerous mask bearers marched up to the front of the deceased's house. This occurs generally either seven or fourteen days after a person's physical death. When the numerous masked men had arrived, they made some dancing

movements, as best they could under the heavy weight of their huge masks. They made a clattering noise with their *kakotok* or *kekotok*, bamboo rattles which they held in their hands (see Photo 1). A colorful textile ribbon was additionally swung. This performance continued until a boat-shaped *lancang* (coffin), furnished with bowsprit and stern, was carried to the grave in the afternoon. Today, *lancang* is a Minangkabau word for a quick, impolite behavior (Z). In olden times, however, it was the word for a fast-sailing Portuguese ship (Krause 1994, cit. Baier 1999: 51).



2. In the background center: the pointed top of Mount Sebayan (961 meters above sea level), the final afterworld of the *petora*, or souls of the dead.

### The meaning of the masks

The masks are said to symbolize spirits, or *hantu*. The dancing performance of the masked men, the clattering noise of the *kakotok*, and the colorful ribbons are said to entertain and give enjoyment to the *petora*, the soul of the dead, which is not yet in the afterworld. After the performance is completed, the mask-spirits will accompany the *petora* to Mount Sebayan, the final destination for the souls of the ancestors, the *Tumon hereafter* (Se).<sup>1</sup> A continuously played gamelan music melody called *tifa* has the same

<sup>1</sup>Editor's Note: For an Ibanist, the terminology is interesting. *Petara* or *betara* refers in Iban to the gods and goddesses of the upper world or *langit*, the majority, if not all, of whom are considered to be remote ancestors. *Sebayan*, or *Menua Sebayan*, is also the name given to the Iban "hereafter"—i.e., the final home of the ordinary human souls. However, it is not a mountain, but is thought to be a river area, with, as here, a visible counterpart in the physical world. Only the souls of Iban *manang*, or shamans, go to a

purpose of entertaining the *petora* (Se). *Tifa* is an original Minangkabau name for a distinctive melody and sound (Z). *Tifa* music will also accompany the *petora* on the way to Mount Sebayan. Gunung Sebayan Bungsu (961 m a.s.l.) is 10 km NNW of Kudangan (Photo 2). Most probably, the Tumon migrated from that direction in the past, when they moved to where they now live. Mount Sebayan is also the “place where Sanghyang Duato, our highest god, lives” and is “called *Surugo Dalam* meaning Deep Heaven” (Orpa Sari 1999: 64).

Tradition dictates that the animal masks be carried, together with the coffin, to the gravesite. There, they are supposed to stay—and to decay. In the next world they will become objects of wealth, like domestic animals, slaves, or other valuables (Se). The extremely soft wood of the masks decomposes quickly. However, today’s economic necessity and an eroding of belief seem to have corrupted this tradition. In Sepoyu, the masks were carried home after the ceremony and stored for use in the next burial. The construction of masks is taboo during certain times of the year (Sa).



3. A *luha babi* (pig mask) with *sirih* leaves attached at the top. Sepoyu.

#### The variety of masks

The Tumon word for mask is *luha*. Every mask depicts a specific animal. At least forty different animals are symbolically depicted, each with an artistic and colorful design (see Photos 3, 4, 5, 6, 7). In Sepoyu the following masks can be seen: *luha kuduk* (dog) (Photo 4), *luha babi* (pig) (Photo 3), *luha kuak* (a bird), *luha buaya* (crocodile), *luha ular*

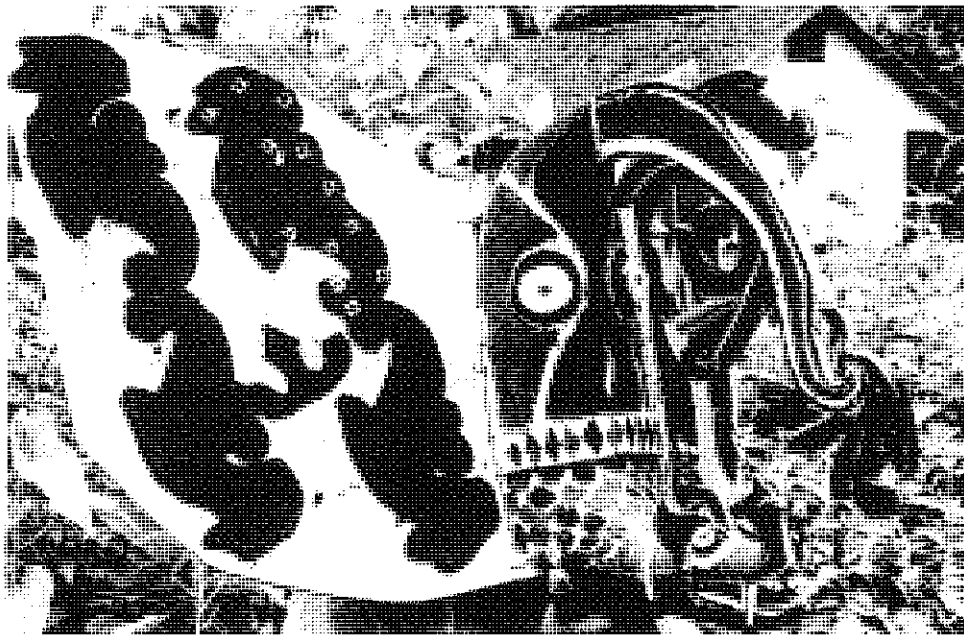
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mountaintop following death, Bukit Rabung, the visible counterpart of which also exists as a real mountain in Kalimantan Barat.



(snake), *luha tingang* (hornbill) (Photo 5), *luha nago* (naga dragon) (Photo 6), *luha beruang* (bear) and others. To some masks, cigarettes or *sirih* leaves have been attached as gifts for the otherworld. The style of the masks differs from village to village.

In Kudangan and Ponyombaan I have also seen *luha tapah* (catfish) and *luha pengua* (gibbon) (Photo 7), and I have heard of *luha lonying* (ghost), *luha rangga balang* (a naughty ghost) and of masks depicting butterflies, bats, locust, turtles and other animals. Four of these large masks are now in my collection.

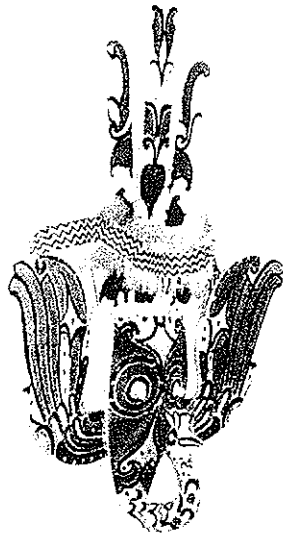


4. A *luha kuduk* (dog mask) with a movable lower jaw, from Ponyombaan.

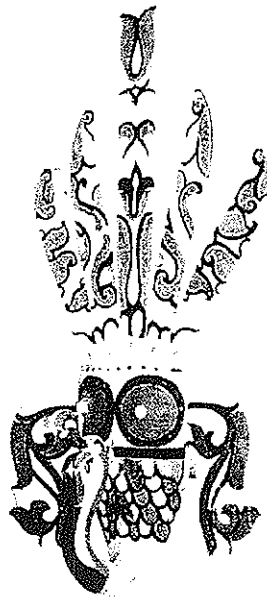
#### The physical properties and traditional colors of the masks

The masks are generally about one meter (3.2 feet) high and one meter across. They are made of white, very soft *pulay* or *pelay* wood, from the tree *Alstonia spathulata* Blume or, alternatively, from *Alstonia scholaris* (L.) R.Br. Both of these trees are medicinal plants of the *Apocynaceae* family, which also includes many poisonous species. The large three-dimensional masks often show sophisticated internal constructions. Most of them are equipped with a piece of wood which the carrier bites into with his teeth while he wears the mask. That is to say, inside the mask, just in front of the mouth of the carrier is a projecting piece of wood which the carrier can take in his mouth, to help hold the mask in position. For some masks, the carrier can move the lower jaw up and down.

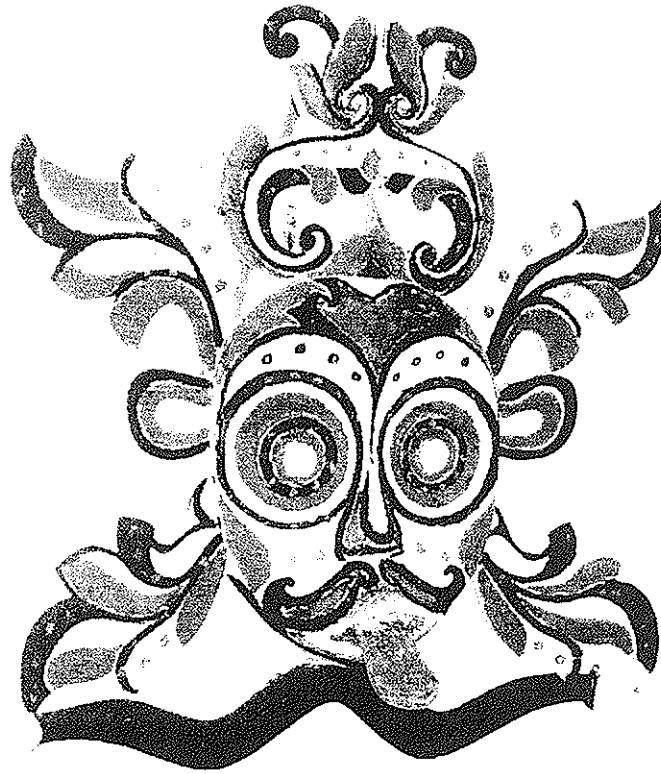
The Tumon masks are principally painted with yellow, red and black dyes, in contrast to the carvings and paintings of most other Dayak tribes in Kalimantan, who generally use red, black, and white colors. The Tumon use white pigment extremely infrequently, almost solely for the eyes of the masks. One exception is a small mask attached to the front of some coffins. This mask is generally white with black and red contours.



5. *Luha tingang* (hornbill mask) from Kudangan. Yellow, red and black. 41 H x 34 W inches (104x87 cm). Collection of H. Zahorka.



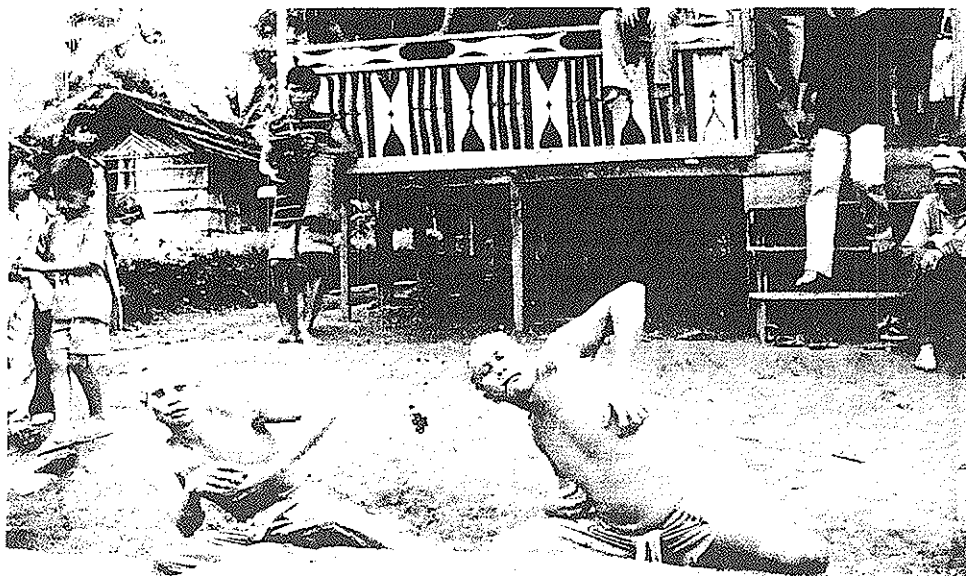
6. *Luha nago* (dragon mask) from Kudangan. Yellow, red and black. 41 H x 24 W inches (104x62 cm). Collection of H. Zahorka.



7. *Luha pengua* (gibbon mask) from Kudangan. Yellow, red and black. 34 H x 36 W inches (88x92 cm). Collection of H. Zahorka.



8. From left: a *luha babi* mask and a *bukong korah* dancer with an orangutan skull mask.



9. Two *bukong korah* (mud men) dancers disguised as monkeys, in Sepoyu. Background left: a tuak dispenser.

The yellow pigment comes from the widely used yellow turmeric spice *kunyit*, extracted from the rhizome of *Curcuma longa* L., family *Zingiberaceae*. This yellow spice is abundantly used in Minangkabau cuisine, but rarely appears in the food of other Dayak tribes. Yellow, red and black are traditional “national” colors of Minangkabau identity, and are used in many cultural ornaments, as well as in the tribal flag. They have a highly symbolic meaning (Z et al.).

For the Minang, yellow symbolizes greatness, nobility and honor; red symbolizes courage and steadfastness; and black, leadership and stalwartness (Z et al.). These three colors, so strikingly used in Tumon mask rituals, are possibly another indication of the Tumons’ Minangkabau origin.

The red pigment is derived from the seeds of *kasumboh* or *kasumba*, a small tree (*Bixa orellana* L., fam. *Bixaceae*) well-known as a source of red dye in South and Southeast Asia. Its hairy fruit resembles a red *rambutan* fruit. The black dye is a concoction of soot and coconut oil or, nowadays, kerosene. The white pigment comes from *kapur* which is derived from heated and pulverized shells, a traditional component of the *sirih-betel* quid. In Sepoyu, traditional pigments are more and more being replaced by synthetic dyes.

The painted ornamentation and patterns on the Tumon masks are quite different from all other Dayak styles. Some ornaments resemble rather well those applied to the walls of traditional Minangkabau houses or to ritually used Minang cloth.

## **Disguised Appearances in the *Ayah Besar***

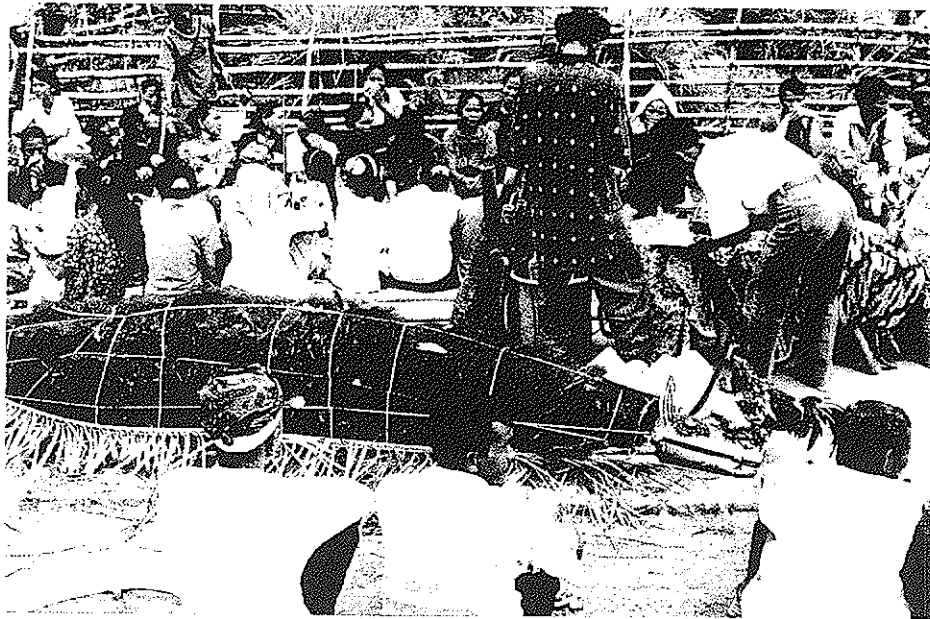
### **The *bukong korah* mud men**

Together with the *luha* carriers, in Sepoyu three men disguised as monkeys performed a highly intriguing spectacle. They are called *bukong korah*. In Minang language, *bukong* means ‘to cover or to disguise the face,’ and *korah* means ‘monkey’ (in Minang, *karo*, Z). One of them was masked by having his face covered with a genuine orangutan skull (see Photo 8). Two others, with the upper parts of their bodies bare, were totally covered with yellow mud from head to toe (Photo 9). All three mimed the behavior of monkeys. They wallowed in the mud, and they touched people, as if by mistake, to make them dirty. They entertained and amused the (more or less) mourning community with their unique mimicry.

The underlying purpose of the performance is, again, to entertain and give enjoyment to the *petora*, the soul of the deceased, to keep it from seizing souls of the living and taking them to Mount Sebayan (Se). It may be conjectured that the *bukong korah* are a substitute for slaves who were sacrificed during the *ayah besar* in former times to serve the dead in the otherworld.

### **The death ghost and its mask**

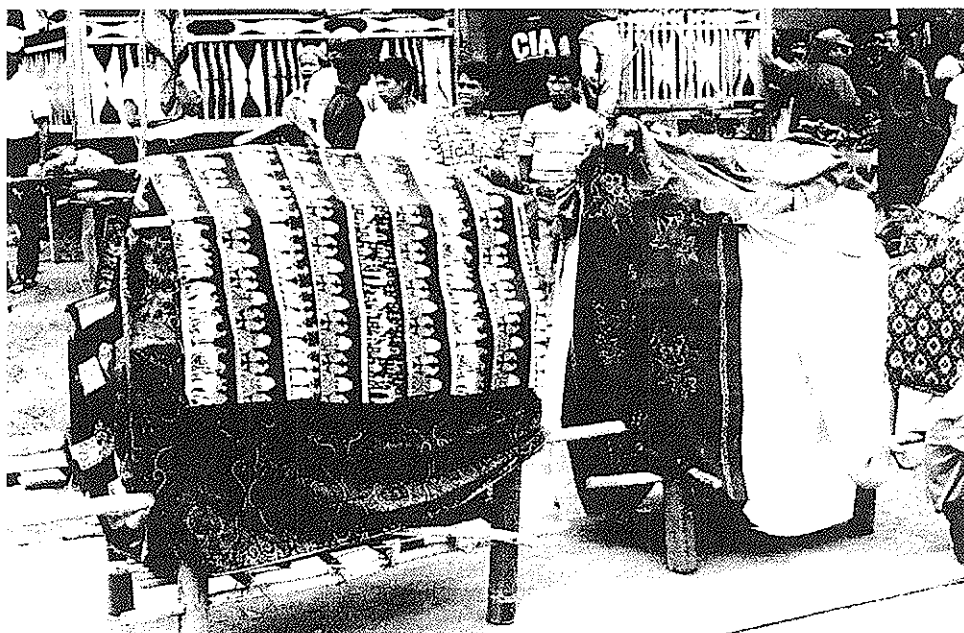
I would have probably overlooked it if Kepala Adat Sengken had not drawn my attention to what he called the death *hantu* which was thought to have killed the deceased woman. It was a 3 m (10 feet) long form shaped like a crocodile without legs, covered with black fibers of the *aren* tree (*Arenga pinnata*), and surrounded on the ground with fringed leaves of the coconut tree (Photo 10). This body was equipped with an elongated mask-like wooden head painted yellow, red and black, and with white eyes. The movable



10. The death ghost (*hantu*), said to have killed the deceased, with a wooden mask and moveable lower jaw. Later, the ghost is fed blood from the tethered rooster to prevent it from killing others.



11. Disguised men symbolically clearing obstacles from the way to Mt. Sebayan. The men are disguised in order to prevent their being recognized by the spirits of the obstacles.



12. The *balai petora*, containing special food for the *petora*.



13. Men performing the hornbill dance (*tari kancan*) in front of the *keranda* enclosing the coffin.



14. Naga head on top of the coffin. The upper jaw is like an elephant's trunk, hence possibly incorporating an image of the Hindu god Ganesha. Colors: yellow, red, and black.

lower jaw was connected to the head in such a way that the mouth was able to open and close. A rooster was fastened to the nose of the monster, with its legs tied to the monster's jaw. According to the kepala adat's explanation, this symbolic ghost has to get the blood of the sacrificed rooster into its mouth in order to prevent it from killing more people.



I cannot confirm the rooster's actual sacrifice. Later, after I returned from the burial site, the death ghost was no longer to be seen, nor was a wooden bird which had been on top of a pole, and which was said to show the *petora* the way to Gunung Sebayan (Se).

### **The disguised *petora* helpers**

Before the coffin left the house, five men with covered faces and distinctive headgear and clothes appeared and started to hack into a section of a banana trunk which they had brought with them, with bush knives and with an axe. After awhile, they poured water on the trunk.

These actions have an important meaning. On its way to the otherworld on top of Gunung Sebayan, the *petora* is faced with some obstacles. There is a huge tree trunk lying across the way. The *petora* has to cut through it to be able to set off on its way. Then, a large fire blocks the way. It has to be extinguished to continue the journey to the final destination (Se).

The disguised men symbolically aided the *petora* by eliminating these obstacles. But, they have to be very cautious in order to avoid being recognized by the spirits of the obstacles. If recognized, acts of revenge and even murder would threaten them. To remain unrecognized by the *hantu*, they have to disguise their appearance (Se) (Photo 11).

### **The *balai petora***

Three small house-like bamboo constructions totally covered with cloth, called *balai petora* (Se) (*balai* means 'hall'), were erected in front of the deceased's house (Photo 12). At the top, roasted chickens and roasted pig heads were attached, ready for consumption. Inside, the *balai* contained rice, cakes, fruit, and other suitable food for the *petora*, given in order to keep it replete, satisfied, and peaceful (Se). Later, this food can be consumed by the people.

## **The Coffin Designs and Mask Decorations**

### **The coffin's layout in the house and on the way to the grave**

The boat-like *lancang*, or coffin, rested on the living room floor and was covered with batik cloth. Empty wooden crates were stacked on top of the coffin. Their size was about that of a regular coffin. They are called *tabak* or *tambak*. The number of *tabak*, one stacked on top of another, indicates the social rank of the deceased (Sa). They are also covered with cloth. On the deceased woman's coffin were two *tabak*. Small offering baskets, called *ancak*, were filled with *sirih* leaves and *betel* nuts and were hung in front of the coffin, while plates and glasses filled with food and drink for the deceased were placed at the rear, by the head of the corpse. Colorful fabrics were hung on strings above the *tabak*.

All those things, together with large gongs and several *tempayan* (large antique ceramic jars) were covered by fabrics surrounding them like the walls of a chamber. The corners of this enclosure were formed by four upright blowpipes. This construction, with the dead body inside it, is called the *keranda* (Se). This is a Minangkabau name. The Minangs today call their stretcher-like katafalque *keranda*. The dead body, wrapped in white cloth, is carried in the *keranda* from the house to the mosque, and then to the grave (Z). In Islam, the use of coffins is forbidden.



15. The youngest daughter of the deceased, lying on the coffin, bites a steel blade to strengthen her soul to resist the death ghost.



16. Boat-shaped coffin being symbolically pulled up the rapids of the Delaug River to Mt. Sebayan. On top of the coffin, the daughter weeps while the deceased's son clears the way for the soul with his sword.



17. Grave enclosure of a wealthy family. The body is buried beneath the floor, while, above, a large naga head is partly covered by palm leaves.



18. After preparing the grave, the men who performed the work spit on bamboo sticks to get rid of the death-stuff. The sticks are then buried beside the grave.

Just before the *keranda* was removed in order to carry out the coffin, two men performed the dignified *tari kancan*, the *ayah* ritual hornbill dance, in front of the *keranda* (see Photo 13). While dancing, they repeatedly emptied small bamboo vessels filled with *tuak* (approximately 8 vol.% alcohol). This drinking belongs to the dance ritual and is done in order to make the soul resistant to the influence of the lurking death ghost (Sa, Se et al.). Like traditional Minangkabau men, each dancer donned a sarong together with a headscarf, a belt, and a sash. I was invited to participate in this. In the 19th century, the Minangkabau also used to perform a special ritual dance if the deceased could not be buried in his or her own village (Van Der Torn 1890: 80).

In other Tumon villages, participants in *doa* also drink *tuak* from elephant tusks<sup>2</sup>. Two large inherited tusks were part of the equipment at a *doa* ritual in Kinipan, Batang Kawa, which I witnessed in 2001. The question is, did these tusks originate from Sumatran elephants? Kalimantan harbors no elephants.

Then the men bit the steel blade of a bush-knife, or *mandau*. In this often repeated ritual, some soul-stuff of the hard steel is thought to penetrate the person and make them resistant to the threat of the death spirit (Se).

The subsequent opening of the *kancan* revealed a big carved and painted naga head at the front of the coffin where the feet of the dead actually rest (Photo 14), and an S-shaped naga tail at the rear. Below the naga head, a small mask with big eyes was also attached to the coffin. All those items were removed in order to attach them again later at the grave. The coffin without the two *tabak* was carried out from the house and put down onto a large bamboo trestle.

Then, the youngest daughter of the deceased woman laid down upon the coffin, embracing it, weeping loudly. A white fabric covered parts of her body. The oldest son came to her side and offered her the blade of his sword to bite, which she did (Photo 15). Then he also mounted the coffin in front of his sister, at first standing, then sitting, with his arm raised and swinging his sword. A great number of men lifted the trestle with the coffin and the two individuals upon it, and carried it to the distant, properly prepared grave (Photo 16). On the way, the son continuously fended off symbolic evil ghosts and obstacles with his *mandau* to clear the way for the *petora* to Gunung Sebaran (Se). Some men armed with blowpipes marched in front of the crowd. When other houses in the village were passed, the women came out to the verandas and ponned a jar of water onto the ground in order to avoid being afflicted by the death ghost (Se).

The coffin boat with the *petora* has to sail symbolically upstream on the Dalang River to arrive at Gunung Sebaran. On the way, it has to go through many rapids (Se). In order to help the soul navigate the rapids, a long cloth twisted into a rope was fastened to

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<sup>2</sup>*Doa* is the term for a Tumon ritual in which the subject of the rite sits on a large gong, his back to a *tempayan* jar, while the *kepala adat* squats in front of him murmuring a chant. Then the *kepala adat* fixes a bracelet-shaped amulet on the subject's right arm, consisting of a string of *akar dongang* and 7 rice grains wrapped in a piece of *daun sengkuba* fixed to a string. This act and the ritual itself are both called *doa*. After this, the subject has to empty a big glass of *tuak* without stopping, or the drink is offered in the tusk. I witnessed *doa* twice, in Kudangan and in Kinipan. I have not described it here, in this paper, because it has nothing to do with the burial.

the bowsprit of the coffin. Then, a number of men symbolically pulled it up through the rapids.

#### **The designs and the masks at the grave**

People who can afford it have the grave surrounded and covered with a small, open, house-like construction made of wood. When the coffin arrived at the Sepoyu grave site, the long but shallow pit within that hut was already prepared and completely walled in on all sides with boards. Next, the coffin was turned around so that the corpse's head was now in the rear, so that the deceased could see her way ahead to Gunung Sebaran, and survey the surroundings, once there (Se). Then the riders descended, and immediately the coffin was put into the pit. Once in the pit, the coffin was covered with a batik cloth and with the mattress and the pillow of the deceased. A layer of boards was placed on top of this, and then about ten cm of soil was used to fill in the grave to ground level. Next, the two *tabak* chests and a kind of boat rooftop were placed on top of the closed pit. At the front, just below the boat roof, the small white mask with the big eyes and the black and white painted contours was attached. Its meaning is not clear to me. Not all graves are equipped with such a mask.

The big naga head and tail were secured in the front and at the rear on top of the boat roof. Naga heads are often placed at the bow of large boats. The naga represents a dragon associated with earth and water, providing vitality and protection in daily life, and fertility and rebirth after death. The naga wards off evil. However, the naga head of the Tumon Dayak has a very special feature, and that is similar to ancient depictions of original Sumatran nagas.

The upper jaw here is always elongated like an erect elephant's trunk. The National Museum in Jakarta has in its collections an ancient prow head of Singalaya, East Sumatra, (Museum Ref: 760), which also shows this typical trunk-like upper jaw. The description reads: "This particular example combines the head of a dragon with that of an elephant" (Museum Nasional: 29). It can be conjectured that the Sumatrans combined the naga with the elephant-headed Hindu god Ganesha who is the god of knowledge and regarded as having the ability to remove all obstacles. Probably, with the apparently concurring features of the Tumon and the Sumatran naga heads, we can witness another indication of the Tumons' cultural roots in Sumatra.

Other designs of these naga heads include a wide-open mouth with rows of teeth and an extended tongue. The naga head on the photograph is painted with the traditional Minangkabau colors, yellow, red, and black. Only the eyes are white.

The report on one unusual custom should not be excluded. After having finished the construction work of the grave, all the men involved in that job spat on thin sticks of bamboo, which were afterwards buried by the side of the grave (see Photo 18). The meaning is to prevent the men from carrying home some of the death-stuff, should they have contacted some of it (Se).

#### **Conclusion**

The *ayah* death rituals and probably other traditional rituals of the Tumon seem to be unique among Dayaks in Kalimantan. However, the growing influence of public education, Christianity in the north and Islam in the south, are now eroding these ancient

rituals. Therefore, systematic research in ethnography and cultural anthropology should be carried out soon.

The discovery of a Minangkabau community in Kalimantan is not entirely new. Kato (1997: 619) wrote: "Two of my colleagues...told me of their curious experience in the border area between Central Kalimantan and West Kalimantan, where they claimed to have run into a Minangkabau community." Kato later visited Kudangen for a few days and verified the claim of the Tumon being descendants of Datuk Perpatih, who left Pagarryung 22 or 23 generations ago. When I visited the adat judge of Kudangan, Kepala Adat Samuel Sandan, he showed me an ancient kris which he said had belonged to Datuk Perpatih. An old "flag of his kingdom of Pagar Ruyung" is said to be kept there, too (Orpa Sari 1999: 6). However, the migration of Datuk Perpatih himself to Kalteng is very doubtful. I know his grave which is close to the town of Solok in the Minang area, West Sumatra.

But Kato and his colleagues were not the first to discover Dayak in Central Kalimantan claiming to be descendants of Minangkabau. Previously, Mallinckrodt (1924-1925: 399) had reported that the Dayaks of the Belantikan River claimed to be the descendants of "*Parapatih nan Sebatang, de bekende Minangkabausche wetgever*" (law-maker), and that legend tells that all Dayaks settled on the head rivers there had migrated across the hills from the north, and had come down the headwaters. He got this information in Kotawaringin in the south.

But information on the unique rituals of the then called Kotawaringin Dayak were reported even earlier than that to their *Baseler Mission* headquarters by several Protestant missionaries. Johann Georg Baier, Luitpold Walter and Hugo Schweizer did missionary work there between 1928 and 1941. Excerpts from their diaries stored at the archives in Basel have been published recently by M. Baier, son of J.G. Baier (Baier 2001)<sup>3</sup>. A comprehensive compiling of the death rituals described in these diaries was also printed in 1999 (Baier 1999). The documents of these missionaries confirm that the rituals still performed today are rooted deep in the past. And they still have the same background and meaning. However, no authentic photographs were available before.

#### Abbreviations

Minang = Minangkabau. (Sa) refers to Sandan; (Se) to Sengken; and (Z) to Zahorka.

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## INTERETHNIC TIES ALONG THE KALIMANTAN-SARAWAK BORDER: THE KELABIT AND LUN BERIAN IN THE KELABIT-KERAYAN HIGHLANDS

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### Introduction

This paper aims to highlight certain effects of the imposition of an arbitrary political boundary line between Kalimantan and Sarawak. It seeks to shed some light on how one cultural group was artificially divided by the boundary and the history of the changes and increasing differentiation that has taken place in and between the two parts of the group since the political border was created. These two groups live on different sides of the Malaysian/Indonesian border in the international frontier region of the Kelabit-Kerayan Highlands. I propose that regional economic disparities define these highland communities and affect their everyday lives and their ethnic interactions with one another along the Sarawak-Kalimantan frontier. This history of socio-economic and ethnic relationships between the people on either side of the border, although often overlooked, needs to be taken into account when making regulations to monitor and manage cross-border activities in the border area.

Most of the information presented in this paper comes from my own personal recollections of events, and from secondary sources describing the local population living in the highlands. Much of this information is “subjective” and reflects the time when I was brought up in the highlands and my regular visits there since then.

### The Development of Boundary Lines in the Highlands: Historical Background

#### The Lun Kelabit and Lun Berian

The Lun<sup>1</sup> Kelabit and the Lun Berian are two closely related ethnic groups. In fact, they often view themselves as a single group: the *Lun Dayeh* or ‘Upriver People,’ or the *Lun Lem Bawang Inan* or ‘People of the Country.’ This view is supported by other scholars who have classified these two groups by the use of a common term. For example, LeBar (1972:153) has grouped them and other closely related people under a common ethnic label as the “Kelabitic Murut group.” Others, like Douglas, Harrisson, and Hose

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<sup>1</sup>*Lun* is a short form of the Kelabit word, *lemulun*, which means ‘people.’ I will therefore use the word *lun* throughout the text when referring to the Kelabit and Berian people as ethnic groups.



(see Talla 1979:9) have classified the Lun Berian, as well as the Lun Kerayan, as “Kelabit.” All have confirmed the existence of close cultural, linguistic and kinship ties between these groups in highland Borneo. In fact, these ties are not limited to cultural and social ties, but also include strong political and economic ties, whereby each group has contributed to the livelihood and survival of the other, since time immemorial (Bala 1999).

Nonetheless, the imposition of international boundary lines in Borneo in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries arbitrarily divided these groups, and in the case of the Lun Kelabit and Lun Berian, divided them into two separate peoples. This process of separation began with the Convention of 1891 and culminated in the signing of the Basic Agreement between Malaysia and the Republic of Indonesia in 1967, whereby the international boundary between Sarawak and Kalimantan effectively separated the two communities, dividing families and kin, and placed them in two separate nations. This political boundary has gradually altered relations between the two groups. As a result, Talla claims that the Lun Kelabit and Lun Berian are no longer identical. He writes:

Today however with the growing importance of the modern political border separating Kalimantan and Sarawak, these two groups [Lun Berian and Kerayan] are becoming increasingly differentiated from the Sarawak Kelabit. The Kelabit themselves regard them [Lun Kerayan, Lun Berian and Lun Kelabit] as separate, though closely related people. (1979:4)

For me, the differentiation that Talla points out refers to differences in the quality of life, and national, social, and economic identities, between the Lun Kelabit and the Lun Berian. I become very conscious of these while doing research on the cultural and social dynamics of the border region over the past few years. At the end of 1994 until mid-1995, I carried out research on Kelabit genealogies and kinship for my M. Phil in Anthropology at the Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia. One of the things that I found during this research was that the highland communities, from time immemorial, not only have inhabited the area, but were highly mobile and involved in many exchanges or interactions in the form of trade and intermarriage, as well as headhunting activities. There seems to have been a fluid movement of people throughout the region, despite its rough terrain, and this situation continued to exist until the beginning of colonial rule in the mid nineteenth century.

Even though some of these movements continue today, their nature has changed or been affected by state policies imposed at the border. This is where I encountered the truth of Edmund Leach's claim that a “boundary can violently, arbitrarily, divide ethnic peoples into different nationals” (1960:52). The political boundary in Borneo, as in many other parts of the world, has cut across cultural groupings and relations. As such, communities like the Kelabit and Berian, and various other ethnic groups such as the Iban, Kenyah, Kayan, and Bidayuh are separated into two different nation states (or even three, if one takes Brunei into account)—Malaysian and Indonesian. Members of various cultural and social groupings, or even family members, were separated due to the imposition of a boundary line. As a member of a community affected by this process, it has produced certain emotions in me regarding its violence and unfairness.

I was particularly saddened by the impact of unequal development between the two neighboring frontier regions. But allow me first to explain what I mean by unequal development. There are many interpretations of what “unequal development” means. A common sense interpretation refers to the existence of different levels of economic development between two or more regions. Sociologists and economists offer different explanations of the phenomena. For example, neoclassical economists suggest it serves as a self-correcting mechanism where less developed areas with low costs for land and labor attract investment from high cost areas, while Marxists, on the other hand, propose that the more developed areas tend to concentrate economic resources, which subsequently causes future investments to largely accrue to those (already established investments) in highly developed areas. Thus, cumulative advantage is vested in more developed areas. This has implications for the movement of labor, creating migration patterns that tend to be directed towards developed areas. No matter what the descriptions and explanations are for unequal development, the implications not only for local economies, but also for their social activities, are significant. This is because local populations at the border region are often caught between two different political and administrative systems, and yet are linked by cultural and historical traditions.

In highland Borneo, the Kelabit on the Malaysian side of the border are relatively prosperous, with a better quality of life, while the Lun Berian on the Indonesian side of the border are economically less well off. And this, I propose, has great implications for the nature of social relations and, in this case, kinship and familial relations, which exist between these two groups. I consider this situation to be arbitrary for the people since they did not ask for the boundary to be constructed. Instead, it was constructed out of colonial competition for sovereignty in the area.<sup>2</sup>

However, it was in my attempt to understand, as a result of my research, the implications of the unfairness of the boundary that I became more conscious of the conceptual reality of the border and its significance to Lun Kelabit and Lun Berian’s economic, political, and interethnic relations in the highlands. I realized that the process of research and writing had required me to put into words a taken-for-granted experience of the border. This process produced in me a spatial and a historical consciousness of the boundary, which then caused me to internalize the reality of the boundary. It has caused me to be more conscious than previously of the existence of the boundary that separates

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<sup>2</sup>Many frontiers were developed in the context of convenience for colonial administrators, in this case emerging from competition in the mid nineteenth and early twentieth century between the Dutch in Kalimantan and the Brooke rulers in Sarawak, whose methods included organizing expeditions, building forts and border outposts, gaining control over trade and imposing taxes on those in the interior. Nonetheless, it was only during the later period of the nineteenth century that the two colonial powers saw the need to have a clearly demarcated boundary to divide their administrative power over the area. At a meeting in June 1891, the boundary line was set along the watershed between the Dutch territory on one side and Brunei and Sarawak on the other side. In 1912 a joint Anglo-Dutch survey team was formed to establish the division between the British Colony of North Borneo and Indonesian Borneo (Irwin 1955: 206). Additional treaties were signed in 1915 and 1928.

in the highlands. The reality of the irony hit me when I went back to the highlands in December 1997. I was alarmed to find myself looking at my relatives from the Berian area that were working in my family's rice fields more as Indonesian laborers than as my *lun ruyung*, or relatives.

I still remember occasions when my late grandmother narrated to me our family genealogy. Oftentimes the narration would include how my late great grandfather (my father's father's father) had migrated many years ago from Pa Kabak, a village located in Dutch Borneo (today's East Kalimantan). He had left his home and relatives in Pa Kabak to live in Pa Umur, a village on the Sarawak side of the border, which was his wife's former village. My great grandfather's relatives, after he left, also migrated from Pa Kabak to Lembudud and Long Tugul, both in East Kalimantan and about an 8 hour's walk from my village, Pa Umur. Thus, my family still has many relatives, or *lun ruyung*, living on the other side of the border.

As a child, I used to look forward to these *lun ruyung*'s visits because they brought along different gifts such as chicken and duck eggs, baskets, mats, rice, or machetes that they presented to my family whenever they came. Besides that, they were always ready to help with the farming activities, especially during seasons when hard work is required in the *late* (rice fields), such as during the slashing or clearing, planting and harvesting seasons. They usually came in groups of four to five persons, and stayed for a night or so at my village before proceeding to other villages in the area. Normally these relatives would stay with my family as their close relatives in the village. It was during these many visits that I got to know some of my *lun ruyung* from Berian.

Just as our *lun ruyung* do take some time to visit us in Bario, members of my family occasionally visited them in Berian, too. I still remember my first visit in 1980 to the Berian area when I was about 11 years old. I went with one of my sisters and a few other children from my village to Lembudud, a village located about a nine hours walk from Pa' Umur. We hiked up high mountains and climbed down deep valleys. When we reached the peak of Raan Mekang, a man in his 50s pointed to somewhere on the peak and said, "*neh rang tana lem erang Indonesia me Malaysia*," or "that is the boundary line between Indonesia and Malaysia," but all I could see were trees.

We were much welcomed and were showered with hospitality when we arrived. I was amazed to discover that we had many relatives and that they were very happy to host us. Since we had so many *lun ruyung* in the area, my sister and I had great difficulty trying to decide where to stay. We finally decided to stay with a relative who frequently visited with us at Pa Umur. But, our other relatives frequently invited us for meals. Unlike the Kelabit, the Berian have a custom that requires their relatives, on visiting, to eat at each single household (households of relatives) at every meal. I can remember trying very hard to finish my breakfast at one relative's place when another appeared at the door, waiting for us to proceed to his family's apartment. As soon as we were done at the second place, another relative came by to invite us to her house. We received more than six invitations that morning. I was told that it was a custom that the Kelabit used to practice, but which has disappeared over the years.

It is argued that there is very little cultural difference between the Kelabit and the Berian except in terms of economic differences and the relative strength of the Malaysian *ringgit* compared to the Indonesian *rupiah*. And here I would like to suggest that in recent

years this economic differential has grown wider between these two groups. This, I argue, not only redefines political and economic, but also social interactions in the highlands. The economic differences as a result of the imposition of boundary lines in the highlands environment enables economic dependency and interdependence between the Kelabit and Berian to continue, although in new and different forms (Bala, 1999 and also supported by Amster, 2000).

The imposition of international borders created an economic difference and regional inequality that has encouraged the Lun Berian, particularly, to cross the international border to Bario in search of employment opportunities and seasonal wages. This is crucial to the highland's economy because the boundary creates opportunities for economic interdependence between the two groups across the boundary. And this is especially important for the sustenance and maintenance of rice farming as an important activity among the Kelabit in Bario (Amster, 2000).

The Kelabit, numbering approximately 7,000 people, are one of the smallest ethnic groups in Sarawak, but only about 1,200 still remain in their traditional homeland, the Kelabit Highlands. Most (approximately 75%) have emigrated to live in town areas in Sarawak or in other parts of Malaysia, or even overseas. There are several interconnected reasons for Kelabit emigration out of the highlands. One of the major reasons is the quest for higher education. Subsequently, many younger people have stayed on in urban centers like Kuching, Miri, or Bintulu, for better job opportunities. Eventually they marry and settle there. The Kelabit migration pattern (emigration and intermarriages) inevitably has had a great impact on farming activities in the highlands. It has produced a shortage of labor due to a reduction in the availability of family members to work the family rice fields.

For generations, rice farming among the Kelabit has been dependent upon family members as its main source of labor. Each member of the family, man or woman, young or old alike, was expected to contribute his or her labor during all stages of the farming cycle. I still remember the hard work that my siblings and I had to endure when helping our parents on the farm. My parents, my mother in particular, would demand that everyone participate in accomplishing many tasks in the rice field. This was particularly so during the seasons when most work needed to be done, for example, while clearing, planting, and harvesting. During these seasons, and especially during the harvest, every family member was expected to help in order to complete the task as fast as possible. Otherwise, the ripe crop, if left unattended, was susceptible to damage and vulnerable to pests.

But, most young Kelabit men and women left the highlands. As a result, the older folks, who were left behind, had to farm and care for their land to keep the family heritage and the cultural obligations alive for the next generation. As the older folks continued to work their farms, they faced a shortage of labor, and so they had to look for alternative sources to make up the shortage.

Fortunately for many highland Kelabit families, the labor shortage in the rice fields is "filled" with cheap labor from the Lun Berian communities of East Kalimantan. The Lun Berian people became an important alternative source of labor to the Kelabit, and increasingly became important to the highland economy through the informal service they now provide. In fact, a household survey of one of the longhouse communities in the

highlands suggests that 80 percent of the households rely on hired labor to work their rice fields, and almost 80 percent of the labor hired comes from the Berian area in East Kalimantan (Kalang 2000). This survey indicates a change of labor structure in the highlands from family-oriented labor to hired labor in the rice fields. It shows the dependence of the Lun Kelabit in Bario on Lun Berian laborers in rice production. And because it is relatively cheaper,<sup>3</sup> when compared to local labor,<sup>4</sup> Lun Berian labor is increasingly important.

Contrary to the general belief that immigrants from the Indonesian side are taking jobs away from the locals, or even illegally harboring themselves before moving onward to the bigger Malaysian cities, the unequal economic development has actually provided mutual economic benefits to both Malaysian and Indonesian nationals in the highlands. The situation allows the Kelabit (Malaysian) and Lun Berian (Indonesian) communities to meet their mutual economic interests in seasonal employment and fills the labor shortage during the harvest season. This is crucial for many Kelabit farmers because rice farming continues to carry special significance and cultural meaning. Besides producing rice for domestic consumption, family farms also generate supplementary income to family members through the sale of rice, and also have some connection with the prestige system that defines the family's place in the community (Janowski 1988). Family farms are kept as part of a family's heritage and are not sold.

The Lun Kelabit and Lun Berian economic interdependence at the border regions is not solely limited to rice farming activities, but also includes other forms of economic activity as well as social functions and political interactions. The Kelabit, in particular, are very dependent on the Berian people for local products, which are useful for everyday needs in the Kelabit Highlands. For instance, my family receives its supply of *ugam* (mats), *binen* (baskets), *bu an* (big baskets), *tungul* (machetes), and *ba o* (beads) from our *lun ruyung* from the Berian area.<sup>5</sup> My parents and late grandparents usually obtain these

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<sup>3</sup>Kalang (2000) indicates that a differential exists between a local person and a Lun Berian in daily wages. While a local person is usually paid RM15 as a daily wage, a Lun Berian is paid RM10. Although paid relatively lower than local laborers, the wage level is more attractive and economically advantageous to the Lun Berian because of the relative strength of the Malaysian *ringgit* to the Indonesian *rupiah*. Remittances by relatives and children in particular to their parents in Bario also makes it easy for the latter to hire Lun Berian laborers (Hew Cheng Sim and Sharifah Mariam Al-Idrus 1997).

<sup>4</sup>“Local laborers” here refer to Lun Kelabit who are Malaysians and most at one point lived in the cities before returning to Bario to live.

<sup>5</sup>I have also observed the same situation in Ba Kelalan in September 2000. While sitting on a veranda overlooking the route leading to Pa Midang in Kalimantan, a few Lun Berian passed by with huge baskets full of goods purchased in Ba Kelalan and carried back to Kalimantan. Other researchers, such as King (1985) and Rousseau (1990), have also indicated that there is ongoing trade between people across the border. For instance, King (1985:43) noted that the Maloh in West Kalimantan, although they have to journey two to three days on foot from the Embaloh River to the bazaar at the Sarawak border settlement in Lubok Antu, often travel into Sarawak to purchase consumer goods, and to find paid seasonal work. This is because the range of services and goods that are traded

goods from them either by barter exchange or by cash. These trade exchanges are very important. In fact, I can remember my mother receiving five strings of glass beads from a relative in exchange for a male buffalo, which was worth about RM1800 (US\$450).

Transnational marriages between members of the two communities, partly as extensions to rice-farming activities in the highlands, are also on the increase (Amster 2000). My own personal experiences in the highlands reaffirms Amster's observation. For example, often marriages involved Kelabit men marrying Lun Berian women, and less often involved Kelabit women marrying Lun Berian men. In fact, out of six marriages in my village to Lun Berian people, four of them are Kelabit men and two, women. A similar situation was reported by Amster (2000) who describes two marriage arrangements, and how these unions created relationships that center on seasonal wage labor activities in the rice fields. Moreover, Kelabit dependence on Lun Berian laborers is not limited to their need for seasonal labor during harvest season, but also for other services, including house building, hauling firewood, and repairing padi dykes. In a way, the emergence of unequal development as a result of the imposition of the boundary lines is a blessing in disguise for the Lun Kelabit and the Lun Berian. While it helps in maintaining and sustaining rice farming in Bario, it provides a range of opportunities to generate income for the Lun Berian.

In other words, the boundary is not merely a political, social and cultural boundary, but it has become an economic boundary. This brief and simple analysis of interethnic ties at the border reflects how unequal economic development has affected the quality of life, which in turn, affects people's social and family interactions and their experiences at the border. This complex dynamic needs to be taken into account when considering social, political and economic dimensions in the border regions of Borneo. The tendency is to look at the border area as "problematic," because international borders, especially between less developed and developed regions are often regarded as gateways for, and homes to, migrant populations, cross-border crime and, most likely, illegal entries. As a result, there are moves by the state to enforce immigration laws, rules and regulations on cross border movements as a means to restrict and impede illegal activities such as drug trafficking, illegal logging, and so forth. As this paper tries to highlight, not all movements and interactions at the border can be categorized as "illegal," for there may exist other forms of linkages, such as familial relations and other interdependencies that cross international boundaries.

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WHO ARE THE MALOH? CULTURAL DIVERSITY  
AND CULTURAL CHANGE IN INTERIOR INDONESIAN BORNEO

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**Ethnic Names: Embaloh, Taman, Kalis, Banuaka', Maloh**

The following research note is occasioned by my reading of Jay Bernstein's excellent book *Spirits Captured in Stone. Shamanism and Traditional Medicine among the Taman of Borneo* (1997). I have reviewed the book elsewhere (see King 1998), so in these notes, I intend to focus on issues of ethnic identity and internal cultural variation. I shall be focusing mainly on Bernstein's findings, supplemented with some of my field data collected about 30 years ago. Bernstein examines and analyzes the healing practices, principles, and ritual paraphernalia of the Taman, a Dayak population of interior Borneo. It is based on his doctoral thesis, "Taman Ethnomedicine: the Social Organization of Sickness and Medical Knowledge in the Upper Kapuas," submitted to the University of California, Berkeley in 1991. The field research was undertaken in two periods from 1985 to 1988 among Taman villages in the Upper Kapuas regency of the Indonesian province of West Kalimantan. Bernstein concentrated his work in two villages of the Sibau branch of the Taman: Sibau Hilir and the "unofficial village" of Tanjung Lasa. He also visited communities belonging to the Kapuas branch of the Taman people, noting that there are some differences between the two branches "in vocabulary and other aspects of dialect" (1997: 14).

The Taman comprise an "ethnic group" which numbered about 4,500 in the mid-1980s and 4,917 in 1993 (Thambun Anyang 1996: 24). Interestingly, Bernstein refers to official statistics for 1987 which put the total population of Taman villages at 5,090. Henry Arts, in his study of the Taman, has an even higher population in residence for 1989, just two years later, of 5730. This is some 1200 above the 4,500 figure for Taman indicated in the mid-1980s (1991: 7). In explaining the difference in his own statistics, Bernstein states that the balance of the population in Taman villages, that is, about 600 people, was made up by Malay, Kantu' (Kantuk), and Iban; members of these different ethnic groups were therefore living among, or in very close proximity to, the Taman. The Taman were also close neighbors of yet other ethnic groups, specifically the Kayan and the Bukat (Bhuket), and it seems that some Bukat, along with Kantu', also lived among or close to the Taman of Tanjung Lasa (1997: 15). This general pattern of residential intermingling accords precisely with my observations from the early 1970s among several communities of the Embaloh division (as I referred to it), which are socially, culturally, and historically related to the Taman. Embaloh had close relations with the Malay, Kantu', and Iban in particular. In the past, they had also intermarried with and absorbed significant numbers of formerly nomadic Bukitan or Ketan (King 1985).

My own research was undertaken principally along the Embaloh and Palin rivers and to a lesser extent the Leboyan, tributaries to the north of the Kapuas River; these were areas which had become increasingly dominated by Iban moving in from the Sarawak-Kalimantan borderlands. I also paid a brief visit to the Kapuas branch of Taman. It was clear that this whole complex of people, and, in particular, certain communities of the Embaloh division, had been subject to various intense external forces and influences over a relatively long period of time, and sustained long-established relations with a relatively diverse range of societies and cultures—from stratified Muslim Malay trading states and administrative centers to small, scattered, egalitarian, hunting-gathering Bukat and Ketan communities. These different ethnic groups followed very different models of social organization, which we can place on a continuum from equality to hierarchy, and with which the Embaloh and Taman were presumably very familiar. What is more, the Embaloh and Taman, as well as the Kalis, the remaining division of this “larger ethnolinguistic entity” (Bernstein 1997: 18), had all been drawn into the expanding administrative structures, the colonial economy, and, indeed, the culture of the Dutch, especially from the early part of the twentieth century, and, since Indonesian independence, into the politico-ideological and economic systems of the developing Indonesian nation-state.

The problems of studying this cultural melting-pot and taking appropriate account of processes of change in a multi-ethnic, politically variegated situation are compounded by the fact that the written historical record for this region is patchy and that oral history among the Embaloh/Taman/Kalis to a significant degree provides a field for disputation about cultural origins and historical precedence. This is a testing grounds for anthropologists and suggests that the traditional modes of anthropological enquiry are inadequate in our attempts to comprehend the dynamic socio-cultural systems of the Upper Kapuas region. Of particular interest to me is the fact that Bernstein and others (particularly Thambun Anyang in his 1996 doctoral thesis) do engage with the issues of inter-cultural relations and socio-cultural change to help account for the internal variations within the Embaloh/Taman/Kalis complex. As a consequence of this complexity and, one might say, the enigmatic and culturally plastic quality of a population which, in the literature, is known by several names, there has been prolonged debate between students of the Embaloh/Taman/Kalis about the appropriate ethnic term for this ethnolinguistic entity. These disputes have been conducted among both local and foreign scholars, and though we are all agreed that we are able to identify and differentiate a socio-cultural collectivity in the remote interior of central Borneo (which, to complicate matters even further, has demonstrably relatively close linguistic connections to southern Sulawesi, and, in particular, the Bugis language), there has not been much agreement about ethnic nomenclature.

Bernstein briefly rehearses the debates and, though he uses the term “Taman” to refer to what I have called the “Taman division,” as does Henry Arts (1991), he reserves judgement on the appropriateness of the term for the collectivity. Unable to determine which widely acceptable ethnonym might be employed for the complex as a whole, I chose the term “Maloh” or “Memaloh”, which is an external label (or exonym) coined by the Iban and used widely in the English literature on Borneo, and especially in Sarawak. It is derived from “Embaloh”, one of the “Maloh” areas of settlement closest to Iban

communities in the Kapuas Lakes region. At least two local scholars, Irene A. Muslim and S. Jacobus E. Frans L. (eg, 1992), have subsequently proposed the indigenous term “[Dayak] Banuaka” as a general referent, whilst, in the recent work of Y .C. Thambun Anyang, the term “Rumpun Taman” is suggested in preference to “Banuaka’.” Local disagreements seem to suggest that there will be no easy solution to this matter. Reed Wadley has recently provided an intriguing commentary on the problems posed by the notion of the “Maloh” (Wadley 2000).

What is more, it is still something of a puzzle that three Taman men who, as itinerant silversmiths, visited the Sarawak Museum in 1962-63, should lead Tom Harrisson (and Benedict Sandin) to write that “The Malohs themselves are emphatic that there is a general term appropriate to them [presumably “Maloh”], while pointing out that this is true because they are a people known over an exceptionally wide area in Borneo, so that some sort of descriptive term is needed to identify themselves in their travels” (1965: 238). One needs a note of caution here because the three visitors to the Museum were interviewed in depth in the Iban language by Sandin, and perhaps accepted the Iban term for their group in his company. However, I met two of Harrisson's and Sandin's Taman Kapuas informants some ten years later and they endorsed their earlier statements. One might have anticipated a confirmation of the appropriateness of the label “Maloh” at that time had Harrisson's informants been Embaloh, but they were not; they came from the Taman division. It is also not without significance that silversmithing and the institution of the itinerant Maloh smith was on the wane from the 1960s onwards, and it would seem that the term “Maloh” was more acceptable in that context, and particularly away from home in Sarawak. Ethnic labels are notoriously malleable and versatile in Borneo, and it is, of course, not unknown for a particular population to adopt an exonym in the search for a term on which they can all try to agree so that they are readily identifiable to outsiders. How does Bernstein cope with this difficulty? When referring to the wider ethnolinguistic entity, he talks of the “Maloh/Banuaka complex” (1997: 19). Thus, Bernstein's ethnography, it should be noted, which interestingly refers to the Taman as an “ethnic group,” relates specifically to the Taman division (an alternative term for this division suggested by Thambun Anyang is “Kapuas Sekitar”). In the absence of any general agreement on this matter, I shall for the time being refer to the collectivity as Embaloh/Taman, although I recognize that this label does not specifically embrace the Kalis division.

### **A Hybrid Culture? Internal Variation and External Influence**

It has to be emphasized, and Bernstein is very careful in this respect, that his recently published study is not an ethnography of shamanism appropriate for the whole complex, and, though many aspects of Taman healing principles and practices are shared by communities within the Embaloh division, and presumably the Kalis, there are also significant differences between these divisions. These differences are, I think, the result of a prolonged period of relative isolation from each other and a not insignificant degree of independent cultural development, and more importantly, of diverse external influences of varying intensity. For example, many of the shamanic practices elucidated by Bernstein were not in much evidence among communities along the Embaloh River in the 1970s, subject as they had been to some sixty years of Dutch Catholic missionary activity, and with relatively easy access to clinic-based medicine. Nevertheless, for older people in

particular, many of the shamanic beliefs, rituals, and methods so vividly described by Bernstein, would certainly have had a resonance. Furthermore, in the longhouses of the neighboring Palin river, the institution of shamanism was alive and was practiced in the early 1970s, but it existed side by side with imported elements from such peoples as the Kantu' and the Iban.

Interestingly, Bernstein also faces the issue of cultural interchange in his study of Taman traditional medicine. In this case, however, external influence would seem to have been more decisively generated from Malay sources. He devotes some attention to the description of Malay folk healers/wizards, or *dukun*, noting that “[e]ven in the most distant Taman villages...Malay healers...play an important role” (1997: 41), and that the Taman have “incorporated many of the Malays’ practices” (1997: 43). Bernstein “commonly observed Taman and other non-Malay patients being treated by Malay healers” (1997: 43). The question has to be posed in this context of cultural contacts and exchanges, and it was one with which I constantly grappled during fieldwork, and that is “Who are the Maloh/Embaloh?” or “the Taman?” or “the [Dayak] Banuaka’?” More especially, can we, or, indeed, should we, separate out something distinctly Embaloh/Taman and try to grasp the essence of this ethnolinguistic entity?

I went to great pains to demonstrate the interpenetration of Maloh (as I called them) and non-Maloh cultural elements: Bernstein includes Malay folk healers and associated concepts and practices within his analysis of Taman shamanism. In similar vein, and intriguingly, Thambun Anyang suggests that Taman hierarchy is an artifact of their contact with neighboring Malay states and has been overemphasized by some Dutch and other Western observers obsessed with stratification, and with Western models of class, status, and power. There is, I think, something in this argument, and the debate between Derek Freeman and Jérôme Rousseau on Iban equality and hierarchy immediately comes to mind as a parallel (Freeman 1981, Sather 1996). The conceptual scheme first developed by Edmund Leach in his study of the Kachin of Highland Burma (1970) also suggests ways of examining inter-ethnic relations within an overarching social system articulated by the principles of rank, ethnicity, and locality. But, with due respect to Thambun Anyang's detailed study, surely the Embaloh/Taman were (prior to late Dutch colonialism and Indonesian independence) rather more conscious of rank than, say, the Iban, even without Malay influence?

What interests me in these debates, and I have probably been just as guilty as others in this regard, are the lengths to which anthropologists are prepared to go to establish the essential social and cultural characteristics or the socio-cultural core of a people, in order to assert that this is the traditional culture and social system of ethnic group x or y. Having reflected on the literature on the Upper Kapuas region for the past two decades, I have come to the conclusion that, in the case of the Embaloh/Taman, we have to accept that we are dealing with a chameleon-like entity, which in many important respects comprises a hybrid culture. This is no more than to confirm the earlier view of that perspicacious Dutch observer, M.A. Bouman, though he was mistaken in his views about the precise contours and content of that hybridization. In my view, in searching for traditional Embaloh/Taman culture, we shall probably continue to have our disagreements because of the internal socio-cultural variations of this ethnic entity, the interpenetration of other external social and cultural elements, and the sheer fuzziness of ethnic

boundaries. I have recently explored some of these issues in a brief comparative study of the Upper Kapuas region and Brunei Darussalam, specifically addressing Thambun Anyang's interpretation of Taman social organization (King 2001).

In this regard, Bernstein and Thambun Anyang show us some of the connections between Malay and Taman culture, and I would also suggest, as I have done previously, that the Embaloh/Taman, related linguistically to the Bugis, shade into Kantu' and Iban communities, that they have socio-cultural and political similarities with such central Borneo groups as the Kayan, that they have incorporated certain other cultural elements through intermarriage with former nomadic hunter-gatherers, and that, of course, they absorbed some cultural particulars, especially in religious matters, from their Dutch colonial masters. Following Indonesian independence, by guile and some coercion, they further adapted their socio-cultural and political systems to Sukarno's "Old Order" and to Suharto's "New Order."

### **Taman Shamanism and Malay Connections**

While the focus in my Embaloh research was rank, status, and hierarchy, Bernstein chooses to concentrate on shamanism in his study of the Taman, an institution which "continues to meet some important needs." It is, he says, "more than an ideology; it is part of living, cultural reality" (1997: 12). By the 1980s other traditional institutions, such as hereditary rank, chieftainship, and funerary rituals had "decayed," but shamanism remained strong. However, shamanic healers (*balien* [Taman]/*balian* [Embaloh]) were not social critics or commentators, nor seekers after, or possessors of, political power and authority. Instead, Bernstein argues, Taman shamanism has to be understood as "medical" practice or a mode of curing: "it comprises socially organized and culturally understandable response to illness, suffering, and bodily harm" (1997: 6). Key elements in the *balien* complex are "special healing stones" and "hooks." Stones materialize in curing ceremonies, and the *balien* is penetrated or pierced magically with metal hooks in the fingertips and eyeballs during initiation. In various kinds of illness the causal agent is assumed to be a spirit or spirits, and therefore shamanic curing rites focus on engagement and negotiation with the spirit world. However, the Taman acknowledge and utilize a range of curative alternatives, often depending on the kind of illness confronted. Aside from encounters with spirits, the Taman employ herbal remedies (including both common and rare plants) and magical oils. They also seek the assistance of Malay *dukun* who have expertise in a host of healing methods and techniques which are not usually spirit-based (these include divination, spells, blessings, charms and amulets, herbalism and oils), but rather, their authority of mystical knowledge is claimed to derive ultimately from Koranic sources ( Bernstein does, however, cite a case of a *dukun* who engages with earth spirits or *jin*). It is also interesting that there are cases of Taman healers, and, in one instance a *balien*, serving as apprentices to a Malay *dukun*. Taman also have available modern medicine and pharmaceuticals, referred to as "government" rather than "village" medicine.

Given my theme of hybridization, I found it of particular interest that Bernstein considers the concepts of illness, which form the basis of the *balien* complex, as being "shared to some extent by other peoples throughout the Upper Kapuas and to a lesser extent in other parts of Borneo and beyond" (1997: 53). This is a most significant comment. He is referring here, obviously, to spirit causation of illness, the characteristics of the human soul (separable from the material body) and its capacity to wander and

ultimately, on occasion, become lost, and the importance of dreams in relation to the soul, spirit encounters, the interpretation of fortune and misfortune, and concepts concerning death. Taman believe that the human soul (*sumangat*) comprises eight souls, some of which—"the wild ones"—leave the body and wander off; this squares with Embaloh concepts, though various of my informants referred to 21 souls as well as eight. What is clear, however, is that Bernstein sees a key distinguishing element of Taman healing practice as the incorporation of magical stones. He says that "[t]he ceremonial capture of spirits as stone marks the *balien* system as unique..." (1997: 165). I would tend to agree with him, but the magical use of stones is widely spread in Borneo, and certain of its features among the Taman are found among the neighboring Iban. The central focus of curing ceremonies in the Embaloh region also comprised the possession and use of special stones (*batu balian*).

Nevertheless, the issue of what is distinctively Taman in healing and traditional medicine, and what derives from other sources, does frequently surface in the study. Bernstein notes that the dominant theme in Taman concepts of sickness and curing is that of externally generated illness, that is, the action of a spirit or spirits on the human soul (1997: 54). Apparently there are three major categories of beings in the Taman spirit world: demons (*sai*), ghosts (*antu*), and goblins (*jin*). The latter two are Malay terms (and concepts), and Bernstein suggests that "Malay concepts of spirits have probably penetrated Taman ideas about spirits to an extent" (1997: 54). Certainly the Malay *dukun* has the most thorough knowledge of *antu* and *jin*. Bernstein states that "the Taman concept of spirit (*sai* or *pamari'an*) is distinct and is the basis of the *balien* institution" (1997: 54). He is uncertain whether or not the Taman have their own concept of a ghost as distinct from the Malay one, but then, interestingly, he indicates that "[a] majority of informants considered *sai* and *antu* to have the same meaning" (1997: 54). He goes on to suggest some differences between *sai* and *antu*, but in specifying various *antu*, he describes them as *sai* (i.e. *antu kawang*, *antu karet*, *antu langke*, and possibly *antu anak*) (1997: 55-57). He does not specify *sai*, other than the four just mentioned, but he says that *sai* are either male or female; each has a name corresponding to a human name; they are categorized according to their location, except for some which dwell "almost anywhere" (1997: 55). I should add that among the Embaloh the most commonly used term for spirits was *antu* and not *sai*; and, among the Palin people at least, the Malay concept of *jin* had its counterpart in the local term *sakong*, of which there were evil spirits (*sakong pamarian*) and good ones (*sakong mamen*).

### **Taman and Embaloh Comparisons in Shamanic Ritual: Malay, Iban, and Kantu' Connections**

The Taman *balien's* therapies are arranged into seven ceremonial contexts, and ranked and sequenced according to level of "complexity and gravity" (1997: 109). They can be, in turn, grouped into three major therapeutic procedures. However, "[e]ach successive ceremony incorporates all the previous ones" (1997: 138). First, there is the removal from the human body of illness, manifested, as it were, as spirit beings, projectiles or other objects, which are considered to be causing the soul or souls injury (the cure is effected by rubbing magical stones, dipped in decoctions of crushed herbs, over the body). It should be noted here that this method of curing, using stones and other objects, is also well-known among the Iban (Graham 1987: 64; Jensen 1974: 146-147).

The procedure is known as *bubut* from the Malay root word meaning, “to pluck or extract” (1997: 111). Second, there is the therapy (found in the ceremonies of *mangait*, *matai*, *menindoani* and *tabak buse*), which comprises the locating of errant soul(s), and bringing them back to their corporeal self. The context is commonly a seance-like event in which a central symbolic element is a hook, expressed materially in the shape of a wooden pole with a hooked metal tip (*pangait*), and “hook stones” (*batu kait*). The central concept is that the *balien* by these means contacts the spirit world by harnessing the power and support of the spirits of the stones and by being able, with the support of the stones, to send his or her soul on a journey to the spirit world, terrestrial or heavenly, in search of the errant soul. An alternative remedy is to cause or conjure spirits who may be holding an errant soul to approach and manifest themselves so that the *balien* might then be able to snatch the captured soul from the spirits' grasp.

Finally, in cases of extended disturbance of the soul, the *balien* neutralizes the spirits involved, by initiating the victim into balienhood, and attracting and materializing the offending spirits into stones, which then become part of the initiate's equipment. This is undertaken in the ceremonies referred to as *mengadengi* and *menyarung*. The “pathogenic spirits” are “petrified and neutralized,” then pressed into the service of the novice *balien* and “used to cure others, to summon free spirits, and to carry the soul of the *balien* and bring the patient's soul to safety” (1997:101, 103). In discussing the illness attributed to spirit attack, Bernstein discusses three categories: first, internal cuts (*luka ilalam/luka sai*) which would appear to be more directly attributable to *sai*, though even here there is one affliction which is conceptualized by both Taman (*badet*) and Malay (*najam*) in similar terms; second, *badi* (a Malay term) or *duabalas jalu*, which appears to be a concept shared by both Taman and Upper Kapuas Malays and “refers specifically to the revenge by a ghost, goblin or other spirit for causing it harm” (65); what is more, in reporting the views of one Taman man about *badi* (a shared Taman/Malay concept), we find that the informant refers to the folk healer by using the Iban term “manang” and not “balien”; in his glossary Bernstein tells us that the Iban term *manang* has “entered the Taman language such that it is interchangeable with the Taman word *balien*” (175). Again, we should note that the Iban also share the Malay concept of *badi* as referring to sickness caused by vengeful spirit attack (Richards 1981: 21). This might suggest that there has been the absorption of various cultural elements from the Iban populations. In the case of the Embaloh division, this is decidedly the case. The third category of illness attributed to spirit attack is *kempunan* (or *kaponan*), which refers to “danger created by failing to complete an intended action or carry out an expected one” (1997: 67): it is assigned to misfortune attributed to spirit attack, but Bernstein notes that, far from being restricted to Taman villages, it is “an integral part of everyday culture in the entire Kapuas region” (67); it is certainly found among the Embaloh, and though they use the term *kempunan/kemponan*; more frequently they refer to this form of spiritual misfortune as *katabéan*. So, although we can distinguish elements of shamanism which are culturally Taman, there are significant parts of their healing complex which would appear to have been adopted from other sources and are so intermingled that it becomes difficult to disentangle them.

Bernstein provides us with admirable detail of the actions, practices, and equipment in *balien* ceremonies, as well as extracts of the address of *baliens* to spirits and souls. Interestingly, the proceedings in most of the ceremonies appear to be undertaken without

dancing and dramatic performance. *Bubut* is a procedure which involves “operating” on the body of the reclining patient; the *balien* remains in close physical contact with the patient during the session. In securing errant souls in the *mangait* ceremony, the *balien* uses the *pangait*, which is secured to a house post. The *balien* ties bracelets of colored beads and cast-iron bells on her (his) wrists; small statues, made from sugar cane (*sulekale*; Embaloh, *surangkale*), are offered to the spirits in exchange for the lost soul; and the *balien* uses a cloth for covering the upper body. Bernstein says the *baliens* enclose themselves with their stones “under a cloth or blanket” (119). They also rub their face and hands and the *pangait* with magical oil, which assists them in seeing the spirits. The *balien* chants during the ceremony which “not only narrates but also directs the flight of her soul to the various places where the culprit spirit has taken the patient’s soul” (120). In *malai*, the *balien* appears to use several additional items of traditional women’s clothing, usually hard objects of shell (bracelets), beads (necklace, headcloth, blouse), and metal (sword, awl, and silver girdle). Bernstein notes that *menindoani* is “an extension of *malai*” (128); again, it employs seance and chanting. The ceremony is dangerous because the *balien*’s soul travels heavenwards and comes into contact with the spirits of the dead. It would seem that the account of the *balien* as her (his) soul journeys to the land of the dead was also a vital element in rituals associated with death and treatment of the dead, which are apparently no longer performed by the Taman, or at least not in their original, extended and elaborate forms. Finally, Bernstein provides a brief summary of the *tabak buse* ceremony, which is rarely performed nowadays and “appears to be dying out” (1997: 131).

However, Bernstein also indicates that “Dancing is a symptom of the *balien*’s calling, since the *balien* dance in their ceremonies” (1997: 105), though in the case of the several ceremonies directed to securing lost souls, dancing appears not to be performed, or at least it is not described in Bernstein’s narrative of the proceedings. In similar ceremonies which I witnessed in the Embaloh region, dance was not featured nor was dramatic performance, other than seance. Dancing is, however, an important element in *mengadengi* and *menyarung* (86, 88, 90-92, 97, 132), along with chanting and offering food to spirits, capturing and turning them to stone, and piercing magically the initiate’s fingertips and eyes with metal hooks. The piercing of neophytes’ eyelids and fingertips with “barbed hooks” or “fish hooks” is also reported for the initiation of Iban shamans (Graham 1987: 83, 86). Finally, the Taman perform an augury using an areca blossom (*mayang pinang*) “to determine whether the candidate has been cured and is destined to become a *balien*” (Bernstein 1997: 98). *Mayang pinang*, though used in a different way, again forms part of the Iban *manang* complex.

Bernstein suggests that *menyarung* is “a performance, analogous to the presentation of a drama” (1997: 88), and, the *baliens* wear their finery (including special blouses [if female] and headdresses), and usually “change their dress several times” during the three-day long ceremony. Chanting and dancing are accompanied by percussive music (89), and when the stones arrive on the third night of the ceremony, the *baliens* “imitate the actions of individual animals spirits”; they “embody spirits, whose arrival is represented by the stereotyped behavior of the *baliens*.” Though this stage of the ceremony has a most serious purpose, it is combined with a “sense of wildness, humor, and absurdity” (94). As a rite of passage, *menyarung* conforms to other examples in the anthropological literature



of social structural inversion in transition rituals, characterized by “wildness and disorder” (97). Other ritual equipment in the *menyarung* ceremony comprises, among other things, an offering tray (*kalangkang*), and a decorated bamboo (*buluh ayu*), along with a large circular sun hat (*sa rung ase*).

In a later discussion of the issue of trickery in the practices of the *balien*, Bernstein, following the work of Atkinson on Wana shamanism and Barrett and Sather on the Iban *manang*, suggests that showmanship and a “sense of performative efficacy” is important in understanding the perceptions which the Taman hold of their folk healers. I think the issue of performance, and the ways in which various communities have embraced this by importing styles from neighboring communities, has played an increasing role in shamanism in certain of the Embaloh villages which I observed in the early 1970s (see below). Indeed, the performative dimensions of the ceremonial initiation of *baliens* appear to have been extended to other stages of the curing cycle as well through cultural borrowing.

Let us for a moment return to our theme of sickness causation and the adoption of cultural elements from Malay sources. Outside the category of illnesses attributed to spirit attack, which, as we have seen, illustrates a significant level of interpenetration of Malay and Taman concepts and practices, Bernstein refers to the wind as a source of illness; the wind carries (Malay) ghosts and would appear to be a Malay cultural complex, partly (or wholly?) adopted by the Taman. Finally, there is a category of illnesses attributed to internal causes, such as “dirty blood” (again apparently shared by Malay and Taman), “dirty water” (an idea “widely accepted in the region”), “heredity” (a Malay *dukun* provided a gloss for this), and “snapped nerves” for which apparently only a Malay *dukun* could provide a detailed explanation (70-73).

From the chapter on the explanations of illness it would seem that the concepts and principles of Malay and Taman folk healers have indeed become so closely intertwined that, at times, one finds it difficult to establish whether or not Bernstein is referring to a specifically Taman or Malay conceptual world. We read that “Not only Taman *baliens* but several Malay *dukuns* partake in a belief system wherein *badi* or *kempunan* may cause illness” (74). Nevertheless, despite this complex interpenetration of cultural values, Bernstein maintains that the Taman *balien* addresses illness in a different way from the Malay *dukun*, that is, by the use of stones and a complex of ritual acts associated with stones, and, ultimately, the initiation of certain afflicted individuals into balienhood in a largely female domain of values and actions.

The predisposition to balienhood seems to be again a very widely shared cultural complex in Borneo. Bernstein gives us some interesting details of the process of becoming a *balien*, in which the climax to the sequence of ritual enactments is the materialization of stones. Bernstein states that “For baliens, stones define the contours of their profession and their entire way of life,” and “Beyond the balien domain, stones, beads, and petrification are major themes in many Taman myths and legends” (1997: 100); this latter observation would hold for Embaloh culture as well, or those parts of it which survive. The *balien-to-be* is commonly afflicted by erotic dreams, apparitions or fantasies; and “other symptoms...are dreams, anxieties, or delusions concerning food, often coinciding with eating disorders and noticeable weight loss” (79). But interestingly, in referring to indigenous explanations for the origin of the *balien*, again, Malay concepts

and terms are sometimes employed (lust for the devil [*setan iblis*]; and gastric or respiratory pains [*najam*]). What is more, in the initiation ceremony itself, there are references to objects and chants which appear to be derived from Iban discourse (*buluh ayu, kalangkang, timang, sampi, mayang pinang*). Certainly in the scale and details of the acquisition and use of magical stones and their relation to present-day Taman socio-cultural life there are differences from the Iban, but there are also significant similarities (Bernstein points to some of these [eg. pp.165- 166]), and clearly the adoption of Iban terms (and concepts?). The Taman use Iban terms for chants and prayers (*timbang, sampi*); and the *buluh ayu* or decorated bamboo pole used in the *menyarung* ceremony would appear to be an Iban concept, referring to the “shades” or “images” of the living which are like clumps of bamboo and are tended by the chief of the celestial shamans; they reflect the condition of the person's soul. *Kalangkang* in Taman (and Embaloh) is presumably *kelingkang* in Iban (a suspended offering tray or basket). We have already seen that areca blossom is used ritually in both cultures, and the Iban *manang* uses, among other methods, stones (*batu penubar*) to extract sickness from the body.

Bernstein notes, referring to my studies, that the Embaloh, plausibly, have assimilated “some Iban folk-medical ideas and vocabulary items,” though, he remarks that “the differences between Iban and Taman shamanism are pervasive and immediately apparent” (164). I think that this statement, while certainly drawing our attention to various cultural differences, is overstated. Clearly there has been some adoption by Taman of Iban concepts (and practices?) as well as of Malay elements. What is more, Palin (Embaloh) communities have adopted the *balian Kantu'*, a whole complex of shamanic practices which has been absorbed and reinterpreted from the Kantu', an Iban-related population living in close physical proximity to the Embaloh/Taman. In adopting the *balian Kantu'*, some villages in the Embaloh division have embraced a much more dynamic, performative folk-healing institution than was provided by their own *balian banuka'*; there would appear to be a link here between performance and anticipated curative efficacy. We also have to bear in mind that Taman concepts and practices of healing, according to Bernstein's own data, have been significantly influenced by Malay medicine, to the extent that a major part of their medical repertoire can be traced to Malay origins. In my view, these remote people in the Upper Kapuas have been finely attuned to the possibilities and opportunities of acculturation for a not inconsiderable period of time.

In the Palin villages of Nanga Nyabau and Tanjung Karaja, I witnessed several healing ceremonies, some of them presided over by local shamans, *balian banuaka'* or *balian Embaloh*, and a then recently introduced set of shamanic practices of *balian Kantu'*. The *balian Kantu'* embraced part of the repertoire of the neighboring Kantu' people and part of local Embaloh shamanism. What was retained of local balianism was the focus on magical stones and some of the knowledge of the otherworld, but various of the methods, practices and spiritual knowledge of the Kantu' had been absorbed. Very importantly, many of the “spirits captured in stone” of the *balian Kantu'* were from, so it was said, specifically Kantu' sources, based on the different routes and realms of the otherworld of which these shamans had privileged knowledge. *Balian Kantu'* had particular knowledge of the realms beneath the water, where spirits, which the Embaloh call *tindanum*, dwell. It would also seem that the introduction of Kantu' shamanism had resulted in the involvement of more male *baliens* rather than the institution of healing

remaining a predominantly female domain. Female *balian Kantu'* usually dressed in Malay style in *baju* and *sarung*, whilst *balian banuaka'* adorned themselves in traditional Embaloh dress comprising beaded skirts and jackets (*kain manik*), headcloths (*datulu*), and hair garlands (*bua'/bunga*).

I was told that, in the past, Embaloh communities also had shamans, referred to as *balian Ketan*, whose knowledge was derived from the Bukitan or Ketan hunting-gathering communities of the Upper Kapuas whom the Embaloh had partially absorbed. I do not know to what extent Ketan values and practices had influenced and been integrated into Embaloh shamanism, but I suspect that some of the local balianism which I observed in the Palin region had been adopted from Ketan sources.

There were important differences between the ritual equipment used by the *balian Kantu'* and *balian banuaka'*, but the gradation of therapies referred to by Bernstein, though with differences in detail, was followed by both sets of *balian*. The first stage, referred to as *bubut* by Bernstein's informants, was certainly known by the Embaloh. However, in the Palin, this initial healing process was referred to as *mariri*, within which the *balian* would *maubut* as a routine therapy. Then there comes the soul journey therapy or *mangait*. I was not aware of the *malai* stage among the Embaloh, which Bernstein refers to as an extension of *mangait*. Then follows one of the most dangerous of the therapies, the *manindoani/patindoani*, several sessions of which I witnessed in the Palin region, and most of them performed by *balian Kantu'*. *Manindoani* was alternatively referred to as *mangadeng/pakadeng sumpitan* (Embaloh, *kadeng* means to stand, and therefore to erect the *sumpitan* or blowpipe). It was clear that this ceremony had become influenced by *Kantu'* therapies. The next stage in the sequence was *mamator/pamatoran*, or in its *Kantu'* variant *mangantung papan* (in Iban/Malay, to suspend a plank or board, that is, the seat of a swing). As it was explained to me, the different categories of ceremony were also based on the different ritual paraphernalia and locations used and the different methods of transporting the *balian's* soul to the otherworld and establishing contact with errant souls. In *manindoani* and *mamator*, a stringed instrument (the *binse'*) is suspended and plucked to produce a humming sound which takes the *balian* on her (or his) journey. In *manindoani*, which is held in the patient's longhouse apartment (*tindoan*), two wooden blocks (*saparu*) are also struck together to establish contact with, and the location of, the errant soul of the patient. In *mamator*, on the other hand, an ancient plate (*pingan jolo*) is used and struck rhythmically for the same purpose, and the ceremony is held out on the longhouse verandah. The equivalent ceremony for the *balian Kantu'* is *mangantung papan*, also held on the verandah, beyond the apartment, but focused on a swing/board/plank or *papan* which is suspended on the gallery. The swing is thought of as a boat which can travel to distant places to carry the soul of the *balian* as well as the spirits of the stones who provide assistance and support to the *balian*. The Iban shaman also uses a swing or swings erected in some part of the longhouse, and Graham suggests that the shaman's "ritual swinging [is] a highly condensed symbolic rite of soul retrieval" (1987: 62). In *manindoani* or *mangadeng sumpitan*, a blowpipe or spear is erected in a shrine. The shrine also consists of a wooden dish or trough (*dolang/dulang*, and in Iban/Malay), rice and other offerings, and a bowl containing *batu balian*. The *sumpitan* serves as the pathway for the *balian's* soul.

Finally, there is the initiation ceremony of the Embaloh *balian* (*manyarung*) in which the initiate is “taken hold of” or is chosen and given magical stones (*isarung*). As with the Taman, the *balian Embaloh* sits under an offering structure, the *kalangkang*, while the *balian Kantu'* uses a swing (*papan*) on which he/she sits and sleeps, in a ceremony known as *manumbang/patumbang* (to finish, complete initiation). What is more, in contrast to the *balian banuaka's* conduct in the advanced stages of therapy, the *balian Kantu'* participates much more in a physically active and dramatic syndrome, in which he or she acts out the characters of various spirits, dances to percussion accompaniment (sometimes vigorously), speaks in different voices, uses a swing to transport the soul to the otherworld, struggles with and sometimes slays the spirits of affliction, especially incubi or *antu anak*. One *balian Kantu'*, Lintung, whom I got to know quite well, was a larger than life character, a powerful personality, confident, full-voiced, and dramatic. I had the privilege of observing her methods on a number of occasions, and once in very close proximity when I was in severe pain from a kidney infection. She diagnosed spirit attack, and that I had been cut (*aluka*) by a spirit. She massaged the painful areas with various stones in a *mariri* ceremony, also using magical oil or *tantamu*. In my case, she diagnosed that I had been afflicted by an *antu*, and the specific condition was referred to as *buntan tabak*. She also used a mixture of *Kantu'* and *Embaloh* in her discourse with the spirits, and some of her most powerful stones, so she said, were derived from Malay spirits, including Abang Jawang, Abang Manjawai, Abang Jali, Dayang Talanjing and Dayang Gaga'. She usually worked together with a male *balian Kantu'*, Sagen, a quiet man who was also possessed of a strength of character, but was not overtly dramatic in behavior, unlike Lintung. Lintung had also trained several other novices, two other men and two women, in the ways of the *balian Kantu'*. I suspect that she was a powerful agent in increasing the position and influence of *balian Kantu'* in the Embaloh region, and in ensuring that various concepts and practices, also generally shared by the Iban, were incorporated into Embaloh/Palin village shamanism.

I have much appreciated reading Bernstein's important book. It has provided further stimulation to me to return to some of my field notes and to ponder yet again the identity of the Embaloh/Taman. It requires us to continue our attempts to comprehend this cultural complexity in historical perspective and in terms of an intricately interrelated cultural mosaic in the Upper Kapuas region. Certainly some of our difficulties arise from the tendency to assume that an ethnic group should be defined on the basis of shared cultural features which persist through time and delineate a bounded unit. Although it is clear from Bernstein's findings and my data that, in its specific form and scale, a defining feature of the Embaloh/Taman institution of healing was the use of magical stones, it has been influenced significantly by the values and practices of neighboring peoples, as has much else in Embaloh/Taman society and culture. What is more, there are important areas of Embaloh/Taman culture which certainly existed some 40 to 50 years ago which have all but disappeared. This does make it especially difficult to establish the specific form, contours, interrelationships and ideology of an earlier shamanism. Bernstein presents us with some interesting ideas on the possible evolution of the institution. But, given that in the early 1970s, in the Embaloh region at least, still other external influences (the shamanic practices of the *Kantu'* and the Iban) were impressing themselves upon the Embaloh, then the ever-changing nature of Embaloh/Taman culture suggests that it is very

difficult to generalize about their culture, to establish cultural boundaries, and to answer with any certainty, "Who are the Maloh?" or "the Embaloh?" or "the Taman?" or "the [Dayak] Banuaka'?"

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IRANUN AND BALANGINGI:  
GLOBALIZATION, MARITIME RAIDING AND THE BIRTH OF  
ETHNICITY

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**Introduction: An Ethnohistorical Enigma**

The aim of this paper is to explore ethnic, cultural, and material changes in the transformative history of oceans and seas, commodities and populations, mariners and ships, and raiders and refugees in Southeast Asia, with particular reference to the Sulu-Mindanao region, or the “Sulu Zone” (Warren 1998a: 9-13; 1981: xix-xxvi). The oceans and seas of Asia, East by South, from Canton to Makassar, and from Singapore to the Bird’s Head Coast of New Guinea, crossed by Iranun and Balangingi raiding and slaving ships, Southeast Asian merchant vessels and colonial warships, have been the sites of extraordinary conflicts and changes often associated with the formation of ethnic groups and boundaries, political struggles and national histories. Examining the profound changes that were taking place in the Sulu-Mindanao region and elsewhere, this paper creates an ethnohistorical framework for understanding the emerging inter-connected patterns of global commerce, long-distance maritime raiding and the formation and maintenance of ethnic identity. I begin by tracing the evolution of Iranun maritime raiding from its late eighteenth century origins to support the English supplies of tea from China, into the nineteenth century’s systematic, regional-based slaving and marauding activity (Warren 1981: 149-214). I then draw out the implications of that evolution for colonial systems of domination, development, and discourse in the context of trans-oceanic trade, cross-cultural commerce, and empire building.

For several centuries, the Sulu-Mindanao region has been known for “piracy.” In the early nineteenth century, entire ethnic groups—Iranun and Balangingi—specialized in state-sanctioned maritime raiding, attacking Southeast Asian coastal settlements and trading vessels sailing for the fabled Spice Islands, or for Singapore, Manila and Batavia. When people think of slavery in Southeast Asia, they rightly imagine tens of thousands of people stolen from their villages across the region and sent directly to work the large fisheries and wilderness reserves of the Sulu Sultanate. The insatiable demands of the sultanate for labor to harvest and procure exotic natural commodities, such as sea cucumbers and birds’ nests, reached a peak in the first half of the nineteenth century as the China trade flourished (Warren 1998a: 39-45). In this new globalized world, Jolo, Balangingi, Canton and London were all intimately inter-connected. A major feature of this emerging global economy was that over two hundred years ago, Europe and the then-emerging markets of East and Southeast Asia were tangled in a commercial and political web that was in many ways just as global as today’s world economy. Yet, another characteristic of late eighteenth and nineteenth century globalization was that it went hand

in hand with degeneration and fragmentation. Even as economies of traditional trading states, such as Sulu's, integrated, others, for example, the Sultanates of Brunei and Cotabato, disintegrated, while regional populations across Southeast Asia were fragmented, scattered and re-located in the process. This paper takes note of the massive forced migrations of the unfortunate mass of captives and slaves caught in the coqs of the Sulu economy, which shaped the destiny and demographic origins of the Iranun and Balangingi; and the overall population trends and settlement patterns of much of the Philippines and Eastern Indonesia well into the end of the nineteenth century.

Lanun. The name struck fear into the hearts and minds of riverine and coastal populations across Southeast Asia nearly two centuries ago. Also, recently, ethno-historical research has shown that where Iranun or Lanun maritime raiding is concerned, old traditions die hard. The terrors of the sudden harsh presence of these well-armed alien raiders live on in the oral recollections, reminiscences, popular folk epics and dramas of the victims' descendants in the Philippines, Indonesia, and Malaysia, to this day (Frake 1998: 41-54; Sandin 1967: 63-65, 127; Warren 1998a: 44). Only in this one part of the globe, in the latter part of the eighteenth century, did Europeans find "piracy" flourishing extensively; pursued as a vocation or calling, not by individuals, as was the case with most of those who had followed the profession of buccaneering in the West, but by entire communities and states with whom it came to be regarded as the most honorable course of life—a profession.

The Iranun were frequently the enemies of every community and nation from the Bird's Head Coast of New Guinea and the Moluccas (among the most productive spice islands of the Netherlands East Indies) to mainland Southeast Asia. Over two centuries ago, a Buginese writer chronicled that "Lanun" in double-decked *prahus* up to 90 or 100 feet long, rowed by perhaps one hundred slaves and armed with intricately wrought swivel-cannon cast in bronze, were plundering villages and robbing Malay fishers in the Straits of Malacca and the Riau Islands. Among other victims of their marauding were the coastal inhabitants and fishers of Thailand and Vietnam (Ahmad 1982). They also raided in the Philippines, where the central and northern sections of the archipelago were under the control of Spain (Warren 1981: 147-56, 165-81). Iranun squadrons regularly plundered villages and captured slaves. Their exploits and conquests had the immediate effect of both disrupting and destroying traditional trade routes. Chinese junks and traders were driven off from states such as Brunei and Cotabato, the former masters of the Iranun, robbing parts of the archipelago of the traditional trade and exchange of spices, birds' nests, camphor, rattans, and other items (Warren 1981: 152-53). The Iranun earned a fearsome reputation in an era of extensive world commerce and economic growth between the West and China. Writing in the late 1840s, the Dominican chronicler and public intellectual, Francisco Gainza, described the fearless maritime populations that lived along the eastern shore of Illana Bay, South Mindanao, who called themselves "Iranun":

This large population, designated by some geographers with the name of the Illana [Iranun] Confederation, in reality does not form a single political body except to defend its independence when it is found threatened.... They live loaded with weapons; they reside in dwellings artfully encircled by barricades...and they maintain their bellicose spirit by continuously engaging



in robbery and theft. Through piracy they strive to gather slaves for aggrandizement and to provide their subsistence.... In short, this particular society can only be considered a great lair of robbers, or a nursery for destructive and ferocious men (Bernaldez 1857: 46-47).

For late eighteenth and nineteenth century Europeans, the problems of Iranun and Balangingi marauding and slave-raiding were complicated by their diverse modes of operation and geography. Whatever the exact cause(s) for the sudden advent of large-scale, long-range Iranun maritime raiding, the geographical setting and opportunity or timing were right for these emergent seafaring peoples. The innumerable islands of Southeast Asia had been home to generations of people of "Malay" origin who had progressively converted to Islam from the fifteenth century, and engaged in trading, raiding and warfare before the arrival of Europeans in the sixteenth century. Early western explorers, travelers, and merchants recorded their exploits. More than two centuries later, at the height of the China tea trade, marauding and maritime slave-raiding were still going strong; stronger than ever before. The greatest threat to seaborne traders and the coastal populace came from the Iranun who operated from the mangrove-lined inlets, bays, and reef-strewn islets in the waters around the southern Philippines and Borneo, especially the Sulu and Celebes seas. They preyed on an increasingly rich shipping trade of the Spanish, Dutch and English, and of Bugis and Chinese merchants, and seized their cargoes of tin, opium, spices, munitions, and slaves as the merchants headed to and from the trading centers of Manila, Makassar, Batavia, and Penang.<sup>1</sup>

Expeditions sent against the raiders promised no lasting results because the points to which they could retire were innumerable, and often off the charts. The Spanish officer, Don Jose Maria Halcon, in providing naval intelligence about Iranun and Balangingi "piracy" to an English officer at Manila in 1838, compared their haunts to extensive "nests or banks of rats" where they could fly from one refuge to another with impunity (Blake to Maitland, 13 August 1838: 4). Europeans, he believed, could never succeed in annihilating them. A decade earlier, Edward Presgrave, Registrar of Imports and Exports at the newly founded British settlement of Singapore, astutely pointed out one of the major reasons why Iranun maritime raiding was concentrated in that particular region of the world. He noted with some trepidation, "that piracy does exist to a very great extent even in the neighbourhood of our settlement is notorious ... the most casual view of a chart of these seas is sufficient to convince anyone that no corner of the globe is more favourably adapted for the secure and successful practice of piracy" (Presgrave to Murchison, December 5, 1828). Hence, geography as destiny was a sinister friend of the Iranun and Balangingi.

An ethnohistorically enigmatic case, the rise of Iranun-Balangingi raiding requires contextualizing within a cross-regional hemispheric framework. The period at the end of the eighteenth century was commonly recognized in Southeast Asian waters as the "Age of the Iranun." For seventy years or more, the fiercely independent raiders sallied forth from their bases in the Sulu and Celebes seas, and other parts of the archipelago, to prey upon the burgeoning inter-continental traffic sailing between Europe, India, and China,

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<sup>1</sup>For an important study of how Southeast Asia became a crucial part of a global commercial system between the fifteenth and mid-seventeenth centuries, see Reid (1993).

and the regional traffic from Penang and the ports of Batavia and Makassar to the east. The coasts of Borneo, Sumatra, and Sulawesi harbored Iranun communities that specialized in the trade. But Iranun raiders continued to think of Mindanao and Sulu as their homeland and main bases. An ethnohistory of the late eighteenth century which focuses on the Iranun as maritime raiders or “Malay pirates” does not, for the most part, fit into conventional categories of historical analysis in the study of Southeast Asia. The Iranun-Balangingi presence in that critical half-century was so bound up with world capitalist developments in Southeast Asia as to be almost inseparable, especially between the time of the establishment of the trading outpost of Penang in 1786, and the destruction of Balangingi in 1848. Similarly, the Sulu Sultanate's role is not intelligible if it is simply represented as a “pirate” state, the major haunt and outfitting center of the Iranun. Nor can it be divorced intelligibly from global-local trade and economic growth between the West and Asia in the era of “regional time” under consideration here (Warren 1998a: 9-12, 39-49, 58-64).

As in the case of my book, *The Sulu Zone 1768-1898*, the only solution is to develop a more nuanced framework based on global-local interconnections and inter-dependencies within which Iranun-Balangingi slave-raiding and marauding can be properly situated. Hence, in the case of the Sultanates of Cotabato and Sulu, cross-cultural trade and exchange involving China and the West and other related interactions may be seen to be major causative factors in the Iranun's sudden ascendancy, and in how and why the Sulu Zone developed its particular social and cultural forms. Greater scope must be created for understanding internal social and cultural transformation(s) and inter-regional relations, as expressed in the form of common events, entangled commodities, patterns of consumption and desire and the construction of ethnicities, thereby linking slavery and slave-raiding to the impact of capitalism and colonialism, and the rise of the Iranun. In this study, this viewpoint will be a fundamental frame of reference. No ethnic group, even those as apparently misunderstood as the Iranun and Balangingi, can be studied in isolation from the maritime world(s) around and beyond them (Warren 1978: 477-90). This ethnohistory of these “Malay pirates” will add to our view of how the maritime societies in which they lived took shape, and provide a better understanding of the cultural geographies and maritime spaces of the Southeast Asian world as a whole—as it was progressively integrated into the modern world system.

### **Impact: Cultures in Conflict**

At the end of the eighteenth century, the Iranun raids had a great, indeed, decisive, impact on Southeast Asia. The Iranun and Balangingi have been rightly blamed for demographic collapse, loss of agricultural productivity, and economic decline, as well as the break-up of the Dutch stranglehold in the Straits of Malacca and Eastern Indonesia. But, the driving force for this terrifying process was still global and economic: the Iranun profited from Spanish, Dutch and English internal colonial problems and expansion, but were not the cause of these problems. The Iranun usually came a poor second to the great power rivalries and concerns in the priorities of the Dutch and British colonial rulers, and they were sometimes even welcomed as allies in their macro-contact warfare and regional struggles (Warren 1981: 162). Until 1848, colonial measures taken against the Iranun and Balangingi were often perceived by colonized subjects in the Netherlands Indies and the

Philippines to be half-hearted. At the end of the eighteenth century, by demonstrating the ineffectiveness of Dutch and Spanish power, the Iranun were hastening its decline.

What exactly was the motivation of Iranun marauding and slave-raiding and what were the underlying causes? Was it simply the lure of booty and slaves, or were there deeper motives that encouraged so many Iranun-Maranao and Samal-speaking males to embark on a life of roving and plunder? Iranun maritime raiding proved economically and politically useful in the global-regional competition between local Malayo-Muslim states and European maritime powers—powers that did not hesitate to channel considerable naval and military equipment into it through key entrepôt such as Cotabato and Sulu. European diplomats had little success in separating global-regional trade from warfare in the eastern hemisphere and wars continued throughout the Asian region. Indeed, because it was usually the weaker naval power, the English East India Company resorted to Iranun privateering for commerce raiding against its Dutch counterpart. It is not widely recognized that the Iranun played leading roles in a region-wide drama of many acts that pitted colonial expansionist forces against one another as they attempted to establish political and commercial hegemony in Southeast Asia—in the Straits of Malacca, around the coasts of Borneo, and especially among the smaller islands beyond Sulawesi. Feeling the Iranun squeeze, the Dutch East Indies Company evacuated the bulk of their forces from Riau just opposite the Singapore-Johore coast; an area which “Lanun” raiders conquered from the Dutch in 1787 (Matheson 1973: 583-87; Riouw, 1787-1788: 20/3).

An analysis of Iranun raiding highlights the fact that most attacks took place in the waters of local principalities and developing colonies—ports, towns, and villages—close to the coast. Slave taking and theft were the main motives. Their mobility, kinship, and diplomatic connections, and their capability to either protect or disrupt trade, enabled the Iranun to forge regional-wide links, a powerful fluid political confederation of sorts, that could make or break local states and destroy regional trade networks and population centers (Warren 1981: 150-51; Mednick 1965: 47). James Brooke, the self-styled White Rajah of Sarawak, who was an arch political rival and sworn enemy of the Iranun, interviewed the commanders of an “Illanun” fleet in 1841. He remonstrated “with them on the crime of piracy,” and described their wide ranging piratical exploits as a “devastating system” (Brooke to Stanley, October 4, 1852).

In Sulu, the ethnohistorian can see at work the same extrinsic factors that had given rise to “piracy” and slave-raiding elsewhere around the region. But here they play themselves out in the “zone” in a somewhat different manner, owing to specific cultural-ecological factors and socio-political circumstances which arose from well-established patterns of ethnic inter-relations, stratification, and mobility. The Iranun and Balangingi needed a primary center from which to operate, somewhere to hide, and a means of converting their “spoils,” namely slaves, into common purpose currency in the form of “modern” trade commodities—especially firearms and textiles. To be successful, they also required a degree of cooperation from various indigenous rulers and colonial powers, or at least for local authorities on the spot to sometimes turn a blind eye and not take effective action.

At the end of the seventeenth century, the Dutch, a new global maritime power, emerged along the cold grey coasts of the North Sea to challenge the mercantile supremacy of both the Spanish and the English throughout the ensuing centuries (Boxer

1973; Glamman 1958; Blusse 1986). The larger international rivalries of these colonial powers—principally the British and Dutch—culminated in a protracted struggle for commercial dominance in the seas of Southeast Asia as both nations were inevitably drawn into the macro-contact wars of the eighteenth century. In this context, international economic and political considerations were often hidden from view within the larger confidential diplomatic manoeuvrings of the Great European powers and their respective trading cartels.

What, for instance, can be made of the activities of the late eighteenth century English country traders? The powerful British East India Company of the period was instrumental in introducing a tacit system, dominated by both the indiscriminate sale of arms and opium and intelligence gathering, to assist the Bengal Company against its Dutch and Asian competitors (Furber 1951: 160; Parkinson 1937: 141; Greenberg 1951: 16; Singh 1966: 1-3). The picture that emerges of Southeast Asia toward the end of the eighteenth century is one of a vast entrepôt for the China trade and for foreign influence over almost every aspect of life including politics, economics, religion, and the social fabric. A large proportion of the population, including women, in Sulu, Brunei, Cotabato, Bone, Aceh, and elsewhere across the archipelago, were drawn into the international Chinese market economy. Important trade decisions were based on analyses of economic and political intelligence culled from Europe as well as ships' logs and journals of private English country traders who were circulating wealth and sowing seeds of discontent in the farthest outposts of the Dutch trading empire. As the small states of the fabled spice islands struggled to stand up to the Dutch (with their own political and economic bloc), the British East India Company took advantage of political instability, production shortages and sustained losses in one area—Sulawesi and the Moluccas—to eliminate the Dutch as competitors, while profiting in another—the Straits of Malacca.

European commercial expansion and geo-political rivalry at the end of the eighteenth century promoted the international trade of Sulu and its Bornean dependencies, and made the Iranun "piracy" what it was. In the late 1780s, the Dutch East India Company was at its lowest ebb. The appearance of English East India Company "country traders," like Thomas Forrest, paved the way for the eventual British takeover because of the contacts they established with local rulers in the Moluccas, Sulawesi, Sumatra, Mindanao, and Sulu (Forrest 1779). As the eighteenth century ended, the activities of Forrest and his fellow ship captains trading in war stores, coupled with the growing numbers of dreaded Iranun, meant an inevitable increase in shipping losses with yet more coastal raids throughout the Moluccas, the Celebes Sea, and the Malacca Straits.

However, had Iranun mercenaries always operated according to the dictates of the English, the tacit "privateering" system of sorts might well have functioned in the interest of the British and local Malay rulers. In practice, Iranun raiders proved too difficult to control, and, once away from the semi-official representatives of various Malayo-Muslim states, their raiding and plundering was frequently indiscriminate. They tended also to prey on the ports, towns and vessels of so-called friendly European nations, not just those of the "enemy," as Francis Light, the founder of the British East India Company factory and settlement at Penang, learned, much to his dismay, in the early 1790s, and as did his counterparts in the Moluccas a decade later (Light to G.G., 22 December, 1790; Clodd 1948: 75; Bonney 1971: 90-92).

To the Spanish, the Iranun, irrespective of whether there were war or peace around the globe, were simply the archenemy—"moros," "piratas," and "contrabandistas" (Warren 1998b: 3: 39; Frake 1980: 314-18; Mallari 1986: 257). However, because of Spain's involvement in the Seven Years War, the British invaded Manila in 1762. Taking full advantage of British intervention and friendship, Cotabato and Sulu-based Iranun maritime raiding increased. Avid for the gunpowder weapons of the English, which were readily obtained at Jolo, the Iranun descended on coastal settlements throughout the central and northern parts of the Philippines, and even ventured inland, to pillage and burn churches and towns. Rampaging from one end of the archipelago to the other, they carried out "a pattern of tragedy so recurrent as to become almost tedious" (Owen 1984: 27), as particular communities were repeatedly battered with a vengeance. The Iranun preyed upon cargo-laden sailing vessels, government merchantmen, and cruisers, disrupting inter-island and regional trade, and they turned Philippine waters into a vast Muslim lake. Between 1762 and 1848, no one in the Philippines was safe because of the global geopolitical drama that had begun to unfold in a series of acts involving the Seven Years War, Britain's entry into the China market, the sudden rise of the Sulu Sultanate as a redistributive entrepôt for the Canton trade, and the widespread advent of the Iranun slavers (Warren 1998a: 9-19; 1981: 252-55). A Spanish writer described the wholesale misery inflicted over the next eighty-six years by the Iranun on the inhabitants of the archipelago as a chapter in the history of Spain in the Philippines "written in blood and tears and nourished in pain and suffering" (Fernandez 1979: 203).

Certainly no ethnohistory of the Iranun and Balangingi since the late eighteenth century, no description of the meaning and constitution of their "cultures," and no anthropologically informed historical analysis of the transformation of their societies can be undertaken without reference to the advent of the China tea trade and the rise of the Sulu Sultanate; and the integral role in both those processes of Iranun and Balangingi slave-raiding—a role which was so forcefully felt by most indigenous groups in island Southeast Asia. Yet, despite their major historical importance, the Iranun and Balangingi, the infamous "moros" still remain among the least known and most misunderstood ethnic groups in the modern history of Southeast Asia.

While there are occasional references to them in earlier histories, travel accounts, and official reports, recent historians have had to burrow deeper and deeper into the sources at the Archivo de Indias, the Rijksarchief, the Public Records Office, and various archives in Southeast Asia, especially the Philippine National Archive, in order to reconstruct a detailed ethnohistorical account of these maritime peoples and their relationships to one another. As I have shown in *The Sulu Zone 1768-1898*, sources are of critical importance, but they are of little value unless the historian knows what to do with them (Warren 1998a: 51-58). The main impetus for fashioning a new understanding of the Iranun and Balangingi past has been the radical change in perspective that some historians have adopted to study the region's recent history and its continuing integration within the world capitalist economy. These changes in perspective attempt to combine the historiographical approaches and ideas of the Annales historians with the conceptual framework of world system theorists and solid ethnography (Burke 1990; Baran 1957; Frank 1978; Wallerstein 1974). Here, I pay particular attention to the path-breaking book Eric Wolf wrote in the early 1980s, *Europe and the People Without History* (1982). Wolf

argues that no community or nation is or has been an island, and the world, a totality of interconnected processes or systems, is not, and never has been, a sum of self-contained human groups and cultures. The modern world-system, as it developed, never confined global capitalism to the political limitations of single states or empires. Wolf's postulations, if accepted, imply that an analysis of global capitalism not limited to the study of single states or empires will be more complete and, in certain ways, less static. The point is that history consists of the interaction of variously structured and geographically distributed social entities which mutually reshape each other. The transformation of Britain and China and the rise of the Iranun in modern Southeast Asian history cannot be separated: each is the other's history.

#### **“Histories”**

The change in perspective(s) to which I have been referring has also meant moving away from the “Eurocentric” history which had been practiced by colonial and postcolonial historians. This perspective was first challenged as early as the 1930s by J.C. Van Leur, who advocated an “Asia-centric” history of Southeast Asia (Van Leur 1967). By the mid 1950s, in the new histories being written, despite some historians following Van Leur's direction—a direction in which the Iranun and Balangingi could have been seen as subjects worthy of consideration in their own right—the marauders still tended to fade into the background in the face of the European presence. In reviewing the writing of these new historians on the “Malay” or “moro” system of raiding, trading, slavery and political organization, it is apparent that beginning with the latter part of the eighteenth century, the Iranun and Balangingi world was still usually “observed from the deck of the ship, the ramparts of the fortress, and the high gallery of the trading-house” and consequently, this world remained “grey and undifferentiated” (Van Leur 1967: 153, 261).

In the early 1980s, publication of *The Sulu Zone 1768-1898* enabled us to begin to understand the momentous changes which took place in the Mindanao-Sulu region and across Southeast Asia at the end of the eighteenth century. And whereas colonial officials and historians had seen the marauding of the Iranun and Balangingi throughout the island world as evidence of the decadence and decline of the Sulu Sultanate, their activities can now be viewed as an integral part of the Sultanate's economic vitality, as a major participant in the world capitalist economy, as they were drawn into contact with the West and the China trade. The numerous islands of the Sulu archipelago and coastal stretches of Southeast Asia were home to generations of Iranun and Balangingi “pirates” several centuries ago; their exploits were recorded by Spanish, Dutch and English naval officers, colonial officials, friars and merchant traders, and were often woven, myth-like, into the fabric of local folk tales and colonial national histories. These memories and histories commemorated attempts to “eradicate” the great Muslim threats of “piracy” and slavery and invariably failed to place Iranun maritime raiding activity in a proper context. Past and present historians of the colonial period, in considering the Iranun-Balangingi slave raids, have uncritically adopted the interpretation perpetrated by interests “on the right side of the gunboat” (Warren 1981: 147). They have relied heavily on sources inherently antagonistic to the nature of the society and values of the Iranun and Samal raiders, such as the hostile accounts of the Spanish friars, the printed reports of Dutch and English punitive expeditions, and Sir Stamford Raffles' and James Brooke's influential reports on

“Malay Piracy.” In these Euro-centered histories, which dwell on the activity of the Iranun and Balangingi at length, the term “piracy” is conspicuously present in the titles (Barrantes 1878; Bernaldez 1857; Montero y Vidal 1894-1895; Tarling 1963).

In an effort to lay out the wide-ranging activities of these sea raiders—activities which extended from the Bay of Bengal to the Timor and Arafura seas—and to outline the structural lines of the basic system of social and political organization which united them, it is necessary to piece together a description of their way of life from a variety of sources. These include travelers’ accounts, like that of Thomas Forrest, the captivity narratives of Ebenezer Edwards and Luis de Ibanez y Garcia, and oral recollections, as well as the vitally important statements or *testimonio* of fugitive captives and Iranun and Balangingi prisoners (Parliamentary Papers, 1851, Vol. LVI, PG. I [1390]; de Groot, 112-113; Rutter 1986: 45-48; Ibanez y Garcia 1859; Warren 1981: 297-98, 299-315). The captivity narratives of Ebenezer Edwards and Luis de Ibanez y Garcia with the Balangingi, while highlighting motif images of the “lanun” and “moros” as barbaric and uncivilized, also contain important personal introductions to the subject of captivity itself, and to the raiders’ warlike activities. Significantly, Luis de Ibanez y Garcia, who traveled with the celebrated Balangingi leader, Taupan, nine years after the destruction of his people’s stronghold at Balangingi, offers a bird’s-eye view of how his small band of seafarers roamed the Visayan Sea in search of slaves, plunder, and, revenge. The historical record rarely provides us with sufficient insight into the career and fate of individual leaders like Taupan, who achieved lasting fame through his daring exploits, travels and stubborn resistance against Spanish warships.<sup>2</sup> However, the orally transmitted local history of such men in the Mindanao-Sulu region also provides the historian with additional rare information about their activities and followers, and detailed knowledge about aspects of global-local trade and slave-raiding.

The historian can, by also studying the statements of fugitive captives and captured slave raiders, comprehend the forces that shaped the way of life of the Iranun and Balangingi in the early nineteenth century and explore the uprooted lives and fate of those captured and enslaved. The statements of the fugitive captives [*cautivos fugados*] carry a self-affixed stamp of authenticity. Most statements and captivity narratives have a first person observer-narrator—an authentic voice of experience—attempting to present a narrative that usually shows similarities with other accounts dealing with the same subject(s), such as the dominant ways of organizing maritime life, slave-raiding and marauding, and the forms and allocation of labor and whether these fit into a widely accepted social and cultural pattern. Spanish and Dutch naval officers and colonial administrators, in their interrogations, invariably dealt in part one with the biography and circumstances of capture, the “event” or “plot,” which usually pivoted or turned on seizure by the sea raiders or a shipwreck. The second part was generally descriptive, recounting the captivity experience and the social organization of raiding from the “inside,” drawing a broader sketch of the society and culture of the Iranun and Balangingi (Warren 1998a: 33-35).

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<sup>2</sup>A particularly valuable biographical sketch of Panglima Taupan is provided by Margarita De Los Reyes Cojuangco in her 1993 history of the Samal diaspora, spanning four generations of exiles.

However, Haraway warns the historian about the difficulties of assembling an ethnohistorical mosaic from sources such as specific statements of fugitive captives and slave raiders and the danger of “appropriating the vision of the less powerful while claiming to see from their positions” (Haraway 1991: 191). In other words, the historian must question the authority of these statements and narratives regarding insistence on “truth” and the exercise of historical representation. What is of central concern here is the historiographical issue and problem of how to create a point of entry or angle of vision from below, and whether a historian can resurrect voice(s) and/or reconstruct the world(s) of maritime raiders and slaves, employing a nuanced ethnohistorical methodology (Warren 1998a: 51-58; 1998c: 183-199).

### **Framing and Representation**

I now want to shift the discussion away from the sources to the historiographical problem of “Malay piracy” and the issue of historical representation. The heartland of “piracy” in Southeast Asia has been considered for centuries to be in the waters around the southern Philippines and Borneo, especially the Sulu and Celebes seas. The various Malayo-Muslim peoples who dominated the archipelago flanking mainland Southeast Asia, including what is now the southern Philippines, the east Malaysian state of Sabah, and the Sultanate of Brunei, engaged in maritime raiding and warfare before the arrival of Europeans in the sixteenth century. But it was the intrusion of these alien traders, Christian missionaries and colonizers—the Spaniards in the Philippines, the British along the coasts of Malaya and later, North Borneo, the Portuguese and then the Dutch in the East Indies (now Indonesia)—that, because of their fatal impact in destroying traditional trade routes and triggering commercial decline, seemingly created a kind of pirate cult. Nicholas Tarling, the principal advocate of the decay and decline theory, described it in these terms:

The old empires decayed, but were not replaced, and within their boundaries marauding communities appeared, led by adventurous sharifs, or deprived aristocracies, or hungry chiefs. The invasion of the Europeans did not destroy the native states, but it destroyed the dynamic of the state system; it reduced the old capitals from splendour to poverty and their chiefs from heroism to ambivalence, from constructiveness to stagnation (Tarling 1963: 8).

This historical representation of the character, culture, and place of “Malay piracy” in the history of the Sulu Sultanate was widely accepted until quite recently. Most Spanish, British and Dutch colonial and post-colonial studies examined the history of European policy towards the Sulu Zone rather than the history of the zone itself, with its global-local interconnections and interdependencies. In particular, historians, of whom Nicholas Tarling and Cesar Majul are the most notable, have studied in great detail both British and Spanish efforts to suppress Sulu “piracy” (Majul 1973). Unlike his colonial predecessors, Tarling questioned the use of the term “piracy” to describe the slave-raiding and marauding activities of the Iranun and Balangingi. He suggested that in the eyes of those who pursued it, marauding came to be regarded as an honorable activity. But this somewhat tentative shift in viewpoint added little to our understanding of the place of slave-raiding in the statecraft and social structure of the Sulu Zone. Tarling conformed to the theory handed down from Raffles and Brooke that “piracy,” the stealthy nemesis of



free trade and British dominion, was a sign of decay and decline in the Malayo-Muslim world, and that various Sultans and chiefs had turned to marauding because their traditional local-regional trading activities and networks had been disrupted by the growing commercial strength and interference of Europeans. Aspiring empire builders, such as Stamford Raffles and James Brooke, had every reason to characterize the neighboring territories they hoped to rule or dominate in trade as areas of decadence, turmoil and decline, and whether or not they were sympathetic to colonial rule, later historians generally tended to adopt their view uncritically.

In the case of the historiography of the Sulu Sultanate, the Raffles' view was first seriously challenged by Anne Reber who traced the genesis of a historical misconception about British writings on "Malay piracy" with particular reference to Sulu. She argued that the commercial expansion of the English East India Company into China, with the likes of Dalrymple, Rennell and Forrest fanning out over the eastern archipelago in search of suitable commodities for the Canton market, brought with it a pronounced shift to sponsored marauding in the Sulu archipelago (Reber 1966). In other words, by the end of the eighteenth century, it was European trade linked to China, and the insatiable desire for tea—a singular Chinese commodity—that made Iranun and Balangingi maritime raiding what it was. Tarling maintained that this global economic expansion, "scarcely reached these *piratical* regions, despite the efforts of Alexander Dalrymple and others" (Tarling 1963: 9). More recently, I have shown the inextricable relationships between maritime slave-raiding, the economic and social structure of the Sulu Zone, and its global-regional links to the world capitalist economy (Warren 1981: XI-XVI, 252-255; 1998a: 9-24; 58-64). Whereas Tarling and others had seen the marauding of the Iranun and Balangingi throughout Southeast Asia as evidence of decadence of the Sulu Sultanate, slave-raiding can now be read as an integral part of the sultanate's remarkable economic activity with the West and China. Iranun and Balangingi marauding was not the result of some sort of "decay." Indeed, I demonstrated that the Sulu Zone was an area of great economic vitality. This vitality was based on global-local links to the China trade. Commodities—marine and jungle products found within the zone—were highly desired on the Canton market, and, as Sulu chiefs prospered through regulation of the redistributive economy, they required more and more labor to collect and process these products. It was the Iranun and Balangingi, clients of the Sultan of Sulu, who roamed about the island world in their swift raiding boats, finding slaves to meet this burgeoning labor demand. In the context of the world capitalist economy and the advent of the China trade, it should be understood that the slave-raiding activities of the Iranun and Balangingi, so readily condemned in blanket terms as "piracy" by European colonial powers and later historians, were a means of consolidating the economic base and political authority of the Sultan and coastal chiefs of Sulu, and which functioned as an integral, albeit critical, part of the emerging statecraft and socio-political structure(s) of the zone. Thus, viewed from within the Sulu world of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the term "piracy" is difficult to sustain. However, in its practical devastating effects, particularly when Iranun and Balangingi attacks were systematically directed against colonial coastal settlements and shipping, the Spanish, Dutch and English authorities could hardly be blamed for reacting to it in these terms, despite, from the late eighteenth century onwards, the word itself being bound up with larger colonial strategic implications and resonances.

A different sort of “decline theory” was proposed by Cesar Majul, and others following him, with respect to the history of the Magindanao (Cotabato) and Sulu Sultanates. For a period of four centuries, the Spanish attempted to colonize and Christianize Mindanao and areas of the Sulu Archipelago. The earliest Spanish officials and friars referred to the various major ethnic groups—Tausug, Magindanao, Iranun and Balangingi—as “moros.” Frake notes that the word “moro,” both in Spanish and in languages spoken by Philippine Christians, quickly became not only a religious label but an ethnic one as well; a label for social identity to which cultural behaviors, especially a propensity for “piracy,” and even physical features could be ascribed (Frake 1980: 314-18; 1998, 42-43).

The pejorative label “moro” provided a major intellectual and spiritual justification for Spanish retaliation and religious incursion against Mindanao and Sulu over the ensuing four centuries. Until recently, it was associated with ignorance, depravity and treachery. The label “moro,” by turning history into myth, in a struggle between civilization and “savagism,” connoted Muslim people(s) in the Sulu Archipelago and Mindanao, who were considered in the eyes of most Spaniards and Filipinos to be savages or demons, and pirates and slavers (Warren 1998b: 39). Thus, between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, Spaniards and others viewed Sulu's relations with Spain in the Philippines in terms of a pseudo-historical cycle, the “moro-wars cycle,” according to which “moro-piracy” led to the repeated enslavement and humiliation of Christian Filipinos, which in turn called for some form of consistent retaliation at once “punitive, imperial, and morally imperative” (Kcjob 1982: 346).

Majul in his arguably classic, *The Muslims in the Philippines*, reiterated this version of cultural confrontation and “Sulu piracy” while romanticizing it to a certain extent as a holy war—*jihad*—between the “moros” and the Iberian infidel invaders, who slaughtered their kith and kin and blasphemed their sacred faith (Majul 1973: 107-316). Though religious zealotry verging on fanaticism certainly existed in both camps, such an overall interpretation remains too simplistic to account for the dynamic of cultural-ecological transformation and the multi-faceted changes that occurred in the Mindanao-Sulu region over more than four centuries. It says little about the political economy and social organization of “moro” maritime raiding in general, or Iranun and Balangingi slave-raiding in particular, and the processes of engagement with world commerce and economic growth. Iranun and Balangingi marauding at the end of the eighteenth century, as has already been noted, was primarily a consequence of the onset of the China trade and never was a strictly Islamic enterprise. It was heavily commanded by Philippine and “Malay” renegades in search of fortune and a new way of life, and it used many European merchants, including Spaniards, for intermediaries who frequently traded war stores for the spoils and deployed the captives' ransom money and labor for their private commerce.

Hence, two perspectives have dominated the historiography of the Sulu Zone and have tended to obscure the complex but integrated patterns of global-regional trade, maritime raiding and slavery. On the one hand, the “decay theory” has presented Iranun and Balangingi marauding as a symptom of the decline of traditional trade and the fragmentation of the *kerajaan* or *negara*, the Malayo-Muslim maritime state. On the other, Sulu slave-raiding is interpreted within the framework of the “moro wars” cycle as retaliation against Spanish colonial incursion and Christianity—a holy confrontation.

Both perspectives have underestimated and misunderstood the precise relationship between slavery, the advent of Iranun and Balangingi maritime raiding and the rise of the Sulu Sultanate in the years between 1768 and 1848, all set within the wider framework of the intersections of the world capitalist economy, involving both China and the West when Sulu became a crucial part of the global economic system.

### **Ethnicity, “Culture,” and History**

Global-regional trade spawned slavery in the Sulu Zone. The enormous increase in external trade which affected state formation and economic integration made it necessary to import captives from outside the zone to bolster the labor force population. As commodities from China, Europe and North America flowed to Jolo, the Tausug aristocrats thrived, and the Iranun and Balangingi, strong, skilled maritime people who were the scourge of Southeast Asia, raiding in 90-foot long *prahu*, emerged. The sea and tropical forests were the life force of the sultanate, where tens of thousands of *banyaga* (slaves) labored annually to provide the exotic specialties for the China trade. The arrival of captive slaves on a hitherto unprecedented scale for intensive labor or skilled work, and their gradual “disappearance” through processes of cultural accommodation and incorporation into the lower levels of Tausug and Samal society, was central to the development and expansion of the Sulu state and the redistributive system.

By arguing for a broader global economic perspective, interesting complex questions are raised about what constitutes our conception of “culture.” In the period under consideration, while thousands of captive people were allocated throughout the zone each year as slaves, the borderlines of race, “culture,” and ethnicity were increasingly blurred by the practice of incorporation and pluralism. I maintain in *The Sulu Zone 1768-1898* that the Tausug and Samal not only lived in an increasingly interdependent world but that they also lived in an emergent multi-ethnic society, the multicultural inhabitants of which came from many parts of eastern Asia and elsewhere in the world. How are identities—single or multiple—forged? What symbols, rituals and perceptions create a strong sense of collective identity? The traditional assumption of a “culture” as enduring over time despite outward changes in people’s lives and value orientations is both “empirically misleading and deeply essentialist” (Keesing 1991: 46). As Roger Keesing noted, there is no part of eastern Asia where both the production and reproduction of “culture” and cultural meaning can be characterized as unproblematic, without glossing over or disguising radical changes in relation to ethnicity, power, and hierarchy that have differentially affected states like Sulu and urban-rural settings like the zone (Keesing 1991: 46). In terms of not exaggerating the boundedness, discreteness and homogeneity of a way of life taking shape in the zone at the end of the eighteenth century, I have increasingly recognized the power of language, memory and commodities as symbols in the construction of new identities and communities.

Filling a conspicuous gap in the literature, this aspect of my ethnohistorical research explored the formation and maintenance of ethnicity in light of tightening ties to the global-capitalist economy and the wider world of *darul Islam*. The question of the conditions under which these new identities were formed, and ethnicity accomplished, creating a semblance of cultural homogeneity throughout the zone, especially in the first half of the nineteenth century, has aroused considerable subsequent interest. I stressed in *The Sulu Zone 1768-1898* the inextricable relationship between slave-raiding, forced

migration, “homeland” and identity as being critical factors that led to the emergence of new communities and diasporas.

The expression of “ethnicity” was suddenly recognized as being bound up with the accelerating process of global-regional trade, especially in the classic case of the Balangingi Samal. The only historical work which deals with the Balangingi does not consider their ethnic origins (Tarling 1963: 146-85). Avoidance of this question presents a deceptive picture of a static “society” with a homogeneous population. Samal groups in the Sulu archipelago were emergent populations; the success of the Balangingi as slave raiders was due in large measure to their ethnic heterogeneity. Captives’ statements present a picture of Samal populations undergoing constant readjustments until 1848. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, there was an infusion of ethnically diverse captive people among the Balangingi—mostly through demands for their labor on raiding *prahus* and in the *tripang* and pearl fisheries—that complicated the identity of the Samal populations.

Many of the captives or slaves who were brought to Balangingi turned Samal—borrowing language, religion, and customs. Insufficient data prevents a precise reconstruction of the overall size and origin of Samal populations at that time. What information there is for the nineteenth century has survived in the statements of fugitive captives; these show that the incorporation of foreign elements took place on a large scale, especially in the second and third generation. In 1836, it was estimated that only one-tenth of the male population were “true” Balangingi Samal; the remainder were *renegados* (renegades), more particularly Visayan and Tagalog or other captives (Warren 1978: 477-90). The Tausug economy was expanding rapidly enough at this time for the Samal population to absorb larger and larger numbers of captives. An apparently conscious recruitment policy of the *datus* changed the numerical structure and ethnic composition of Samal groupings in less than two generations (1820-48). Barth considers a 10 per cent rate of incorporation in a generation drastic (Barth 1969: 22). By those standards, the flexibility of the system was incredible. Village populations in 1836 appear to have risen from just over three hundred people with ten to twelve raiding *prahus* (*garay*) at Tunkil, to more than a thousand people, with thirty to forty *prahus*, at Balangingi. In less than a decade, Balangingi’s population roughly quadrupled; in 1845 the village had an estimated four thousand people and 120-150 large vessels. The overall Samal population devoted to slave-raiding reached an upper limit in 1848 of ten thousand people with two hundred raiding *prahus*. The consequences of extraordinary economic-demographic growth was the creation of an “emergent” slave-raiding population within the Sulu Sultanate—the Balangingi Samal.

Central to my approach to demographic expansion and the advent of a vast number of newer societies in the Sulu Zone was the notion that “cultures” are dynamic rather than static. Migratory rhythm and population patterns depended significantly on the dynamics of international trade. A population explosion took place in the first half of the nineteenth century, followed by pioneering expansion and settlement in the margins of the zone, the exploitation of the wilderness and marine gardens, and a victory for the Tausug entrepreneurs at the expense of their arch rivals, living from the profit of trade and redistribution. While this model of change is fundamentally economic, ecological and demographic, there is a central place in it for exploring the relationship between these

critical factors and the historically specific social and economic contexts in which “culture” is constituted and reinvented across maritime spaces and regional dividing lines.

A cacophony of new sounds, sights, objects and tastes, along with an accelerated, materially oriented life in the Sulu Zone, created a new demand for slaves by the early nineteenth century. The labor power demand was derived, based primarily on a European demand for tea, which Chinese peasants cultivated in the mountains of Fujian (Gardella 1994). Hence, at the same time, there was also an interdependent parallel rising demand for slaves to work in the fisheries and forests of the Sulu Zone. The demands of Europeans and Chinese for exotic commodities like sea cucumbers and birds' nests increased slaving activity among certain groups in the zone who were lords of the sea and skilful warriors. To obtain more guns and ammunition, metal tools, textiles and opium for the Tausug, these maritime marauders had to obtain more and more slaves to collect and process particular commodities to sell to the China tea traders. Thus, there was a rising demand for tea in Europe and a concomitant increase in regional-wide slave-raiding in Southeast Asia. Tausug *datus* partially repatterned the life of particular maritime groups to meet the soaring European and Chinese demand, and to gain direct access to western technology and Chinese trade goods.

The efforts of ambitious *datus* to participate in this burgeoning world-capitalist economy, with its extraordinary profits and markers of differential status and prestige, forced the demand for additional labor up and swelled the flow of global-regional trade. The need for a reliable source of labor power was met by the Iranun and Balangingi Samal, the slave raiders of the Sulu Zone. Indeed, the rapid growth of slave-raiding was to keep pace with Sulu's global trade by providing the essential requisite for the continued growth of commodity collection and processing in the zone—labor power. One extraordinary feature of the interconnections between Sulu slave-raiding and the advent of the world-capitalist economy was its rapid movement across the entire region as one Southeast Asian coastal population after another was hunted down. From the end of the eighteenth century to the middle of the nineteenth, Southeast Asia felt the full force of the slave raiders of the Sulu Zone. Their harsh exploits were carried out on a large scale; with well-organized fleets of large, swift *prahus*, they navigated along the west coast of Borneo and crossed the South China Sea to the Straits of Malacca and the Bay of Bengal. In the south, their raiding vessels thrust through the Makassar Strait and fanned out over the Indonesian world. They crossed the Banda Sea to New Guinea, made raids along the coasts of Java, and circumnavigated Borneo. In pursuit of captives, Iranun and Balangingi terrorized the Philippine archipelago. They preyed on the poorly defended lowland coastal villages and towns of southern Luzon and the Visayan Islands. They even sailed and rowed their warships into Manila Bay; their annual cruises reached the northern extremity of Luzon and beyond. They earned a reputation as daring, fierce marauders who jeopardized the maritime trade routes of Southeast Asia and dominated the capture and transport of slaves to the Sulu Sultanate (Warren 1981: 147-211). Captive people from across Southeast Asia in the tens of thousands were seized by these sea raiders and put to work in the zone's fisheries, in the Sultan's birds' nest caves, or in the cultivation of rice and transport of goods to markets in the local redistributive network. Thus the Sulu state created and reproduced the material and social conditions for the recruitment and exploitation of slaves in the zone. More than anything else it was this source and use of

labor power that was to give Sulu its distinctive predatory character in the eyes of Europeans in the nineteenth century as a “pirate and slave state.”

Southeast China's tea trade and the global capitalist economy changed the pattern of maritime warfare and economic and social relationships among certain zone populations, increasing its intensity and scope across the region. It led to widespread decimation and displacement of entire populations throughout the Christian Philippines and much of the rest of Southeast Asia. Sulu was primarily an ascendant commercial state, standing at the center of a widely spread redistributive economy. But it was under Tausug sponsorship and in the service of that interdependent global-regional economy that others raided throughout the Malay world. It is worth emphasizing again the powerful economic forces that were pushing the Tausug aristocracy in the direction of acquiring more and more slaves; in the first place, their demands for all kinds of products coming in from external trade had to be satisfied—demands that were constantly increasing. These demands were both a consequence and cause of slavery. In order to trade, it was necessary for the Tausug to have something to give in exchange. Hence the collection and redistribution of produce was dominated by those *datus* with the largest number of slaves; that is by the Sultan and certain *datus* on the coast who were most directly involved in Sulu's global trade. Secondly, the more dependent Sulu's economy was on the labor power of slaves, the larger loomed the question of its supply of slaves. The only way for the Tausug to obtain the commodities which formed the basis of their commerce was to secure more slaves by means of long-distance maritime raiding. In the early nineteenth century the rate of growth of the sultanate's population had not kept pace with its expanding international trade economy. Since it was the labor of slaves that made possible global-regional trade, slavery rose markedly from this time and became the dominant mode of production. This also explains why Jolo quickly became the principal center in the zone for the importation of slaves and the outfitting of marauders.

The Sulu Sultanate was successful because it achieved global scale in particular types of commodity production, integrating labor acquisition and allocation—slaving and slavery—commodity production, marketing and other functions on a global-regional scale. The losers in this contest were traditional states and ethnic groups that neither achieved nor specialized on a global-regional scale, but relied on an entrenched position in their local markets for the bulk of their power and profits. This essentially market-determined commercial encounter in the latter part of the eighteenth century, as the tangled fateful relationship between Britain, China and Sulu was established, transformed the population and history of Southeast Asia. In their remorseless search for captives and slaves, the Iranun and Balangingi brought the “illegible” maritime spaces, “border arcs” and moving frontiers of the margins of the Malayo-Muslim world, and the various colonial peripheries, home to the centers, striking back at the empire's heart(s) around Batavia and Singapore, in the Straits of Malacca and Manila Bay, and beyond, reaching right across the top of Northern Australia.<sup>3</sup> These fearsome alien marauders originated from areas beyond the pale—unknown “illegible” sites still well outside the reach of

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<sup>3</sup>Jim Scott uses the term “illegible” to define non-state spaces where people can move about with impunity, just out of reach of the State. Non-state spaces generally include swamps, marshes, deltas, reef girdled islets, mountains etc. See Scott (1999).

colonial dominion. The Iranun and Balangingi profited from the expanding China trade, which they supplied with captives and slaves taken on the high seas and along the shores of Southeast Asia, in return for weapons and luxury goods. These sea raiders—the lords of the eastern seas—were the “shapers,” a set of ethnic groups that specialized in long-distance maritime raiding, but did it on a regional scale. This paper also details, albeit briefly, the complexities of relations in the struggle over power and autonomy on the seas, between the maritime Islamic world of the Iranun and Balangingi and the conflicting interests and machinations of the colonial western powers bent on controlling the oceans and sea lanes. The paper further demonstrates how a pathology of physical and cultural violence associated with global macro-contact wars and empire building, particularly with political struggles between the English and Dutch in various parts of Southeast Asia, led to widespread conflicts and regional tragedies.

Finally, this brief study of the Iranun and Balangingi also offers a range of insights about the process of ethnic self-definition and the meaning and constitution of “culture” in the modern world system. The problem of ethnic identity and the formation and maintenance of “cultures” are elusive, complex and contested processes, practices and attributes which defy simple explanations and definitions. This approach to re-presenting the Iranun and Balangingi and their history also provides a possible new conceptual framework for understanding the problem of ethnic self-definition and political processes and conflicts in the recent history and cultural geographies of the Philippines, Indonesia, and Malaysia.

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THE MEDIATED PRODUCTION OF ETHNICITY AND NATIONALISM  
AMONG THE IBAN OF SARAWAK, 1954-1976<sup>1</sup>

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**Introduction**

Among the recent deluge of anthropological writings on ethnicity (see Levine 1999), J. Comaroff's (1996) essay *Ethnicity, Nationalism, and the Politics of Difference in an Age of Revolution* stands as a model of clarity and eloquence. Comaroff sets out to investigate the contemporary upsurge in the world's "politics of identity." Why are the politics of cultural identity back with a vengeance when modernity was supposed to erase all differences of origin? he asks. His answer is twofold. First, the theoretical discussions of the past two decades are no reliable guide to a proper inquiry. Ethnicity theorists are still caught up in a fruitless dichotomy: primordialism versus constructionism. Primordialists assert that all peoples have a "primordial" attachment to place, kin and/or language (see Karlsson 1998: 186). "How many more times," asks Comaroff (1996: 164), "is it necessary to prove that all ethnic identities are historical creations before primordialism is consigned, finally, to the trash heap of ideas past?" Most social anthropologists today reject this approach and opt for constructivism, yet, to Comaroff (1996: 165), constructivism is not a theory but "merely a broad assertion to the effect that social identities are products of human agency." He argues that "ethnic – indeed, all – identities are not things but relations; that their content is wrought in the particularities of their ongoing historical construction." What we need, he concludes, are studies which situate ethnicity and nationalism "in the broader context of claims of class, race, gender, and generation." There can be no theory of ethnicity and nationalism, "only a theory of history capable of elucidating the empowered production of difference and identity" (1996: 166).

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<sup>1</sup>This article is adapted from the first part of Chapter 2 of my PhD dissertation (Postill 2000). The doctorate was with the Anthropology Department at University College London and was supervised by Dr Simon Strickland and Professor Chris Tilley. The thesis was based on research I carried out in Sarawak for some 17 months in all: in June 1996 and from December 1996 to April 1998 (with a short break). I was officially attached to both the Majlis Adat Istiadat and the Sarawak Museum. Field research was supported by the Anthropology Department and Graduate School at University College London, the Evans Fund of Cambridge University, and the Central Research Fund of London University. I am most grateful to these institutions and to others such as the Iban Service at RTM, Bahagian Teknologi Pendidikan, Tun Jugah Foundation, Betong District Office, the Sarawak State Planning Unit, as well as to countless individuals, families, and longhouses in the Betong, Skrang, and Kuching areas for their generous support.

Second, Comaroff (1996: 168) believes we live in a new “Age of Revolution.” Global communications have eroded nation-states’ control over their own economies and information, giving rise to what Kurtzman calls a global “electronics common.” Following Hannerz, Comaroff (1996: 168-172) maintains that today’s nations have very little say in the global cultural flow. Globalization produces two major local reactions: (a) states try to reassert their sovereignty while (b) within their borders a “dramatic assertion of difference” takes place in the form of an “explosion of identity politics” (1996: 173). In the postcolonial world, he concludes, we have witnessed an “increasing convergence of ethnic consciousness and nationalist assertion” leading to a spread of “ethnonationalism.”

While concurring with much of Comaroff’s argument, I have a number of objections to make. First, although it is necessary to study ethnicity in relation to other forms of identity formation from an historical perspective, we should not forget that ethnicity is “that method of classifying people (both self and other) that uses origin (socially constructed) as its primary reference” (Levine 1999: 166). When gender, generation, sexual orientation, class, etc., take priority, then we are not dealing primarily with ethnicity.

Second, even though it may be obvious to Comaroff that primordialism should be discarded as an “idea past,” people around the world still make use of primordialist notions to advance political and economic causes. As anthropologists, we still need to try to understand “collective identities deeply and sincerely felt” (Hann 1994:22). This does not mean that historical and ethnographic findings ought to be bent to promote “non-Western” historical agendas. Indeed, granted that all ethnic identities are “historical creations,” it is still imperative to determine to what extent historical evidence was falsified or discarded in order to pursue specific political objectives. For example, Peel (1989) maintains that the contemporary Yoruba identity is to a large extent a creation of the modern Nigerian state. Nevertheless, he argues, cultural distinctiveness was also crucial to that identity’s consolidation, in particular the Yoruba language, which the foreign missionaries turned into a written language (in Eriksen 1993: 92-94). In Sarawak, the ethnic categories “Iban” and “Bidayuh” only replaced “Sea Dayak” and “Land Dayak” respectively in the 1950s. Yet the Iban (or Sea Dayaks), despite being far more numerous and widely scattered than the Bidayuh, share a common language with minor dialectal variations and, until recently, a fairly homogenous lifestyle. By contrast, the heterogeneous Bidayuh, who speak at least four distinct languages, were “lumped together under the colonial rubric of Land Dayak” (Winzeler 1997: 222). One would therefore expect the Bidayuh leaders to face more of an uphill struggle to fill in a “hollow category” (cf. Levine 1999 on Papua New Guinea) with convincing cultural materials. At least one author claims that this has indeed been the case since independence (Winzeler 1997).<sup>2</sup> An even more problematic ethnic category, “Dayak,” has gained increasing

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<sup>2</sup>Both Clifford Sather (personal communication) and an anonymous reviewer, however, dispute this point. Sather mentions the regional cleavages to be found amongst the Iban, and the fact that many Iban from the Saribas basin (including Benedict Sandin, see below, until late in his life) preferred to retain the term “Sea Dayak.” On the other hand, says Sather, the Melanau are “as heterogeneous as the Bidayuh” and yet they have held the reins of state politics for nearly four decades.

recognition in recent decades across Sarawak based on claims of a common Dayak origin (*asal*) and “cultural heritage” (*adat*).

Third, Comaroff’s view that nation-states today have little control over the flows of information may apply to the internet and other interpersonal media, but certainly not to radio, television, or the print media, including school textbooks. This is particularly true of authoritarian regimes in Southeast Asia such as Malaysia and Brunei with servile media organizations. In these countries, the rural populations rely to a large extent on self-censored media products supplied by urban elites.<sup>3</sup> It is important, therefore, not to fall for attractive metaphors of the “electronic commons” kind. Instead we should strive to discern similarities and differences among the various media uses in specific national settings. A second example of the spread of globalist metaphors is provided by Ginsburg (1993) who has adopted Appadurai’s (1990) concept of “mediascapes” to analyze the burgeoning of Aboriginal media productions in Australia. Below I take issue with her view that indigenous media producers everywhere “enter transnational mediascapes in complex and multidirectional ways” (1993: 562). In the case of rural Sarawak, the flows of media products are often more “unidirectional” than “multidirectional.” The challenge here is not so much to understand countless intersecting pathways, but to explain the prevalence of a top-down, two-step flow of media items from the West, especially the US today, to rural Borneo via powerful cultural brokers in West Malaysia—a massive process I have termed “dual westernization” (Postill 2000: 111).

Finally, I wish to address Comaroff’s point that in the postcolonial world there is an “increasing convergence of ethnic consciousness and nationalist assertion” leading to a spread of “ethnonationalism.” This statement distracts us from Gellner’s (1983: 140-143) robust thesis that states seek to monopolize legitimate culture through mass education and a national language. The driving principle of nationalism is “one state, one culture.” A key neglected area of research is *exactly how, through which media*, postcolonial states seek to transcend their cultural diversity and assumed backwardness and achieve a “literate sophisticated high culture” (1983: 141). Below, I argue that one chief site of struggles between central and peripheral ethnic groups in Malaysia is language, and that the Iban and other Dayaks, who lack the “political shell” of the state (1983: 140), are losing out to the politically stronger Peninsular Malays and their Sarawak allies. We can distinguish two periods of media production impinging upon rural Iban society. First, an early period (1954-1976) dominated not by “global” media but rather by Iban-language radio and books controlled by the Sarawak government and aimed at consolidating its hold across the territory. In this article I dwell on some of the ambiguities involved in the task, for the early Iban producers were striving *both* to modernize their society *and* to protect it from the ravages of modernity. In a future article I will analyze a second period (1977-1999) dominated by audiovisual and print media agents from three urban centers (Kuala Lumpur, Kuching, and Sibiu). This period was characterized by powerful efforts to

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<sup>3</sup>One anonymous reader asks whether this is any less true of, say, England. It is—England has a range of mass media under varying degrees of government control, from tight to minimal. Outspoken critics of the government of the day, including the opposition party, citizens’ groups, and religious organizations, are allowed regular access to the media. This does not occur in Malaysia or Brunei.

exclude the Iban language and culture from the mass media, while all along promoting a colorful, vague Dayak identity in its stead (Postill 2000: 79-112)—a creative process familiar to students of other Asia-Pacific nations (e.g. Sullivan 1993 on Papua New Guinea).

#### **The rise of Iban radio, 1954-1976**

Radio Sarawak was officially inaugurated on 8 June 1954. Sarawak was then a British Crown Colony. The Sarawak Legislative Council (or *Council Negeri*) had finally decided to go ahead with hotly debated plans to create a broadcasting service (Morrison 1954:391). Set up with the technical assistance of the BBC, the service had four sections: Malay, Iban, Chinese and English. The Iban Section broadcast one hour daily from 7 till 8 pm. In the early days the variety of programs was limited to news, information on farming and animal husbandry (*betanam betupi*), and some Iban folklore, especially sung poems (*pantun*, *renong*) and epics (*ensera*). It was also used in the case of medical and other emergencies in certain upriver areas (Dickson 1995: 137).<sup>4</sup>

The late Gerunsin Lembang (1924-95) from Malong, Saratok, was the first Iban broadcaster. In January 1956 he was promoted to Head of the Iban Service (Langub 1995: 56). He is still remembered by rural and urban audiences alike for his extraordinary voice, command of the Iban language, and knowledge of *adat* (customary law). Other early broadcasters included Pancras Eddy, Andria Ejau, George Jimbai, and Edward Kechendai. In those days Radio Sarawak was jokingly called “Radio Saribas” owing to the prevalence of broadcasters born or educated in that region. Even today, a strong influence of the Saribas dialect can be detected in standard RTM Iban.

The Iban were the first Dayaks to have their own radio programs. In 1957 the Iban example led influential members of another major group, the Land Dayaks (today, Bidayuh), to express their “great desire” to have their own radio section (*Sarawak Tribune* 21/10/1957). Others, like the Kenyah and Kayan, would follow suit in subsequent years. In the intervening years they were avid listeners to the Iban programs.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>The development officer John K. Wilson (1969: 163, see below) was a pioneer in the use of radio for development purposes. His first development center was at Budu, near Saratok: “That the people used the radios to listen in to organised programmes forwarded to Radio Sarawak either by tape or letter was of course encouraged to the limit. Budu news and educational features were a mainstay at Radio Sarawak in the early days. So if it happened that we were in Kuching and wanted a canoe to meet us anywhere, this was just very easy now. A telephone call to Radio Sarawak and that night the news had reached the lighthouse.”

<sup>5</sup>One well-traveled Iban informant told me that his language was much more of a *lingua franca* in Kayan-Kenyah areas in the late 1950s and 1960s than it is today, thanks to the popularity of the Iban-language service. Yet even today some Iban programs are popular with other ethnic groups. An elderly Malay man from the Saribas assured me that he finds the Iban-language news programs easier to follow than their Bahasa Malaysia equivalents, as he had no schooling. The Saribas Iban dialect is more familiar to him than the relatively new Standard Malay imported from West Malaysia.

Let us now consider the second organization ever to broadcast in Iban. In 1958, the School Broadcasting Service (Ib. *Sekula Penabur*<sup>6</sup>) was set up in Kuching by a New Zealander, Ian Prentice, under the Colombo Plan. Most radio sets were donated by the Asia Foundation and the Government of Australia. A regular schedule of broadcast English lessons began in 1959, designed for native primary schools in rural areas, where most teachers had only a basic education. It was hoped radio would help overcome pupils' reliance on the English spoken by native teachers hampered by a "limited range of knowledge, ideas, stories and vocabulary."<sup>7</sup> By the end of 1960 there were 467 participating schools across Sarawak, and 850 teachers had attended 11 training courses.<sup>8</sup> Sarawak was a regional pioneer in radio-mediated teaching and learning. Indeed, Malayan educationalists were to learn from their Sarawak colleagues at a later stage. The response from the target audience was very encouraging. In 1960 the Service received 700 letters from Primary 5 and 6 pupils around Sarawak in response to questions set to them.<sup>9</sup>

The service initially broadcast in English only, but difficulties with this language led to the introduction of Malay and Iban programs and reading materials—an interesting example of how the introduction of a mediated oral genre (Iban radio lessons) created the need for a new written genre (Iban textbooks). Michael Buma, another Saribas man and renowned educationalist, was the first Iban officer. He produced three programs: "*English Ka Kita*" (English For You), "Dictation and Spelling," and "*Ensera*" (tales, stories).

Meanwhile, Radio Sarawak was preparing for the country's independence. From 1961 to 1963 Peter Ratcliffe, an alleged intelligence officer with Britain's MI5,<sup>10</sup> and John Cordoux were in charge of Radio Sarawak. They were replaced by Charles McKenna, the last expatriate Director, soon before the formation of Malaysia in 1963. With "independence through Malaysia," Radio Sarawak became Radio Malaysia Sarawak. The inclusion of the term Malaysia signals a shift in priorities for the Iban Section and all the other sections. The first task was to help the new country from the perceived threat posed by Indonesia whose leader, Soekarno, claimed Malaysia was a new form of British imperialism designed to maintain the Malay world divided.<sup>11</sup> In response to Soekarno, a

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<sup>6</sup>The term *penabur* is a metaphorical neologism derived from the Iban farming term *nabur* (to sow or scatter).

<sup>7</sup>Sarawak Education Department (SED) Annual Reports 1958-1960: 34.

<sup>8</sup>SED Annual Reports 1958-1960: 35.

<sup>9</sup>SED Annual Reports 1958-1960: 34.

<sup>10</sup>I obtained this information from a reliable source.

<sup>11</sup>There is a sizeable literature on Confrontation (*konfrontasi*). For Mackie (1974: 33) Soekarno was no great believer in "Malay brotherhood." He only used this notion for propaganda purposes. After having acquired West New Guinea from the Dutch by force, and subject to official indoctrination for years, the Indonesian people, says Mackie (1974: 326-333), were predisposed towards Soekarno's slogans. His millennialism—a sophisticated version of a cargo cult—struck a chord with Indonesians and scared other governments in the region. According to Poulgrain (1998) it was not Soekarno who started *konfrontasi* but rather British and American intelligence agencies seeking to further the aims of their respective states. Jones (2002), who has studied recently

Psychological Warfare Unit (or Psy-war) was set up under British guidance. It deployed tactics already successfully used by Radio Malaya against communist guerrillas in the 1948-1960 period. One weapon deployed was the *cherita kelulu* (radio drama) which adapted traditional Iban storytelling genres, themes, and characters such as the Keling and Kumang epics (*ensera*). Other dramas were set in contemporary rural Sarawak and promoted the need for development, religious and racial harmony and loyalty to the new country. The first producer of these dramas (*cherita kelulu*) was Andria Ejau, who also published a number of them through the Borneo Literature Bureau (see below). Vivid jungle and longhouse sound effects were fundamental to the task of producing compelling drama. Some were borrowed from the BBC, while others were home-made.

Other time-honored tactics included interviews with war victims and patriotic songs. An Iban singer, Connie Francis, sang *Tanah ai menoa aku* (lit. my country's land and water, i.e. my Fatherland), the Iban/Malaysian answer to Indonesia's national anthem, while Hillary Tawan sang *Oh Malaysia!* This was a time of growth for Iban pop. The 1950s influence of the Indonesian and Indian music industry gave way in the 1960s and 1970s to British and American influences. Pauline Linan was now joined by her sister, Señorita Linan, on frequent tours around Sarawak and recorded broadcasts. They were both brought up listening to Western songs. Señorita's personal favorites were, not unusually, Tom Jones and Engelbert Humperdinck. In her varied repertoire she sang in Iban, but the rhythms and tunes were borrowed from the West. She knew her twist, rock'n'roll, country and sentimental. In those days Iban audiences lagged behind the more urbanized ethnic groups, says Señorita: "for instance, the Chinese were into The Beatles but back in the 1960s few Iban were exposed to world music."<sup>12</sup>

There were other popular Iban singers, including the police constable Eddie Jemat, as well as Esther Bayang, Antonio Jawie, Robert Lingga and Reynolds Gregory—also known as "the Elvis Presley of Sarawak." Ironically, the fruits of their pioneering efforts to create a "modern" Iban pop scene are now collectively known as *lagu lama* (lit. "old songs"), as middle-aged Iban look back at those golden days and praise the depth (*dalam*) and subtlety of the lyrics, to them worlds apart from today's "superficial" (*mabu*) Iban pop. Despite the foreign provenance of the tunes, the *lagu lama* are now regarded as legitimate heirs to the best Iban musical tradition. Why would this be so? According to the media theorist Debray (1996: 177), nostalgia is "the first phase of mediological consciousness." As a first generation of media producers and consumers reach their middle and late years, their discovery of "a clear deviation from the old norm grasps the new order as a disordering."

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declassified British documents, provides us with yet another picture; one showing the Commonwealth powers and the US entangled in a hostile nationalist and anti-imperialist environment. In this account, Britain was largely led by regional politicians throughout the process of the formation of Malaysia.

<sup>12</sup>Interviewed on 1 July 1997 in Kuching.



In the early stages of Iban pop, some songwriters and performers straddled both genres. For instance, Lawrence S. Ijau<sup>13</sup> (1966), a teacher and folklorist, wrote a number of pop songs that were broadcast by Radio Sarawak. Another case in point is Señorita Linan herself, who apart from being a pop singer was a traditional dance (*ngajat*) performer in the 1960s and 1970s and currently teaches this art form in Kuching.

With the end of the Indonesian *konfrontasi* in 1965, priorities shifted from war propaganda to what a veteran Iban broadcaster has defined as the “mental revolution of the people,” that is to education, health and economic development. Or, as a Malay broadcaster put it: “After independence changes were gradual: we broadcast more hours, there was more emphasis on the local dialects, development and racial harmony.”

In 1970, Iban air time was expanded to five hours: one hour in the morning, another in the afternoon, and three hours in the evening. Meanwhile, School Broadcasting began to produce Iban-language programs aimed at lower secondary Iban pupils (Untie 1998: 3), although English remained the medium of instruction and pupils were discouraged from using their mother tongues in school.

From mid-1971 a slump in the international timber market caused the economic situation in Sarawak to worsen, especially in the Sibü area. The combination of a rapid Malaysianization, abject poverty, and chronic unemployment led many Chinese to join the communist guerrillas (Leigh 1974:156). Their Iban support was considerable. The communists used terror effectively by publicly executing informers. They also targeted virtually every school in Sibü with moralistic pamphlets and lectures. Students were urged to “win the victory” and “oppose and stop to wear Mini-skirt and funny dresses.” Teachers were often blamed for the pupils' decadent ways: “some of them even teach the students how to twist, and thus really lead the students into darkness” (Leigh 1974: 158).

The Iban Section was again enlisted to deploy psy-war tactics against the insurgents. Two 15-minute programs were broadcast daily: “Topic of the day” (thinly veiled propaganda) and an appeal to the insurgents to surrender. In addition, special soap operas (*cherita kelulu*) were produced by Andria Ejau in order to, in the words of a colleague, alter the listeners' “mental perspective” and “get the people to report the terrorists” (*ngasoh rayat ripot tiroris*). In 1975 the gifted Iban storyteller and broadcaster Thomas T. Laka, who is still active today, was trained in drama techniques by a British psy-war instructor based in Kuala Lumpur. That same year television arrived in Sarawak—12 years after it had done so in West Malaysia—and some of the radio staff were “headhunted” into the new medium.

At this point it is pertinent to ask to what extent we can consider the Iban Section part of the growing number of “indigenous media” around the world that have attracted the attention of media researchers (Spitulnik 1993: 303). The anthropologist Faye Ginsburg (1993: 560-2) is one of the better known practitioners in this new subfield (see Abu-Lughod 1997). She argues that two resilient tropes dominate the study of indigenous media. First, there is the “Faustian contract” approach derived from the Frankfurt School. This approach is pessimistic about the possibilities of indigenous cultures to withstand the

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<sup>13</sup>The Borneo Literature Bureau (see below) published three folklore books by Lawrence Sanoun Ijau in the 1960s. Like many other folklorists, Ijau was from the Paku area and trained at Batu Lintang Teachers Training College.

onslaught of Western media and their repressive ideologies. Second, there is McLuhan's (1964) "global village" optimism with its utopian dream of a worldwide electronic democracy. Ginsburg (1993: 561-2), as I mentioned earlier, opts for a third trope: Appadurai's (1990) "mediascape," a call for "situated analyses that take account of the interdependence of media practices and the local, national, and transnational circumstances that surround them." In settler nations such as Canada and Australia which practice "welfare colonialism," she notes, it is ironically the state that has to support these media given the lack of financial and technical resources available to the native populations. Another factor of growing importance is the globalization of indigenous media, arts and activism. Thus, although Aboriginal culture has been continually exploited by the white majority for tourist and political gains, Aboriginal media producers have become more and more active at international film and video festivals and other forms of networking. In order to grasp the significance of these developments, says Ginsburg, we need to study how indigenous media producers "enter transnational mediascapes in complex and multidirectional ways" (1993: 562).

While it may be useful in Australia, this approach would be of little use in the case of Iban radio. Here it is not so much "multidirectional ways" we should analyze but rather the unidirectional, collective endeavor of Iban radio producers to spread the dominant modernist ideology. Many Aboriginal producers have shown an active commitment to the romantic, post-industrial ideology of a global brotherhood of "First Nations" or "Fourth World Peoples" defined in opposition to white settler nations (Ginsburg 1993: 558). In contrast, Iban producers have remained committed to redefining, refining, and modernizing "the Iban people" (*bansa Iban*) within the bounds of an avowedly indigenist, post-colonial state. This trend was reinforced with the advent of print media in the Iban language.

### **The rise and fall of the Borneo Literature Bureau, 1960-1976**

In 1949, John Kennedy Wilson arrived in Sarawak from Scotland to become the Principal of Batu Lintang Training College. The chief aim of the College was to train young Sarawakian teachers and send them to far-flung corners of the new Crown Colony to set up and run primary schools, often under very harsh conditions. Its ethos followed in the Brooke tradition of symbolic respect towards the country's "native cultures."

Batu Lintang, with its whitewashed walls decorated with splendid native designs, its encouragement of local handicrafts and interest in the tribal dances, had already set a pattern of pride in indigenous culture and artistic achievement (Dickson 1995: 27).

In November 1952 Wilson attended his last school-leaving ceremony. All students arrived in "traditional dress, bright with hornbill feathers, silver woven sarongs and ivory earrings" (Dickson 1995: 27). Wilson was to go on to found a remarkably successful experiment in what today is known as "sustainable development." For four years he lived in the remote Budu area to set up a community development scheme from the bottom up, that is building on local Iban skills and cultural resources rather than importing them from the urban areas. Wilson saw this as the creation of new Budu "elites" (Jawan 1994: 82). Alas, when Malaysia was born in 1963, his success was perceived as a threat by the new

Kuala Lumpur rulers and he was eventually “asked to leave Sarawak” (Jawan 1994: 121).<sup>14</sup>

The indigenist nature of Batu Lintang's ethos, or rather its blending of British education and native arts and ceremony, was to have a decisive influence on a core of motivated pioneering Iban teachers who would set out to modernize Iban culture while preserving what they considered to be the best of its heritage. On 15 September 1958 the colonial government inaugurated the Borneo Literature Bureau (Tawai 1997: 6). Like Batu Lintang and Radio Sarawak, the Bureau aimed at reconciling social and economic development with cultural preservation. The three official aims of the Bureau's publications in English, Chinese, Malay, Iban and other indigenous languages were:

(a) to support the various government departments in their production of technical, semi-technical and instructional printed materials for the peoples of Sabah and Sarawak<sup>15</sup>.

(b) to encourage local authorship and meet local needs.

(c) to help in building up a local book trade (*Borneo Literature Bureau Annual Report* 1960).

Production started in 1960. The following year, the book of Iban folk stories *Rita Tujoh Malam* by Anthony Richards (1961) sold the promising figure of 1,765 copies within six months. In the same year the Bureau also published the religious text *Jerita pasal Daniel* and took over the distribution of *Radio Times* from Radio Sarawak. The 1962 sales of English and Iban books were described by the Bureau as “encouraging.”<sup>16</sup> Several booksellers reported selling books to illiterate Iban adults who would have their

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<sup>14</sup>One reader has suggested that it was not only Kuala Lumpur rulers who had a hand in Wilson's expulsion, but also Iban leaders such as the Tun Jugah. This reader believes the rivalry between influential Iban from the Rejang and other rivers may have played a part. I have not been able to pursue this matter. See also Wilson (1969).

<sup>15</sup>Although based in Kuching, one interesting geopolitical anomaly of the now defunct Bureau is that it catered to the whole of Malaysian Borneo (Clifford Sather, personal communication). A much shorter-lived attempt at establishing an East Malaysian media organization was television. As I explain in Postill (2000: 106): “In their television history, the Bornean states are again a special case. Transmission commenced in Sabah in 1974, eleven years after it had done so in West Malaysia. From 1975 Sarawak was allowed to use the Sabahan facilities. Various cultural, musical and religious programmes were produced and broadcast by the two states over a joint channel known as Channel 3. However, in 1985 Channel 3 was closed down following directives from Kuala Lumpur—predictably, it was seen as a threat to national unity. Programming was taken over by the centre, with which airtime was now “shared.” Non-Muslim religious programmes were never again broadcast.”

<sup>16</sup>Total sales in all languages rocketed from \$38,739 in 1960 to \$171,157 in 1961 to \$348,528 in 1962. By contrast, Chinese books were selling poorly. The reason adduced was that neither Chinese adults nor children had much interest in books with Bornean themes (*BLB Annual Report* 1962).

children read them aloud to them. Of the 9 Iban books published, 2 were educational (geography and English), 3 were on Iban custom (*adat*), and 4 were oral narratives (*ensera* and *mimpi* [dreams]). The latter was Benedict Sandin's important *Duabelas Bengkah Mimpi Tuai Dayak-Iban*, a collection of dreams by Iban chiefs that had special historical significance.<sup>17</sup> Another prolific author who started publishing this year was Sandin's kinsman Henry Gerijih (1962) with *Raja Langit*, an *ensera*<sup>18</sup> on Keling and other heroes and heroines from the mythical world of Panggau Libau-Gelong. Finally, A.A. Majang (1962), a former student of Wilson's at Batu Lintang, published a study on Iban marriage customs entitled *Melah Pinang*.

In 1963, the year in which Malaysia was created, "[t]he publication of books in Iban continued to play a large part in the Bureau's activities."<sup>19</sup> A grant was received from the Asia Foundation and a full-time Iban officer, Edward Enggu, was appointed. *Kumang Betelu*, a second saga (*ensera*) by H. Gerijih, and *Pelandok seduai Tekura*, an animal fable by D. Entingi, were published.

The following year the Bureau celebrated its seventh annual literary competition. Seven Iban manuscripts were sent in, out of which three were accepted. Sandin published *Raja Durong*, an *ensera* about the great Sumatran ancestor of Pulang Gana,<sup>20</sup> the Iban "deity of the earth" (Richards 1981: 288) or "god of agriculture" (Sutlive 1994:214). Another previous winner, Andria Ejau's *Dilah Tanah*, was published this year. Arguably the first ever Iban novel,<sup>21</sup> the author describes it as an *Ensera Kelulu*, that is, a "pedagogical story" (*tau pulai ka pelajar*), which he distinguishes from the traditional genre *Ensera Tuai* (or *Cherita Asal*). A more accurate translation might be "morality novella," from the morality plays staged in England between the 14th and 16th centuries in which personified virtues and vices were set into conflict.<sup>22</sup> Ejau's characters live in a longhouse situated in the imaginary land (*menoa kelulu*) of Dilah Tanah. They mean well, but keep running into trouble with the authorities for their reluctance to fully embrace the new *adat*, the so-called *adat perintah* (lit. government law), in particular, the new laws aimed at curtailing slash-and-burn hill rice farming. It all ends well after the local councilor makes the locals see the need to follow the learned ways of the government regarding modern agriculture. There are obvious autobiographical elements in the story, for Ejau was a councilor from 1947 to 1956, frequently traveling to remote Iban areas, before he joined Radio Sarawak where he first started writing radio dramas. During his official trips to the backwoods he enjoyed talking to the elders, as he was "seeking knowledge that could benefit my people" (*ngiga penemu ke tau diguna bansa diri*).

<sup>17</sup>Traditionally, Iban have relied on dreams (*mimpi*) as much as on omens (*burong*) for guidance (Richards 1981: 220).

<sup>18</sup>An *ensera* is an "epic or saga sung in poetic language with explanations and conversations in prose" (Richards 1981: 87).

<sup>19</sup>BLB Annual Report (1963).

<sup>20</sup>According to Richards (1981: 288), Pulang Gana "[r]epresents Indian Ganesh (Ganesa, Ganapati, lord of the troops accompanying (*sempulang*) or attendant on Siva) whose 'vehicle' is the rat (*cit*) from whom the Iban obtained PADI [rice]."

<sup>21</sup>Otto Steinmayer (personal communication, January 1999).

<sup>22</sup>Collins English Dictionary (1994).

Previously he had been a security guard at an oil refinery in Seria (Ejau 1964). He was therefore well acquainted both with Iban customary law and with the state's own understanding of law and order. By means of his novellas and broadcasts he sought to bridge the two.

Ejau and Sandin represent two poles of the modernist-traditionalist continuum running through the entire field of Iban media production. Ejau specialized in transforming oral accounts, metaphors, and imagery into contemporary, power-laden narratives that would "benefit [his] people." He was using old linguistic materials through new media technologies in order to promote "modern" practices. Sandin took the opposite route as he sought to salvage as much of the Iban oral tradition as he could for the benefit of future generations. In other words, he was employing a new media technology to save (selected) "old knowledge" (*penemu lama*). Their respective 1964 publications exemplify this marked contrast. While Ejau concentrated on modern agriculture, Sandin wrote about the Iban god of farming. Although both authors were undoubtedly the products and producers of a modern Sarawak, the generic divide they bolstered has indigenous, pre-state roots. Jensen (1974: 64) has divided Iban oral tradition into (1) stories about "the origins of Iban custom, the rice cult, augury and social organisation" and (2) "legends from the heroic past" whose purpose is to explain Iban behavior and the potential consequences of wrongdoing. Ejau's contribution was to shift from this "heroic past" to the contemporary Iban world he knew well, but his aim was equally to explain "the potential consequences of wrongdoing."

In 1965 most books produced by the Bureau sold well, and it was expected that all the English and Iban books would eventually be sold out. The sale of English books increased by 63% and that of Iban by 64%, from 10,233 in 1964 to 16,747 in 1965. The number of entries from would-be Iban authors was twice that of Malay authors and many times larger than that of all other Dayak groups as a whole, as Table 1 shows. That year saw the publication of another book by Henry Gerijih, *Aur Kira*, a lengthy prose narrative with some poetic interludes on the adventures of Aur Kira, the younger brother of culture hero Keling. This work is a cross between an *ensera* (epic or saga) and a *jerita tuai*, that is, a "simple prose tale" (Richards 1981). Another 1965 book was William Duncan's *Anak Bujang Sugi*, an adaptation of the bardic (*lemambang*) epic genre known as *ensera sugi*. In the first part we witness the life and deeds of Bujang Sugi whom the bard's tutelary spirit (*vang*) calls upon to visit the sick. In the second part we learn about Bujang Sugi's descendants.<sup>23</sup>

32	English	1	Bukar Sadong
28	Iban	1	Bau Jagoi
18	Chinese	1	Biatah
14	Malay	1	Kayan

**Table 1. Number of manuscripts by language sent in for the 8<sup>th</sup> Borneo Literature Bureau annual competition, 1965. Source: *Borneo Literature Bureau Annual Report (1965)*.**

<sup>23</sup>Also published in 1965 were *Peransang Tunang* by A.K. Mancha, four English translations and an English-Iban, Iban-English phrase book which sold very well (*BLB Annual Report* [1965] and Steinmayer [1990]).

The deluge of Iban manuscripts received in 1965 caused a backlog of editorial work the following year. Six new Iban books were published, and many more were planned for 1967. Three of the six were by teachers who had trained at Wilson's Batu Lintang in the 1950s: *Ijau Berani*, an ethnohistorical account set in 19th century Sarawak by Jacob anak Imang, and one *ensera* each by Norman Pitok and Lawrence Ijau. However, the number of Iban manuscripts sent in declined dramatically from the previous year's 28 to a mere 10 in 1966<sup>24</sup>:

20	English	2	Kadazan
17	Malay	1	Bau-Jagoi
15	Chinese	1	Bukar-Sadong
10	Iban		

**Table 2. Number of manuscripts by language sent in for the 9<sup>th</sup> Borneo Literature Bureau annual competition, 1966. Source: *Borneo Literature Bureau Annual Report (1966)*.**

Another important change, this time qualitative, was the recognition by the Bureau that whereas most previous entries had been first records of “stories handed down orally for many generations,” henceforth, original writing would be encouraged (*BLB Annual Report 1966*). The scales were therefore tipped in favor of Ejau’s line of work.

George Jenang, aged 19, took up the challenge and published *Keling Nyumpit*, an original<sup>25</sup> *ensera*, in 1967. Meanwhile, A.A. Majang chose to publish in a new, para-journalistic genre: Iban reportage. His *Padi Ribai* deals with the rumors that spread across the Rejang in the 1950s that Pulang Gana, the god of farming, had passed away and his son, Ribai, was sending *padi* from overseas to grow in river shallows (Richards 1981:289). Also in 1967, Andria Ejau himself published a sequel to *Dilah Tanah*, his morality novella mentioned earlier. In this new book, *Madu Midang*, Ejau resumes his preoccupation with social change and its effects on Iban culture. Two of his early themes re-emerge here: (a) the peasants’ need to understand the new laws regulating migratory farming, and (b) their need to modify their customary law (*adat*) to allow for new developmental tools—in this case the wireless radio. He exemplifies the latter with an episode in which the longhouse elders ban the use of radio for a month in accordance with the *adat* regulating mourning (*ulit*).<sup>26</sup> Thus, the community fails to learn about a

<sup>24</sup>No explanation for this fact is given in the Annual Report.

<sup>25</sup>Jenang was born in Sungai Assam, Krian, Saratok. He learnt the art of storytelling from his father. A precocious author, Jenang wrote this *ensera* at the age of 16 “all by myself,” it did not follow from “ancient stories” (*ensera tu ukai nampong batang ensera tuai tang iya empegal digaga aku kadiri*). Unfortunately, this was to be, to the best of my knowledge, his first and last published work.

<sup>26</sup>According to Paku custom, during the mourning period people are not allowed to “make music, shout and put on flowery and red clothes” or cut their hair (Sandin 1980:71). In my 1996-98 fieldwork I found that rural Iban, at least in the Saribas, have bent their mourning *adat* to accommodate radio and television (see Postill 2000, chapter 4).

dangerous fugitive presently roaming their land. One day the ne'er-do-well arrives and, posing as a government official, cheats the community out of their meagre savings.

A number of traditional stories were also published in 1967, including H. Gerijih's *Raja Berani*, B. Inin's *Bujang Linggang* and P. Gani's *Bujang Abang Bunsu*. The main event of the year at the Bureau, as far as Iban publishing was concerned, was the launching of *Nendak*, a magazine intended "for Ibans who are unable to read with facility in any language other than their own." The target readers were adolescents and young adults, both male and female. In order to attract them, a "[w]ide variety of material" was designed (*BLB Annual Report* 1967:3-6). Appendix 1 captures some of that diversity. In its 10-year long history, a total of 125 issues of *Nendak* were published. Besides being a rich repository of Iban lore, *Nendak* provides us with a privileged insight into the role of Iban intellectuals in state-sponsored efforts to modernize Iban culture and society on a wide front, from customary law through political organization, and from agriculture and health to home economics.

In 1968 Andria Ejau put out *Batu Besundang*, a morality novella (*ensera ketulu*) that opens with a government-appointed native chief (*Pengulu*) instructing the residents of a remote longhouse on the proper way of celebrating *Gawai Dayak*, the annual pan-Dayak Festival invented by the Iban-led government in 1965 to match the Malay and Chinese festivities. The chief explains to his puzzled followers the meaning of the term "Dayak" by listing 18 groups and comparing their bewildering language diversity to that of the Chinese. The Dayaks needed a longer period of time to recognize themselves as one people (*bansa*), he explains, because "schooling arrived late to us" (*laban pelajar sekula laun datai ba kitai*). As this example shows, the early Iban media products served to crystallize and reify what until then had been much more flexible and amorphous identities.

In 1968 a second "original work" was born, Janang Ensiring's *Ngelar Menoa Sarawak*, a passionate ode to Sarawak written in the *pantun* genre, i.e. "a song sung in rhyming pattern" (Sather 1994:60). Ensiring, who was 19 at the time, shows great love for both Sarawak and the 5-year old Malaysia. His *pantun* traces the history of Sarawak, from the cave-ridden, bloody chaos of prehistory through several stages of increased *adat* law and order to the glorious cry of Malaysian freedom from British colonialism in 1963: MERDEKA! (Ensiring 1968:32). To the young poet, life before the Brooke Raj was hardly worth living:

*Bekereja samoa nadai meruan*  
*Laban rindang bebunoh ba pangan*

[...]  
*Sida nadai Raja megai*  
*Adat nadai dipejalai*

Their travails saw no profitable ends  
For they were busy murdering their  
friends

[...]  
They had no Rajah to rule them  
Had no *adat* to guide them

(Ensiring 1968:2, my translation).

There is no trace in Ensiring of Rousseau's "noble savage" who lives in harmony with nature, and a great deal of Hobbes' famous dictum on primitive man's life being "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short." For Hobbes (1651), the emergence of the state's

monopoly of violence is a fundamental step towards peace, social evolution, and prosperity—a view all Iban media producers would readily agree with. The teleological nature of modern Iban ethnohistory is a synthesis of foreign (British and Malayan) and indigenous elements. The foreign component supplies a view of nations as steadily marching along history towards greater unity and prosperity (Anderson 1983:23), whereas the Iban tradition has *adat* regulating all spheres of life and severely punishing those who threaten the collective harmony.

Another case in point is Sandin's 1970 ethnohistorical account, entitled *Peturun Iban* ("Iban Descent"). It recounts the history of the Iban people from their origins in the Kapuas, in present-day Indonesian Borneo, through their migrations into Sarawak, to the long pacification process under the White Rajahs culminating in the surrender of the last Upper Engkari "troublemakers" in 1932:

*Nya pengabis pengachau Iban dalam Sarawak. Uдах bekaυ tu nadai agi orang deka ngaga pengachau ke musah orang maioh. Ati berani agi dikembuan bansa Iban tang sida enda ngereran ka nya agi. Sida berumah manah lalu besekula munda pengawa enggau pemansang bansa bukai ke sama diau begulai enggau sida dalam menoa Sarawak tu.*

This was the end of the Iban troubles in Sarawak. Henceforth nobody would cause suffering to the general population. The Iban are still endowed with brave hearts yet they pay little heed to them. They now build good solid houses and send their children to school following the example set by the other races<sup>27</sup> with whom they share Sarawak (Sandin 1970: 123, my translation).

Iban readers are here again given a teleological framework, employed this time by Sarawak's foremost ethnohistorian who combines oral and written materials in order to prove that the state saved the Iban from themselves.

Other works published in 1968 included Sandin's *Leka Sabak*, a complex ritual dirge, various *ensera* by Andria Ejau and S. Pelima, and a collection of riddles (*entelah*) by Boniface Jarraw, a BBC-trained broadcaster and *ngajat* dancer. At the end of the year, officially owing to poor sales results (but see below), the Bureau decided to concentrate on less Iban titles. The 11<sup>th</sup> competition yielded the following harvest:

22	English	8	Chinese
19	Malay	1	Kadazan
15	Iban		

**Table 3. Number of manuscripts by language sent in for the 11<sup>th</sup> Borneo Literature Bureau annual competition, 1968.**

Of those 15 Iban books received, only 2 saw the light in 1969: an *ensera* by Andria Ejau entitled *Aji Bulan* and a ritual dirge by Rev. Fr. Frederick Rajit entitled *Sabak*

<sup>27</sup>I have translated the word *bansa* as "race" here in line with the English usage prevalent at the time of Sandin's writing. It is still widely used in the English-language press and everyday conversation among urban Sarawakians. Another commonly used term equivalent to the current academic term "ethnic groups" is "ethnics."



*Kenang*. This Anglican priest from Betong, in the Saribas, learnt the pagan dirge from his mother—a characteristic example of that region's fertile syncretism.

The year 1970 was more productive. A set of Iban language textbooks was published, namely Michael Buma's memorable<sup>28</sup> *Pelajar Iban 1, 2, 3, 4, and 6* series, based on traditional folk tales—which the Iban leader Sidi Munan (1985:ii) saw at the time as an encouraging contribution to the survival of the Iban language. In addition to Sandin's aforementioned ethnohistory, E. Kechendai, a broadcaster and regular contributor to *Nendak*, published a book of animal fables (*ensera jelu*) aimed at the 10-15 age group, and Ong Kee Bian, a guide to modern pisciculture in Iban translation.

In 1971 Sandin put out a bardic invocation to the gods, entitled *Pengap Gawai Burong*, J.J. Awell a collection of mostly animal fables with a moral intent (*cherita kelulu*), and C.M. Liaw an *ensera*. The following year Andria Ejau brought out his third morality novella, *Pelangka Gantong*. Again a longhouse community has difficulties coping with modernity, and again the wise local councilor comes to the rescue. The problems are by now familiar to Ejau's readers: land ownership, new political structures, and literacy.

This year a new author, Joshua Jalie, put out *Pemansang mai Pengerusak*, also a morality novella on rural development. Jalie's peasants have been blessed with a school, a road, and a rubber scheme. Alas, they soon squander their profits gambling at the cockfights. To compound matters, most of them still believe in ghosts (*antu*). "Since when have the rats run away from our spells?" says an unusually enlightened villager. "The government has already given us poison to kill the rats but the others insist on following the old ways."<sup>29</sup> In the preface, the author had made a clear distinction between rural Iban "who know better" (*sida ti mereti agi*) and those who "are still blind, who are not aware of the means and aims of development" (*sida ti agi buta, ti apin nemu julok enggau tuju ator pemansang*). Finally, also in 1972, W. Gieri had an *ensera* published on the adventures of a jungle ogre (*antu gerasi*). Here we have again a contrast of the Ejau-Sandin kind identified earlier. While one author ridicules his rural brethren's belief in spirits and ogres (*antu*), another tries to salvage for posterity a most prominent member of that supernatural family, one whose name was traditionally used in the longhouse to quiet unruly children. Their contrast reveals the contradictory nature of the wider modernizing project embarked upon by the early generation of media producers, caught up in preserving for the future what they, as urbanized literate Christians, had discarded in their own lives.

The only Iban-language book published in 1973 was a collection of short stories translated from Kadazan, a major Sabahan language. In 1974 two *ensera* by G.N. Madang and K. Uambat and a primary school textbook by C. Saong were brought out. Another two *ensera*, by S. Jawan and T. Geboh, came out in 1975.

The Bureau ceased to exist in 1977 when it was taken over by the Federal body *Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka*. In its last year of existence, B. Sandin (1976) put out *Gawai*

<sup>28</sup>I myself found them very useful and enjoyable as a gentle introduction to the intricacies of the Iban language prior to fieldwork.

<sup>29</sup>In the original: *Dini chit tau rari ka puchau kitai? Perintah udah meri rachun dikena munoh chit tang sida agi majak ka penemu sida nya* (Jalie 1972).

*Pangkong Tiang*, based on a bardic invocation (*pengap*) recited during the festival of the same name; A. Joseph published an ethnohistory (*jerita tuai*), and T. Geboh an *ensera*. Finally, Andria Ejau brought out another morality novella: *Tanah Belimpah*. It contained episodes on the advantages of modern medicine over shamanic (*manang*) rites, on those of wet rice over hill rice cultivation, on the commendable efforts of the school authorities to create a Malaysian people (*bansa Malaysia*), and on the great potential of a newly arrived technology called “television” to bridge the gap between rural and urban schools. We shall understand shortly just how tragically ironic Ejau’s patriotic optimism would prove to be.

### The significance of the Borneo Literature Bureau

To the literary scholar, the Bureau’s books are an “excellent source” for the study of Bornean languages and literatures (Steinmayer 1990: 114), a study still in its infancy. As Sutlive (1988: 73), an authority on the Iban language, has remarked:

Thirty-one years ago...Derek Freeman told me that Iban folklore “probably exceeds in sheer volume the literature of the Greeks.” At the time, I thought Freeman excessive. Today, I suspect he may have been conservative in his estimate.

At a time when much of the oral tradition has disappeared, Iban books provide “unparalleled insights into Iban social philosophy and epistemology.” They are “instructive about Iban values of achievement and self-reliance, of discretion, of restraint, of self-effacement and understatement” (Sutlive 1994: xxii). They also teach us about an under-researched area of study in Borneo: gender (see Appell and Sutlive 1991). Traditional Iban society was undoubtedly male-dominated. All the most venerated activities—pioneering, farming, headhunting—were the prerogative of men; they were designed to enable a man “to become something else” (Sutlive 1977: 158). A close reading of the Bureau’s stories on Keling and Kumang reveals how trouble often starts when a woman breaches a taboo, forcing Keling or another male hero to intervene and restore order. We said earlier that in modern Iban ethnohistory the White Rajahs “saved the Iban from themselves” by restoring order. Similarly, Sutlive (1977: 164) concludes that in Iban narratives women “must be saved from themselves,” from their jealousy and naivety—by men.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>30</sup>There is an important exception, however: the comic character Father-of-Aloi (Paloi), a mischievous old man eternally rescued from his self-inflicted miseries by his wife and son. Then again, comic fables “satirize everyday life,” while the heroic sagas of Keling “celebrate Iban ideals and dwell in particular on wars, travel and romance” (Sather 1984:ix). Hence one could see the hen-pecked Paloi as the moral antithesis of Keling—a model of aborted manhood not to be tried in one’s longhouse rooms. See Sather (2001) for a collection of comic tales in one of which Paloi challenges Keling and his followers to a cockfight. The agreement is that the loser becomes the slave of the winner. The heroes lose and their wives have to save the situation by trouncing Paloi and winning their husbands back. For once, it is not Paloi who has to be rescued (Sather 2001: 60-66). For a very British version of Paloi, see Tom Sharpe’s (1976) farce, *Wilt*.

At any rate, thanks to the unrelenting work of Benedict Sandin, Henry Gerijih, and other Bureau authors, Iban oral literature is today far better recorded than that of any other Bornean ethnic group (Maxwell 1989: 186, Sather 1994), even if some scholars have doubts about the usefulness of the Bureau's books, in which the oral accounts have been "abridged and edited making them almost unreliable for serious studies" (Said 1994: 58). One neglected research area, however, has been the significance of the Bureau's books not for posterity but rather in terms of the 1960s-1970s attempts to develop a modern, literate Iban culture. This was precisely my aim in the preceding pages: to situate the books in relation not to a timeless past or a scholarly future, but in the contemporary flux of a rapidly modernizing Sarawak. Three concluding remarks are called for:

First, the vision driving the Bureau's editors and authors was to modernize the native societies through social and economic development while preserving what they considered to be the best of their rich oral traditions through literacy. At the same time Sarawak had to be protected from the related threats of racial conflict, a belligerent Indonesia, and communism. We have seen some of the ways in which the Bureau's authors, notably Andria Ejau, served their government. In all cases they were animated by the paradoxical project of having both to change and to preserve Iban culture. *What* Iban culture did they draw upon? Not a wholesale "pristine Iban culture" (Freeman 1980: 7) untouched by modernity, but rather, local oral fragments of an eroded "tradition" (*adat Iban*) that Ejau and others reconstructed piecemeal as they went along. Yet salvaging a story in print is a radically different action from telling a story in the semi-darkness of an ill-lit and illiterate longhouse gathering. It is part of the collective "objectification" of Iban culture undertaken by these pioneering media agents. Writing about the Bidayuh, formerly known as Land Dayaks, Winzeler (1997:224-5) applies Wagner's (1981) notion of "objectification of culture," a process whereby implicit practices are rendered explicit as "custom" or "heritage." To Wagner, such processes are part and parcel of the inventiveness of all human societies. Other anthropologists, however, have considered them to be unique to Western modernity. Winzeler seeks a middle ground. He argues that Southeast Asian societies adopted cultural objectifications of Indic and Islamic origin (notably *ugama* or religion, and *adat* or custom, respectively) well before the arrival of Europeans. Yet the tendency "to turn native lifeways into matters of objective contemplation and selection of ethnic traditions" was greatly intensified under colonial and post-colonial governments.

Among the Bidayuh, for instance, the male ceremonial house (*baruk*), a strikingly designed building where enemy skulls were kept, has emerged in recent times as the "ethnic emblem" *par excellence*. Winzeler (1997: 223) maintains that this choice of emblem results from its architectural beauty and from its being uniquely Bidayuh, for this multilingual group has little else other than architecture to distinguish it from neighboring groups. Unlike the Bidayuh, the Iban have a common language with minor dialectal variations, a language with a long and rich history that is often invoked as the bedrock of the Iban culture. The Iban language was not only a *means* to the "objective contemplation and selection of ethnic traditions," the print media turned it into an *object* of study, contemplation, and culturalist devotion in its own right. Indeed, language has remained the most powerful emblem of Ibanness to this day (see Masing 1981), far more powerful than any item of material culture or architecture could ever be.

Second, as Appendix 2 shows, there was a predominance of authors from the Saribas-Kalaka belt, and in particular from Benedict Sandin's Paku River—an area noted both for its early economic and educational achievements and its love of Iban tradition (Sather 1994: 71-72). The Saribas was a curiously modernist-traditionalist crossroads whose leading families were well aware of the economic advantages of a Christian name and education, and yet had retained a deep respect for their own cultural heritage. Sandin and the other Bureau authors created a cultural feedback loop: they acquired oral items in the rural areas, processed them in Kuching, and “fed them back” to the rural areas in a new, literary form. In the process they were adding symbolic and market value to their stories, for the written word carried immense authority among illiterate and semi-literate longhouse residents. It was a classic center-periphery relationship whereby raw materials from the economic margins were manufactured in the urban centers and sent back to their places of origin. In so doing, the Bureau was also standardizing “Iban culture” through the systematic use of orthographic, generic, and rhetorical conventions. Moreover, after 1963, its authors “updated” Iban ethnohistory with the incorporation of Malaysia into their developmentalist accounts.

Finally, King (1989:243) understands ethnic categories as “part of wider taxonomies and sets of social, economic, and political relations” and urges researchers in Borneo to relate ethnicity to other “principles of social organization.” Similarly, Eriksen (1993: 12) notes that “ethnicity is essentially an aspect of a relationship, not a property of a group.” In the context of Iban ethnicity, we have to stress a sub-ethnic domain: one’s river of origin. Class, education, and geography were inextricably conjoined in the making of the early Iban media producers. These pioneering authors were not only the products of a region, their talents were fostered and channeled in a few educational institutions, which favored the social and cultural development of the Iban. Appendix 2 demonstrates how nearly half the authors sampled obtained their secondary schooling at St Augustine, in the Saribas. Additionally, a sizeable number of authors trained as teachers at Wilson's Batu Lintang in Kuching. Virtually all were, or had been, rural, schoolteachers. Four authors (Ejau, Jimbai, Kechendai and Jarraw) were also broadcasters with Radio Sarawak, another nativist institution. The exclusion of women from the new field of cultural production was a hidden, taken-for-granted principle of social organization at work in this process. Very few women in those days had access to a secondary school education, let alone to further training in the capitol. Besides, storytelling had always been yet another male Iban prerogative.<sup>31</sup> In sum, our authors were mission-educated men from economically progressive yet culturally conservative areas, bent on developing their careers in a new field of cultural production while developing their people.

From the above discussion, it may appear as if there were no resistance to the modernizing drive of these media producers. A closer reading of their texts, however, suggests a constant struggle to persuade reluctant rural Iban to modernize their ways, particularly in Ejau's educational work. Elsewhere (Postill 1998 and 1999, chapters 5-6). I argue that their efforts, at least in the Saribas and Skrang rivers, have paid off. This is born out by a history of ideas and media practices in these areas I have written from the

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<sup>31</sup>With the exception of the *sabak* (dirge) genre. Recall that Rajit (1969), the Anglican priest mentioned earlier, acquired his *sabak* knowledge from his mother.

perspective of local media consumers. Today, there is little resistance to “development” (*pemansang*) in its myriad institutional forms, from Christianity through agriculture to health and education.

### **Iban print media: from boom to bonfire**

According to Leigh (1983: 160), the three key political issues in the decade that followed independence (1963-1973) were federal-state relations, the opening-up of native land to commercial exploitation, and the debate over whether English or Malay was to be the medium of instruction in Sarawak. The first Chief Minister of an independent Sarawak “through Malaysia” was an Iban, Stephen Kalong Ningkan. He was seen in Kuala Lumpur as a confrontational Dayak, especially because of his strong defence of English as the language of instruction and government and his reluctance to take on Malayan civil servants. In fact, like many other Sarawak leaders at the time, he considered the union with Malaysia as a “treaty relationship between sovereign nations” (Leigh 1983: 162).

In 1966, the Malaysian Prime Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman, made use of emergency powers to remove Ningkan from power.<sup>32</sup> Instead, he installed a more pliable Iban: Tawi Sli. The Tunku was a firm believer in the need for a strong national language, “for language is the soul of the Nation” (Leigh 1974: 88). He was convinced that under Tawi Sli “there was a much better chance of the people developing a Malaysian consciousness” (Leigh 1974: 105, fn 79). The language issue was finally settled under the following Chief Minister, Abdul Rahman Yakub, a Melanau Muslim, in favour of Malay<sup>33</sup> (Leigh 1983: 163). With Ningkan went the political support needed for the development of modern Iban-language media. Appendix 3 shows how the golden period of new Iban titles at the Borneo Literature Bureau came to a sharp end in 1968. Allowing for the backlog created by the deluge of new manuscripts reported in 1965, it is safe to assume that the drop was linked to the new, unfavorable political climate.

From the mid-1960s, the Iban (and other Dayaks) increasingly lost political ground to the Malay-Melanau Muslim elites. The only outlet for Iban discontent with the slow pace of rural development, the opposition party SNAP, was financially weak and finally joined the government coalition in 1976. All through this period there were token Iban/Dayak representatives in the state cabinet, but the real power always resided with the Melanau and their Malay allies (Jawan 1994: 124).

Radio Sarawak (later RMS and RTM) and Borneo Literature Bureau producers and authors were struggling to preserve a language and a culture that in the mid-1960s lost out to the new national language imported from Malaya. Iban-language radio and literature were complementary media: the former used oral/aural means, the latter, visual means to achieve the same goals. Their target audience was in the politically weak rural areas, away from Kuching's corridors of power, increasingly linked to those of Kuala Lumpur. The cultural system from which the authors of books and scripts drew oral knowledge and to

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<sup>32</sup>A move applauded at the time by Malaysia's current Prime Minister, Dr Mahathir bin Mohammed, then a backbencher. According to one biographer, Mahathir already held “a dim view of democracy” in the early years of independence (Khoo 1995: 275).

<sup>33</sup>Malay was accepted as the official language in Sarawak alongside English until 1985, when English was finally dropped (Zulficly 1989: 159).

which they contributed literate knowledge was rapidly becoming a subsystem within an expanding national polity.

Twenty-seven years ago, Leigh (1974:94) predicted that “the Iban school teachers may yet prove to be a politically pivotal group.” That appears to have been the case, to some extent, in the 1987 elections (Leigh 1991). I now turn to the abrupt end of the Iban medium with which those teachers were most actively involved. This event arguably thwarted the development of Iban as a language of high culture and social critique.<sup>34</sup> Oral tradition in Kuching has it that soon after Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka (DBP), Malaysia’s language planning and development agency, took over the Borneo Literature Bureau in 1977, they had all the books in Iban and other Bornean languages buried. Shortly afterwards, the mass media grave was discovered by a reader who rescued some of the books. To prevent future finds, my informants allege that the new cultural authorities resorted to a traditional agricultural practice known as “open burning.” If this is true, what in the 1960s had been a modest literary boom, ended up feeding a bonfire.

DBP officials appear to be nervous on the subject of Bornean languages. For instance, Z. A. Zulfiqly (1989) has stated that the role of his agency is to publish works “in the national language *or other vernaculars*” (my emphasis) and that it “does not disregard Sarawak’s principal aspiration in relation to its literature and local socio-culture, most importantly, its oral tradition in the form of folklores in order that such folklores will not be obliterated thus” (1989: 159). Soon after, however, he reveals the post-1977 function assigned by Kuala Lumpur to the local languages: to supply the national language with new words, a role he deems “immensely significant for the purpose of fostering national integration.” Indeed, he says, “[h]itherto, 50 words in various regional languages have been officially assimilated in the *bahasa Malaysia* word vocabulary”<sup>35</sup> (1989:159). He concludes that DBP cannot publish books in regional languages “because this would inadvertently contradict its policy and an apparently mediocre market” (1989: 161), thus inadvertently contradicting his own opening statement on the agency’s role in publishing works in “other vernaculars.” The truth is that the protection and development of “minority languages”<sup>36</sup> appears in Article 152 of the Federal Constitution which guarantees “the right of all ethnic communities in Malaysia to use, sustain and develop their mother tongue” (Tawai 1997: 18). In practice, however, the sustained aim is to create a Malay-based national language and culture. Thus, in 1988, to mark the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the creation of Malaysia, the Sarawak government ran a number of workshops on each of the state’s major ethnic groups in order to determine “what to discard in the interest of ‘development’ and ‘unity’ and what to preserve and incorporate into a national (Malaysian) culture” (Winzeler 1997: 201).

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<sup>34</sup>It remains to be investigated whether the internet is aiding the creation of such a critical space.

<sup>35</sup>Including the Iban terms *berandau* (to converse, to chat) and *merarau* (to have lunch).

<sup>36</sup>Ironically, in numerical terms, Malay is more of a “minority language” in Sarawak than Iban. The Malay population stood at 330,000 in 1988 (21% of the total), compared to 471,000 Iban (30%), the largest ethnic population in the state. Together, the Dayaks made up approximately 50% of the state population (Jawan 1994:24).

Well-placed Dayaks aid this process of linguistic and cultural assimilation. Another DPB official, Jonathan Singki, the editor of the Iban-language magazine *Nendak* from December 1975 until its reported cremation in November 1977, offers a different explanation for the insignificant output of Iban books under DPB. Singki, who now devotes his energies to Malay-language texts, argues that Iban authors, and in particular the committee set up to publish Iban textbooks, are not sufficiently professional. Instead of sending Camera Ready Copy (CRC) manuscripts, says Singki,<sup>37</sup> they send in crude printouts in need of a great deal of editorial work that causes huge delays.

Other urban Iban I talked to privately suspect that there are political reasons behind these “technical delays.” A case in point is Andria Ejau's manuscript *Layang Bintang*, a morality novella on rural development he wrote in 1972 in which he warns rural readers of the perils of sheltering communist-terrorist (CT) guerrillas. This *ensera kelulu* won a 1973 BLB award, yet the Bureau never printed it. It was only in 1984, after a hiatus of 11 years, that Ejau learnt that his manuscript would not be published by DBP because it had been originally sent to the Borneo Literature Bureau,<sup>38</sup> an organization no longer in existence (Ejau 1985:5). DBP were willing, however, to return the original manuscript to Ejau. Fortunately for him, that same year (1984) the Sarawak Dayak Iban Association (SADIA) was founded. One of their very first tasks was to publish *Layang Bintang*, which finally came out in 1985 (by which time the anti-communist message was somewhat dated!). The rationale behind such an expenditure was enunciated in unequivocal terms by the Chairman of SADIA, Sidi Munan (1985:3): “For if we LOSE OUR LANGUAGE, we will LOSE OUR PEOPLE”<sup>39</sup>—a slogan tellingly reminiscent of Malaysia's first Prime Minister's aforesaid “for language is the soul of the Nation.”

### Conclusion

Ernest Gellner (1983: 140-143) has famously argued that the origins of nationalism in Europe lay in the rise of industrial society. The requirements of a modern economy that aimed for sustained economic growth led to a new relationship between state and culture. Such an economy depended on a “literate sophisticated high culture” in which members could communicate precisely both face-to-face and through abstract means. European states came to monopolize legitimate culture via mass education and a national language. The driving principle of nationalism, says Gellner, was *one state, one culture*. Across Southeast Asia, this principle is being relentlessly pursued today, in spite of the ubiquity of “unity in diversity” symbols and slogans. For instance, the Thai government “actively discourages attempts by foreign missionaries to provide its hill-tribe minorities with their own transcription-systems and to develop publications in their own languages: the same government is largely indifferent to what these minorities *speak*” (Anderson 1991: 45). Similarly, Iban radio posed less of a threat to the fledgling Malaysian nation-state than Iban print media, so it was allowed to live on. Provencher (1994:55) overlooks this

<sup>37</sup>Interviewed on 30 July 1997 in Kuching.

<sup>38</sup>John Lent (1994: 94), a media researcher, claims he was the victim of a different kind of restriction. His book manuscript on mass communications was banned from publication owing to “a few timidly-critical points about Malaysian mass media.” The official line was that the manuscript had not been written in Bahasa Malaysia.

<sup>39</sup>“Laban enti kitai LENYAU JAKO, reti LENYAU BANGSA.”

crucial distinction between orality and literacy when he states that the official policy is to teach the standard language (*bahasa baku*) to every Malaysian citizen “and to officially criticize those who continue to speak and write in regional dialects.”

Eriksen (1993:128) maintains that literate minorities have a better chance of surviving than illiterate ones. He adds: “Groups which have ‘discovered that they have a culture,’ who have invented and reified their culture, can draw on myths of origin and a wide array of potential boundary-markers that are unavailable to illiterate minorities.” That was precisely what was at stake when DBP took over the Borneo Literature Bureau.

Ethnicity studies within social anthropology since Barth (1969) have tended to focus on how cultural differences among ethnic groups acquire “social significance.” Anthropologists who adopt this “constructivist” approach are not overly interested in the actual cultural differences that may separate one ethnic group from another, but rather in how those differences are constructed. Yet there are anthropologists with an historical bent who maintain that cultural features matter a great deal. For instance, Peel (1989) has insisted, as I mentioned in the introduction, that cultural and linguistic distinctiveness was central to the strong consolidation of the Yoruba identity within the Nigerian state.

In this essay I have adopted a “culturalist” and historical approach centered on language, emphasizing the importance of the Iban language during the first phase of media production (1954-1976) and the uniqueness of the re-invented cultural heritage preserved through it. I will be analyzing the second phase (1977-ongoing) in a future piece (see Postill 2000 chapter 2). This early phase gave new opportunities to a generation of young Iban men who had acquired literacy skills at the mission schools and were eager to build, to quote Gellner again, a “literate sophisticated high culture” combining cultural materials from their colonial masters and longhouse elders. Their project was remarkably similar to that embarked upon by late 19th century Norwegian and other nationalists in Europe (cf. O’Connor 1999 on Ireland). The Norwegians, too, traveled to remote valleys in search of ancient words, stories, and artifacts from an “authentic culture”—a culture they believed distinct from that of their Swedish rulers. They, too, selected items from the peasant culture they studied to create a coherent ethnogenesis back in the urban areas that was then re-routed to the countryside (Eriksen 1993:102). The crucial difference was that the Iban teachers lacked an Iban state, for a literate culture “cannot normally survive without its own political shell, the state” (Gellner 1983: 140-143). It is one thing to incorporate the state into a minority’s ethnohistory and drama, like Sandin and Ejau did.<sup>40</sup> It is quite another to create a truly multilingual nation, like the anomalous Swiss have done.

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<sup>40</sup>As Clifford Sather (personal communication) has rightly pointed out, the broad socio-economic and geopolitical factors that I stress in this essay should not make us lose sight of “the agency, the dogged determination, passion, at times even literary brilliance, of the Iban actors in this story.” Often we are dealing with “creative and imaginative works, some of them quite moving, funny, etc.” Benedict Sandin, adds Sather, had to struggle throughout his life with both Sarawakians and foreigners hostile to his “old fashioned” line of work (witness, for instance, Freeman’s 1980 dismissal of Sandin as unscholarly in his adherence to “Iban tenets”). Since the demise of the BLB, Sandin’s



## APPENDIX 1

A breakdown of 7 issues<sup>41</sup> of *Nendak* magazine (1968-1975) by general (folklore vs. educational)<sup>42</sup> and specific subject matter.

<b>Penemu lama</b>	<b>Iban folklore</b> <sup>43</sup>
7 <i>ensera</i>	fictive narratives, usu. epic sagas
6 <i>cherita lama/tuai</i>	“factual” ethnohistorical accounts <sup>44</sup>
2 <i>cherita mimpi</i>	dream narratives
2 <i>ensera anembiak</i>	stories for children
2 <i>entelah</i>	riddles
2 <i>adat Iban</i>	Iban custom pieces <sup>45</sup>
1 <i>cherita kelulu</i>	morality tale
1 <i>pantun</i>	sung poem
1 <i>leka main</i>	propaganda poem
1 <i>jako kelaung enggau</i>	proverbs and parables
<i>jako sema</i>	
1 <i>ngalu petara leboh</i>	Dayak Day ceremony to welcome gods <sup>46</sup>
<i>Gawai Dayak</i>	
1 <i>lumba enggau main</i>	traditional Iban games
<hr/>	
27 sub-total items	

memory “is all but gone” in Sarawak, yet “he loved what he did, thought it mattered enormously, and most of all he simply loved the language.”

<sup>41</sup>Some parts were missing in two of the photocopies I was able to inspect, and I could not date another two of them.

<sup>42</sup>The division of the items into two broad categories is mine. No such division is apparent in *Nendak*. Items from both categories are jumbled together in all issues examined. Furthermore, some of the “Iban Folklore” items are also meant to “modernize” the readers' supposedly traditional worldview.

<sup>43</sup>Literally “old knowledge,” including recent innovations, e.g. *Gawai Dayak* (Dayak Festival Day) ceremonies, and pro-government morality tales (*cherita kelulu*).

<sup>44</sup>See Sather (1994) for a learned discussion of Iban ethnohistory.

<sup>45</sup>One contribution by Benedict Sandin on longhouse *basa* (etiquette, good manners), the other an interview with Tunggay anak Mulla, also from the Saribas, on *ngetas ulit* (rite to end a period of mourning) and *serara bunga* (rite to “separate” the dead from the living).

<sup>46</sup>A newly invented rite to receive and introduce to the longhouse the *Petara*, or heavenly guests (Richards 1981: 7), during the *Gawai Dayak* festival, adapted from Iban custom. *Gawai Dayak* was invented in 1965, three years before the publication of this issue of *Nendak* (see discussion of Ejau's novella *Batu Besundang* above).

<b><i>Penemu baru</i></b>	<b>Educational material<sup>47</sup></b>
2 <i>betanam betupi</i>	agriculture and animal husbandry <sup>48</sup>
2 <i>ungkop sida ka indu</i>	home economics <sup>49</sup>
2 <i>ajar pengerai</i>	health advice <sup>50</sup>
2 <i>jako melintang pukang</i>	Iban crossword puzzle
2 <i>belajar Bahasa</i>	national language lessons
<i>Kebangsaan</i>	
1 <i>pengawa kunsila</i>	the office of councilor
1 <i>tuai rumah enggau</i>	the office of headman
<i>anembiak iya</i>	
1 <i>rumah panjai</i>	the longhouse [in a modern society]
1 <i>ajar lumor</i>	algebra lesson
1 <i>main sains dunya &amp;</i>	geography quiz
<i>gaya pengidup</i>	
1 <i>sekula di menoa</i>	the school system in Malaysia
<i>Malaysia</i>	
1 <i>Bujang Berani</i>	pro-Malaysia propaganda article [Malaysian Heroes]
<i>Anembiak Malaysia</i>	
1 <i>Taun Baru China</i>	Chinese New Year [feature article]
1 <i>gambar tuai perintah</i>	photographic report on Sarawak leaders
1 <i>gambar Taun Baru</i>	photographic report on Chinese New Year
<i>China</i>	
<hr/>	
20 sub-total items	
<hr/>	
47 total items	

<sup>47</sup>I am following the Bureau's terminology here. In some items, e.g. "*Bujang Berani...*," read propaganda.

<sup>48</sup>Prepared by the Agriculture Department.

<sup>49</sup>Idem.

<sup>50</sup>Prepared by the Health Department.

## APPENDIX 2

## Profiles of 17 Borneo Literature Bureau Iban Authors

Name	Origin	Secondary	Training	Other
1962 Sandin	Paku, Saribas	St Augustine	Sarawak Museum	<i>tukang tusut</i>
1962 Gerijih	Paku, Saribas	St Augustine	Batu Lintang	<i>lemambang</i>
1962 Majang	Kalaka	St Augustine	Batu Lintang	
1963 A. Ejau	Kalaka	St Augustine	Councilor	Radio Sarawak
1965 Duncan	Saribas	St Augustine	Batu Lintang	
1966 Pitok	Simanggang	Simanggang	Batu Lintang	
1966 Imang	Simanggang	Simanggang	Batu Lintang	craftsman
1966 Guang	Paku, Saribas	St Augustine	Agric. Dept.	
1966 L.Ijau	Paku, Saribas	Paku, Saribas	Batu Lintang	
1967 Inin	Kalaka	Saratok	Lubok Antu	
1967 Nyangoh	Kanowit	Julau	?	
1967 Gani	Balingian	Kapit	Methodist pastor	
1968 Pelima	Rimbas	Debak	trader, Paku	
1968 Ensiring	Saratok	Saratok	Rajang TTC	
1968 Jarraw	Kanowit	Kanowit	Radio Sarawak	BBC
1969 Rajit	Saribas	St Augustine	Anglican priest	
1970 Kechendai	Paku, Saribas	Debak	St Augustine	Radio Sarawak

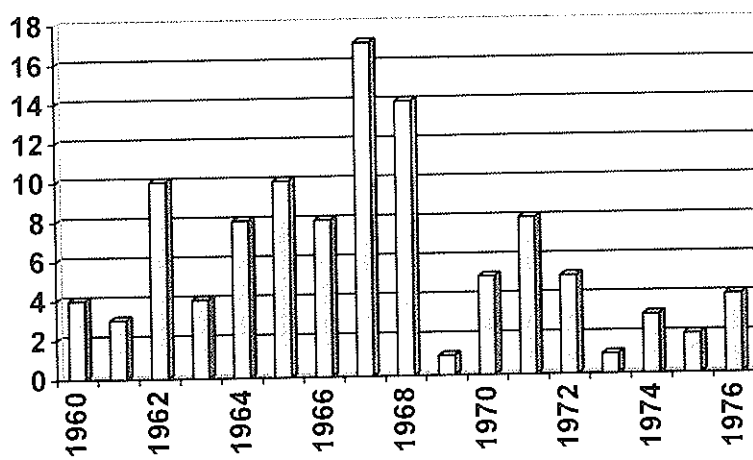
N.B. I have included authors on whom information is available and arranged them by year of first publication, indicating place of origin, secondary school education, training and other relevant information where applicable.

Sources: Borneo Literature Bureau publications and Steinmayer (1990).

Key: St Augustine = St. Augustine School, in Betong, Saribas; *tukang tusut* = genealogist; *lemambang* = bard; Batu Lintang = Batu Lintang Teacher Training College, in Kuching; Rajang TTC = Rajang Teacher Training College.

APPENDIX 3  
New Iban Titles Printed by the Borneo Literature Bureau  
From 1960 to 1976

Source: Borneo Literature Bureau Annual Reports



## GENDER DIFFERENCES IN TOBACCO HABITS AMONG RURAL KADAZANS AND BAJAUS IN SABAH

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### **Introduction**

Cigarettes became the dominant form of tobacco use in the twentieth century with the introduction of machine-manufactured cigarettes in 1881. European powers changed the agricultural patterns of their colonies in many parts of the world; these countries were encouraged to grow tobacco and even when they achieved independence, they continued to grow tobacco for its earnings (Chollat-Traquet 1992). In Sabah, the British started trial planting of tobacco in the Sandakan area in the early 1880s. When the first Sabah leaf sold in Amsterdam was considered to be among the finest in the world, tobacco cultivation, after 1885, was intensified. Tobacco development schemes generated revenue and tobacco growing became very important. By 1890, Dutch, German, and British planters had large estates, tobacco became a major export, and the wealth of the territory was at that time dependent on tobacco, timber, and land sales. The industry started to decline after 1902, but had a minor revival after the Great Depression in 1929 (Gudgeon 1981). With a history of tobacco being an industry in Sabah, it is not surprising that the indigenous people have continued to plant tobacco on their own farms and that tobacco habits are widespread.

This article highlights gender differences in tobacco habits of rural Sabahans who have easy access to local tobacco. Its intent is to add to the information presented in a previous paper on medicinal and other uses of tobacco among rural Kadazans and Bajaus (Gan 1998). Gender differences in tobacco habits require control strategies that target each sex. Health messages must be focused and appropriate for each gender if they are to be effective. The findings in this article constitute part of a larger study aimed at documenting the prevalence, practice, and implications of tobacco use among the indigenous peoples of Sabah. The overall intention of this larger study is to focus attention on tobacco use in Sabah so that public health measures may be initiated.

### **Study area and study population**

Kadazans in Tambunan District and Bajaus in Kota Belud District were surveyed. More than 90% of the population of Tambunan district is Kadazan, and 95% of the working population is engaged in agricultural activities: growing rice, coffee, vegetables, and tobacco (*Buku Taklimat Daerah Tambunan* 1988). Kadazans in Tambunan are invariably Roman Catholic. Slightly more than 30% of the population of Kota Belud is Bajau and the main occupations are farming (rice, cocoa, and vegetables) and fishing. The Bajaus are invariably Muslims. In both districts, the main occupation of men and women is farming.

### Materials and Methods

Prevalence data were collected through two cross-sectional surveys using an interview questionnaire and were conducted in the Tambunan and Kota Belud districts respectively. The software program Epi Info 5 was used to estimate sample size for population cross-sectional surveys. After multi-stage sampling, 23 villages from Tambunan and 14 villages from Kota Belud were included in the survey. All adults 18 years of age or over were requested through the village headman to participate, and interviews were conducted mainly in the village community hall.

Information was also gathered through tape recorded interviews of Kadazan and Bajau informants in the two districts. The purpose of the study was made known to informants and participation was voluntary. An interview guide with issues for the informant to focus on was used. While there was a general plan of inquiry, the main questions were open-ended and there was no particular order or wording for the questions. A total of 50 female and 19 male informants participated and interviews were conducted in small groups or individually. Those interviewed were either those identified by local residents as informative or those who were randomly approached in public places. There were more women as women were more eager to participate. The interviews were conducted in Malay by the investigator and two trained interviewers. For older informants, a local health staff member assisted as interpreter. All surveys were completed by 1995.

### Findings

A total of 877 Kadazans (405 males and 472 females) and 845 Bajaus (414 males and 431 females) were interviewed. Of both Kadazan and Bajau respondents, more than half were farmers.

Both communities have two major tobacco habits: smoking and the use of tobacco as an ingredient in betel chewing (smokeless tobacco use). Two types of cigarettes are smoked: *kirai* (handrolled cigarettes) and manufactured cigarettes. The *kirai* is more popular and is handrolled using shredded locally grown tobacco and wrappers made from the dried leaves of the palm *Nipa fruticans* or from the sago palm *Metroxylon sagus* (Burkill 1966). Various brands of manufactured cigarettes are also smoked, but less frequently because they are more costly. The *kirai* has its own aroma and this is another reason for it being the more popular choice. In Kota Belud, some Bajaus smoke big *kirai*, six inches to a foot long, resembling an elongated cone, which take a longer time to smoke.

In the ritual of betel chewing, a number of ingredients in various combinations are used. Commonly, betel leaf (from the vine *Piper betle* L), areca nut (the fruit of *Areca catechu* L), lime (from seashells), gambir (a preparation from the leaves and twigs of the shrub *Uncaria gambir*), and shredded tobacco are included. Depending on the individual's liking, various ingredients placed on a piece of betel leaf are usually chewed first to produce a quid and the initial juice is spat out. For those who like tobacco, a small amount of tobacco is then added which, imbibed with the betel juice, produces a pleasing flavor. The combination of ingredients used and sequence of ingredient added depends on individual preference. Some women smear *minyak* (bee's wax mixed with coconut oil) on their lips so that the quid, when placed between the lips, will not feel so hot.

A large proportion of Kadazan and Bajau men smoke, but very few use smokeless tobacco. Only a few men had both tobacco habits. Table 1 shows that the prevalence of smoking among Kadazan and Bajau men is high, while smokeless use among them is very low.

**Table 1 Tobacco habits of men**

Tobacco habits*	Kadazans		Bajaus	
	No. %	(n=405)	No. %	(n=414)
Smoke	247	61	308	74.4
Smokeless tobacco use	3	0.7	18	4.3
Smoke and smokeless tobacco use	1	0.2	10	2.4

\*The habits stated are not mutually exclusive

A total of 328 (69.5%) of Kadazan women have a chewing habit, but only 281(59.5%) include tobacco as an ingredient. A total of 346 (80.3%) Bajau women have a chewing habit, but only 332 (77%) use tobacco as an ingredient. In both communities the prevalence of smoking is low among the women. The prevalence of female tobacco users is shown in Table 2.

**Table 2 Tobacco habits of women**

Tobacco habits*	Kadazans		Bajaus	
	No. %	(n=472)	No. %	(n=431)
Smokeless tobacco use	281	59.5	332	77
Smoke	51	10.8	14	3.3
Smoke and smokeless tobacco use	23	4.9	7	1.6

\*The habits stated are not mutually exclusive

Interviews with informants of both sexes revealed that men smoke because it is thought to be a normal male habit. Men smoke at social functions and during leisure time. Several male informants said: "Women chew while we men smoke." Although it is thought that smoking is a male habit, there are no objections to women smoking. There are also no objections to men chewing betel quid. The few males who chew betel report that they do so because they like the taste and they feel totally at ease to do so in public.

Chewing betel with or without tobacco is considered a female habit. Women follow the examples of their mothers and grandmothers. The chewing habit among women is viewed as an expected practice during social events. Women are considered proud if they do not participate in chewing socially. During leisure time, it is a norm for women to gather together for chewing and chatting sessions. Women also feel that they can endure hardship better if they chew. They feel less tired, less sleepy, and can withstand hunger,

thirst or cold after chewing. In Kota Belud, another reason why women have the habit is because they have to treat their children's ailments. Juice from betel quid is used to remedy abdominal colic, tobacco juice is rubbed on the abdomen for deworming, and tobacco imbued with betel juice is placed on a newborn's umbilical cord stump in order to produce a beautiful navel. Older women also think that the chewing habit strengthens their teeth and that the juice, which reddens their lips, makes them more attractive. A woman is happy to carry a bag which holds chewing ingredients in different containers when she works in the field, travels, or when she visits her friends.

The informants also revealed a new trend in tobacco use among young women, teenagers, and schoolgirls. A small wad of shredded tobacco smeared with lime is placed between the gums and cheek and the juice is swallowed. The tobacco is spat out when it becomes tasteless. This subtle use of smokeless tobacco in preference to betel chewing is popular with schoolgirls and working women. It is less likely to be detected by teachers or bosses. Younger women also prefer lipstick to the red stain of betel juice. A small amount of shredded tobacco and lime is more compact and easily concealed compared to a bag of betel chewing ingredients. Young men do not have this habit; rather, they smoke.

The habits of smoking and smokeless tobacco use are easily sustained because the ingredients used are cheap and easily available. Farmers grow tobacco in the Tambunan, Ranau, and Keningau districts as a cash crop or for their own consumption. Both women and men grow and sell tobacco. Purchased from the *tamu* (weekly market), a bag of local shredded tobacco (*sigup*) and a bunch of *kirai* wrappers each cost one Malaysian *ringgit*. For a person who smokes 6 *kirais* a day, this purchase will last a week. Depending on the brand, manufactured cigarettes are 3 or 4 times more costly.

Ten betel leaves, a small block of gambir, a small container of lime, and five areca nuts cost 50 cents (Malaysian) for each type of ingredient. These ingredients together with 50 cents of *sigup* can last a week for the average smokeless tobacco user. All ingredients are easily available in the *tamu* or in little village stalls.

## Discussion

The tradition of betel quid chewing had been practiced for more than 2000 years in Southeast Asia, while tobacco is thought to be a modern addition to the quid to enhance the flavor (Rooney 1993). In Thailand, Burma, Cambodia, Vietnam, the Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia, and South China this history is evidenced by ancient betel chewing containers. Betel chewing is common among women. In Sabah, it is passed on from female ancestors.

The belief that tobacco and betel quid have medicinal value, particularly for children, has helped to entrench the smokeless tobacco habit among women. In rural societies where entertainment is limited, chatting and chewing sessions provide opportunity for female bonding and leisure. A smokeless tobacco habit is not only accepted, but expected. That smokeless tobacco use has stimulating effects is another reason why women continue the habit. Women (unlike men) do not find it cumbersome to carry a bag of ingredients among the many things that they are accustomed to carry as mothers.

In Western society, smoking had been very much a male habit until the 1920s when women started to smoke in public as a sign of equality. As women participated in war activities in the Second World War, smoking became associated with working women,



independence, and emancipation. Smoking rates among women, which had been low in the early part of the twentieth century, rose as social restrictions relaxed and peaked later than it did for men (Chollat-Traquet 1992). A review of gender differences in tobacco use in Africa, Asia, the Pacific, and Latin America by Waldren et al. (Waldren et al. 1988) reveals that, in general, because men have greater social power than women, social prohibitions against women smoking have been a major cause of gender differences in tobacco use. However, variations in the social significance and benefits attributed to particular types of tobacco use in different cultures also result in gender differences in tobacco habits. Both these factors help to explain gender differences in tobacco habits in Sabah: smokeless tobacco use is both socially encouraged and useful for women. The exposure of these indigenous people to European societies in the late nineteenth century may have enhanced the perception that smoking was a male habit.

A study of gender differences in tobacco use in Kenya (Kaplan, Carrilker and Waldren 1990) showed that among the younger generation, there were social prohibitions against women smoking, resulting in more male smokers. The absence of restrictions on men's smoking was related to men's greater social power. Among the Lahanans living in Central Borneo (Alexander and Alexander 1994), it was reported that adult women who control the production and distribution of tobacco were more likely than men to smoke and were also heavier smokers. The study suggested that gender differences in tobacco use are probably inconsequential in societies where tobacco is grown for home consumption, but becomes increasingly substantial as manufactured cigarettes replace local tobacco products. In Sabah, tobacco and all ingredients for smokeless tobacco use are home grown, cheap, and easily available. Both women and men grow and sell tobacco. While it is acknowledged that this study did not examine differences in social power between the sexes, there appears to be no apparent prohibition against women smoking nor is there any taboo against men using smokeless tobacco. It was traditionally thought, however, that smoking is a male habit and betel quid chewing a female one.

That only young women and not young men follow the new trend of sucking tobacco with lime confirms that smoking and not the use of smokeless tobacco is associated with men.

The findings reveal that while women are mainly smokeless tobacco users, they are not discouraged from smoking. While health authorities should strongly campaign against smokeless tobacco use among women, anti-smoking messages should also be included for women. The problem of sucking tobacco with lime among young females should be addressed and discouraged. Campaigns against smoking should highlight that smoking *kirai* or manufactured cigarettes is harmful. Smoking is the main problem for men particularly when it is identified with being male.

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## HEALING FLORA OF THE BRUNEI DUSUN

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### **Introduction**

The Dusun of northwest Borneo inhabit the Tutong and Belait River watersheds of Brunei Darussalam (Fig. 1). Although officially recognized as Malay by the Brunei government, the Dusun are linguistically related to the Bisaya, an ethnic group currently inhabiting the Limbang region of Sarawak (Bernstein et al., 1997). Like most tropical forest societies on the island, their subsistence economy depended, at least until recently, on swidden hill rice cultivation, supplemented by fishing, snare trapping of forest game, and collection of extractive products (Antaran, 1993; King, 1993). Although the Dusun's ethnobotanical knowledge of the forests and fields is formidable (Voeks, 1998), it is nevertheless in the process of rapid decline as they abandon their traditional ways of life (Ellen and Bernstein, 1994). As the younger generation is drawn away from the rural landscape and towards urban, wage-earning jobs, the Dusun's traditional plant knowledge is increasingly relegated to a few knowledgeable elders (Bernstein et al., 1997). The objective of this study is to document the medicinal dimension of the Dusun's ethnobotanical knowledge before it is lost irretrievably (cf. Balick, 1990; Cox, 1994).

### **Methods and study area**

Medicinal plant collections were carried out on seven one-day plant collecting trips between 1 July 1994 and 8 January 1995. Each trip lasted from four to seven hours. At the end of each collecting day, we examined and discussed the collections at length. We thus were able to resolve most questions regarding vernacular names, proper plant collection and preparation procedures, and illnesses treated.

Our Dusun informants included 68 year old Umar Putel from Bukit Sawat, and 64 year old Kilat bin Kilah from Bukit Udal. Although neither man is a specialized healer, each is regarded by the local community as particularly knowledgeable about local medicinal plants. There are, it appears, a dwindling number of Dusun with knowledge about, or interest in, the organic medicinal properties of the local flora. When we approached other Dusun to participate in the study, they simply referred us to one of our original informants.

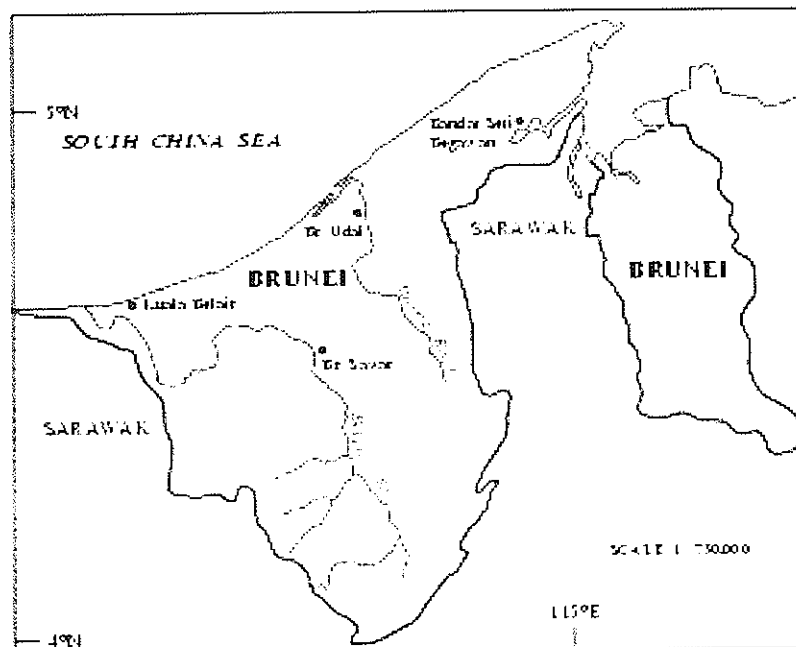


Figure 1. Map of Brunei Darussalam showing general collection areas, Bukit Sawat and Bukit Udal, and old growth forest collection plot.

Although not documented in the literature, Dusun medicine is divided roughly between organic and spiritual medicine. Organic medical problems, such as cuts, rashes, infections, and the like, are usually treated with plant products by men. Spiritual medicine, on the other hand, which is practiced in highly specialized ceremonies (*tamarok*), is the exclusive purview of female shamans, known as *balian* (see Antaran 1993, pp. 189-191). The present census focused on plant knowledge maintained by men because they are thought to be more familiar with old and second growth forests than women. In addition, organic medicinal knowledge is not sacred, whereas *balian* knowledge is highly secretive. Anecdotal evidence suggests, in fact, that *balian* medicinals are quite distinct from their organic counterparts.

Medicinal plants and duplicates were collected, vouchered, and stored in the Brunei Forestry Center herbarium at Sungai Liang, Brunei Darussalam. Species determinations were made by Dr. Idris M. Said and Joffre H. Ali Ahmad of the Brunei Forestry Herbarium.

The study area is mantled by mixed dipterocarp tropical forest and, to a lesser extent, heath forest. Soils grade from ultisols to spodosols. Collecting efforts were directed towards a diversity of habitats, from nearly pristine forests to continuously disturbed and managed areas. These latter included kitchen gardens, roadsides, trails, cattle pasture, abandoned swidden plots, secondary forest, and old growth forest. Collections in old growth forest were made in a 1-hectare, permanent study plot maintained by the Universiti Brunei Darussalam Biology Department in the Ladon Hills. The plot is characterized by a 30-40 meter relatively unbroken canopy, and is dominated

floristically by the Dipterocarpaceae, Euphorbiaceae, and Ebenaceae families. With 303 tree species or morpho-species identified, the plot is species-rich even by tropical forest standards (Voeks, 1998).

### Medicinal plants

Seventy-three medicinal taxa were identified by Umar and Kilat (Table 1). Because much of the material, particularly in old growth forest, was collected in sterile condition, not all vouchers could be identified to the species level. Of the total, 58 taxa (79%) were identified to species or subspecies, 13 (18%) to genus, and 2 (3%) only to family. These taxa were fairly evenly dispersed among 47 total families. The most medicinally rich families were the Euphorbiaceae (5), Melastomataceae (5), Fabaceae (4), Dilleniaceae (4), Menispermaceae (3), Poaceae (3), Rubiaceae (3), and Schizaceae (3).

Among the most numerically important medicinal families in the pharmacopoeia, only Euphorbiaceae is well represented as a primary forest tree family. The latter groups are either understory forest families, or, more often, are characteristic of disturbed habitats. In fact, many of the old growth understory medicinals, according to Kilat and Umar, are easier to locate in second growth forest. Thus, whereas 25 (34%) of the censused medicinals inhabited old growth forest, only 3 (12%) of these were canopy trees. The majority of old growth medicinals were, respectively, herbs 12 (48%), climbers 6 (24%), treelets or palms 3 (12%), and shrubs 1 (4%). Thus, although old growth, dipterocarp forest trees possess myriad economic and spiritual values for the Dusun, especially for timber, fiber, food, fuel wood, and magic; medicinal species in this habitat are dominated by understory, readily accessible taxa.

The Dusun pharmacopoeia is numerically dominated by disturbance species. Fifty-eight (79%) of the medicinal species were collected in second growth forest, trails or roadsides, pastures, or recent swidden sites. This preference for disturbed areas was not a product of researcher bias, but rather represented the foraging preference of the informants. Although both were quite familiar with the timber and non-timber values of old growth forest species—Kilat was able to name and describe the utility of 161 tree species in the old growth plot—neither perceived old growth forest as the most fruitful habitat for medicinal collection. Among these 58 disturbance medicinals, 18 (31%) were treelets, 13 (22%) were herbs, 13 (22%) were climbers, 9 (15%) were shrubs, and 5 (9%) were trees.

The perceived value of disturbed as opposed to primary forest habitats for medicinal plant collection among the Dusun is not anomalous. Similar results have been noted elsewhere. Toledo et al. (1992), in a comprehensive survey of useful Mexican species, reported that medicinals tended to be concentrated in second growth areas. In the Atlantic forests of Brazil, Voeks (1996) found that 76% of the plant pharmacopoeia inhabited disturbed habitats, and that 70% were represented by herbs and shrubs. Similar results were reported by Chazdon and Coe (in press), Heinrich and Barerra (1993), and Kohn (1992).

### Medicinal lexicon

The informants were unable to provide names for a significant proportion 24 (33%) of identified medicinals. Kilat, in particular, often forgot the name of the plant but not its medicinal use. At the same time, much of this “problem” appears to be in the way the

Dusun lexically encode their medicinal flora. In many cases, when I asked “What is the name of this plant?”, they would respond, for example “*parat*,” which means both male weakness and the medicine for this ailment. Thus, in this and many other cases, *parat* served as a gloss for the name of the plant, the relevant illness, and its remedy. Other examples included: *sarah* (“women’s weakness”), *muntah dara*, (“blood in vomit”), *ubat ratang* (“disease that dissolves nasal cartilage”), and others. This situation was not, however, the case with most medicinals, which were referred to by separate plant names and illnesses. The Dusun medicinal naming system warrants further investigation (Bernstein et al., 1997).

### Medicinal applications

Dusun plant medicines are employed as remedies for a wide array of ailments. Most involve the treatment of non-life threatening health problems. The largest number of species are used as tonics, or *parat*, to treat weakness in men 15 species (20%), and *sarah*, weakness in women 3 (4%). These are described as remedies for physical exhaustion, such as that experienced during rice harvest, a particularly stressful time, although there may also be a psychological component. The degree to which this gender division is dependent upon our choice of only male informants is unknown, but likely to be significant.

The other most common medicinals are used to treat postpartum distress 7 (10%), dermal problems 8 (11%), gastrointestinal ailments 17 (23%), and rheumatism 3 (4%). Three species are used to diminish the effects of alcohol consumption. This is a common problem among Borneo cultivators during harvest festivals (*gawai*), when drinking competitions frequently occur. With the exception of chest pain, which is treated by a single species, none of the medicinals are directed at life threatening problems. Significantly, no medicinals were recommended for any form of cancer, venereal disease, or snakebite.

### Conclusions

This ethnobotanical investigation revealed that the Dusun of Brunei Darussalam retain considerable knowledge of medicinal plants and their applications. A total of 73 medicinal taxa and their organic uses were identified. Most of these species have not been recorded in other local studies.

The majority of Dusun medicinal species inhabit disturbed habitats, especially secondary forests. These plants are usually represented by life forms that are readily accessible, that is, herbs, shrubs, climbers and treelets, and species that are relatively common. Large, old growth forest trees, characterized by high species diversity and concomitant low local abundance, seldom enter into medicinal recipes.

Unlike most tropical forest locations, Brunei Darussalam has not experienced extensive deforestation. As cultivating groups increasingly abandon agricultural subsistence, Brunei is in the unique position of witnessing gradual afforestation of its previously swiddened mixed dipterocarp forests. Combined with its progressive forest policy, which includes a strict logging quota and a prohibition on timber exports, Brunei harbors one of the richest and least threatened moist tropical forests on earth (Cranbrook and Edwards, 1994).

Nevertheless, ethnobotanical knowledge appears to be eroding rapidly among the Dusun and other Bruneian forest societies. The degree to which this is the case, and the possible causes therein, merit further investigation.

### Acknowledgements

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**Table 1.** Dusun Medicinal Plants. Other local studies reporting these medicinal species are noted with an asterisk, followed by the abbreviated source. \*AN92 (Anon. 1992); \*HMCH92 (Haji Mohiddin, Chin, and Holdsworth 1992); \*HMCH91 (Haji Mohiddin, Chin and Holdsworth 1991); \*AH94 (Ahmad and Holdsworth 1994); \*H91 (Holdsworth 1991).

### Anisophylleaceae

Anisophyllea disticha (Jack) Baill.

Name: *sapad*

Life form/habitat: One-meter shrub, in pasture.

Preparation/Use: Prepare fresh root decoction and drink, or occasionally eat roots raw, for weakness in men. *Parat* plant.

Coll. Number: RV482

### Annonaceae

Cyathostemma excelsum (Hook.f. & Thoms.) J. Sinclair.

Name: *tudong*

Life form/habitat: Two-meter shrub along a trail in second growth forest.

Preparation/Use: Heat leaves and place directly on stomach of woman after childbirth, or boil leaves in water and pour liquid on body.

Coll. Number: RV444

Polyalthia tenuipes Merr.

No name

Life form/habitat: Four-meter treelet in second growth forest.

Preparation/Use: Heat leaves directly over a fire and rub on baby's stomach for general illness.

Coll. Number: RV441

**Arecaceae**

Licuala sp.

Name: *silad*

Life form/habitat: Three-meter palm in old growth forest.

Preparation/Use: Prepare root decoction and drink, or occasionally eat fresh roots, for weakness in men. *Parat* plant.

Coll. Number: RV501

**Aristolochiaceae**

Aristolochia sp.

No name

Life form/habitat: Woody herb in old growth forest.

Preparation/Use: Prepare root decoction and drink, or occasionally eat roots raw, to treat blood in vomit.

Coll. Number: RV467

**Blechnaceae**

Blechnum orientale L.

Name: *gerintek*

Life form/habitat: Two-meter fern in second growth forest or pasture.

Preparation/Use: Mash young fiddleneck directly on leg to relieve pain. To dry up large boils, place pounded fiddleneck directly on boil as poultice.

Coll. Numbers: RV448 and RV500

**Caesalpiniaceae**

Bauhinia sp.

No name

Life form/habitat: Climber in old growth forest.

Preparation/Use: Prepare root decoction and drink, or occasionally eat roots raw, for relief of vertigo.

Coll. Number: RV462

Bauhinia semibifida Roxb.

Name: *daub-daub*

Life form/habitat: Small climber in old growth forest.

Preparation/Use: Prepare root decoction and drink, or occasionally eat fresh roots, as remedy for blood in vomit.

Coll. Number: RV491

**Clusiaceae**

Garcinia parvifolia (Miq.) Miq.

Name: *kandis*

Life form/habitat: Four-meter treelet in second growth forest.

Preparation/Use: Woman restores post-partum health by inhaling smoke from burning branches and leaves.

Coll. Number: RV551



Calophyllum sp.

No name

Life form/habitat: Four-meter treelet in old growth forest.

Preparation/Use: Prepare root decoction and drink, or occasionally eat fresh roots, as remedy for kidney pain.

Coll. Number: RV458

**Commelinaceae**Amischatolype sphagnorhiza Cowley

No name

Life form/habitat: Woody herb in old growth forest.

Preparation/Use: Prepare root decoction and drink, or occasionally eat fresh roots, as remedy for blood in vomit.

Coll. Number: RV468

**Connaraceae**Rourea mimosoides (Vahl) Planch.Name: *akau udang*

Life form/habitat: Small shrub or climber in second growth or old growth forest.

Preparation/Use: Boil the young, reddish shoots and drink as treatment for bloody feces. Also, eat roots as *parat*.

Coll. Numbers: RV460 and RV542

**Convolvulaceae**Erycibe sp.Name: *akau uru lanuk*

Life form/habitat: Climber in second growth forest.

Preparation/Use: Slowly rub leaf to loosen and remove upper epidermis, then apply as a thin sheet on the part of the body that has been scalded by hot water.

Coll. Number: RV559

**Costaceae**Costus paradoxus K. Schum.

No name

Life form/habitat: Herb in old growth forest.

Preparation/Use: Cut petiole or piece of stem, heat over fire, put in nostril and inhale for many days to treat disease that dissolves nasal cartilage.

Coll. Number: RV469

**Crassulaceae**Kalanchoe pinnata (Lam.) Pers. (Syn: *Bryophyllum pinnatum*)Name: *dingan-dingan*

Life form/habitat: Cultivated herb in kitchen garden.

Preparation/Use: Place fresh leaves on forehead for headache relief. (\*AN92, p. 31; \*H, p. 248; \*HMCH91, p. 255).

Coll. Number: RV565

**Dichapetalaceae**

Dichapetalum gelonioides (Roxb.) Engl. ssp. pilosum Leenh.

No name

Life form/habitat: Climber in secondary or old growth forest.

Preparation/Use: Prepare root decoction and drink, or occasionally eat fresh roots, for weakness in men. *Parat* plant.

Coll. Numbers: RV484 and RV529

**Dilleniaceae**

Dillenia suffruticosa (Griff.) Martelli

Name: *simpur*

Life form/habitat: Four to six meter treelet in second growth forest, trails, or around swidden sites.

Preparation/Use: Shave off bark and cambium, rub directly on cut to stop bleeding and promote healing. (\*AN92, p. 71; \*H91, p. 248; \*HMCH91, p. 256).

Coll. Numbers: RV447 and RV477

Dillenia sumatrana Miq.

No name

Life form/habitat: Woody herb in old growth forest.

Preparation/Use: Prepare root decoction and drink, or occasionally eat fresh roots, to treat rheumatism.

Coll. Number: RV456

Tetracera fagifolia Blume.

Name: *pampam mianai*

Life form/habitat: Climber in second growth forest.

Preparation/Use: Prepare fresh root decoction to stop diarrhea.

Coll. Number: RV487

Tetracera macrophylla Hook.f. & Thoms.

Name: *panpan indu*

Life form/habitat: Climber in second growth forest.

Preparation/Use: Prepare fresh root decoction to stop diarrhea. Coll. Number: RV499

**Dracaenaceae**

Dracaena sp.

Name: *sambangun*

Life form/habitat: Two-meter treelet in second growth.

Preparation/Use: Prepare root decoction and drink, or occasionally eat fresh roots, for weakness in females. *Sarah* plant. Also numerous magical uses. (\*AH94, p. 385).

Coll. Number: RV540

**Eriocaulaceae**

Eriocaulon longifolium Nees

Name: *kumpau sambangau*

Life form/habitat: Small herb in wet soil of pasture.

Preparation/Use: Place mashed roots directly on oral blisters for relief.  
Coll. Number: RV560.

### **Euphorbiaceae**

Glochidion rubrum Blume

Name: *dampul*

Life form/habitat: Five-meter tree in second growth forest.

Preparation/Use: Place fresh leaves and water inside a bamboo tank (see Coll. number 436), boil, and drink to treat blood in feces.

Coll. Number: RV443

Glochidion sp.

No name

Life form/habitat: One-meter woody herb in second growth forest.

Preparation/Use: Shave off root exterior and rub directly on area affected by rheumatism.

Coll. Number: RV550

Macaranga gigantea (Rchb.f. & Zoll.) Muell. Arg.

Name: *bangowong*

Life form/habitat: Two to four-meter treelet growing along trails or around swidden sites.

Preparation/Use: Tear off leaf and rub the petiole latex directly on tongue when tongue is white colored.

Coll. Number: RV449

Mallotus macrostachyus Meull. Arg.

Name: *sadaman asu*

Life form/habitat: Three-meter treelet in second growth forest.

Preparation/Use: Scrape pubescence from leaves and rub directly on cuts to promote healing.

Coll. Numbers: RV497 and RV564

Trigonostemon polyanthus Merr. var. lychnus R.I. Milne

Name: *ambuk segubang*

Life form/habitat: Treelet or tree in old growth forest.

Preparation: Eat or suck on fresh root as an antidote for poisoning, or to avoid drunkenness when drinking alcohol.

Coll. Number: RV519

### **Fabaceae**

Airyantha borneensis (Oliv.) Brummitt

Name: *akau barayung*

Life form/habitat: Four-meter treelet or climber in second growth forest.

Preparation: Heat fresh roots in water almost to boiling, and drink to treat weakness in women. *Sarah* plant.

Coll. Numbers: RV481 and RV534

Archidendron clypearia (Jack) Nielsen ssp. clypearia

Name: *sogo*

Life form/habitat: Four-meter treelet in second growth.

Preparation/Use: Boil the tree bark in water. Then pass the bark over the skin to relieve itchiness.

Coll. Number: RV435

Archidendron ellipticum (Bl.) Nielsen ssp. ellipticum

Name: *sabano*

Life form/habitat: Two-meter shrub in second growth forest.

Preparation/Use: Heat leaves over a fire and place directly over pancreas for relief of pain. Also, eat fresh, young, red leaves to eliminate blood in feces.

Coll. Number: RV496

Spatholobus ferrugineus (Zoll.) Benth.

Name: *akau kalibid*

Life form/habitat: Climber in second growth forest.

Preparation/Use: Prepare root decoction and drink, or occasionally eat fresh roots, for weakness in men. *Parat* plant.

Coll. Number: RV538

#### **Flacourtiaceae**

Casearia rugulosa Blume

Name: *keh lupor*

Life form/habitat: Two-meter treelet in second growth forest.

Preparation/Use: Mash fruit with lime paste and rub on skin for infection or rash.

Coll. Number: RV440

#### **Gnetaceae**

Gnetum gnemon L.

Name: *bagu*

Life form/habitat: Two-meter shrub in second growth forest.

Preparation/Use: Fresh root decoction drunk by women for weakness. *Sarah* plant.

Coll. Number: RV539

#### **Lauraceae**

Cinnamomum sp.

No name

Life form/habitat: Woody herb in old growth forest.

Preparation/Use: Drink root decoction to treat blood in vomit.

Coll. Number: RV459

#### **Linaceae**

Indorouchera griffithiana (Planch.) Hallier f.

Name: *akau kabul*

Life form/habitat: Climber in recent swidden areas and second growth forest.  
Preparation/Use: Remove bark, heat it, pound it thoroughly, and apply directly to rheumatic areas for relief.  
Coll. Number: RV537

Philbornea magnifolia (Stap) Hallier f.

No name

Life form/habitat: Four-meter treelet or climber along trails or in second growth forest.

Preparation/Use: Crush raw roots with fruit from *pinang* palm (*Pinanga* sp.) into a pulp and rub directly on head and stomach to treat food poisoning.

Coll. Number: RV446

### Loganiaceae

Fagraea cuspidata Blume

Name: *kabang penah* (or *panaa*)

Life form/habitat: Treelet or tree in second growth forest.

Preparation/Use: Heat leaves directly over fire. Place on stomach of woman for postpartum relief.

Coll. Numbers: RV437 and RV541

### Lycopodiaceae

Lycopodium cernuum L.

Name: *susut susut*

Life form/habitat: Club moss occurring in swampy areas.

Preparation/Use: Place fresh roots directly on oral blisters. (\*AN 92, p. 123; \*HMCH92, p. 105.).

Coll. Number: RV561

### Melastomataceae

Melastoma beccarianum Cogn.

Name: *uduk-uduk abai*

Life form/habitat: Three-meter shrub in pasture.

Preparation/Use: Rub fresh flowers on skin blemishes. Also, eat fresh leaves to relieve diarrhea.

Coll. Number: RV478

Melastoma malabathricum L.

Name: *kudok-kudok* (or *uduk-uduk*)

Life form/habitat: Common shrub in pastures or along roads.

Preparation/Use: Rub the fresh flowers directly on facial blemishes to remove them. (\*AN92, p. 135; \*H91, p. 249; \*HMCH92, p. 106).

Coll. Numbers: RV434 and RV475

Memecylon scolopacinum Ridl.

No name

Life form/habitat: One-meter, woody herb in old growth forest.

Preparation/Use: Prepare root decoction and drink, or occasionally eat fresh roots, for blood in vomit.

Coll. Number: RV463

Pternandra gracilis (Cogn.) M. P. Nayar

Name: *panawar*

Life form/habitat: Nine-meter tree in second growth forest.

Preparation/Use: Prepare root infusion, drink for relief of food poisoning.

Coll. Number: RV439

Pternandra cf. rostrata M. P. Nayar

No name

Life form/habitat: One-meter shrub in old growth forest.

Preparation/Use: Treat diarrhea by drinking root decoction, or drink liquid directly from freshly cut stem.

Coll. Number: RV470

### **Menispermaceae**

Fibraurea tinctoria Lour.

Name: *akau limbo*

Life form/habitat: Climber in old growth forest.

Preparation/Use: Grind roots and place poultice on stomach of baby suffering from colic, or on adult skin to treat jaundice. Also, fresh root decoction is used as a remedy for alcohol poisoning (hangover).

Coll. Number: RV532

Sp. Indet.

No name

Life form/habitat: Climber in pasture.

Preparation/Use: Prepare root decoction and drink, or occasionally eat fresh roots, for weakness in men. *Parat* plant.

Coll. Number: RV479

Sp. Indet.

No name

Life form/habitat: Small, woody herb in old growth forest.

Preparation/Use: Prepare root decoction and drink to treat blood in vomit.

Coll. Number: RV472

### **Mimosaceae**

Entada rheedyi Sprengl.

No name

Life form/habitat: Five-meter treelet in second growth forest.

Preparation/Use: Soak bark in water, and bathe skin to relieve itchiness.

Coll. Number: RV486

**Myrsinaceae**

Ardisia sp.

No name

Life form/habitat: Small, woody herb in old growth forest.

Preparation/Use: Prepare root decoction and drink, or occasionally eat fresh roots, for weakness in men. *Parat* plant.

Coll. Numbers: RV455 and RV464

**Myrtaceae**

Rhodomyrtus tomentosa (Aiton) Hassk.

Name: *karamunting*

Life form/habitat: Three-meter shrub in pasture.

Preparation/Use: Eat fresh fruit or leaves for diarrhea relief. (\*AN92, p. 181; \*HMCH92, p. 107).

Coll. Number: RV476

**Nepenthaceae**

Nepenthes gracilis Korth.

Name: *tuyud ranggas*

Life form/habitat: Tiny climbing pitcher plant in pasture and second growth.

Preparation/Use: Root decoction used to treat weakness in men. *Parat* plant. (\*AN92, p. 143; \*HMCH92, p. 106).

Coll. Number: RV562

**Nephrolepidaceae**

Nephrolepis dicksonioides Christ

Name: *ungkubuk*

Life form/habitat: Small fern in second growth.

Preparation/Use: Prepare frond decoction, pour over body, roll body up in bamboo mat until patient sweats. For relief of chills or skin itch.

Coll. Number: RV494

**Orchidaceae**

Bromheadia finlaysoniana (Lindl.) Miq.)

No name

Life form/habitat: Ground orchid growing in pasture.

Preparation/Use: Prepare root decoction and drink, or occasionally eat fresh roots, for weakness in men. *Parat* plant.

Coll. Number: RV480

**Pandanaceae**

Galearia fulva (Tul.) Miq.

Name: *sanggara*

Life form/habitat: One-meter herb in old growth forest.

Preparation/Use: Prepare root decoction and drink, or occasionally eat fresh roots, for weakness in men. *Parat* plant.

Coll. Number: RV505

**Phormiaceae**

Dianella ensifolia (L.) D.C.

No name

Life form/habitat: Small herb in second growth forest.

Preparation/Use: Prepare root decoction and drink, or occasionally eat fresh roots, for weakness in men. *Parat* plant. (\*HMCH91, p. 256).

Coll. Number: RV485

**Poaceae**

Dinochloa trichogona S. Dransf.

Name: *bulu badan*

Life form/habitat: Two-meter bamboo in old and second growth forest.

Preparation/Use: Cut fresh stem and let liquid drip directly into eyes to treat infection.

Coll. Numbers: RV492 and RV525

Lophatherum gracile Brongn.

No name

Life form/habitat: Small woody herb in second growth forest.

Preparation/Use: Eat fresh nodules from roots for postpartum relief. (\*AN92, p. 121; \*HMCH91, p. 257).

Coll. Number: RV438

Schizostachyum latifolium Gamble

Name: *bulu gana*

Life form/habitat: Ten-meter bamboo in second growth forest.

Preparation/Use: Prepare decoction using Glochidion rubrum in basin made from this bamboo to treat blood in stool.

Coll. Number: RV436

**Pteridaceae**

Pteris sp.

No name

Life form/habitat: Small fern in second growth.

Preparation/Use: Prepare root decoction and drink for weakness in men. *Parat* plant.

Coll. Number: RV495

**Rhamnaceae**

Ziziphus borneensis Merr.

No name

Life form/habitat: Small woody herb in old growth forest.

Preparation/Use: Prepare root decoction and drink for blood in stool.

Coll. Number: RV466

**Rosaceae**

Rubus sp.

No name



Life form/habitat: Small herb in old growth forest.

Preparation/Use: Prepare root decoction and drink for chest pain, possibly angina.

Coll. Number: RV474

### Rubiaceae

Nauclea orientalis (L.) L.

Name: *bangakai*

Life form/habitat: Tree in second growth forest.

Preparation/Use: Prepare decoction of fresh twigs in aluminum pot and drink to relieve painful bowel movement.

Coll. Number: RV433

Uncaria sp.

Name: *akar keluit*

Life form/habitat: Tree in second growth.

Preparation/Use: Boil fresh leaves and rub warm liquid on skin to relieve itchiness.

Coll. Number: RV442

Chassalia chartacea Craib sens. lat.

Name: *kayou lanci*

Life form/habitat: Shrub or treelet in second growth.

Preparation/Use: Grate fresh roots, wrap in cloth, soak in water, and squeeze into eyes to treat blurred vision.

Coll. Number RV546

### Sapindaceae

Lepisanthes fruticosa (Roxb.) Leenh

Name: *anculuk*

Life form/habitat: Three-meter treelet in old and second growth forest.

Preparation/Use: Prepare root decoction and drink or eat fresh roots for weakness in men. *Parat* plant.

Coll. Numbers: RV489 and RV523

### Schizaeaceae

Lygodium circinnatum (Burm.) Sw.

Name: *taribu mianai*

Life form/habitat: Climbing fern in second growth forest, roadsides, or swidden plots.

Preparation/Use: Prepare fresh root decoction and drink to contract vagina in women after giving birth. (\*AN92, p. 131).

Coll. Number: RV498

Lygodium microphyllum (Cav.) R. Br.

Name: *taribu indu*

Life form/habitat: Climbing fern in second growth forest, roadsides, or swidden plots.

Preparation/Use: Prepare fresh root decoction and drink to contract vagina in women after giving birth. (\*HMCH92, p. 106).

Coll. Number: RV483

Schizaea dichotoma (L.) Sm.

Name: *pitagar payung*

Life form/habitat: Small fern occurring around swidden sites and pastures.

Preparation/Use: Prepare root decoction and drink or eat fresh roots for weakness in men. *Parat* plant. (\*AH94, p. 386; \*HMCH92, p. 107).

Coll. Number: RV554

### Scrophulariaceae

Brookea tomentosa Benth.

Name: *sambong*

Life form/habitat: One-meter herb in second growth forest.

Preparation/Use: Prepare fresh root decoction and drink to contract vagina in women after giving birth. Also, various magical uses.

Coll. Number: RV488

### Simaroubaceae

Eurycoma longifolia Jack

Name: *teratus*

Life form/habitat: Two-meter treelet in second growth forest.

Preparation/Use: Prepare root decoction and drink for cough suppression and as aphrodisiac. Chew fresh roots to neutralize effects of alcohol consumption. (\*HMCH91, p. 256).

Coll. Number: RV493

### Sterculiaceae

Leptonychia heteroclita (Roxb.) Kurz

Name: *tembulang manok*

Life form/habitat: Two-meter shrub in second growth forest.

Preparation/Use: Let fresh roots soak in water and drink liquid for relief of stomach ache.

Coll. Number: RV445

### Verbenaceae

Hosea lobbiana (C.B. Clarke) Ridl.

Name: *tagalap*

Life form/habitat: Treelet in old and second growth forest, and roadsides.

Preparation/Use: Fresh root infusion combined with roots of other species used to treat blood in vomit.

Coll. Number: RV533

### Vitaceae

Ampelocissus winkleri Lauterb.

Name: *akau kumburat*

Life form/habitat: Climber in old growth forest.

Preparation/Use: Eat fresh roots or drink root infusion to strengthen bones.

Coll. Number: RV528

**Zingiberaceae**

*Globba* sp.

No name

Life form/habitat: Small perennial herb in old growth forest.

Preparation/Use: Prepare root decoction and drink, or eat fresh roots, for weakness in men. *Parat* plant.

Coll. Number: RV454

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## SIXTH BIENNIAL MEETINGS

### SIXTH BIENNIAL INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE BORNEO RESEARCH COUNCIL

#### “BORNEO 2000”

For five days, from the 10th through the 14th of July, 2000, over 160 participants from Malaysia and more than 40 other countries gathered in Kuching, Sarawak, for the Sixth Biennial Conference of the Borneo Research Council, “Borneo 2000.” The conference setting was the Crowne Plaza Riverside Hotel. The Institute of East Asian Studies, Universiti Malaysia Sarawak (UNIMAS), and the Sarawak Development Institute (SDI) served as the principal local organizing institutions.

Over the five days, 146 papers were presented in 45 sessions. Session topics ranged from Healing and Medicine, Ecotourism, and Customary Land Rights, to Borneo History Re-Examined. In addition to paper presentations and several round-table discussions, participants were also given an opportunity to tour the new Sarawak State Library and visit the Tun Jugah Foundation Pua Gallery and Archives. An Iban weaving contest was organized in conjunction with the conference and a special performance of compositions for Dayak musical instruments, “Sounds of Borneo,” was presented by the Dayak Cultural Foundation. Musical compositions were arranged by Prof. Datin Julia Chong (UNIMAS) and were performed, with the assistance of Dr. Clara Brakel (Leiden University), by musicians of the Dayak Cultural Foundation Ethnic Orchestra.

The conference was officially opened by Tan Sri Datuk Amar Dr. George Chan, Deputy Chief Minister of Sarawak, who welcomed participants on behalf of the Chief Minister; and by the Chairman of the Sarawak Development Institute, Yang Bahagia Datuk Haji Abdul Aziz Husain; the Director of the Institute of East Asian Studies, Professor Michael Leigh, and the Executive Director of the Borneo Research Council, Professor Vinson Sutlive (College of William and Mary).

For their contribution to the success of the Sixth Biennial Conference, the Borneo Research Council wishes to thank its local sponsors: the Sarawak Government; the Ministries of Agriculture, Rural and Land Development; Finance and Public Utilities; and Tourism; the Sarawak Museum, the Sarawak Foundation, the Sarawak Tourism Board, the Sarawak Economic Development Corporation, the Tun Jugah Foundation, Sarawak Shell, the Sarawak Timber Association, and Samling Strategic Corporation. The conference proceedings are available in four volumes or as a CD-ROM through the Institute of East Asian Studies, Universiti Malaysia Sarawak, 94300 Kota Samarahan, Sarawak, MALAYSIA.—Clifford Sather, *BRB* Editor

## EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR'S REPORT

Vinson H. Sutlive

- Yang Berhormat Tan Sri Datuk Amar Dr. George Chan, Timbalan Kedua Menteri, Sarawak,
- Dato Wan Zawawi, Vice-Chancellor, Universiti of Malaysia, Sarawak,
- Yang Bahagia Datuk Haji Abdul Aziz Husain, Chairman, Sarawak Development Institute,
- Datuk Amar Dr. Linggi Jugah,
- Professor Michael Leigh, Director, Institute of East Asian Studies, Universiti Malaysia, Sarawak,
- Tan Sri Datuk Amar Bujang Nor, former State Secretary,
- Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I am pleased to have this opportunity to welcome you to the Sixth Biennial International Conference. With this conference we begin a new cycle of conferences.

It is appropriate that we meet in Kuching where these biennial conferences were inaugurated 10 years ago. One of the purposes of the conferences has been to provide greater opportunities for residents of Borneo to share with colleagues and friends from abroad, for the mutual benefit of both. In each venue, there has been a celebration of the rich ethnic diversity of the island's societies and cultures.

We are grateful to the organizing committee, and especially to Professor Leigh, to the Vice-Chancellor, administration, and the faculty and staff of UNIMAS and to the staff of the Sarawak Development Institute, for the timely and efficient manner in which they have disseminated information about, and have structured the program for this conference.

I have been asked to announce two special events that will take place during the conference. The first is an exhibition of Iban *ikat* fabrics on display on the fourth floor of the Tun Jugah Centre. A visit is scheduled for Wednesday afternoon at 2:00 p.m. The second event is the launching of the Dayak Cultural Foundation's Ethnic Orchestra, playing "Sounds of Borneo," at 7:45 p.m., Thursday, July 13, in the poolside reception area of the Holiday Inn. The musical program will be followed by a reception and conclude with the presentation of prizes to winners of the *ikat* competition.

I bring greetings and regrets from Professor George Appell, President of the BRC, who is unable to attend and participate this year. Professor Appell continues to contribute energy and wisdom to the activities of the Council, and we all are indebted to him, Laura, his wife, and their staff in Maine. Though he is not with us, he has provided a copy of an annual newsletter together with other information about the Council. Copies are available at the Secretariat.

For those of you who are attending one of our conferences for the first time, let me review very briefly the mission and activities of the Council.

1. The Borneo Research Council was founded in 1968 to promote scientific research in Borneo; to serve as a forum for sharing information about current and continuing research; to identify and draw attention to urgent research problems; and to help

facilitate research by reporting on current conditions which make research possible or impede it.

The statement of purpose for the Council published in each issue of the *Bulletin*, expresses both applicability and significance. Research connotes “looking again,” and again, and again. Unlike the domain of religious traditions in which trust is once delivered, science operates in quite another domain, and involves the continuous re-examination of our assumptions about the world of which we are part, and what it means to be human. Time was, in our discipline, when anthropologists did a year or more of research, and then wrote about it for the next 40 years. In fairness to our predecessors, there were difficulties of travel and access, which have been mitigated. There has existed, however, an unjustified presumption of competence, which could be sustained if we never returned to our research sites. As access has improved and restudies have become increasingly common, we have realized that, in many cases, the more we know, the more we know there is to know. For example, the pioneering work undertaken on many Bornean societies half a century ago has been overtaken by events of the past decades. The past quarter century has seen the greatest demographic change in human history: *Transmigrasi*—urban migration—look at the 1990 census for Sarawak. In short, research is never done. Nor is the importance of sharing knowledge.

2. The Council is comprised of members and institutions in three dozen countries on four continents. Our common interest is Borneo, its peoples and their cultures, and the worlds in which they live. Difficult as it may be for us to comprehend, our organization is unusual, if not unique.
3. The most significant accomplishment of the Council in its 28 years of existence has been to get people together who share common research interests, despite a variety of different backgrounds. The Government is to be congratulated for its enlightened policies of inclusion. In a world that is becoming increasingly complex and varied, it is imperative that we recognize and acknowledge the reality of our differences, and recognize that we both need and have much to learn from each other.

The 20<sup>th</sup> century was the bloodiest century in history, if you count the number of dead in two world wars, and the other conflicts. Most of these have been started by a leader *inside* the country, trying to get rid of people for one simple reason, viz., they are different. Awareness of difference is the basis for a pan-human anxiety, as Ursula Hegi writes in her brilliant novel, *Stone from the River*. John Keegan, the eminent English military historian, has reckoned that every day since the end of World War II, there have been 1,000 soldiers and 5,000 citizens killed, a total of more than 75 million deaths. A century ago, the American author Mark Twain wrote:

Travel is fatal to prejudice, bigotry and narrow-mindedness. Broad, wholesome, charitable views cannot be acquired by vegetating in one little corner of the earth.

4. In the United States of America, we are a legal body, incorporated in the Commonwealth of Virginia. We enjoy tax-exempt status granted to us by the

Department of the Treasury of the United States Government through the Internal Revenue Service. Incorporation protects the rights and responsibilities of Fellows and Members, of Directors and Officers.

5. The Council is a voluntary and non-profit organization. We are entirely dependent upon the fees and contributions of colleagues. If there is any task for which you would like to volunteer, please contact us.
6. The Council is the only organization of its kind which attempts to treat all parts of Borneo in its coverage, and to relate to researchers in all parts of the island. State and Provincial museums have missions set for them by their governments. They are responsible to ministries and departments to present programs and to arrange exhibitions according to the interests of the government.

Among our activities are:

1. Annual meetings, usually held as part of the American Anthropological Association. If you, in your country, state, or province, are inclined to organize such annual programs, we encourage you to do so.
2. Biennial International Meetings, which provide an opportunity for members of the Council and persons interested in research in Borneo to convene in one of the political units of the island.
3. Publication of the *Borneo Research Bulletin*, an annual publication. In the *Bulletin*, we attempt to provide information about current and recent research. We urge you to consider submitting information about your research plans and activities. Some of our readers find information about each other the most helpful feature in the *Bulletin*.
4. Publication of the BRC Monograph Series with three publications: *Female and Male in Borneo*, *The Seen and the Unseen*, and *Traditional Medicine among the Ngaju of Central Kalimantan*. We anticipate publication of other titles.
5. The creation and award of the Borneo Research Council Medal. We invite and solicit your nominations for recipients of the Medal.
6. I am pleased to announce that, in September, we shall launch the Borneo Classics Series. When we met in Pontianak, many of us were concerned about the intrusion of MTV and similar telecasts, which undoubtedly are competing with and eroding traditional cultures. Recognizing the priceless treasures of indigenous poetry and prose, the Directors agreed to establish a series, modeled on the Harvard Classics, that will preserve as much and as many of the texts and other materials as possible. To this end, after eight years in preparation, the four-volume *Encyclopedia of Iban Studies* will be published next year, together with *Seeds of Play*, *Words of Power*, a study of Iban shamanic texts by Professor Sather. Within the next two years, a volume of Iban chants composed and performed to escort the dead back to the Afterworld, will be published. There probably is no more important program we have undertaken than the Classic series, for it will provide a permanent record of the cultures of Borneo's diverse peoples. If you know of "classical" texts that should be



considered for the series, and especially, if you would be willing to work with us on the transcription and translation of the texts, please contact us.

Not long before his death, the late linguist Edward Sapir wrote a series of brilliant essays in an effort to work through his affliction of *Arbeitshimmel*, or what today we would identify as “workaholism.” In one of the essays, “Cultures, Genuine and Spurious,” Sapir asserted that human cultures may be divided into two major categories, viz., those that are “genuine,” in that they provide opportunities for their practitioners to learn and grow and develop, and those that are “spurious,” frustrating and thwarting human creativity and energies. Though a gross oversimplification, Sapir’s essay is a useful starting point for our consideration of the work of the BRC and the societies and cultures of Borneo. With awareness of one’s propensity for romanticization, let me suggest that the cultures of Borneo were systems created to enable their practitioners to “be all they can be.” While educating children who were responsible to family and friends, they also stretched their youth in multiple ways.

Now the genius of the cultures created by Bornean societies are under threat, not from within, but from without. Exposed occasionally or continuously to a variety of alien values, traditional ways of life—i.e., ways of life of the past generation or two—are yielding to new and unproven ways.

The late Fred Eggan, known to some of you for his research on Luzon, attended meetings of the BRC regularly, though he had never worked in Borneo. I once asked Professor Eggan why he attended our sessions, and he replied, “Because you people enjoy each other so much, and enjoy talking about your work.”

I hope your week will be informative and, likewise, fully enjoyable.

## BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

### RAPID ASSESSMENT OF RAPID CHANGE: HEALTH IN RURAL SARAWAK

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When it became clear to the people of Lubok Antu that I was not a missionary but was “something medical,” I was told who had died of malaria, the problems of seeing a dentist in Sri Aman, and how one woman had a lump on her breast. And I saw loads of school children snacking on sweets. All this came about because I spent several mornings loitering in coffee shops while waiting for the medical clinics to empty of patients. Besides talking to nurses, I needed to see the head medical assistant, who happened to be away on a training course.

My venture into studying some biosocial aspects of rural health in Sarawak had started in 1999 with conferences in Kuching that offered a rich array of possibilities. That year I settled on a look at Bidayuh problems in the upper Sadong area and the Lundu-Sematan-Biawak triangle. A month was all I had for this project then, so my notes were sketchy. Fortunately, a wide-ranging literature on Bidayuh later helped me fill in some gaps.

When I returned to Sarawak in 2000 to study Iban health, I came better prepared with the “homework” done. As a bonus, the BRC “Borneo 2000” conference was held in Kuching in July, providing opportunities for discussing both Bidayuh and Iban health with many people there.

From the beginning I found it easy to accept that the Sarawak Medical Department personnel were eminently right in assigning a top priority to the undernutrition of small children in rural areas. In addition, adult health began to impress me as a large problem. Adult health, except for its mothering aspects, was far less monitored or mentioned than child health—as far as I knew. Indeed, after a few weeks of field work in Sri Aman division this was still my view.

Studying biosocial aspects of health is a challenge for most human biologists. Further, I spoke none of the local languages and could only spend a short period each summer in field study. But after years spent in West Malaysia on similar work, I had performed some “rapid assessment” techniques. Some of the questions I asked myself were: Do houses (or *biliks*) have kitchen gardens? Are there fish in the rivers? Are the children skinny? Do they have brown or decayed teeth? Are older people toothless? Are they thin? Are houses/*biliks* airy and non-dark? Do longhouses have many fruit trees

around them? Are padi hill fields on fertile ground? How long is the working day for farm (or plantation-worker) women? And lastly, what do people do with "easy money"? Many of these questions had been asked previously by people who wrote valuable reports that I could read. I could check my observations against theirs. While this process led to general agreement, the most important thing it did not do was provide workable, economical solutions to the problems I saw.

Basically, malnutrition and other chronic health problems of poor areas are not easy to solve. They involve areal ecology, cultural practices, the lures of commercialism, educational deficits, government policies, and much more.

Take kitchen gardens, for example. On the one hand, they could provide convenient sources of nutritious foods year round. On the other hand, some Iban longhouses seem to prefer rubbish dumps to kitchen gardens. In a Bidayuh village, houses may be too closely packed to locate gardens there. Then too, Bidayuh have a penchant for pouring concrete all around their living spaces. And some prefer to plant ornamental shrubs rather than any vegetable except cassava. In addition, chickens and insects relish young vegetable plants, as do other predators. And who will do the gardening, if it falls to the Iban or Bidayuh women who already put in a long working day? Who would even have the time, interest, and money for buying the necessary seeds for the garden?

Yes, some people do have flourishing kitchen gardens. But I did not see many. I hope to return to Sarawak in 2001 and find a veritable bonanza of kitchen gardens in some yet-unexplored district.

## THE DAYAK CULTURAL FOUNDATION'S ETHNIC ORCHESTRA

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In November 1999, when I first came to Sarawak, I found that the three officially recognized Dayak communities: Bidayuh, Iban, and Orang Ulu, each had its own cultural organization in the modern state capitol, Kuching.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, in 1992, the three communities joined forces in the Dayak Cultural Foundation with the object "to receive and administer funds for cultural, educational, scientific and charitable purposes, and for public welfare."<sup>2</sup> Since the beginning of 2000, the Dayak Cultural Foundation headquarters have been located in the Tun Jugah Tower, a new high-rise building in the business area, which also houses the Tun Jugah Foundation, a non-profit Iban cultural heritage foundation. In accordance with its objectives, the DCF aims to preserve cultural traditions, and one of the ways it does so is by organizing courses in Dayak dance and music. The set-up of these courses fits within the framework of the three officially

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<sup>1</sup>My visits to Sarawak in November 1999 and May-August 2000 were kindly sponsored by Datuk Amar Dr. Linggi Jugah, Director of the Tun Jugah Foundation, and the Dayak Cultural Foundation in Kuching.

<sup>2</sup>The Memorandum and Articles of Association, 30 December 1992, also states that it aims "to foster, develop and improve culture and education of all kinds."

recognized Dayak communities, so that each community has an appointed time for weekly instruction and group practice in the Foundation's spacious dance studio and music rooms. Special sets of costumes and musical instruments, selected according to what is considered characteristic for each community, are stored and available here. Iban and Bidayuh groups have ensembles of gongs and drums to accompany dances; the Iban have several long barrel drums (*gendang*)<sup>3</sup> and a gong ensemble consisting of a set of eight small bossed gongs resting on strings (*engkrumong*), deep-rimmed *tawak* gongs with a prominent boss, and single-bossed gongs suspended by a rope or chain (*bebendai/chanang*). The Bidayuh have long wooden drums originally used in headhunting rituals (*sebbang*), a wooden xylophone (*gulintang*), and a set of suspended gongs of various sizes, large, wide *agung* and smaller *bebendai*. The Orang Ulu group mainly uses the plucked lute (*sape*), originally a two-stringed, three-fretted instrument used in rituals associated with healing ceremonies (Langub1997:177).<sup>4</sup> The present three- or four-stringed, multi-fretted *sape* is either played as a solo instrument or combined with another *sape*, and/or a wooden xylophone (*tuvung lutang/jatung utog*). Other instruments, such as bamboo flutes and the tube-zither (*satong*), bamboo stamping-poles (*tongkat*), and mouth organs (*keluri/engkrurai*), are used by more than one group.<sup>5</sup>

Music and dance practices are usually held separately, in the evening or during the weekend. Students tend to join a music or dance practice group (some study both music and dance) which corresponds with their tribal background—a child of Iban descent will frequently be put into an Iban dance or music group by its parents—indicating that for many students these practices function to support one's tribal identity. Yet, there are people who are keen to learn another style beyond their own, and join different groups. Each of the three main communities has a DCF dance company consisting of young adults who have successfully passed the basic course and must regularly attend practices in order to maintain a repertoire of group dances for public performance.

In accordance with its location in the state capitol, the music and dances practiced at the DCF express group identity at the state level. They remain confined within the framework of one of the three officially recognized Dayak communities and conform to

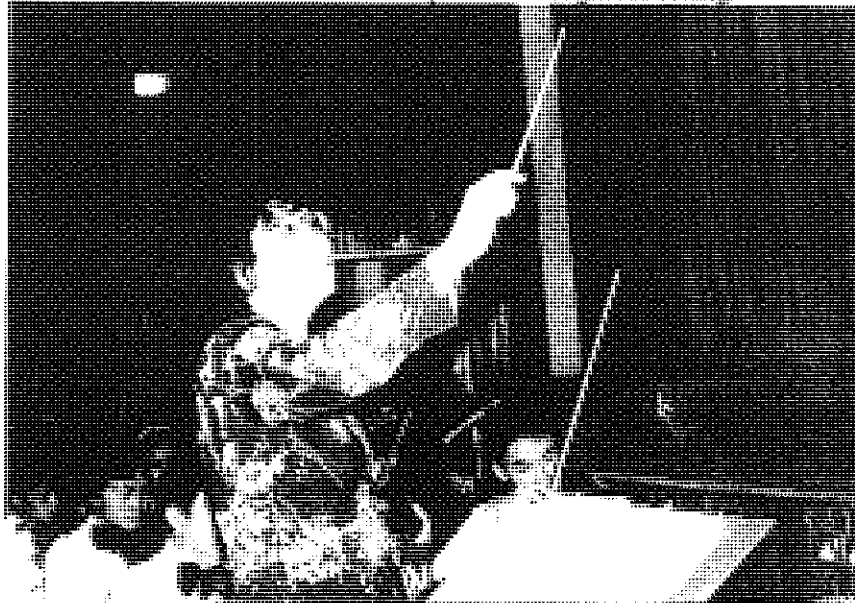
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<sup>3</sup>There is some variation in musical and dance terminology. Names of instruments in this article are in accordance with the terms used in J. Chong's "Traditional Musical Instruments of Sarawak."

<sup>4</sup>Matusky mentions that "the Kajang also use the *sape* in pairs, played only by men, to provide music to accompany dance and for certain shamanistic rituals" (Matusky 1986:189).

<sup>5</sup>Patricia Matusky kindly explained that "the Iban *engkerurai* usually has quite long pipes, while the pipes on the *keluri/keledi* are shorter overall. The gourds are often similar in size and the number of pipes is the same among these. Because of the longer pipes, the Iban *engkerurai* will have a lower overall range. Also, the Iban instrument usually has an amplifier of sound (*terubong*) on top of the lowest pipe, which is usually decorated with bird feathers" (email communication).

state-developed standards of beauty and appropriateness.<sup>6</sup> Improvised dancing in an individual style, as is common in the longhouse, is replaced by uniform movement in orchestrated group compositions in three specific styles, created to express either Iban, Bidayuh, or Orang Ulu identity. Male and female dancers wear different costumes, basically, a selection of what is traditional festive dress in various Dayak communities. In addition, contrasts between the sexes are stressed by giving them characteristic movement patterns. This is most evident when groups of male and female dancers are combined, for which the DCF choreographers have a preference. In order to achieve faultless execution of—more or less complex—spatial patterns and uniform movement styles, a period of preparation with group-drill is required, resulting in the smooth execution of previously fixed patterns. However, the DCF policy is in the first place, to preserve traditional culture, therefore dance and music teachers try to maintain whatever they have learned of the traditional arts, which has often been acquired in a longhouse setting.<sup>7</sup>



**Julia Chong conducting the operetta "Life in the Jungle"**

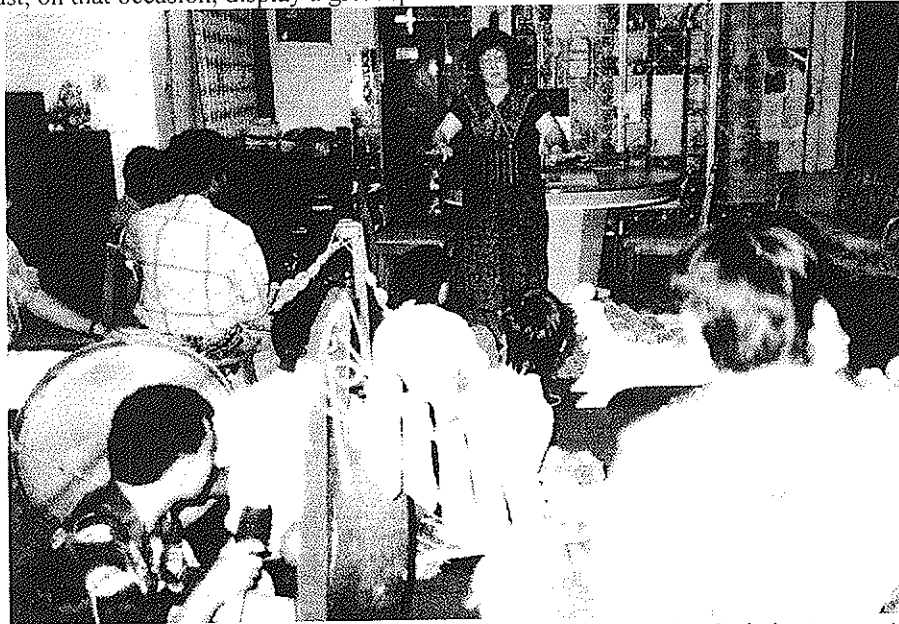
At the same time, there is also a demand for the production of new, large-scale compositions for important social occasions, the main one being the annual State Gawai Dayak celebration. This recently-created Dayak national holiday,<sup>8</sup> celebrated annually on 1<sup>st</sup> June in a ballroom of one of the largest international hotels in Kuching, is attended by the most important state dignitaries. As an important state ceremony, it provides a major

<sup>6</sup>It is, for example, considered inappropriate for male dancers at DCF public performances to leave part of the buttocks uncovered, as is usually the case when wearing the loincloth in the traditional way.

<sup>7</sup>Interview with DCF staff members, November 1999.

<sup>8</sup>Spearheaded by Datuk Tra Zehnder, a former Iban Assemblywoman, see Boulanger 2000:50.

incentive for dance and music practice, as each of the three main Dayak communities must, on that occasion, display a great spectacle in a characteristic style.



**Julia Chong conducting the Dayak Cultural Foundation's ethnic instrument ensemble.**

### **Julia Chong and the foundation of the Ethnic Orchestra**

One of the few musical experts in Kuching involved both theoretically and practically with the development of Dayak music was the late Datin Julia Chong, a Western-educated musician of Chinese background.<sup>9</sup> In an article published in the *Sarawak Museum Journal* entitled "Towards the integration of Sarawak traditional instruments into 20th century Malaysian music" (J. Chong 1989), she states that the folk music of Sarawak lacks development in material and is too repetitive, so that "listening becomes uninteresting."

Taking as an example the Hungarian composer Bela Bartok, she suggests that Sarawak composers "should attempt to produce musical works for the chamber orchestra and score according to the potentials of the individual traditional instruments." In forming such a chamber orchestra, one has to "group the strings, woodwinds and percussions with care so that they will be balanced."

But Julia Chong was not only interested in modernizing Dayak music, also, as she writes: "the folk music of the natives of Sarawak will be distorted to a certain extent because it is based on oral tradition," and therefore "efforts must be made to notate them." Moreover, she advises recording and publishing the technique of playing the

<sup>9</sup>Sadly, the news of Julia Chong's sudden demise arrived shortly before the draft of this article was ready to be sent to her (see the Memorial section of this volume).

different instruments, “so that generations that follow will master them correctly,” and, “not only the proper way is learned but it can reach thousands of people” (J. Chong 1989:126).

In the following years, Julia Chong had the opportunity to realize her dream in cooperation with the staff and musicians of the Dayak Cultural Foundation. According to DCF records, the first ensemble of Dayak musical instruments was formed in 1997 for a workshop on Iban traditional music, dance costumes, and songs organized jointly by the DCF and the Sarawak Museum. On this occasion a group of children performed Julia Chong’s composition, “The Sound of Sarawak.” The musical instruments played were: *tawak* and *bebendai* gongs, two sets of *engkerumung* gongs, seven long drums (*gendang panjai/ketebung*), and nine mouth-organs (*engkerurai*), plus eight stamping-poles (*tongkat gurong*). All are considered Iban instruments.<sup>10</sup> After this, Julia Chong continued teaching Dayak orchestral music to staff and students at the DCF.

In November 1999, when I visited the class, I saw a variety of instruments being used: seven mouth-organs (*engkrurai*), three short-necked lutes (*sape*), some one- and two-stringed fiddles (*serunai* or *terunjang*). Instruction was given in a classroom; the group was instructed from the front, and conducted in a Western manner, with the help of music notation written on the blackboard.

Since its first performance, the Dayak Ethnic Orchestra has developed from a small chamber ensemble into a large orchestra in which mature, as well as young musicians play a variety of instruments. Thus, the ethnic orchestra depicted in Julia Chong's publication on traditional musical instruments of Sarawak includes, besides an Iban ensemble, a number of different instruments from the three main Dayak communities: four Bidayuh hanging gongs and a long wooden drum (*sebbang*), a cylindrical drum (*dumbak*), bamboo flutes and tube-zither (*satong*), stamping-poles (*tongkat*), as well as wooden shakers (*gurong*).

As I took a keen interest in this unique orchestra, I was invited by Julia Chong to cooperate with her in preparing a concert for the official launching of the Dayak Cultural Foundation's Ethnic Orchestra. The concert was offered by the DCF on 13 July to the participants in the Sixth Biennial Conference of the Borneo Research Council. For Julia Chong and the artists, this was a fine opportunity to present the Dayak orchestra to an international audience.

In consultation with the directors of the DCF, a concert of fifty minutes was agreed upon, comprising compositions based on traditional music of the various Dayak communities. The concert program, entitled “Sounds of Borneo,” consisted of the following four pieces:

1. The Sound of Sarawak—for full orchestra,
2. *Prunchong*—for bamboo instrumental group,
3. Jungle Sounds of Borneo—for ensemble of bird-whistles, and
4. *Liling* merry-making—for full orchestra.

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<sup>10</sup>The use of the stamping-poles in Kajan communities during the ancient *ngayau* ceremony was described by Matusky in an article with musical notations (Matusky 1986:193, 217-18).

The pieces differed in composition and structure: in the first and fourth pieces, instruments of the three main communities were combined to form a large orchestra of drums and gongs, with strings as well as woodwind instruments. They played in novel arrangements created by Julia Chong, in cooperation with the DCF artists and the author of this article, who was responsible for the choreographic arrangements.

### **The Sound of Sarawak**

As there was not much time for preparation, we started working on musical pieces which had been practiced before. The ensemble of the piece, *The Sound of Sarawak*, originally consisted of Iban instruments, but was extended with Bidayuh *gulintang*, drums and gongs. The revised structure of the score<sup>11</sup> was divided into three parts: the first part had predominantly loud percussion instruments and gongs, entering one-by-one first, then merging into an ensemble. The softer second part had a group of four mouth-organs (*engkerurai*), followed by a solo on the one-stringed fiddle (*serunai*). A group of five men with bamboo stamping-poles (*tongkat*) made the connection to the third part or finale in which all the instruments played together.

While the basic rhythms and playing styles of the various instruments were maintained, initially much time was spent working on elements such as phrasing, dynamics and tone production.<sup>12</sup> Predictable problems arose when instruments were combined which did not usually play together, such as mouth-organs, wooden xylophone, drums and gongs. Mouth-organs were especially problematic, as these are basically solo-instruments and are not tuned to play with other instruments. Moreover, changes in dynamics, to which most musicians were not accustomed, such as variations in loudness, and speeding up or slowing down the tempo, were difficult to coordinate. While the musical pieces were taking shape, Julia Chong requested me to make them more interesting by adding choreographies, corresponding to traditional performance practices in which dancing is supported by music.

Since I intended the choreography to mirror the structure of the music and to parallel the combination of instruments in the orchestra, traditional choreographic patterns were maintained. The character of the piece was dominated by the strong sound of gong and drum ensembles, not surprising since it originated from a composition for strong Iban instruments. Therefore I selected three male dancers, one from each of the three communities, who should use their own warrior's dance style in a danced combat scene. The confrontation, situated in the jungle, was dissolved through the entrance of a magnificent Iban masked dancer representing the spirit "Antu Guruk." This enchanting mask pacified the warriors and conducted them into a harmonious line-dance, similar to a group of bards marching around and beating rhythms with their stamping-poles.

### **Liling-merry making**

The second large orchestral composition, *Liling-merry making*, was based on a popular long-dance song (*belian dadu*) from the Kenyah community, *Liling*, "to turn

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<sup>11</sup>The piece was based on a written score in accordance with the composer's concept that "the material should have local flavor based on traditional scale and rhythm" (...) "but the composed music should have correct forms" (Chong 1989:126).

<sup>12</sup>The importance of these is emphasized in Julia Chong 1989:126.



around,” documented in a publication of Kenyah songs by the composer's daughter (Chong Pek Lin 1998). In a study of vocal performance traditions of the Kenyah Lepo' Tau people of Sarawak, Gorlinski explained that “the word *dadu* (long) refers to “the particular dance context (*tu'ut dadu*) for which these songs were intended” (Gorlinski 1995: 226). In the longhouse this type of song is sung by the whole community while performing a simple line-dance proceeding counter-clockwise along the verandah, usually as an opening for a major dance event. The basic step of *tu'ut dadu*, which is characterized by Chong Pek Lin as “the simplest version of the group dances,” consists of a step and a shuffle (Chong Pek Lin 1998:23). The song is started by a solo singer, with the other participants joining in on the second or third lines and in the chorus. The turning of the dancers may have connotations of wardancing (Chong Pek Lin 1998:39-41).<sup>13</sup>

The orchestral piece had a strong rhythmic opening played on a set of Bidayuh *sebbang* that were struck with wooden rods. While these large drums had to remain in a fixed place, the next group of musicians came marching in from the side: beating in unison on their Iban *gendang*, they stepped in a circle around the dance floor before they came to a halt in front of the platform. As the melodic theme was gently introduced by the two *sape* players, supported by soft drum beats, a group of dancers made their first entrance and danced one round. The dance was followed by alternating instrumental groups and solo-parts. In line with the character of the long-dance song, a group of four musicians playing the mouth-organs came in, walking in a circle.

For the conclusion of the piece, all musicians played together, led by the expert *sape* musician, Henry Anyie, who also sang the solo-lines of the well-known Kenyah lyric:

*Malam ini telu tuyang pemung jaiee,*

*Pemung jaiee tawai uyan.*

Tonight, my friends, we gather together,

We gather together and recall the old times (Chong Pek Lin 1998:40).

The traditional line dance was performed by a mixed group of dancers from all three communities led by a beautiful young Orang Ulu dancer. While joining in the chorus lines, the dancers performed the traditional long-dance step with the turning variations, accompanied by the full orchestra.<sup>14</sup>

### ***Prunchong* and Jungle Sounds of Borneo**

In alternation with the orchestral compositions for percussion, wind and string instruments, two pieces were performed by a small ensemble using mainly one type of instrument. The traditional Bidayuh *prunchong*, a set of tuned bamboo tubes hit with a rod, was played by a group of eight male musicians moving around in the semicircular

<sup>13</sup>Chong Pek Lin's publication on Kenyah songs cites a comment of Bishop Galvin (1962:510) that “the reference to turning around is symbolic of the young warrior looking to the right and left in search of the enemy” (Chong Pek Lin 1998:40). See also Seeler 1969:169: “each performer turned half about at every third step, the even numbers turning to one side, the odd numbers turning to the other alternately. All stamped together as they completed their turns at each third step. The turning to right and left symbolises the alert guarding of the heads which are supposed to be carried by the victorious warriors.”

<sup>14</sup>As described in Chong Pek Lin 1998:41.

dance space while striking various traditional rhythms. According to the Bidayuh musicians, this type of music was mainly performed during agricultural ceremonies.

Jungle Sounds was a completely new creation, played on various types of bird whistles (*binchiu*) imitating bird calls. These were combined with sets of snail shells (*tegalerg*) imitating the sound of croaking frogs, as well as coconut shells and wood-shakers (*gurong*). The idea behind the piece was the waking up of the animals in the forest, heralded by various birds and developing into midday concerts of frogs and other animals, then fading into a sunset scene with the sweet sound of the *sape* played by a young man wandering alone in the forest. The idea for this piece came from the Bidayuh musician Gerald Oscar Sindon who made most of the instruments, helped by the Iban instructor, Ubang Kendawang. A number of mature artists, including Julia Chong and the author, cooperated in creating this new piece. As all insisted that I should also participate in the performance, I gladly accepted a part in the happy croaking of the frogs.

On Thursday, 13th July, the period of hard and intensive training culminated in a spirited performance at the Poolside Reception Area of the Holiday Inn Hotel for the members of the Borneo 2000 Conference. Special guests included Tan Sri Datuk Amar Dr. Alfred Jabu anak Numpang and Datuk Amar Dr. Leonard Linggi Jugah and the Board of Trustees of the Dayak Cultural Foundation. The artists, a group of approximately thirty musicians and dancers, received warm applause from the audience, many of whom joined in the round dance of Liling. Local newspapers reported the event, and performers and members of the audience asked for more such concerts in the future.

### Conclusion

The Dayak Cultural Foundation's Ethnic Orchestra provides an excellent example of "modernization" in the sense of incorporating Western influence into originally Dayak music and dance. Some people may feel that this leads to "hybridity" in these Dayak art forms, or perhaps the term "syncretism" might be appropriate, in view of underlying religious implications.<sup>15</sup> To the author, it was an exciting experience to participate in creating the various musical items and choreographies. Although the novel combination of different tribal traditions did not seem to work in the beginning, after ten days of intensive rehearsals, the performance turned out very satisfactory and inspiring, not only to the performers, but also to an international audience.

The successful launching of the DCF Ethnic Orchestra proves that live performances of Dayak music and dance can play a significant social role, not only by adhering to well-known patterns, but also in creating new forms. Indeed, changes of form, structure, and content are only to be expected in a changing environment. Moreover, one should realize that live performances in longhouses are not necessarily static entities but variable events, capable of adapting to different circumstances, both in the present and the past. Accordingly, they often fit into more than one type of context, having entertainment value and also functioning to maintain social values or to support religious ceremonies. As these

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<sup>15</sup>In her article on traditional dances of Sarawak, Seeler does make a distinction between dances which are part of a religious ceremony, and social dancing, but this is immediately modified to: "in these cultures the religious is usually intermingled with the social, and the dances reflect this" (Seeler 1969:163).

art forms are by nature flexible and adaptive, there is no need to fear their imminent disappearance.

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and photographic material relating to the history of the British Empire (excluding early American printed material, which is held in the new Vere Harmsworth Library nearby). The Sarawak and other Borneo manuscript material has been deposited there since the early 1960s as part of the Oxford University Colonial Records Project, constituting the largest single collection of Borneo primary research sources outside the Public Record Office at Kew. (For details of the Brooke/Sarawak collections, see Bob Reece, "The Brooke Sarawak Archive at Rhodes House Library, Oxford," *Borneo Research Bulletin*, vol. 30 (1999), pp. 113-117). The Project continues to be active and Rhodes House Library encourages former Borneo and other colonial government officers and their relatives to add to the collection. All correspondence and inquiries should be directed to: Mr John Pinfold, Librarian, Rhodes House Library, South Parks Rd., Oxford, United Kingdom.

Arden-Clarke, Sir Charles Noble

MSS. Ind. Ocn. s. 223. "Note on the development of local government in Sarawak" (1947). [Roneo].

Baker, Alan Custance

MSS. Ind. Ocn. s. 36. Memorandum on the idea of Malayan federation with copies of letter to *The Times* etc., 1946. [Typewritten].

Barrett, Edwin Cyril G.

MSS. Pac. s. 89. Diary as Secretary to Capt. Gammans, M.P., and Lieut. Col. Rees Williams, M.P., delegated by Parliament to report whether Sarawak wished for cession to the British Crown, 1946 [with typed copy]. 2 pt.

Bastin, John

MSS. Pac. s. 87. "Western language historical sources in the British Borneo territories," 1962 [prepared for the Department of History, University of Malaya]. [Reprod. from typescript].

Batu Lintang Training College, Kuching

MSS. Ind. Ocn. s. 140. 4 newsletters, 1954-55, 1958; Grade 2A and 3A courses [c. 1950-60]. Education Dept., Sarawak, syllabuses for primary schools. 6 pt. [Typescript].

Bedingfield, Norma

MSS., Ind. Ocn. s. 297. Press statements, circulars, and printed pamphlets relating to service as Press Officer in Singapore, 1952-54, and later as Press Officer in North Borneo, 1961-63. 1 box.

Bettison, G.E.

MSS. Pac. s. 56, Sarawak diary, 1939-41. [Typescript].

Bevington, Eric Raymond

MSS. Pac. s. 108. "The economy and development of the State of Brunei," 1955. Typescript. 73ff.

Bewsher, R.A.

MSS. Pac. s. 59, 60. Reports, memoranda, &c, on community development and social welfare in Sarawak and North Borneo, 1947-62. 2 vols.

Boles, J.D.

MSS. Pac. s. 52. "Closer association between the Borneo territories," 1960. [Typescript].

## Borneo Mission Association

MSS. Ind. Ocn. r. 20. Photographs of British North Borneo and Sarawak, including mission schools and churches, principal buildings of towns and major settlements, landscapes, diocesan events and portraits of mission staff and native clergy. 345 prints with some negatives; 1914-83 & undated. Handlist available.

MSS. Ind. Ocn. r. 23. Postcards of British North Borneo including views of Jesselton and railway scenes, also uncaptioned snapshots, 1906-09 & undated. 110 prints. Handlist available.

MSS. Ind. Ocn. s. 346. "Historical Notes" on the island of Borneo and early mission work compiled by the Revd. William Howell, c. 1928. Typescript. 65 ff. (with original Chinese binder).

## Borough-Copley, Geoffrey B.

MSS. Brit Emp. s. 399. Correspondence, estimates, plans, &c., as an engineer in Uganda, 1939-51. 5 pt.; in North Borneo (Jesselton water supply), 1952-57. 11 pt.; papers on engineering matters in India, Ethiopia and elsewhere. 8 pt.

## Boult, F.F.

MSS. Pac. r. 9. Letter to George C. Gillan, Jan. 1, 1947, critical of the 3rd Rajah of Sarawak.

## Bowyer, Mrs M.E.

MSS. Ind. Ocn. s. 315. Note on the administration of Sarawak under the Brooke regime, 1841-1939; *Sarawak Government Gazette* 31 March 1941 and *Sarawak Gazette* cutting 17 Jan 1940. i + 72 folios quarto, typescript, undated.

## Boyd, Thomas J.L. Stirling

MSS. Pac. s. 86. Account books; correspondence; "The Law and Constitution of Sarawak" (unpubl. manuscript); "The Sarawak crisis, 1939" &c., as Judicial Commissioner and Chief Justice. 1918-71. 7 boxes. Handlist available.

## Brooke family

MSS. Pac. s. 90. Correspondence and papers of the Brooke family of Sarawak, c. 1830-1977, including papers of C.T.C. Grant (1831-91), Laird of Kilgraston. 18 vols., 5 boxes. (Basil Brooke Papers). Handlist available.

MSS. Pac. s. 83. Correspondence, memoranda, photographs and miscellaneous papers, 1803-1977, concerning the history of Sarawak and the Brooke family, and relating chiefly to the cession of Sarawak to the British Crown in 1946. Correspondence of the Sarawak State Advisory Council, 1913-19. 42 vols. and 20 boxes. Handlist available.

## Brooke, Anthony

MSS. Pac. s. 88, ff. 38-42. Typescript copy of letter regarding proposals for the transfer of responsibility for Sarawak's administration from the Rajah to the Secretary of State as the result of G.T.M. MacBryan's recent visit, Jan. 19, 1946, with a paper on MacBryan and his connection with Sarawak affairs.

## Brooke, Sir Charles Vyner

- MSS. Ind. Ocn. s. 119. Letters to George C. Gillan, Treasurer of Sarawak, 1906-30.
- MSS. Ind. Ocn. s. 118. Letters to C.P. Lowe, 1922-35, mainly regarding the Public Works Department in Sarawak.
- MSS. Pac. s. 58. 4 letters to Dr M.P. O'Connor regarding medical and health matters in Sarawak, 1940-41.
- MSS. Pac. s. 88. Letters, mainly to C. Pitt Hardacre, Sarawak Government Agent, Australia, concerning Sarawak affairs, Jan. 21-June 26 1942; copies of *Sarawak Government Bulletin*, No. 1, Oct. 1945 and of the *Sarawak Gazette*, No. 1080, Oct. 15, 1945.
- MSS. Pac. s. 74 (1). Personal letters to Frank Kortright, D.O., Sarawak, and his wife, Ina Kortright, 1924-29.

## Brooke, Sir James

- MSS. Pac. s. 66. Printed extracts of letters, for members of the House of Commons, 1841-48; copies of letters from H. Wise to Palmerston and Russell, 1848-52; instructions and letters to C. Ermen as Resident from C. Brooke, the Rajah, 1910-15; 'The Brooke Tradition'; meeting with Chou En Lai of Rajah [sic] Anthony Brooke [c. 1959-60].

## Clark, Cyril Drummond Le Gros

- MSS. Pac. s. 84. Papers, photographs, &c., relating to service as Chief Secretary, Sarawak, 1941-45, and to murder by the Japanese, 1945; papers, news cuttings, &c., relating to the cession of Sarawak and future relations with H.M. Government.

## Clementi, Sir Cecil

- MSS. Ind. Ocn. s. 352. Papers as Governor of Hong Kong, 1925-1930 and as Governor of the Straits Settlements and the Malay States, 1930-1934. Includes some earlier Hong Kong items and material on British Guiana. 54 boxes (handlist available). 1898-1947.

## Dawson, Chrstopher William

- MSS. Pac. r. 7, 8. "The cession of Sarawak by Rajah Brooke to H.M. King George VI," diaries, April-June, July-August, 1946. 2 vols.

## Day, Harry R.A.

- MSS. Ind. Ocn. s. 229C. "Chop" of appointment as Resident of Sarawak, 1909; documents concerning work and pension, 1909-20, as Administrative Officer, Sarawak. (Typescript).

## Deshon, H.F.

- MSS. Pac. s. 83. Diary as District Officer, Lundu, Sarawak, including notes of accounts, receipts, expenditure and salary, 1877. (Brooke Papers, box 31, file 1).

## Dickson, E.A.

- MSS. Ind. Ocn. s. 149. Genealogical account of the Rajas of Brunei [c. 1900]. [Typescript].

Dickson, Murray Graeme

MSS. Pac. s. 100. Sarawak diaries, as Director of Education, 1949-50, 57-62, 7 vols.; miscellaneous correspondence, photographs, &c., 1946-73, 1 file; press cuttings, 1955-66, 3 vols.

Digby, Kenelm M.

[Restricted] "Lawyer in the wilderness" (Sarawak), 1952, typescript autobiography [published under the same title by Cornell University, 1980]. Agreement, 31st March 1941, between Sir Charles Vyner Brooke, Rajah of Sarawak, and the Committee of Administration. File on Anthony Brooke libel, 1947-51. Miscellaneous correspondence as circuit judge, 1946-50. Scrapbook of cuttings. (Typescript).

Douglas, William Bloomfield

MSS. Ind. Ocn. r. 25. Transcript by J.M. Gullick of William Bloomfield Douglas's diary (MSS. Ind. Ocn. r. 280) on three 3 1/2" floppy discs. The text has been made available on the PC in the Grey Gallery. It includes an index and bibliography. 3 disks. 1997.

Edwardes, George Warren

MSS. Pac. s. 1. A statement of the proceedings of Governor Edwardes upon the coast of Borneo when acting as British Consul General (conspiracy to assassinate Europeans), 1859.

Elam, Edgar H.

MSS. Pac. s. 65. Sarawak: letters and cables to and from home, 1939-45; letter to Elam from W.R. Geddes on the Land Dayaks, March 1951; photographs; newscuttings.

Ermen, C.E.A.

MSS. Pac. s. 63. Official letters and petitions to C.E.A. Ermen as Resident, Sarawak, 1912-28. Bibliography of books relating to Malaya, Borneo and Sarawak. [Typescript].

Food and Cash Crops

MSS. Brit. Emp. s. 476:

(9) Cook, James. Memorandum of service as Director of Agriculture in Sarawak, 1956-63, with related reports. 4 ff.

(38) Saville, Arthur H. Brief notes on service in Kenya and Sarawak, 1955-65. 3ff.

Gammans, Sir Leonard David

MSS. Pac. r. 10. "Parliamentary mission to Sarawak, 1946, to ascertain the attitude of the natives to cession." [Typescript].

Gillan, George C.

MSS. Pac. s. 102. Letter from government officers upon his retirement as Treasurer of Sarawak, 1924; Dedication of memorial window and tablet, World War II, at Sheepstor, 1950; Sarawak races, programmes, 1904, 08, 23, 24; photographs. 8 pts.

Goode, Sir William Allmond C.

MSS. Ind. Ocn. s. 225. Transcript and tapes of an interview concerning service in Malaya, Aden, Singapore and North Borneo, 1931-63.

Goode, Sir William Allmond Codrington

MSS Ind. Ocn. s. 323. Papers relating to Sir William Goode's Governorship of North Borneo, 1960-3, and negotiations leading to the formation of Malaysia, 1963; reminiscent material, including transcripts of interviews on the history of Singapore and Malaysia, notably the rise to power of Lee Kuan Yew and the People's Action Party, and the development of political parties in North Borneo prior to joining the Federation. Handlist available. 5 boxes.

Grier, Anthony MacGregor

MSS. Pac. s. 77. Funeral of the Sultan of Brunei, June 10, 1950, as representative of the North Borneo Government. [Typescript].

Griffin, Alan

MSS. Pac. s. 109. Papers relating to his service in Sarawak, 1942-62. [Typescript].

Hall, J. Maxwell

MSS. Pac. s. 53, 54. "Governor's ghosts," 1948; "North Borneo, the birth of a colony," 1956. [Typescript].

Hardy, Tim

MSS. Ind. Ocn. s. 353. Printed and typescript items relating to communist insurgency in Sarawak during 1960's. Also handing over notes from Hardy to Nabait for the post of Head of Special Branch, Fiji (1971) 4 files; 1962-1979.

Harper, Frederick James

Mss. Pac. s. 42. Report of visit to the Kelabit plateau and Ulu Trusan, by the Deputy Director of Agriculture, Sarawak, 1958. [Typescript].

Haymes, Max F.L.

MSS. Pac. s. 78. British North Borneo: Kinabalu war memorial fund, file of correspondence, 1958-61.

Holley, William Stephen

MSS. Pac. s. 81. North Borneo: local authorities; organisation of Secretariat, P.W.D., Lands and Survey Department, Forest Department, &c., 1951-59. 9 pts.

Hose, Charles

MSS. Pac. s. 83. (vols. 10-13) Photographs of Sarawak, 19c. 4 albums. (Brooke Family papers, vols. 10-13).

Howes, Rt. Revd. Peter H.H.

MSS Ind. Ocn. s. 345. Three logbooks and evaluation report, as Officer-in-Charge, Padawan Community Development Scheme, Sarawak, 1957-64, with two folders of enclosures. 1 box.

Hughes, A.M.

MSS. Pac. s. 85. Correspondence, 1944-52, mainly with, or concerning, Anthony Brooke and the cession of Sarawak [mainly typescript]; press cuttings, 1945-57. 2 files.

Humphrey, A.H.P.

MSS. Pac. s. 115. Text of talks on his experiences as Resident, Labuan Settlement, 1940-1942, and in the Malayan Emergency, 1949-1957.



Innes, James Ross

MSS. Ind. Ocn. s. 238. Report of visit by Medical Secretary of the British Leprosy Relief Association to Malaya and Sarawak, 1960. [Reprod. from typescript].

Kortright, Kathleen Ina

MSS. Pac. s. 74. (2) Letters home, 1916-31, as wife of D.O. & Resident, Sarawak; letter, Apr. 7, 1932, from John-D.O., Betong, Sarawak.

Labuan Island

MSS Ind. Ocn. s. 358. Leases of coal mines and "petroleum springs" on Labuan Island, North Borneo, with related correspondence. 42 folios and items. 1889-1919.

Large, Reginald William

MSS. Pac. s. 97. Miscellaneous correspondence and memoranda as Assistant Commissioner of Police, Sarawak, 1948-51. [Mainly typescript].

Logan, M.A.

MSS. Ind. Ocn. 3. 312. Handing-over notes as Agricultural Officer, Tawau Residency, Sabah, Malaysia. 43 fols. foolscap, photocopied typescript, c. 1968.

Lowe, C.P.

MSS. Ind. Ocn. s. 148. Papers relating to the government of Sarawak: memoranda on the alteration of administrative functions, 1929, and the finance committee, 1932; minutes of the promotion board, 1932; report on the 1933 budget; table of precedence, 1937. Names of members of General Council, 1937, including Lowe as Director of Public Works. [Mainly typescript].

Macaskie, Charles Frederick C.

MSS. Pac. s. 71. Correspondence concerning his work as Chief Civil Affairs Officer in British Borneo following the recapture of the territory from the Japanese, 1945-47. 7 files with autobiographical notes.

McDougall, [Bishop] Francis Thomas

MSS. Ind. Ocn. s. 292. Letters, a letter book, notes and other papers relating to service in Sarawak, and to his family and the Colenso family, to whom they were related by marriage, including letters between Harriette McDougall and her sister, Frances Sarah Colenso. 1811-86. 2 boxes.

McDougall, Francis Thomas, Bishop of Labuan and Sarawak

MSS. Pac. s. 104. Letters from Sarawak, 1849-66 [Typed transcripts], 1 file; transcripts of letters in the archives of the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel from Borneo, Sarawak and Singapore, 1848-67. 3 files.

Letters from Sarawak, 1849-66. [Originals. May be used only with the permission of the Librarian].

Malcolm, George Harold

MSS. Pac. s. 55. Letters home from North Borneo when he was working for the British North Borneo Company, 1899-1903.

Mole, Robert Frederic

MSS. Brit. Emp. s. 455. Reports on economic development, Sarawak, 1946-53. Governors' addresses to Council Negri, 1951-53. Handing-over notes, Bintulu district, 1953, as D.O., Sarawak. Handing over notes, Kenya, 1957, on the duties of the Assistant Secretary for Labour and Lands. [Typescript]. Newscuttings. (Kenya).

Morison, William Graham

MSS. Ind. Ocn. s. 155. "Personal experiences during Japanese occupation of Sarawak, 1942." [Typescript].

MSS. Ind. Ocn. s. 180. A report on marketing and some co-operatives in Hong Kong and Malaya, together with some suggestions for the development of the co-operative movement in Sarawak, Dec.. 1961. [Typescript].

Morrison, Alistair R.G.

MSS. Pac. s. 92. "Fair Land Sarawak: some recollections of an expatriate official, 1947-67." Bound typescript, 1 vol. 1976 [Published under the same title by Cornell University, 1993]; 56 photographs [by his wife, Hedda Morrison].

Noakes, John Lyle

MSS. Pac. s. 62. "Report upon defence measures adopted in Sarawak from June 1941 to the occupation in Dec. 1941 by imperial Japanese forces. Appendix: personal report of my own experiences while interned, Dec. 1941-Sept 1945." [Typescript].

O'Connor, Michael Patrick

MSS. Pac. s. 58. "Policy of medical and health administration, Sarawak," 1940. [Typescript]. Papers regarding the future status of Sarawak, 1946.

Odland, Lawrence T.

MSS. Pac. r. 2/1-3. "Sick call in Sarawak, a journey through the jungle to treat and study health problems of the natives," 1957 [with] photographs. [Typescript]. 146 ff. (3 folders).

Ormsby, George

MSS. Brit. Emp. s. 287. Letters home, 1890-98; official correspondence relating to resignation, 1897-98; pocket diary, 1894; diary, 1898, as Magistrate, North Borneo.

Owen, Donald Adrian

MSS. Pac. s. 103. "Memoirs of Donald Adrian Owen, 1880-1952, being a selection of writings, letters and extracts from diaries as Resident in Sarawak." [Reproduced from typescript, with photographs].

Parry, Brian

MSS. Ind. Ocn. s. 365. Letters from Brian Parry, mostly from Miri, Sarawak where he worked for Sarawak Oilfields Ltd., home to his parents and to his wife Mary in Singapore, written in 1939-1941; together with albums of photographs mostly Sarawak, but including some of Sumatra and some from school and college days. 1 file, 3 albums. 1918-1941.

Porritt, Vernon Leslie

MSS. Ind. Ocn. s. 351. "British Colonial Rule in Sarawak 1946-1963." Ph.D. thesis, Murdoch University, Western Australia, 1994. 1 vol.

Pybus, Dr Cassandra

MSS. Ind. Ocn. s. 364. Notes, photocopied documents and copy photographs relating to the lives of Esca Brooke Daykin, son of Charles Brooke, Rajah of Sarawak, and his adoptive father, the Revd. William Yate Daykin, covering the period c. 1987-1993. 4 files. c. 1995.

Rackham, G. H.

MSS. Ind. Ocn. t. 4. Sarawak, background information on the secondary schools system, prepared for the New Zealand Government, 1960, as Deputy Director of Education; memorandum to Chief Secretary on the future of education under a Malaysian regime, 1962. [Xerox copy].

Raus bin Haji Mohamed Amin (Mohamed)

MSS. Pac. s. 69. "The story of Brunei" [incl. an account of James Brooke's agreement with Pengiran Muda Hashim to govern Sarawak, 1946]. [Typescript].

MSS. Ind. Ocn. s. 55. "Stories of Brunei," trans. by P. Scanlon, 1951. [Repr. from typescript].

Reece, Prof R.H.W.

MSS. Ind. Ocn. s. 361. Affirmation made by R.H.W. Reece in the Supreme Court of Hong Kong relating to political developments in North Borneo and Sarawak from 1946 onwards, an expert opinion in the case of Dr Datuk Jeffrey Kitingan and the Crown Solicitor, in which Dr Kitingan was alleged to have been involved in a secessionist plot in Sabah. 59 folios. 1993.

Reid, James Stuart W.

MSS. Ind. Ocn. s. 82. Annual report, Municipal Department, Kota Bharu, 1933. "H.B." (a brief biography of Humphrey Berkely), 1959. Note on the recreation of the Malayan Establishment Office after the reconquest of Malaya from the Japanese, 1966. (3 papers, typescripts).

Richards, Anthony John N.

MSS. Ind. Ocn. s. 213 "Sarawak, land law and adat," 1961, notes, correspondence, references; report of the Land Committee in brief, 1962; letters home, 1938-42, 46-50 [incl.] minute papers and draft of thesis, "The search for a policy in Sarawak," 1939; letters to L.B. Walsh Atkins, 1938-40, 45-57; Sarawak autograph book. 8 pt.

MSS. Ind. Ocn. s. 234. File of lower Rejang papers, including a report on the fish trade, 1940-61; Bintulu census, 1940, &c.; Sarawak Senior Officers' Association, misc. correspondence, circulars, &c., 1952-63. 3 pt.

Robinson, K.G.

MSS. Pac. s. 91. Draft report on Psy-ops in 'Operation Hammer' [Sarawak] from 5th July to 17th August, 1965 [with a note on Chinese attitudes, pp. 34-40]. [Xerox copy].

Ruegg, R.A.

MSS. Ind. Ocn. 2. 290. "Memoirs of life as a Police Officer in Malaya (1949-59) and North Borneo (1963-67)." Photocopy of typescript, with photographs; 1985.

Rutter, Owen

MSS. Ind. Ocn. s. 256. Draft of his book *The Pirate Wind*, tales of the sea-robbers of Malaya, published in 1930.

Sarawak Resident's Court

MSS. Pac s. 64. Court proceedings, Sibiu, 1932, H.H. the Rajah v. Daniel O'Connell McGinn, charged with criminal breach of trust by a public servant. [Typescript].

Sarawak State Advisory Council

MSS. Pac. s. 67 Memorandum of agreement of conditions of service between the Sarawak State Advisory Council and Arthur Stanley Lowe, 1922. [Xerox copy].

Skrine, Walter Francis de Vere

MSS. Ind. Ocn. s. 143. Correspondence, 1909, 1911-24, 1928, mainly from fellow officials and Sir C.V. Brooke while in the service of the Sarawak government. Diaries, 1910-12, 1914-17. 7 vols. Official memoranda of orders and regulations, some printed, with correspondence relating to administration of the provinces, 1913-29. [Typescript].

Smythies, B.E.

MSS Ind. Ocn. s. 313. Photograph of H.E. Michael Stewart (Governor of Sarawak) at official parade in Sibiu shortly before his murder, 1946. Explanatory note by donor. 1 photograph; 1 folio A4, typescript, 1989.

Turner, Robert Noel

MSS. Brit. Emp. s. 454. "From the depths of my memory" (reminiscences of service in Malaya, Brunei, Singapore, Sarawak, Barbados, Malaysia, 1912-76. 3 vols. in 2. [With] speeches made in Barbados, 1951-56.

Urquhart, I.A.N.

MSS. Ind. Ocn. s. 152. Papers as D.O. and Administrative Officer, Sarawak, 1959-64, incl. Supplement of Howell and Bailey's *Sea Dyak Dictionary*, by the Revd. W. Howell, 1959, official memoranda, talks on Limbang rebellion, 1962, and customary law.

Villiers, George William Frederick, 4th earl of Clarendon (B)

MS. Clar. Dep. c. 13, ff. 506-663 Correspondence of, relating to Borneo, 1853.

Vivian, A.C.

MSS Brit. Emp. s. 345. "A man of metal ... life of metal mining, metallurgy and research" [in Sarawak, Gold Coast, Northern Rhodesia, 1884-1964]. [Typescript].

Waddell, Sir Alexander Nicol A.

MSS. Pac. s. 105. Speeches, papers on the financial position, rural development, the Foochow Chinese, economic aspects and development plan of Sarawak, 1950-63. 9 files.

Walker, D.C.

MSS Ind. Ocn. s. 158. Record of proceedings as magistrate, July 1956, in opium case, Regina v. Teo Hock Guan and others, Sibiu, Sarawak, and appeal before the High Court. [Typescript].

Walker, James Douglas

MSS. Ind. Ocn. s. 282. Photographs of service with the North Borneo railways, 1960's. 2 albums & 1 file.

Wallace, Theodore David

MSS. Pac. s. 82. Correspondence and miscellaneous memoranda [some incomplete] as Attorney-General, North Borneo [incl.] Report on the internment of civilians in Singapore by the Nipponese authorities 1942-45; proposed scheme, British nationality, citizenship of the U.K. and colonies and status of aliens, Jan. 1947. [Typescript].

Ward, Arthur Bartlett

MSS. Pac. s. 80. Correspondence, indentures, opinions & c., 1893-1934, regarding the Sarawak State Advisory Council, including a letter from Sir C. Vyner Brooke, Rajah, 1929; with notes on certain Sea Dyak fines and customs recognized in the court of Simanggang, n.d.

MSS. Ind. Ocn. s. 350. Press cuttings, photographs and ephemera relating to Sarawak, 1882-1966. 1 volume; 1 folder.

Williams, R.O.

MSS. Brit. Emp. s. 474. "A plantsman's way: account of life and experience in the Colonial Agricultural Service in Trinidad, Kenya, British Guinea, Sarawak and St. Helena, 1930-70." Photocopied typescript. 1 box.

Wilson, John Kennedy

MSS. Ind. Ocn. s. 236. "The Budu, Entebai, Iban Team Community Development Schemes, Sarawak, 1953-1968." [Typescript].

MSS. Ind. Ocn. s. 145. Descriptions of work as organizer of the Budu Community Development Scheme, Sarawak, 1953-66. [Typescript].

Wink, John Stewart

MSS. Pac. r. 11. Letters home, report in diary form, etc., relating to service as Assistant Commissioner in the Sarawak Constabulary, 1938-42. 21 ff.

Wood, Devillo Demic

MSS. Pac. s. 47-50. Diaries and diary extracts, Forest Service, North Borneo, 1916-25, 46. 3 vols. File of correspondence concerning the British Borneo Company and the North Borneo Trading Company, 1944-61.

Wood, Geoffrey H.S.

MSS. Brit. Emp. s. 556. Letters and new cuttings from and about Geoffrey H.S. Wood (1927-1957) who served as a Forest Botanist in Uganda and North Borneo and died in Brunei following an accident at his camp. 40 folios and items, 1946-1846.

Wookey, Walter Keith C.

MSS. Ind. Ocn. t. 2. Miscellaneous papers relating to North Borneo. *Panggal pertama*, typescript booklet giving the story of a four-eyed king, with English MS transl. 1959; short typescript descriptions, n.d.; Sandakan walks, the production of crutch [sic], ponies for Tongud; Bibliography of North Borneo with typescript copy. Two photograph albums and news cuttings, c. 1920-48.

Young, J.A.

MSS. Pac. s. 70. Sarawak, final report of the Group Headmaster scheme, Kalaka district schools, Saratok, 1960, submitted as Group Headmaster. [Typescript].

N.B. Material relating to Borneo can also be found in the records of the Anti-Slavery Society (Brit. Emp. s. 22) and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG).

**Uncatalogued Manuscripts:**

Anderson, T.S.

Further papers of Lt.-Col. T.S. Anderson (Director of Intelligence and Security) relating to Somaliland, Brunei and Sarawak, 1 old Bodley box [see MSS. Afr. s. 905].

Borneo Mission Association

Photograph album of A.F. Sharp showing pictures of churches, church workers, and others scenes of British North Borneo and Sarawak, c. 1907. 12 folios.

Brooke of Sarawak

Papers relating to the Brooke family, c. 1934-c. 1950. Includes correspondence and papers relating to British involvement in Sarawak; papers re libel case between Gerard T. M. MacBryan [who worked for the Rajah of Sarawak] and Anthony Walter Dayrell Brooke [nephew of the then Rajah]; other papers relating to members of the Brooke family. 2 banker's boxes.

Carson, George

Reports, letters, and printed booklet by George L. Carson, Forestry Service, Malaysia/North Borneo (1937-1965). 1 C33 archival box.

Fielding, David

Correspondence, diaries and papers of David and Sue Fielding, relating to period spent in North Borneo 1960-1963, when David Fielding was District Officer. Many used to compile book on their experiences [previously donated to RHL, shelfmark C99. r. 92]. 4 boxes.

Gray, Geoffrey C.

Papers 1942-62 of Geoffrey Leicester Gray, CMG, OBE, relating to his service in British North Borneo, including an internment ledger and file on the Japanese occupation and a bundle of papers and press cuttings marked "Merdekah," with some early 20th century material on the Philippines. 3 C5 boxes.

Gray, Geoffrey C.

File of additional papers of Geoffrey C. Gray relating to British North Borneo, 1925, 1927, and 1946.

Milverton, A.F. Richards

Microfilm (3 reels) of the papers, 1924-1968, of A.F. Richards, first Lord Milverton: service in Malaya, North Borneo, Fiji, Gambia, Jamaica, Nigeria, Includes correspondence with Sir Gerald Creasey, Sir Hugh Foor, etc., and material gathered or used by R.L. Peel for his biography of Milverton. 3 boxes. List with films.

Morris, Stephen

Research papers, field notes, slides, draft of books by Stephen Morris, anthropologist, mainly concerned with his work in the Oya River area of Sarawak on the Melanau language and people. 8 boxes.

Taylor, Brian

Thirteen envelopes of photographs of Sarawak, Brunei and Sabah, c. 1960's, mostly taken by Fr. Brian Taylor (formerly Chairman, Borneo Mission Association).

**[Editor's Note:** The following brief communications all refer to Bob Reece's book, *Masa Jepun*, reviewed by Graham Saunders in Volume 30, or to the period of the Japanese Occupation in Borneo, and were written in response to a series of brief communications that appeared in Volume 30 of the *BRB*. The first communication, written by the late Anthony Richards shortly before his death, is in response to a communication by William Batty-Smith. The second communication, by W.G. Morison, is also in response to Mr. Batty-Smith's communication. Both Anthony Richards and W.G. Morison were Brooke administrative officers at the time of the Japanese invasion of Sarawak and both were interned for the duration of the Occupation in the Batang Lintang civilian internment camp. William Batty-Smith is the son-in-law of William S.B. Buck, also a Brooke officer, who escaped internment and served in the armed forces from April 1942 until the end of World War II. Bernard Sellato's communication is partially in response to a communication by Beatrice Clayre, also in Volume 30, describing the murder of Donald Hudden, the Brooke District Officer at Marudi, who attempted to flee into the interior of Kalimantan to escape capture. Finally, William Batty-Smith, in a further Brief Communication, adds to the record concerning events during and immediately preceding the Occupation with the copy of a confidential report submitted by W.S. Buck to the Sarawak Government in exile in Sydney, Australia, describing the situation at the time of the Japanese invasion and his escape through Pontianak to Java.

#### MORE ON *MASA JEPUN*: A RESPONSE TO BATTY-SMITH

Anthony Richards  
*Brambles, Harshel Court*  
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The letters quoted by Mr. William Batty-Smith are of interest, but I reckon that the rest of his brief communication ("Masa Jepun", *Borneo Research Bulletin*, Volume 30 (1999): 142-46) is of little value, except for what it tells us about the author. He remarks on the research done by Bob Reece, but does not appear to have done any himself. He quotes selectively from Reece's Chapter 5, but does not appear to have read anything else, or to be aware of the general situation in Southeast Asia at that time. Apart from the "Sibu Party" and some from Dutch Borneo who vainly journeyed to Long Nawang, Europeans in Borneo all stayed put.

He does not mention Malays or any other "locals", nor the Chinese, whose country had been invaded by the Japanese some years before. Perhaps, for him, as for some junior members of our embassies overseas that I've heard of, these folk are not "people" at all.

As it was, and I believe, still is in Southeast Asia, European officers were not tyrants (as the Japanese first pretended to suppose) but leaders and friends. Some of these friendships still exist, and not only for me. (Morison is among those who have the means, and visits Sarawak often). Batty-Smith should read *Tales from the South China Seas: (images of) the British in South East Asia in the Twentieth Century*, edited by Charles Allen, a paperback edition of which was published in 1984.

The Sarawak Association (London) has a large and growing membership, both old and young, including a good many Sarawak people of every race. As a member, Batty-Smith is listed as having been in Sarawak in 1974-75 only, as a member of H.M. Forces.

Officers who left before the Japanese invasion to join the Forces, did so in an orderly manner, with leave, and in 1940, for the war in Europe. As for the "reprimand"—it is, after all, only hearsay. Morison agrees that it was most likely informal (and not recorded). To say that Buck could not have been reprimanded because the Rajah wrote kindly to Sybil Buck, implies that the Rajah was so uncivilized that, if an officer were at fault, he would "take it out" on the officer's innocent wife and family. Again; to say that Buck could not have been reprimanded because Le Gros Clark was dead is nonsense. Did Le Gros not have successors? I can think of more than one senior officer who had a sharp tongue and would have used it in 1946.

#### MORE ON MASA JEPUN

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I have only recently seen a copy of the *Borneo Research Bulletin* Vol.30, 1999, as I have been abroad, back in Sarawak as it happens.

I wish to refer in particular to the article written by Mr. William Batty-Smith where he refers to a brief paragraph of mine occurring in the book *Masa Jepun* written by Professor Bob Reece of Murdoch University, Perth, Australia.

In his quotation from *Masa Jepun* Mr. Batty-Smith carefully does not quote my paragraph in full. I will now quote in full what I recorded in *Masa Jepun*.

If I had been on my own I would probably have remained at Sarikei. My thinking on the way to Lubok Antu which finally made up my mind to return to Sarikei was a combination of somewhat disjointed thoughts. First and foremost I had a very strong and yet somewhat strange feeling that if I left Sarawak then, I knew deep within me I would never return to Sarawak. This was something I very much wanted to do. After the war Buck was, I believe, reprimanded for leaving while his junior assistant remained, but I always had considerable sympathy for Buck



for the action he took. He had a wife and family to think about. I was not married at the time, so in a sense I was more expendable if such was to happen.

I cannot see anything wrong in such a statement. I also ended my paragraph in *Masa Jepun* with the following sentence:

But also, at the back of my mind, was the old-fashioned idea that persons in positions of responsibility and authority should not cut and run at the first hint of danger.

If I had been married I may well have thought rather differently, but I thought at the time—and I am still of the same opinion—that at least one member of the Senior Administrative Service should have remained at his post until the arrival of the Japanese. There would certainly have been no question of hiding away in some village or longhouse and thereby putting local people in danger from the Japanese, although I did get an offer from some local source in Sibuhajau where I had been taken after my return to Sarikei, but I decided not to accept the offer.

Perhaps I should have made my decision at Sarikei before we left for Lubok Antu, but it was no easy decision to arrive at, and I had been thinking about it on the way to Lubok Antu. Certainly I was not influenced in any way by what Mr. Jongklaas may or may not have said and I do not remember anything being said about Richards or myself being forced to join the Dutch Army. At Sarikei, before we left I was given very short notice indeed by Buck to pack a few things and to meet him at the Sarikei wharf. I had no time to try and make arrangements for my Malay servant, his wife and small children. He told me after the war that he and his family had a very hazardous and exhausting journey across country to his home town of Serian. When I told Buck at Lubok Antu that I wished to return to Sarikei unless he ordered me to go with him across the border, he replied that if I was afraid to cross the border that was my decision, and he refused to give me such an order. I thought at the time that his statement accusing me of being afraid both wounding and unhelpful, and certainly wrong. I replied that it was not a question of being afraid and I turned and walked away. My friend, Mr. Anthony Richards, and I returned to Betong where he was District Officer at the time, and from there with a couple of Iban guides I made my way first of all up river and then overland to Sarikei. No easy journey, I can assure Mr. Batty-Smith, for we purposely avoided any open ground, and this meant from time to time walking up narrow pebble-strewn streams and keeping under cover as much as possible.

I remember in particular, we stopped one night in a longhouse on the upper reaches of a small river. I was extremely tired after such a grueling journey and it was dark before I went out to bathe in the stream. Meanwhile, one of my guides had lighted a flare so I could see what I was doing. As I got out of the stream I saw one of my guides sitting cross-legged on the ground with his gun across his knees. I remember I asked him why he was sitting there with his gun across his knees. He replied that he was uncertain about some of the inhabitants of the longhouse, so my two Iban guides were not only my guides but were prepared, so it seemed, to try and protect me should there be any trouble.

Eventually I returned to Sarikei where I was given a great welcome by office staff and some of the townspeople. I was advised by the Chief Clerk not to go to my bungalow,

as it had been ransacked. The Chief Clerk insisted on putting me up for the night in his own house. The next day I was arrested on the orders of the Malay officer who had been left in charge and sent up to Sibul under armed guard. At Sibul I was first of all put up in his house by the kindly-disposed Malay gentlemen, the late Datu Tunku Mohammed (whom I had first met when stationed in the 5<sup>th</sup> Division), and then at the RC Mission. Both at Sarikei and at Sibul when I arrived there was no sign of the Japanese.

At length the Japanese arrived in Sibul and I was marched up to the District Office under a local armed guard of Sarawak Police. The Inspector in charge, whom I knew, saluted and apologized for doing what he had been ordered to do, and when we turned into the main street I was greatly surprised by the huge crowd of mainly Chinese who had assembled there. All of them were absolutely silent, and I felt that their silence was a way of showing me their sympathy and I found it very moving and uplifting.

Before being sent down to Kuching, I met up with the late Mr J C Barcroft, who in those days had been posted to Mukah as District Officer. He had come to Sibul to try and contact the Resident, Mr Macpherson, who with his party was by then on the way to Long Nawang in what was then Dutch Borneo (now Kalimantan—Indonesian Borneo). It is almost certain that if Macpherson and his party had remained in Sibul until the arrival of the Japanese, they would have been sent down to Kuching and interned with the rest of us eventually at Batu Lintang, thus avoiding the horrible massacre perpetrated by the Japanese at Long Nawang. Two of his party did in fact return to Sarawak and were interned with the rest of us at Batu Lintang.

I would end this letter by apologising to any members of the Buck family who were offended by my brief paragraph in *Masa Jepun*. I did not mean to offend anyone, but I also feel that Mr Batty-Smith might have written a somewhat different article if he had taken the trouble to contact Digby, Richards and myself before he wrote his article. It would not have been difficult to do.

Yours faithfully,  
W G Morison

## CRIME SCENE: THE MÜLLER MOUNTAINS REGION IN JAPANESE TIMES

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This brief communication was prompted by the notes of Beatrice Clayre and William Batty-Smith in the *Borneo Research Bulletin* (Volume 30, 1999, respectively pp. 140-142 and 142-146), both referring to Bob Reece's recent book, *Masa Jepun* (1998). The account of World War II events that it tenders is based on personal recollections which I recorded in the mid-1970s and early 1980s among the Aoheng of the upper Mahakam and the Hovongan of the upper Kapuas.

Among many places in Borneo that were the scenes of atrocities during World War II, one is the Müller Mountains, forming the watershed between the Mahakam and the Kapuas, between East and West Kalimantan.

The Müller Mountains are famous, first and foremost, for the murder of Georg Müller in 1825. An officer in the civil service of the Dutch Indies, Müller went up the Mahakam with a small military escort and disappeared into the interior. The exact circumstances of his death were hotly debated throughout the nineteenth century and were still examined by visitors to the region in the mid-twentieth century (see Sellato 1986). Although the region remained until 1894 a complete *terra incognita* where no first-hand information could be procured, it would appear that Müller did cross over into the Kapuas basin and was killed, by order of the Sultan of Kutai, on the Bungan River around mid-November 1825. As the murder had occurred in the Kapuas drainage, the sultan could, of course, not bear the blame.

When A.W. Nieuwenhuis reached, during his first expedition (1894), the Kapuas and Mahakam watershed, he gave the mountain range the name of Müller Mountains. The tribes of the upper Mahakam were quite hostile to his entering the area and, in the following years, one Aoheng chieftain repeatedly tried to have him murdered—very likely, again, by order of the sultan of Kutai. Thanks to the protection of the influential Kayan chief, Kwing Irang, Nieuwenhuis remained unaware of those attempts on his life, which were reported by Lumholtz, visiting in 1916.

During the Japanese occupation of Borneo, the Müller Mountains, once again, witnessed massacres. When the Japanese landed on Borneo's coasts, scores of Europeans fled to the interior, trusting that they would be safe there. Some took refuge on the upper Mahakam (the current Long Pahangai and Long Apari districts) upstream from the big rapids. For a while, indeed, they were safe. But a Japanese expeditionary force eventually reached the upper Mahakam region and rounded up all the Europeans they could find, civil as well as military, in very much the same way that they did at Long Nawang, in Apo Kayan, and probably at about the same time.

The fugitives were killed at Long Isun, an Uma` Suling village on the Meraseh River, probably some time in 1943. The fact that they were first made to dig their own mass grave, and were then executed with the sword (locally called *samuray*), left a lasting impression on the local population. Although I have no clue from interviews with local informants on how Europeans perished at Long Isun, or about who they were, it appears that some Catholic priests were spared and later deported to Surabaya, where they spent the rest of the war in a prisoners' camp.

Two Dutchmen, instead of surrendering, ran away father upstream, hoping to escape by walking over to the Kapuas. They took refuge at Noha Boan among the Aoheng of the Huvung sub-group, whose chief, Nalang, received and hid them at his farm on the Tohop River. That they were conversant in Malay may have helped. That they had guns and were eager to go hunt wild pig also certainly endeared them to the Aoheng. Nicknamed Ja`ang and Tekuan, they lived there for over one year, in hiding, wearing the loincloth and helping in the fields for their keep.

On the Kapuas side, eight runaways—six Dutch, including a woman, and a Javanese physician (known as Dokter Jawa) and his Iban wife—fled from Putussibau to the interior, towards the Mahakam. The Japanese of the garrison in Putussibau issued orders

to the Hovongan (or Punan Bungan) of the upper Kapuas to catch and kill them. Somewhere on the watershed, the fugitives met with a party of Aoheng Huvung headed for the Kapuas. The Aoheng took them to their village and, disregarding the orders passed on to him by the Hovongan, Nalang refused to surrender them. Meanwhile, on the Mahakam side, the Japanese were already at Long Pahangai.

For safety, the Aoheng hid the fugitives in the forest right on the watershed, precisely on the Bungan Leya River—only a short distance from the site of Müller's death. Somehow, the Hovongan found them and, after a period of indecision, beheaded the men. The two women were spared and brought, together with the heads of their companions, down to Putussibau, where the Hovongan chieftains (Tapa, Javung, and Umang) got a reward from the Japanese. Later, under the NICA administration, Umang and two other Hovongan men spent five years in prison at Sintang. Still later, Umang was awarded a medal as a local Independence hero (*pahlawan kemerdekaan*) by the Indonesian government, and eventually was appointed *kepala adat* of the Hovongan.

Ja'ang and Tekuan were luckier than their fellow Dutchmen. When they were invited to join eight fugitives from Kapuas, they declined. And, although the chief of the Aoheng sub-group of Long Apari wanted them killed, Nalang held firm. At some point, however, the Japanese got a tip-off, sailed up to the village of Batu Ura, and forcibly made Nalang surrender the two Dutchmen. A Japanese force, under one Kajima, even walked across from the Huvung River to the Kapuas.

The two Dutchmen were taken downriver by the Japanese. By the time their boat reached Melak, on the middle Mahakam, Japan had capitulated. After the war, Nalang received a medal (referred to as *bintang kebaikan*) on the occasion of Queen Juliana's coronation. According to local oral sources, one of the Dutchmen later returned to the upper Mahakam to thank the people who had saved him. One source stated that one of them wrote a book about their adventure.

All this, as stated above, is only oral tradition. I have not attempted so far to locate the Dutch archives that could shed some light on the events reported here, but I certainly would be most grateful to readers who would like to share information on this period.

The people of the upper Mahakam remember the Japanese occupation as a period of brutality, and of backslide in terms of welfare from the earlier, Dutch colonial situation. As they report it, during the remaining years of the war, they had to eat cassava, as rice was commandeered by the Japanese; and for several more years afterward, they had to make bark cloth, as trade cloth was unavailable, and to boil the water of salt springs to procure salt. In the 1980s, old people were still recalling the Dutch days as times of plenty (trade wise), even compared to the post-Independence and the New Order periods.

**Note:** Scattered data relevant to the events referred to above can be found in my dissertation ("Les nomads forestiers de Bornéo et sédentarisation: essai d'histoire économique et sociale, "Paris, EHESS, 1986, 570 p.); in a general-public paper ("Vous avez dit explorateurs?", " in *Bornéo. Des chasseurs de têtes aux écologistes*, A. Guerreiro & P. Couderc, eds., Paris: Autrement, Hors-Série No. 52, 1991, pp. 31-40); and in a paper in this *Bulletin* ("A.W. Nieuwenhuis across Borneo, 1894-1994", 14-31, 1993).

## W.S. BUCK: SARAWAK GOVERNMENT IN EXILE

[**Editor's note:** The following copy of a typescript report, originally submitted to the Sarawak Government in exile in Australia in 1942, was found by William Batty-Smith among his late father-in-law's papers and was submitted to the *BRB* for the light its contents shed on the events that mark the beginning of the Japanese Occupation period. We thank Mr. Batty-Smith and his family for sharing this valuable report with our readers.]

11b, Fairfax Road,  
Bellevue Hill,  
Sydney.  
20.3.42.

Sir,

I have the honour to submit my report on events, as I know them, immediately prior to the invasion of Sarawak, up to the time of my arrival in Java, as requested in your memorandum No. 10 in 6/7/2 dated 14.3.42.

2. It should be noted that the events are recorded from memory, and consequently I am unable to give a day to day account, and there may be slight inaccuracies regarding the sequence of events, dates and names, but the report is substantially correct.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

3. Selalang Bazaar was burnt to the ground about the middle of December, but police investigations were unable to discover the cause, and it was generally believed that the affair was accidental, and not due to fifth column activity. The property of the Island Trading Co, was untouched. Mrs. Bomphrey has been advised to leave Selalang and had proceeded to Kanowit a few days previously, together with her two children and amah, in one of the Company's vessels, and had taken with her stores sufficient to last her party for 3 or 4 months.

4. Jerijeh wireless (short wave station) failed about this time, and two boatman were stationed there to carry messages to Selalang, and a speedboat and lookout were stationed at Kuala Selalang for additional security, with orders to report at once, any suspicious shipping entering Kuala Rejang. Mr. Bland of the I.T.C. was appointed Reporting Officer, and given a special reporting code.

5. A message was received at 2 p.m. on 20<sup>th</sup> December from Oberon asking that H.M.S. "Kudat" be requested to proceed at once to Tanjong Sirik to assist survivors from H.H.M.Y "Maimuna" and another vessel (subsequently stated to be the S.S. "Lipis") which were being bombed and machine-gunned by enemy planes. Oberon does not seem to have been aware that H.M.S. "Kudat" had left (under Navy Orders transmitted through Kuching) at 9 a.m. that morning. Mr. Bland was instructed to give orders to his sea-going vessels to stand by to give assistance, but before they could proceed to Tanjong Sirik the "all clear" was received.

6. News of the landing of Japanese troops at Miri was notified by the Resident Third Division, and was published for general information. A special quick reporting code for

aeroplanes was instituted. Report were constantly receive of enemy aircraft in varying numbers, and Air Raid Precaution including a total blackout were enforced. At first Bazaars steamed out at every alert, causing congestion on the main road, only to filter back again later in the day. Measures were taken to counteract this the kampongs were evacuated of women and children as far as possible.

7. Report were receive of the bombing of Kuching, Sibü (3 dead including a Dayak police Corporal Alat (?) who had survived raids both in Kuching and on the "Lipis", Mukah (no casualties), Oya (?) and Matu Bruang were about 50 head of cattle were killed. Enemy aircraft were over Sarikei daily in flights of either 3 or 7 as a rule but no bombs were dropped either a that station or at Binatang.

8. The Kuching raid was notified in a circular telegramme from the Chief Secretary giving details of casualties. A broadcast was picked up about this time from Kuching in which the P.M.G. Mr. W.G. Tait was heard to speak to Mr. D.C. Hudden (District Officer, Baram) asking him "to try and get in touch with Jim Anderson at Limbang at once, as 'his boy friends' are listening in".

9. Instructions were received from Oberon to destroy copies of the Defence Scheme and were complied with. Meanwhile, air raid shelters were built under each Kampong house, officers and wireless stations sandbagged and shelter provided in houses of Government servants. Arrangements were made for the distribution of food stocks first throughout clerk's quarters as a protection against incendiarism, and later throughout the district using schools as centres, as a protection against invasion. The food question at Selalang was becoming acute after the fire, and Mr. Bland was called into conference, and all rationed commodities distributed through the Island Trading Co.

10. Once wireless communication was broken with Kuching, news of the general situation was difficult to come by, and Mr. Bland, who was in Sarikei for Christmas, was instructed to return to Selalang, to dismantle has plant, render it useless to the enemy as far as possible by extracting all copper, brass and essential parts such as pump plungers, magnets, etc. and to sail his fleet up to Kapit with all useful medical stores and foodstuffs.

11. On the day following Boxing Day a telegramme was received from the Resident instructing me to place a European guard on the M.L. "Sylvia", distribute foodstuffs throughout the district, arm Chinese headmen and instruct them what methods to take in the event of looting or food riots, and then to retire to Sibü with all Europeans, after having handed over the three main stations to my native officers.

12. I discussed the implications of the telegrams with Mr. Murray (Settlement Officer, Sarikei) and decided to ignore the instructions regarding the placing of a European guard on the launch (which already had its full crew on board for instant action in case of air attack) as being likely to cause unnecessary consternation; but all heads of communities were sent immediately with a view to distributing foodstocks and arms. It was estimated that this would take three days at least.

13. The following morning, the 28<sup>th</sup> December, at about 6.20 a.m. I received a telephone call from Inche Morshidi N.O. Binatang, in which he stated that a reliable Malay, who had escaped from Sibü that night had just arrived in Binatang, and report that Sibü was in Japanese hands. The enemy had come from the Igan, it was said, were 800 (eight hundred) strong, and were proceeding down river.

14. I informed Mr. Murray at once, instructing him to meet me at the office as soon as he had warned native officer Abang Haji Abdulrahim Fr. Quadekker and Mr. Morison. I put on some clothes and left by car for the office immediately, where the next hour was spent in destroying all codes and secret files.

15. The situation was rapidly explained to such officers as had assembled, and whilst this was being done Fr. Quadekker arrived to say that he had just received information by telephone, from one of his ex-pupils in Binatang, to the effect that the enemy were already in Binatang and were making for Sarikei.

16. A quick decision had now to be made, as to whether officers were to remain at their posts, or to disperse. Instructions received from my Resident were, (as noted above) to make certain dispositions and retire with all Europeans to Sibü.

This was now impracticable and I decided therefore to make for the 2<sup>nd</sup> Division, since it was obvious that, after the fall of Kuching, and now Sibü, that it would not be possible to carry on the administration of the district, and the subordinate staff and the police could not be expected to continue to serve Government without pay.

17. Accordingly I explained the position to Abang Hj. Abdulrahim and told him that I intended to withdraw, as in the circumstances I had only the alternatives of retiring or being taken prisoner, in which case I could be of no assistance to the natives. Abang Hj. asked if he too should retire with me, but before I could reply, he himself answered the question saying "No, I shall remain".

18. I formally handed over the district to him, and gave him custody of the contents of the Treasury (which amounted to \$200,000), with instructions to see it did not fall into enemy hands, and either to bury it in a safe place if time permitted or to destroy it before two witnesses. Similar instructions were given to Ah Khoo, the Treasury clerk. Michael Juan, C.O.C.D. was instructed to dispose of all rifles and ammunition; and all were warned not to offer any active resistance to the enemy.

19. The M.L. "Sylvia", which was standing by, was ordered to the wharf, whilst I returned to the bungalow to pick up Mr. Moscrop, Fr. Quadekker, Mr. Murray and Mr. Morison, and the party left for Selalang. The bazaar and the kampong having been largely evacuated, all was quiet in the district when we left.

20. All the way to Rejang we were expecting to meet Japanese forces coming up river from Kuala, but we managed to turn the corner into the S. Tumut without incident. It is noteworthy that the juragan of the "Sylvia" gave no assistance during our flight from Sarikei, but lay in the foc'sle all day, and left it to the greaser to navigate the vessel.

21. On our arrival at Selalang about 11.30 a.m. we left for Mr. Bland's bungalow in search of food, as none of us had eaten that day. The position was briefly outlined to Mr. Bland, who informed me that all the vital parts of his plant had been dismantled and that stores were all loaded into the Sidney R. Maw (S.V.).

22. After collecting medical supplies for the party (each of whom was given bandages, quinine, iodine etc) we left for the bungalow. On arrival I sent for the Selalang policeman, but before we could settle down to a meal a messenger arrived to say that a boat had come in from Kuala Rajang and that the Japanese were actually in Selalang itself.

23. This information was probably a garbled version of a message from the Kuala Selalang lookout, reporting Japanese vessels at Kuala Rajang, but we did not wait to

investigate further, but set out in pouring rain along the Roban Road, accompanied by a number of refugees from Selalang.

24. It should be mentioned that the engineer of the M.L. "Sylvia" was instructed to run the vessel up some small creek in a loba, where it would not be easily discovered, and then to make his way back to his family in Sarikei by boat.

25. The two Selalang police, whose families both lived at Kabong, accompanied us along the road to put us on the right track and then turned off at the Kabong Junction. I gathered from them that there were Japanese sympathisers among the Selalang Malays—one called, I think, Kadir—known to Mr. Bland, being particularly notable. The latter brought out with him some G 1,500—in Dutch money, which he distributed amongst the party for safety.

26. I decided that it would be unwise to enter Roban, in case we had been followed or perhaps Roban itself had been occupied, so the party turned south and looked for shelter in the first Dayak house. Here we met with a very frigid reception, and finding no food available, pushed on to a "langkau rumai", where with bad grace we were supplied with soup, but no rice.

27. It was decided to make for Penghulu Entri's house the following day. As it was expedient to avoid main roads at this stage, we found the going very severe, since in many stretches it was necessary to cut our way. Ironically enough I had armed myself with two Japanese "parang" and these came in very useful though unequal to the work they had to do, and I left them as a present for the Penghulu, who both received us and entertained us in a very loyal manner. Having ascertained that Roban as free, we decided to make for Saratok the following day passing through Roban on our way.

28. The following day we left early for Roban where we met by a rather nervous native officer, and given food by the Court Clerk. It was raining hard and the whole party was cold and wet. We had, however, invested in a kerosene tin apiece, so were able to keep a change of clothing comparatively clean and dry. I was able to get touch by telephone with Mr. Drake, who stated that all was well in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Division as far as he knew, and he promised to inform Mr. Arundall, Resident 2<sup>nd</sup> Division, of our arrival.

29. We pushed on to Saratok almost immediately along the Roban-Saratok road and found the going fairly easy except for the fact the Fr. Quadekker was failing, having a bad heart and suffering with his feet. He had to be assisted throughout the journey, and I cannot speak too highly of Messrs. Murray and Bland, who literally had to push or support him up every hill, and later along a great portion of the flat going as well. Mr. Murray on this occasion walked on ahead with Mr. Moscrop and arranged for a long chair to bring in the aged Father for the last mile or two into Saratok. He arrived in a very bad condition.

30. At Saratok I met Mr. Drake, the District Officer, for the first time and he gave the party every assistance. The Dresser fixed us up with emergency supplies of medicine and we all settled down to a good night's rest. Mr. Drake informed us that he had been in communication with his Resident through Mr. Richards, D. O. Betong, earlier in the day, and had been told by Mr. Richards that he (Mr. Richards) was told to join Mr. Arundall at Lubok Antu, and that "you had better come along too".

31. After hearing our story Mr. Drake decided to join up with my party, and gave instruction to his native officer, and then handed over his station. After fitting out the



party with shoes and clothing and food, we left for Debak the following morning. This walk we found very exhausting owing to floods at the far end of the road a long detour had to be made. Mr. Murray again went on ahead to arrange accommodation and transport for Fr. Quadekker, who was holding the party up.

32. Our arrival at Debak was made almost at nightfall in consequence of these delays, and on reaching the Kubu after walking along what seemed an interminable kampong, I was shocked to see the white flag at the Government flagstaff. The very nervous native officer said that news had been received of Japanese at Pusa, and that lookouts had been posted down river, and that double guards were on watch in the bazaar all night. The party was being accommodated in the S.P.G. Church, a building nearly a mile out of Debak. We settled down here for the night and managed to get rice, and hot coffee from the bazaar. No beds nor mosquito nets were available of course, so little sleep was possible, particularly as the whole party was very wet. I visited the Kubu with Mr. Murray, and borrowing a large scale map, worked out our journey towards Lubok Antu, and engaged a guide and a couple of short term prisoners to help with our baggage.

33. We left early next morning without any further incident, and set out for the Ulu Saribas, since it was considered inadvisable to go via Betong (Mr. Richards having left there the night before, we were unable to make contact by telephone).

34. Fr. Quadekker objected to the decision, saying that our obvious route was to take a boat down river and thence to Betong via Spaoh, but this obviously impracticable, and we set out for the Ulu Paku, where we spent the night in two different houses, the main party remaining with Fr. Quadekker, whilst I pushed on ahead myself to try and arrange a boat for the Father the following day.

35. Making an early start the party caught up with me about 10 a.m. the following morning, having had considerable trouble with the Father, who was almost at the end of his tether, and getting into the Ulu Laya via Ulu Udau, the night was spent there, and there was an ultimatum put forward by a certain section of the party, who considered that progress was dangerously slow and without saying so allowed it to be inferred that the party should be split.

36. The undesirability of this was obvious, and after a general conference at which it was necessary to speak very plainly, and at the risk of offending susceptibilities, and so causing disruption of the party, a compromise was reached, whereby we took boats down river towards Betong, to a point about an hour upriver from that township and landing there struck inland for the house of Pengarah Isek, at Saka.

37. Here we stayed the night and were given a truly royal reception by the Pengarah who was most helpful in every way. I arranged with the Pengarah to send a runner across country to Penghulu Grinang, in the Ulu Skrang, to warn him of our impending arrival, and to ask him to have an outboard ready to take us down river to Bukit Suai Road on the Skrang, from where we intended walking across to the Batang Lupa.

38. A note was also sent to the Government Clerk at Betong asking him to arrange for a Government outboard to be set up from Sinanggang to the other end of Bukit Suai to transport us to Engkilili if possible. Our guide was also sent into Betong to buy stores and other necessities.

39. The arrangements having been confirmed by the clerk we left for the Ulu Skrang the next day, carriers assisting with our baggage from house to house. Arrival at Penghulu

Grinang's house was very disappointing, for not only was there no boat, but the Penghulu himself had gone off cock-fighting, and we had difficulty in even getting fruit from the Dayak. We had been warned that the Skrang might be hostile, and this was one of the reasons for asking the down river route rather than cutting across the Ulu.

40. We managed to get two longboats from this house, who seemed anxious to get rid of us, and they passed us on from house to house, until we ran by chance into a launch-cum-padi mill run by a Chinese. I paid off the guide and prisoners, sending them back via Betong, and after a little bargaining took over the launch, which running carefully was able to slip out of the Skrang above Sinanggang by night and into the Batang Lupar, and which brought us into Engkilili late that night.

41. Although Engkilili had been apprised of our coming, no arrangements had been made by the Native Officer, Gilbert Imai, for our reception; but by opening up bundles of mattresses left by families evacuating Kuching, which had been stored in the Kubu, we were able to settle down for the night.

42. By contrast one happy little incident took place here. On arrival I was handed a letter, which read as follows:-

"3.1.42. I do not know to whom I should address this letter. I heard this morning that a boat is going up river to fetch some Europeans and I am also informed that Fr. Quadekker is suffering during the journey. I am sending some whisky which I hope you will find of use. I think it will cheer you all. Kindest regards and we will meet again. Yours very sincerely T. Attenborough (Tommy)".

I should like to record my appreciation of this very thoughtful act.

43. On arrival at Engkilili I telephoned the Resident, Mr. Arundall, but Mr. Snelus, D.O. Sinanggang, replied and arrangements were made for the party to proceed up river to Lubok Antu the following day. I understood from Mr. Snelus that the Resident had handed over his Division to the Datu in Sinanggang and retired to Lubok Antu with all his European staff after he had lost touch with Kuching and Sibul.

44. Messages from Abg. Hj. Abdulrahim N.O. Sarikei to Datu Tuanku Mohamat N.O. of Sibul had been intercepted enquiring the whereabouts of the Resident, Third Division, together with the reply that the Resident "udah niau" from the Datu; also a message addressed either to Qutram or D.O. Bintulu instructing him to "make for Long Nawang via Belaga and Bring Bill with you" (Bill presumably meant Mr. Avery of the Chicle Development Co., Bintulu, and the message which originated from either Kapit or Kanawit was presumed to have been sent by Mr. Macpherson).

45. Arriving at Lubok Antu the following day I reported to Mr. Arundall and offered him the services of my party. He explained that he no longer had any control in the division and that he intended settling down at Lubok Antu for as long as possible, and retiring if forced to do into the ulu.

46. The Controller of Semitan in Dutch Borneo had left the previous day and a scheme was afoot to organise guerrilla tactics among Dayaks, and the Asst. Resident at Sintang proposed to meet Mr. Arundall in the course of a few days. The matter was regarded as secret.

47. It was explained by Mr. Arundall to the party that he had no job for us in 2<sup>nd</sup>, Division—with exception of Mr. Snelus—and furthermore he had no supplies of food, so anyone who wished to stay in Sarawak should return to his own station and fend for himself; those who wished to leave Sarawak would have to place themselves unreservedly in the hands of the Dutch Authorities, who had made it clear that they would only accept officers on the those terms.

48. In addition to the members of my party the following officers were found at Lubok Antu, Mr. Snelus, D.O. Sinanggang, Mr. Richards, D.O. Betong, Mr. Edwards of the Land & Survey Department, Mr. Reeves also of that Department and Mr. Jongklaas of the Rubber Regulation Department.

49. Discussion followed this statement by Mr. Arundall and the majority of the officers decided that if they could be of no use in Sarawak, the sooner they could get somewhere they could have an opportunity of joining up the better. Many boggled at the idea of being impressed into the Dutch army, but it was generally agreed that anything was preferable to remaining where we were.

50. I decided therefore to rest for a day at Lubok Antu and then to lead a party into Dutch Borneo, the majority of members of which party were prepared to co-operate with the Dutch in any manner which further our effort. I proposed myself to confer first with the Dutch Asst. Resident and return to Sarawak if necessary, in furtherance of the guerrilla tactics scheme.

51. Mr. Snelus was detained by Mr., Arundall and left for Sinanggang the following day to obtain the view of the Datu and other native chiefs on the subject of resistance to the Japanese. I heard subsequently that he was ordered out of Sinanggang by the Datu.

52. Of the remainder only Mr. Jongklass expressed his intention of remaining in Sarawak, stating that he was too old for military service and the he did not intend to put himself under Dutch administration. He proposed to return to Sinanggang under Mr. Snelus.

53. Later in the day Mr. Richards stated that he would remain in Sarawak for the time being at any rate, and bearers were arranged to take the remainder as far as the Pulau Kajang Lekas the following morning.

54. Just before we were leaving I heard that Mr. Morison did not intend accompanying the party. I at once enquired form Mr. Morison what he proposed to do and he replied that he was undecided and that he would only leave Sarawak if I gave him written orders to do so. This I was not prepared to do and he expressed his intention of returning to Sarikei. I warned Mr. Morison that he should not interfere with the administration of the Lower Rajang District, which was in the charge of Hj. Abdulrahim N.O. The party then left for Dutch Borneo.

55. We were met as the frontier Kubu by a Dutch native officer, who conducted us as far as the Puala Kajag Lakes, where we arrived some arrived 5 hours later, and from that point we proceeded by houseboat towed by a Chinese launch as far as Semitau.

56. At Semitau we met the Controller and after discussing the situation with him I had a conversation by telephone with Mr. Kortleven the Asst. Resident at Sintang. The latter informed me that Mr. Bukker, Asst. Resident at Pontianak, was in Sintang and proposed proceeding to Sarawak to study the situation, and I arranged to leave for Sintang early the following day to discuss.

57. Accordingly the following day I left accompanied by Mr. Drake for Sintang, and was met by the Resident's launch half way which enabled us to make Sinatang late that night.

58. Here we were entertained by Mr. & Mrs. Kortleven and recounted our experiences and views of the situation for the benefit of Mr. Kortleven and Mr. Bukker. Both these officers were very keen on guerrilla tactics and appeared to be under the impression that the Sarawak natives were more or less starving, and that they could do anything they liked with the Dayaks provided they supplied them with salt (a Dutch monopoly).

59. We were amused to find the two Dutch Residents discussing us in French, which they appeared to think we would not understand, since they said that to talk Dutch might be dangerous before us! I gathered that they were anxious that such fighting as might take place should be on the Sarawak side of the border.

60. Mr. Bukker expressed his intention of leaving for Lubok Antu the following day and was disappointed to learn that neither Mr. Drake nor myself were intimately connected with the 2<sup>nd</sup> Division. However I was able to assure him that there was no difficulty in finding one's way across the border and that there adequate maps once they arrived in Sarawak.

61. Retiring for the night we arranged to meet the next morning and proceed upriver to Semitau, but the two Residents slipped away the following day whilst we were being given breakfast at the Sintang Hospital, so we had no option but to remain where we were until the arrival of the rest of the party that night.

62. It had been made clear to us that we were regarded by the Dutch as deserters and that we would receive a very cold reception in Pontianak. In Sintang hospital we met Miss Andrews (of the Betong S.P.G. Mission) who had come through a few days previously.

63. The day following the arrival of our party from Semitau the river launch Western Borneo arrived and we were taken down to Pontianak, a two and a half day's journey from Sinatang. Miss Andrew joined us on this trip.

64. Reporting our arrival at the Pontianak Residency I found the Treasurer of Sarawak, Mr. B.A. Trechman, and the Judicial Commissioner, Mr. Trackwell Lewis, staying there, together with Mr. & Mr. Trail of the Chartered Bank. The party was for the most part accommodated in the Pontianak Lunatic Asylum where we met a large number of Sarawak people and where we stayed some weeks.

65. This period of waiting was very trying, for officers had nothing to do beyond walking into Pontianak twice a day in the hope of getting some news. Eventually due to the efforts of the Governments Agent, Mr. C.Pitt Hardacre, in Java, it was learnt that there was some possibility of a ship picking up the stranded officers and getting them to Batavia or Singapore, where they would be given the opportunity of joining some appropriate force.

66. Dutch officials seemed very perturbed at the thought of Mr. Macpherson's trip, from Belaga to Long Nawang, and many of them doubted if they would get through at all, since even single officers had considerable difficulty and always arrived in a bad state of health. They talked of starvation, and proposed to send out a relief party from Long Nawang with supplies. To this end Mr. Snelus was, I believe, requested to confirm the

intention of the party to make for Long Nawang and proceeded from Lubok Antu to Kapit for that purpose.

67. Of my original party Fr. Quadekker joined the local mission on arrival at Pontianak and was, I understand, sent straight away to Singkawang. Mr. Edwards was called upon together with Messrs. Harnack and Sergal to join the 2/15<sup>th</sup> Punjab Regt. as a volunteer, and later received a commission in that Regt.

68. In due course news arrived of a vessel that was to pick up the whole party, but was diverted en route. Later we understood that arrangements had been made for a Sikorski Amphibian to fetch out the party in two flights.

69. The plane duly arrived and could accommodate about 18-20 persons and left on its first trip to Batavia via Banka Island, with all the ladies of our party and the Judicial Commissioner and Mr. Elam.

70. Returning the following day the second detachment set out, but experiencing engine trouble after leaving the Borneo Coast (necessitating the cutting of the port engine) the plane made a forced landing at the mouth of the Kapuas river.

71. We were fetched back to Pontianak by car and another and successful attempts was made at daylight the following day, after the load had been reduced by cutting out two of the passengers. Batavia was reached a little after midday (after a short stop at Banka Island for refuelling) on the 19<sup>th</sup> January 1942.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your obedient servant

(sgd. ) W.S.BUCK  
District Officer, Lower Rajang.  
The Sarawak Government Agent,  
Sydney,  
Australia

WORKING IN THE DUTCH COLONIAL ARCHIVES: A FOLLOW-UP TO  
KNAPEN (1997)

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Having recently returned from conducting archival research at the Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia (ANRI) in Jakarta, I would like to offer this note as a follow-up to Han Knapen's (1997) very helpful article on the subject. Unlike Knapen, I did not cover the archival materials for South and East Borneo. So, my remarks here regarding the documents themselves pertain largely to West Borneo, and I will repeat very little of the information he provided, instead referring the reader to his article directly. I would also

like to present some brief information on the national archives (Algemeen Rijksarchief or ARA) in the Netherlands.

### **Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia in Jakarta**

From the start, I would underscore Knapen's comments about the extreme urgency of archival work. The ANRI documents have not been well preserved, and the older ones are crumbling, and even those in better condition are fast deteriorating. A colleague of mine working with eastern Indonesian material estimated that most documents have another decade before they fall apart entirely.

For West Borneo, the documents available at ANRI cover most of the nineteenth century, with some late 1700s documents. They consist mainly of short reports, general reports, area reports, succession reports, contracts and correspondence with native rulers, resolutions, and dagregisters. For the upper Kapuas, there are not as many detailed letters and reports as in the ARA, but there is a good deal of information (it seemed) on the areas closer to the coast, such as Sambas and Pontianak.

Knapen (1997:113-114) notes that ANRI has "an almost complete collection" of succession reports (*Memories van Overgave*) on microfilm. Given time constraints, I was unable to look into these documents and thus cannot say how the ANRI collection for West Borneo compares to that at ARA. However, while on my way to the field in the upper Kapuas, I stopped at the *kabupaten* office at Sintang where Victor King viewed several *memories* back in the 1970s. (In his valuable bibliography, King lists six *memories* [by Blok, Bouman, Hips, Kelly, Mooijen, and Werkman] as being located there [Ave, King, and de Wit 1983:194].) However, I was unable to locate these documents. The office staff I spoke with said the building that used to house government archives had been "renovated" about a decade ago, and the documents were distributed among various departments. They did not know if these *memories* were among them, and all the *kepala kantor* were gone at the time so I could not inquire further. I also spoke with the head of the *kabupaten* museum and found that all of the documents in his collection are copies of old Dutch treaties with native kingdoms. I would encourage anyone passing through Sintang to look into this further, for if these *memories* are not in the ANRI collection, their only known whereabouts is (or was?) Sintang.

Knapen also mentions some archives being housed in Bogor during his research, but they were moved to the ANRI in 1999. Subsequently, a new inventory list was made up (Kelompok 1999), and the earlier inventory numbers are no longer valid (Sunarti et al. 1986). The transfer of the Bogor archives did not add much to the West Borneo collection—only 12 document bundles—but there may be more for South and East Borneo. (Before I learned of this transfer, I actually visited the old Bogor archive building, which was obviously built by the Dutch, given the word "archieff" above the door. It is to become an Arsip Pemerintah Daerah, but is now entirely empty.)

There are some practical matters to keep in mind, in addition to those mentioned by Knapen.

- At the ANRI, there are two different buildings of concern to researchers – one where the reading room is located and the other where the documents are housed. If it is raining, you apparently cannot get any bundles you ordered because there is no covered walkway between the two buildings. It is therefore

advisable to schedule visits to the ANRI during the dry season. The wet season is usually between October and January.

- Regular office hours are Monday-Thursday 9:00 am-3:00 pm, Friday 9:00 am-12:00 pm, 1:00 pm - 3:00 pm; Saturday 9:00 am-12:00 pm. But watch for planned and unplanned holidays. In mid-March 2000, I had taken into account the Islamic holy day of Idul Adha falling on Thursday (16 March), but what I did not anticipate was a government holiday that extended into the weekend. There was a dispute between the two largest Muslim organizations (Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah) over which day—Thursday or Friday—the holy day should fall, and to please all sides, President Abdurrahman Wahid declared both days as holidays. This meant that all government offices, including those of the ANRI, were closed from Thursday until Sunday.
- It is also advisable to check the six-month fumigation schedule for the document storage rooms: After waiting out the long, four-day weekend, I returned to the ANRI to find that the staff had just fumigated the room where the West Borneo material is housed. This made it inaccessible for ten days.
- To head off potential frustration, expect to be able to make only two orders per day (that's ten bundles), but you can pre-order for the next day.
- Accommodations have improved since Knapen was there. Although there are still few hotels close by, there is now a clean, comfortable and affordable *wisma* network in South Jakarta (PT Widia Mandiri, Jl. Abuserin No. 29, Cipete; telephone 021-751-3433). Most rentals are within a 10-15 minute taxi or *microlet* bus ride from the ANRI. (In general, short-term rental rates for South Jakarta have fallen since the economic crisis, and it might be worth the effort to shop around.)

### **Algemeen Rijksarchief in the Hague**

There are a large number of collections at the ARA, and most of those pertaining to Borneo may be found in the *Ministerie van Koloniën* archive. These include *memories van overgave*; public and secret mail reports (*openbare en geheime mailrapporten*); public, secret and “kabinets” *verbalen*; political reports (*politieke verslagen* culled from *verbalen*); and an extensive collection of VOC and early colonial documents.

Some material like that for the VOC is microfilmed, some is microfiche (e.g. the *mailrapporten* and *politieke verslagen*), and others are not (e.g. the *verbalen*). A good number of maps are on microfiche.

There is some limited cataloguing of nineteenth-century *mailrapporten*, but none for the twentieth-century *mailrapporten*, except for time-consuming inventory lists. Many twentieth-century *mailrapporten* have been moved to the *verbalen* and/or to the *politieke verslagen*. The index (*klapper*) for the *verbalen* is a cumbersome but essential cross-reference making use of keywords, and the *agenda verbalen* provide lists of letters received by year with some minimal description. These are valuable though time-consuming tools.

The archive building is equipped with a large reading room, and there are outlets for laptop computers. The microfilm/microfiche area is more crowded with more competition for plugs. You must order documents on the easy-to-use computer terminals, while the microfilm and microfiche are self-served. Archive hours are Tuesday, 9:00 am-9:00 pm;

Wednesday-Friday, 9:00 am-5:00 pm; and Saturday, 9:00 am-1:00 pm. The building is very accessible, being located immediately between the central train station and the Koninklijk Bibliotheek (Royal Library).

It is also worth mentioning the Department of Historical Documentation at the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (KITLV) in Leiden. The documents there are well worth looking into. For example, they have a copy of Hartmann's dagregister that includes his 1823 trip up the Kapuas, which is otherwise only available at the ANRI. The KITLV also has an excellent library with many hard-to-find books and articles pertaining to Borneo. They also have a collection of photographs that is now accessible through their web site. (Other photographs can be found at the State Museum for Anthropology [Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde] in Leiden and the Royal Tropical Institute [Koninklijk Instituut voor den Tropen] in Amsterdam.) There is also the Henrik Kramer Instituut in Oegstgeest (next to Leiden) which houses some material on mission work in Borneo. Other mission archives such as those belonging to the Capuchin Order of the Roman Catholic Church are located elsewhere in the country, with Catholic mission archives mainly around Tilburg in the southern Netherlands.

#### Possible Research Projects for West Borneo

Finally I would like to suggest some possible research projects for West Borneo, using these exciting but largely untapped sources. (The Chinese areas have received some recent attention by Yuan [1999], and the Iban in my own work [e.g., Wadley 2000a, 2000b].)

- The native kingdoms along the Kapuas and elsewhere in West Borneo have been largely ignored by scholars, and there is abundant material on their relations with the Dutch, with each other, and with subject and non-subject Dayaks (see Djuweng 1999; Sellato 1999).
- Histories of important river systems like the Melawi, Landak, Sambas, and Simpang remain to be researched and written.
- The development of the long Sarawak-West Borneo border is an important topic, and my own recent work has focused almost exclusively on the Iban-inhabited border area.
- Ethno- and colonial histories need to be written of the various and numerous Dayaks, such as the "Ibanic" peoples in the Ketungau river system, who have been neglected historically and ethnographically.
- Though not as sexy as headhunting and tribal peoples, the development of urban centers such as Pontianak and Sintang is a topic that needs attention.
- Colonial economic policy and practice, such as the development of plantations and of gold and coal mining, would provide important comparative material for current national policy and practice.
- Given that the archival documents were originally written by particular people with particular aims, studies of Dutch colonial perceptions of all the above topics (and about internal colonial politics) would prove most illuminating.

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## THE LAST BASAP CAVE DWELLERS IN THE MANGKALIKAT KARST MOUNTAINS, EAST KALIMANTAN—A BRIEF REPORT

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### Introductory remarks

For three months in 1976 and, again, for another three months in 1978, I was assigned as a consultant on forest ecology to the Governor of Kalimantan Timur, Abdul Wahab Syahrany. During these six months, I had the opportunity to travel extensively across the regencies of Bulungan, Kutai, and Berau by seaplane, helicopter, speedboat, and on foot. My mission was to promote and support the use of technical and operational methods of "less impact logging" and promote "Indonesian selective cutting" to the logging companies, which, at the time, were operating along the lower rivers. I spent much time in the areas where Basap, Punan, and Berusu tribes were living. I published reports on my experiences there, particularly with the Basap and Punan people, ten years later (Zahorka 1986a,b).

In 1976, when I was visiting a Japanese logging company operating on the southeastern tip of the Mangkalihat Peninsula, I was guided to a cave which was said to be inhabited by Basap cave dwellers. It was situated not far from a logging road in limestone mountains ("karst," formations of porous limestone originating from fossil

coral reefs), high above Teluk Sumbang Bay, latitude roughly 1° N. When we arrived at the cave, however, not a living soul was there. It seemed that the dwellers had hurriedly left, probably in fear of the approach of my not-so-small entourage of logging company employees, forest experts, and military bodyguards. Somebody warned me not to enter the cave because it was infested with fleas. So, standing at the entrance, I looked in and could see a large *tempat tidur* (sleeping platform) in the cave, rags, and one or more *tempayan* (large antique ceramic jars).

Eighteen years later, in 1994, I happened to be there again, this time in the company of several friendly native cave dwellers—and obviously welcomed by the old fleas.

#### **The location of Basap settlements in 1976/78 and the environment**

Basap, or Bassap, is an exonym. When asked for their tribal affiliation, they professed to be Basap. I found the Basap, of whom two-thirds were settled, and one-third semi-settled, lived throughout the area east of a curved line stretching from Samarinda to Tanjung Redep, but excluding these two cities (see map). Those who were semi-settled lived in solitary huts raised on stilts, which they abandoned after several years of use, while those who were settled lived in villages, in small wooden houses, and had begun shifting cultivation. Only a few coastal settlements, accessible solely by sea, were inhabited by Malays or Bugis, and some offshore islands by Bajau. Bontang at the time consisted of a short row of fishermen's huts and was accessible only by sea.

The Kutai National Park at that time was totally undisturbed, with orangutans, crocodiles and leeches in abundance, and a few semi-settled Basap (Zahorka 1986c). A landing strip existed in Batu Butih, constructed by the former Philippine logging company, P.T. Gonpu Indonesia. Small areas of lowland primary forest had already been selectively logged over. But there were not yet any commercial clearings, let alone the transmigration settlements which dominate the lowland today.

There were a few small Basap villages like Domaring, Batu Lopok, Kampong Baru and others, but I think that the majority of Basap were still living in temporary, small, solitary houses on high stilts, with walls and roofs thatched with nipa palm leaves. These houses were built in the forest on small plots cleared of vegetation and planted with manioc (*Manihot esculenta*), taro (*Colocasia esculenta*), sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*), and banana trees. They grew no rice at the time. All the men were keen hunters. Their domestic animals were limited to chickens, cats, and dogs, the latter used for hunting. The people were of short stature and looked a little frail, being accustomed to a protein-poor tuber diet. Most women were practicing a sort of family planning, using *panjarang*, a medicinal plant (Zahorka 1986a: 51), stating, "we can't afford (to feed) more than two children." The 21 families observed in Talisayan consisted of 65 individuals, including children.

I estimated the total population of Basap in the Berau Regency in 1976/78 to be at least 4,500, twice the official number.

#### **The situation at Teluk Sumbang Bay, 1994**

The Japanese logging company had already left many years before 1994, leaving behind large areas of low-growing secondary vegetation, except on the hills, where the extensively overlogged primary forest had recovered rather well.

Some hundred meters above the bay there were a few small houses, overlooking the bay. They stood on short stilts, with walls constructed of wooden boards, and their roofs made of corrugated iron. These houses, built in approximately 1992 (about two years before my visit), were given to the cave dwellers by the government, to improve their living circumstances. But it seemed to me that this location was not very convenient to the settlers. Now they have constructed their own small huts, high up in the mountains in their *ladang* clearings, where they keep chickens, cats, and hunting dogs. The cave is only used when men are on hunting trips in the area.

### **The unstudied culture of the Basap**

Until today, no systematic research has been undertaken on the Basap. After some mainly geographical publications on the Basap territory by a Dutch officer nearly a hundred years ago (Spaan 1901, 1903, 1918, he spelled Basap "Bassap"), and my reports (Zahorka 1986a,c), there have been no further papers written on the Basap. We do not know much about their language, nothing is known about their spirits, their shamanism, or about their social structure. My reports have mainly documented their hunting culture, house construction, and some aspects of daily family life.

Shortly before the houses were built, an Indonesian Protestant missionary from Kampong Baru, which is close to Batu Butih, came to their cave, baptized them without further ado, and gave them Christian names. This, however, had no lasting consequences. They still hold to their former beliefs and do not use the new names given to them.

### **Living conditions in the cave**

From my earlier experiences with the Basap, I knew that they are an egalitarian society. They do not have institutional chiefs, shamans, or tribal judges (*kepala adat*) like other, settled Dayaks in Borneo. That is apparently related to the fact that the Basap originally lived independently in solitary houses, and not in villages.

In 1994, I was lucky to meet four men at the cave just preparing to hunt wild boar with blowpipe and poison darts: Dulitap, Bujaam, his son Bujampur, and the wild looking, but gentle, Dayun (Zahorka 2001). They all looked well-nourished. Communication with them was difficult because of the language barrier. Fortunately, there was also a Basap woman with them who could speak a little Bahasa Indonesia. And, with some help from an interpreter, Ibu Bojilbn showed herself to be an excellent informant.

Ibu Bojilbn described her life in the cave. She assumed she had been born there, and she estimated her age now to be 56 years. She had had four children, one of whom had died, and has four grandchildren. Her late (last) husband had been like a spokesman for the group. Now, Ibu Bojilbn seems to have stepped into this same role. Her report:

She had spent her whole life in the cave until about two years ago when the houses were constructed. Up to 30 people, including children, sometimes lived in the cave at the same time. They lived together like a big family. They shared all they had among the group. Generally, it was comfortable. During long periods of rain, however, water dripped from the ceiling. At night, they burned damar resin for illumination. The fireplace just left of the entrance was for everyone's use. Their antique *tempayan*, which previously were in the cave, are now in their houses.

### The everyday life of the cave hunters and gatherers

Their staple foods included manioc, taro, bananas, and wild boar, she said. Depending on the season, they killed one to forty wild boars per month. When Ibu Bojilbn was younger, she liked to go hunting with a blowpipe, accompanied only by dogs. All animals were hunted, including monkeys, orangutans (now extinct), barking deer (*Muntiacus* spp.), rusa (*Cervus unicolor*), pangolin (*Manis javanica*), hornbill species and other birds, snakes, and so on, all for consumption. Rhinos have never been present. A bagged *mumbuk* (clouded leopard, *Neofelis nebulosa*) they surely would have consumed, too, but they never got one, she said. They collected rattan for making their own sleeping mats and baskets, and for barter with the coastal Malays at Teluk Suleman, a day's walk away. They requested salt, mandaus (bushknives), and steel points for the blowpipes. Wild bees' honey was also exchanged for fabric for men's loincloths and women's skirts. In earlier times, they used to wear clothes made of barkcloth, which they made themselves. They did not know about gaharu, incense wood (*Aquilaria* spp.), nor about bezoar stones, the gall stones of monkeys (mostly of the grey langur, *Presbytis hosei*). Their domestic animals were exclusively dogs for hunting. At that time, they had no cats, no *manyuk* (chickens, although now they have them), let alone *bawi* (domestic pigs).

Ibu Bojilbn knows one omen bird, *burung sisit*, which is small and gray. She confirmed that they never used to tattoo their bodies, or extend their ear lobes. They never possessed boats or gold. Before she was born, Kenyah headhunters, coming down the Bengalon River, raided the Basaps, she said.

### Marriage customs, disease and death

Every Basap individual has been married three to four times in his/her lifetime, *kadang-kadang bersebelahan* ("sometimes side-by-side"), Ibu Bojilbn said. There is nothing like a large brideprice, one wild boar is sufficient. My next question was whether cousins could marry one another. Ibu Bojilbn answered with a clear "Yes." The next question I had to repeat several times: could brothers and sisters marry each other, and could parents marry their children? Ibu Bojilbn turned her face away and refused to answer, for a long time. This is most probably a silent consent. Small primitive Punan societies in remote areas of Bulungan, East Kalimantan, who perform "natural incest," have already been documented (Pauwels 1935, Zahorka 1986b).

The Basap believe that sickness is caused by spirits that enter the human body, Ibu Bojilbn said, but they do not know about medicines. Only if the spirit is recognized can it be extracted and taken back to the forest. (In 1976 on a hunting trip with two Basap hunters, we passed by a small carved wooden statue in the forest which I was told not to approach, in order to avoid getting sick.)

What happens if that procedure does not help, I asked. Then the individual concerned will die, she said, laughing. They are very afraid of dead bodies. When someone dies, they immediately carry the body far away and lay it down. Then the body is completely covered with rocks, she explained, so that animals, such as dogs, are kept from it. They have never heard of the use of coffins.

Possibly they do not believe in a life hereafter. The question about what happens after death was answered by Ibu Bojilbn with a short *tidak tahu* ("we don't know").

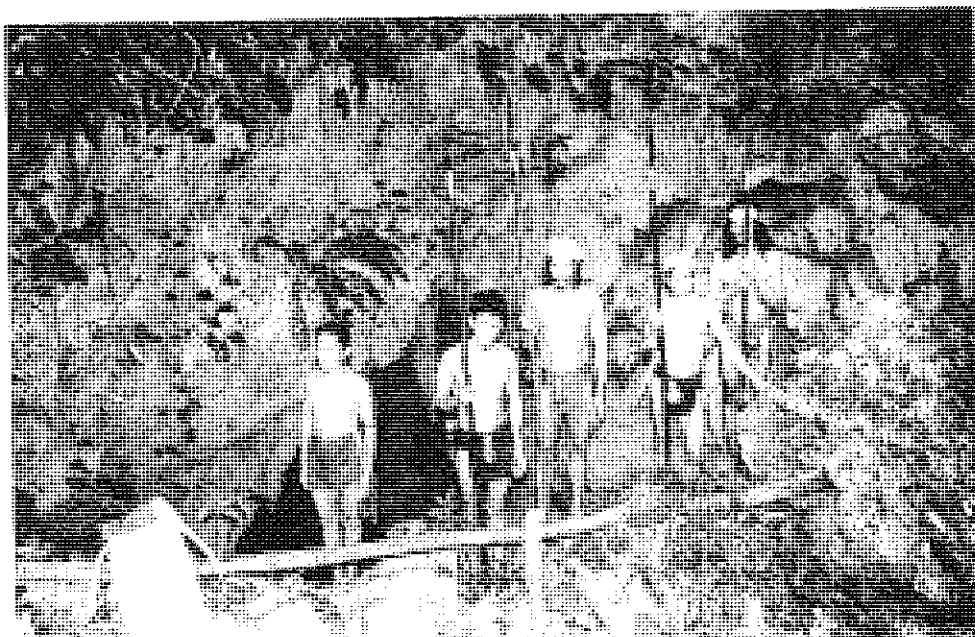
### Conclusion

Though Ibu Bojilbn, the spokeswoman of the Basap former cave dwellers, seemed to be a reliable source of information, further research with a wider Basap population is urgently called for, particularly on subjects like language, curing methods and interpretation of disease, belief in spirits, rituals, burial customs, social conventions, conflict resolution, etc. The cultural and environmental conditions of this former cave-dwelling group will substantively change as soon as a cement plant, sought by the government, becomes a reality.

A young German ethnology student at the University of Hamburg, Christian Oesterheld, is planning to undertake the first anthropological field survey of this group. Good luck to him!

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 1986b Inzest bei den Punan—Leben und Sterben der letzten nichtsesshaften Urwaldjäger Borneos (Incest with the Punan—Life and death of the last non-settled jungle hunters of Borneo), pp. 60-78.  
 1986c Unter Orang-Utans, Krokodilen und Blutegeln—Kutai National Park (Among orangutans, crocodiles and leeches—Kutai National Park), pp. 79-85.  
 [a), b), c) in: Weiglein / Zahorka: *Expeditionen durch Indonesien*. Neu-Isenburg: ZTV. (163 fotogr., 10 maps, 16 drawings).]  
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1. At the cave entrance. From left to right: Ibu Bojilbn and the hunters Dulitap, Bujaam, Bujampur, and Dayun, preparing to hunt wild boar with blowpipes.  
(Photographs by H. Zahorka)



2. Fireplace in the cave; Ibu Bojilbn has just lit her fire, while Dulitap is squatting close to her.



3. The hunter Dayun takes a rest in the cave where, until recently, up to 30 individuals lived.



4. Eldest of the cave dwellers, Dayun, is the most successful hunter of the group.



5. Ibu Bojilbn, my main informant, said she lived for 54 years in this cave.



## ANNOUNCEMENTS

### CLIVE MARSH CONSERVATION GRANTS WITH THE WILDLIFE CONSERVATION SOCIETY

On 16<sup>th</sup> October 2000, Dr Clive W. Marsh tragically passed away in Oxford, England, after months of battling with the after-effects of encephalitis, contracted while he was in the field in Laos.

In honor of Dr Marsh's immense contributions to the conservation of wildlife and wildlife habitats, the Wildlife Conservation Society (WCS) decided to establish the Clive Marsh Conservation Fund. Dr Marsh's association with WCS goes back to 1971. Then known as the New York Zoological Society, WCS gave Clive his very first grant to do fieldwork. This was for a study of the highly endangered but little known primate, the Tana River red colobus monkey in Kenya, Africa. In spite of his young age, and that this was his first field project, Clive's work was already exceptional. The project not only resulted in state-of-the-art scientific data and his PhD, but also in the establishment of the Tana River Primate Reserve. Although Clive subsequently worked for other institutions for the rest of his life (University of Cambridge, Yayasan Sabah/Innoprise Corporation and IUCN), he received further grants from WCS in 1985 and 1991 to return to Kenya to re-assess the status and needs of the Tana River primates and make recommendations for their continued conservation. Equally important, for the whole of his professional life Clive continued to work closely with WCS staff wherever he was living, collaborating on joint programs, sharing visions and ideas, and at all times being part of the WCS family.

The aim of the Clive Marsh Conservation Fund is to provide grants to citizens of Southeast Asian countries to conduct field research leading to enhanced conservation of wildlife and wild lands. Hence:

- Recipients must be citizens of countries in Southeast Asia (Malaysia, Indonesia, Myanmar, Thailand, Lao PDR, Vietnam, Cambodia, Philippines, Brunei Darussalam or Papua New Guinea).
- Their projects must be field-based, and must be directly related to the conservation of wildlife and wild lands.

The Fund is in two separate parts:

- The Clive Marsh Conservation Grant for Field Training. This is administered out of WCS head office in New York. It is for field work leading to a higher degree, and is linked to another WCS fund which will pay for the full costs of that degree, whether done in the recipient's home country or overseas. Hence, the two funds between them will cover the costs of the degree and field research, leading to major enhancement of skills and career development of promising Southeast Asian conservation professionals. All funds donated to the Clive Marsh Conservation Fund for Field Training will be matched by WCS on a 1:1 basis. This is an endowment fund, so will run in perpetuity;

- The Clive Marsh Sabah Conservation Fund. This is a much smaller fund, specifically for small grants to Sabahans working in the field on wildlife research and conservation in Sabah. It does not have to be linked to a degree, although it can be. Again, the fund will be for costs associated with fieldwork. It will be administered by the WCS Malaysia Program, in collaboration with a small Sabah-based committee.

WCS will manage both components of the Clive Marsh Conservation Fund under its current administrative structure. As such, 100% of all monies donated will go directly to the field.

Details of both components of the Fund are given separately below, as is further information on WCS.

## THE CLIVE MARSH CONSERVATION GRANT FOR FIELD TRAINING

### Introduction

The Clive Marsh Conservation Grant for Field Training was established in 2000 as a memorial to Dr Clive W. Marsh. The intent is to honor Dr. Marsh's work in Southeast Asia by enabling young Southeast Asian conservationists-in-training to conduct their own field research in their home country.

Southeast Asia is a difficult region for conservationists to find success. Conservation issues in Southeast Asia center around conversion of forest land to other uses, timber harvest in old growth forests, wildlife harvesting and trade, and a need for basic resources sought by a rapidly growing population. These issues combine to create massive pressure on wildlife, with populations dwindling and becoming locally extinct throughout the region. Dr. Marsh's pioneering work combining research with the practicalities of doing conservation by forming novel partnerships and formulating innovative new approaches has shown that conservation success can be achieved, primarily through the establishment and good management of protected areas.

Many countries in Southeast Asia are also held back due to a lack of trained national conservationists. The goal of the Clive Marsh Conservation Grant is to help to develop Southeast Asian conservationists who internally can develop and advocate policy changes to enact conservation. The Clive Marsh Conservation Grant strives to develop national conservation capacity through funding field-based research aimed ultimately at conserving wildlife, and pursued in conjunction with a graduate degree.

### Program Structure

The Wildlife Conservation Society (WCS) administers a fellowship for graduate conservation training. The initial funds were provided by The Christensen Fund (TCF), a private, independent institution based in Palo Alto, California and dedicated to assisting organizations in the arts, natural sciences and education. The TCF fellowship has four stages of assistance: selecting and applying to graduate programs; assuring two years' of tuition, room and board; funding field research toward the degree; and, re-entry funds to help the graduate return to his or her country as a conservation professional.

Scholarship support rarely includes the costs of fieldwork—and it is this aspect that is critical to develop field conservationists with the ability and the motivation to conserve wildlife in the real world. Hence, the Clive Marsh Conservation Grant will support the

field research of Southeast Asian fellows, emphasizing the importance of applied field conservation, and allowing the full training and development of Southeast Asian conservation professionals.

The rationale for placing the Clive Marsh Conservation Grant funds within the TCF fellowship program is that TCF matches all raised funds that parallel its own mission of furthering conservation professionals in third world countries. By placing the contributions made to the Clive Marsh Conservation Grant within the TCF field research component, the amount in the endowment is now approaching USD \$100,000 instead of USD \$50,000.

### **Selection Process**

Candidates for the Clive Marsh Field Training Grant are Southeast Asian scholars who have been selected by WCS for The Christensen Fund (TCF) fellowship program. The TCF Fellowships are awarded based on the applicant's professional promise, conservation need in the applicant's home country, and performance at their undergraduate institution. Applicants are selected by WCS field staff who work within the applicants' own countries. These field staff are ideally qualified to select promising national conservationists and describe how graduate education will prepare them for working within the conservation profession in their home country.

In addition to the field staff nomination, other pieces of the application for TCF fellowships include a non-WCS recommendation, a personal statement (what the applicant has been doing, what s/he hopes to do, and how training will help achieve that goal), college transcripts, and a rough idea of possible field research in support of his/her graduate degree.

Each application is then reviewed by the WCS regional program director. He reviews all Asian applicants, and also serves on WCS's TCF Review Committee. Once the first Southeast Asian candidate is successful in obtaining the fellowship, the first Clive Marsh Conservation Grant will be awarded at the same time, to allow him/her to conduct their field research.

Applications will be invited by the middle of 2002.

### **Further Information**

Contact Dr Meade Love Penn ([mlpenn@wcs.org](mailto:mlpenn@wcs.org)) or Dr Joshua Ginsberg ([jginsberg@wcs.org](mailto:jginsberg@wcs.org)) for additional information regarding the Clive Marsh Conservation Grants.

### **Donations**

Donations for the Clive Marsh Conservation Grant endowment fund, to be matched on a 1:1 basis, can be made to WCS at:

c/o Dr Meade Love Penn,  
Wildlife Conservation Society  
2300 Southern Boulevard  
Bronx, NY 10460-1099  
USA  
Tel: 718 220 3973  
Fax: 718 364 4275  
email: [mlpenn@wcs.org](mailto:mlpenn@wcs.org)

OR paid directly to the Wildlife Conservation Society Bank account *with prior notification to Dr Meade Love Penn.*

The bank account details are:

Account: Wildlife Conservation Society  
(Clive Marsh Conservation Fund)  
Account number: 133003663.  
Chase Bank ABA # 021000021  
4 NY Plaza, New York  
NY 10004-2413, USA.

Donations within Malaysia can be given through the WCS Malaysia Program, and the monies will be forwarded directly and immediately to New York. These can be made to WCS at:

c/o Dr Elizabeth Bennett,  
Wildlife Conservation Society,  
7 Jalan Ridgeway,  
93200 Kuching,  
Sarawak, Malaysia.  
Tel and fax: 082 252799  
email: lizwcs@pd.jaring.my

OR paid directly to the Wildlife Conservation Society Bank account *with prior notification to Dr Elizabeth Bennett.*

The bank account details are:

Account: Dr Elizabeth Bennett  
Account number: 322-352378-108  
HSBC Bank Malaysia Berhad,  
Jalan Padungan,  
Kuching, Malaysia.

## THE CLIVE MARSH SABAH CONSERVATION FUND

### **Introduction**

The Clive Marsh Sabah Conservation Fund was established in 2001 in respect for Dr Clive Marsh's core love of, and dedication to, conserving Sabah's wildlife and wild lands. The intent is to enable young Sabah conservationists to conduct their own field projects within Sabah.

The Fund will provide small grants either for the whole of a project, or to supplement existing project funds, to allow Sabahans to conduct field projects aimed at conserving wildlife and wildlife habitats in Sabah.

### **Program Structure**

The total amount of grants awarded will be RM15,000 per year. Depending on the individual applications, their quality and needs, this will either be given as one single grant or, preferably, two or more smaller ones. The funds will be for costs associated with

field conservation projects. Salaries will not be covered, although in certain cases per diems may be considered.

#### **Application and Selection Process**

Applications will be accepted from individuals who are Malaysian citizens resident in and working in Sabah, and from Sabah-based conservation non-profit organizations.

Applications will be reviewed by a committee comprising three people: the WCS Malaysia Program Director, and two prominent Sabah experts.

Preference will be given to young Sabahans undergoing training or working to develop their own career.

Grants will be given once per year. All applications should be submitted by 31<sup>st</sup> January 2002, and applicants will be notified of whether or not they have been successful by 1<sup>st</sup> March 2002.

Applications should be between two and five pages long. They should comprise:

1) Aims of the project. 2) Project personnel – who will do the work. 3) Background. 4) Methods and procedures. 5) Conservation benefits of the project. 6) Scientific benefits of the project (if relevant). 7) Names and addresses (including email addresses and/or fax numbers) of two referees. In addition, individual applicants should provide their curriculum vitae, and applying organizations should provide information on their mission, objectives and other relevant background information.

Applications must be submitted electronically or by fax to:

Dr Elizabeth Bennett,  
Director, Malaysia Program,  
Wildlife Conservation Society.  
Email: [lizwcs@pd.jaring.my](mailto:lizwcs@pd.jaring.my)  
Fax: 082 252799.

#### **Further Information**

Contact Dr Elizabeth Bennett ([lizwcs@pd.jaring.my](mailto:lizwcs@pd.jaring.my)), or Ignatia Olim Marsh ([iggyolim@hotmail.com](mailto:iggyolim@hotmail.com)), or Dr Joshua Ginsberg ([jginsberg@wcs.org](mailto:jginsberg@wcs.org)) for additional information regarding the Clive Marsh Sabah Conservation Grants.

#### **Donations**

Donations to the Clive Marsh Sabah Conservation Fund can be made to WCS at:

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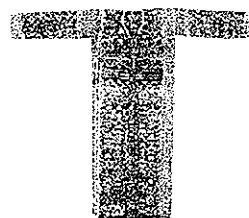
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## BORNEO NEWS

### REGIONAL NEWS

#### ENVIRONMENTAL CHANGE IN NATIVE AND COLONIAL HISTORIES OF BORNEO: LESSONS FROM THE PAST, PROSPECTS FOR THE FUTURE

**10-11 August 2000, Leiden, The Netherlands**

During the closing decades of the twentieth century, the island of Borneo and its peoples have faced many critical environmental challenges. Controversial transmigration, oil palm plantation development, continued logging and mining, and devastating forest fires are only a few of those problems. Set against the transition into a new century, this international seminar focused on environmental change in Borneo historically through native, colonial, and national perspectives, and considered what these processes might bring for the island's future.

This seminar focused on histories of human-environment interactions and included contributions from a wide range of scholars and researchers working throughout Borneo. The notion of history here was broad and concerned both the ancient and the recent, and the past therefore was viewed with no arbitrary beginning or end points. A major emphasis was on transitions and on-going processes of change and continuity. Equally important was what the past can tell us about how things have come to be as they are today and the lessons it might have for the future.

The themes included in the seminar were long-distance trade ties, conservation and extraction, land rights, health and disease, perceptions of the environment, social and linguistic change, and development. The presentations covered 11 centuries of history in Borneo—from trade ties with China to new development policies. The dominant, though often implicit, theoretical perspective was that of political ecology, with its focus on the dynamics surrounding material and discursive struggles over natural resources. In addition to the presentations, comparative commentary was given by Freek Colombijn (IIAS) and Peter Boomgaard (KITLV) in order to place the contributions within the broader context of Southeast Asia. Discussions were enlivened by the participation of scholars attending from Germany, Denmark, Australia, Russia, New Zealand, Indonesia, and the Netherlands.

The paper titles and contributors were:

- "Onto the Coasts and into the Forest: Ramifications of the China Trade on the Ecological History of Northwest Borneo, 900-1900 A.D." (Eric Tagliacozzo, Cornell University, USA)
- "Histories of Conservation or Exploitation? Case Studies from the Interior of Indonesian Borneo" (Cristina Eghenter, University of Hull, UK)

- “Forests for Subsistence, Forests for Trade: Sustainability, Extractivism, and Trade History in Northern East Kalimantan” (Bernard Sellato, CNRS-IRSEA, France)
- “Land Tenure and Settlement Patterns: Two Examples from the Mahakam Area of East Kalimantan (Indonesia)” (Antonio Guerreiro, EHESS, France)
- “Lines in the Forest: Boundaries and Resource Access in the History of the Upper Kapuas, West Kalimantan” (Reed L. Wadley, IIAS)
- “Controlling the Land: Property Rights and Power Struggles in Sabah, Malaysia (North Borneo) 1881-1996” (Amity Doolittle, Yale School of Forestry and Environmental Studies, USA)
- “One Hand Clapping: Malaria in Borneo, Past and Present” (A. Baer, Oregon State University, USA)
- “In the Eye of the Beholder: Development or Exploitation? Changing Perceptions of the Borneo Environment” (Graham Saunders, University of Leeds, UK)
- “Commodity and Environment in Borneo: Links between Environmental Paradigms and Economic Value” (Lesley Potter, University of Adelaide, Australia)
- “The “Poison Tree,” and the Changing Vision of the Indo-Malay Realm: 17th Century - 20th Century” (Michael R. Dove and Carol Carpenter, Yale School of Forestry and Environmental Studies, USA)
- “Environmental, Social and Language Change: The Tola’ Dayaks of Southwestern Kalimantan” (Sujarni Alloy, Institut Dayakologi, Indonesia and James T. Collins, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia)
- “Rice as a Bridge between Two Symbolic Economies: Migration within and out of the Kelabit Highlands, Sarawak” (Monica Janowski, University of Greenwich, UK)
- “Many Lessons—No Learners: Development Policy and Local Impoverishment among the Ibans” (Jyantha Perera, New Delhi, India)
- “From Subsistence to Plantation Economy: A Transformation of the Iban Farming Systems in Sarawak” (Dimbab Ngidang, Universiti Malaysia Sarawak)

A selected set of the seminar papers are being prepared into an edited volume under the tentative title, “Histories of the Borneo Environment: Economic, Political, and Social Dimensions of Change and Continuity.” Other seminar papers will be submitted to academic journals.

The International Institute for Asian Studies was the principal sponsor of the seminar, and the Leiden Universiteit Funds and the Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen contributed supplementary funding. The Borneo Research Council acted as an intellectual sponsor, providing its mailing list and invaluable support network.

THE SIXTH INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM ON MALAY/INDONESIAN  
LINGUISTICS  
3-5 August 2002

Nirwana Resort Hotel, Bintan Island, Riau, Indonesia

Papers presented at ISMIL are concerned with the Malay/Indonesian language in any of its varieties. In addition to the standardized versions of Bahasa Melayu and Bahasa Indonesia, papers are particularly welcome dealing with non-canonical isolects such as regional dialects of Malay and Indonesian, contact varieties, and other closely related Malayic languages. Papers may be in any of the subfields of linguistics, and may represent variegated approaches and diverse theoretical persuasions. Presentations at ISMIL are delivered in English, as is befitting an international symposium.

\*\*\*

Persons wishing to present a paper at the symposium are invited to submit a one-page abstract to Umberto Ansaldo at the following address: [ellaur@nus.edu.sg](mailto:ellaur@nus.edu.sg)

\*\*\*

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David Gil, Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology

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\*\*\*

For further information:

<http://www.eva.mpg.de/~gil/ismil>

## KALIMANTAN NEWS

INTERNATIONAL WORKSHOP ON MANAGING ANTHROPOGENIC  
IMPACT ON LAKE SENTARUM NATIONAL PARK, WEST  
KALIMANTAN, INDONESIA, JUNE 10, 2002

*Kapuas Hotel*

*Pontianak, West Kalimantan*

*Indonesia*

Borneo Conservancy

**(Yayasan Konservasi Borneo)**

**In collaboration with**

**Yayasan Riak Bumi**

This workshop is a subsequent event conducted after a regional workshop, which involves local government officials, communities of Lake Sentarum and NGOs. The aim

of the workshop is to promote links between groups with diverse backgrounds and to encourage participants to share their knowledge and experiences on wetland management.

Themes to be discussed in the workshop are of interest to a diverse audience, i.e.,

- management of anthropogenic impact, particularly on Lake Sentarum National Park,
- government policies on wetland conservation,
- success stories of relevant experiences with community-based resource management

Agencies, institutions and organisations that intend to participate in the workshop are as follows:

- |                         |                        |
|-------------------------|------------------------|
| ★ Wetland International | ★ Univ. of Tanjungpura |
| ★ CIFOR                 | ★ KSDA Kalbar          |
| ★ Monitor International | ★ Bappeda Kapuas Hulu  |
| ★ JICA                  | ★ Yayasan Dian Tama    |
| ★ PRCF                  | ★ YSDK                 |
| ★ CRP                   | ★ Yayasan Madanika     |
| ★ Borneo Land           |                        |

All registered participants are invited to have a post-workshop dinner in the Kapuas Hotel.

#### **Date and venue**

Date: June 10, 2002

Venue: Kapuas Hotel, Pontianak

#### **Official language: English and Bahasa Indonesia**

#### **Registration Fees**

- |                           |               |
|---------------------------|---------------|
| • Full registration       | Rp. 350,000.- |
| • Students and local NGOs | Rp. 200,000.- |

#### **Optional tour**

A tour to Lake Sentarum could be arranged if the number of participants is at least 5 persons. The duration of the tour is 7 days. The estimate cost per person is US \$ 300.00, covering local transfer, meals and houseboat accommodation.

For further information, contact:

Gusti Z. Anshari  
Yayasan Konservasi Borneo  
(Borneo Conservancy)  
Jl. Paris 2, Perumahan Bali Mas 2 No. 5B  
Pontianak 78124, Kalimantan Barat, Indonesia  
Ph: ++ (62)(561) 711919  
Email: gzanshari@yahoo.com or gzanshari@hotmail.com



## SARAWAK NEWS

### ESTABLISHMENT OF DAYAK STUDIES AT THE UNIVERSITI MALAYSIA SARAWAK (UNIMAS)

A Dayak Studies Program was inaugurated at the Universiti Malaysia Sarawak, Kota Samarahan, Sarawak, in January 2001. Created within the Institute of East Asian Studies, and sustained by an endowment from the Dayak Cultural Foundation, the program was established for the purpose of promoting long-term research on issues relating to the Dayak communities of Sarawak and of the island of Borneo more generally.

#### Two New Publication Series

As part of the establishment of Dayak Studies, Professor Clifford Sather, first Chair of Dayak Studies, acting as general editor, has initiated two new publication series: 1) a Contemporary Society Series (comprised of data or working papers and monographs relating to issues of current concern), and 2) an Oral Literature Series.

The editor wishes to invite the submission of manuscripts, and announces the publication of the first three Dayak Studies volumes.

#### 1) Contemporary Society Series:

No. 1. *Changing Borders and Identities in the Kelabit Highlands*, by Poline Bala, forthcoming.

#### 2) Oral Literature Series:

No. 1. *King Siliman and Other Bidayuh Folk Tales (Raja Siliman Pas Tingah Tanun Bidayuh Da Bukun)* compiled and translated by Robert Sulis Ridu, Ritikos Jitab and Jonas Noeb, 2001, 139 + xvi pp, 31 illustrations ISBN 983-9257-06-4.

No. 2. *Sukêt: Penan Folk Stories (Sukêt Penan)* compiled and translated by Jayl Langub, 2001, 198 +xii pp, 27 illustrations ISBN 983-9257-08-0.

No. 3. *Apai Alui Becomes a Shaman and Other Iban Comic Tales (Apai Alui Nyadi Manang Enggau Ensera Iban Bukai)* compiled and translated by Clifford Sather, 2001, 181 + xiii pp, 11 illustrations ISBN 983-9257-09-9.

Other Oral Literature volumes, forthcoming, will include:

No. 4. *Dundang Nyama: Traditional Stories from the Pinyawa Bidayuh of Kampung Gayu* compiled and translated by Robert Gerrits and Patricia ak Nayoi.

No. 5. *The Old Kayan Religion and the Bungan Religious Reform by Lake' Baling* translated and annotated by Jérôme Rousseau.

#### More on the Dayak Studies Oral Literature Series

In recognition of the central place that the verbal and expressive arts traditionally held in Dayak life, the purpose of this series is to record and publish examples of Dayak oral literature, including epics, storytelling, sacred and historical narratives, in both the original vernacular language and in English translation. Each volume is introduced by its

compiler/translator(s) with an account identifying the narrator or storyteller, the recording context, and the nature and cultural significance of the recorded texts.

The intent of the series is, in part, to preserve a record of forms of oral literature that are in danger of being lost under the impact of rapid change, while, at the same time, documenting the emergence of new and changing forms of contemporary Dayak expressive culture. Each volume is illustrated with drawings by local Sarawak artists.

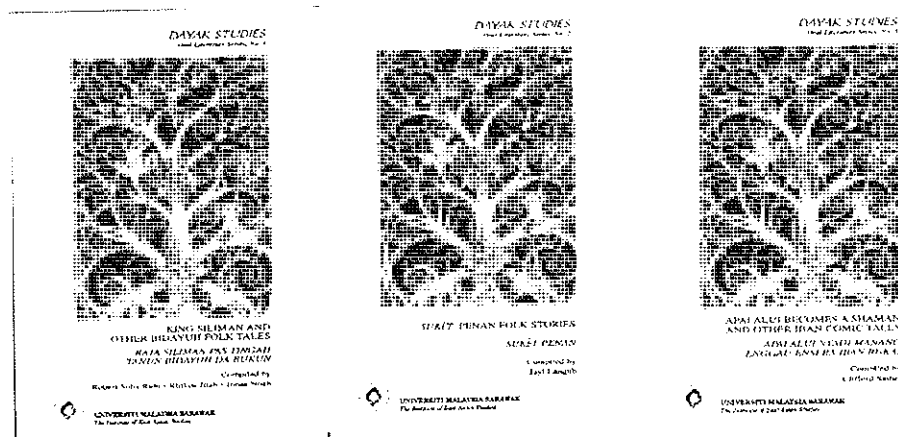
The first three volumes of the Oral Literature series are now available within Malaysia at RM 25 each (or for overseas orders, USD 8, plus USD 3 for postage). For further information on these series or the Dayak Studies program, please write to:

Professor Clifford Sather, Chair, Dayak Studies  
Institute of East Asian Studies  
Universiti Malaysia Sarawak  
94300 Kota Samarahan, Sarawak  
MALAYSIA

FAX: + 60-82-672-095 Email: [csather@ieas.unimas.my](mailto:csather@ieas.unimas.my)

Or consult the Institute of East Asian Studies website:

<http://www.unimas.my/ieas>



In Malaysia copies are also available at the University of Malaya Cooperative Bookstore, on the UM campus, KL, and the Iwase Bookshop, Wisma Merdeka, Kota Kinabalu, Sabah.

In the US, the books are available through the Borneo Research Council, P.O. Box A, Phillips, Maine, 04966, USA.

## BOOK REVIEWS, ABSTRACTS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

### BOOK REVIEWS

**Martin Baier.** *Glaube, Liebe und Hoffnung auf Borneo (Faith, Love and Hope in Borneo). Religionswissenschaftliche und kulturanthropologische Erkenntnisse bei den Kotawaringin-Dayak aus den Tagebüchern von Johann Georg Baier, 1928-1932, Pioniermissionar in Südwest-Borneo* (Theological and cultural anthropological experiences and insights among the Dayaks of Kotawaringin, excerpted from the diaries of Johann Georg Baier, 1928-1932, pioneer missionary in Southwest Borneo). Edition Verlag für Kultur und Wissenschaft, Bonn, 2001. ISBN 3-932829-20-4.

This work differs markedly from the numerous popular publications on missionary themes. The reader finds himself gripped by the narrative—the moving description of Elisabeth Baier's death in a remote jungle village is a case in point—and finds it impossible to put the book down until he has reached the conclusion. He will refer back to it again and again, especially when confronted with the charge that missionary activity is simply a vestigial manifestation of a thoroughly outdated Western superiority complex. According to this charge, attempts at proselytization are an irresponsible interference with the harmonious lifestyle of primitive tribes, an almost criminal disruption of these simple peoples' idyllic, harmonious culture.

Johann Georg Baier, the original author of these diaries, skillfully edited by his son Martin, worked as a missionary in the third decade of the last century. He found it necessary to defend himself from the attacks of literary romantics as well as ideologically prejudiced ethnologists. He writes an unvarnished report on life among the Dayaks of Kotawaringin in Borneo; he records their religious customs, then in the late stages of disintegration as a result of inner decadence as well as external Islamic and Western influences. His narrative may be taken as a telling rebuttal of the fashionable anti-missionary clichés of the day.

The son and editor of the elder Baier's memoirs focuses the work on both his father's and his own experiences and research in the fields of theology and cultural anthropology. Martin's doctoral thesis, "Customary Fines of the Ngaju-Dayak," draws on the Basel Mission pioneers' notes, augmented by his own studies and research. They are indeed a treasure trove of old Indonesian ritual—even if the macabre details on the Dayak's mortuary treatment of dead bodies may shock the aesthetic sensibilities of European readers! One useful feature of this book is the fact that obsolete and obscure terms and references are explained in the introduction, and by relevant footnotes.

The author's main aim, however, is contained in the sub-title: *Faith, Love and Hope in Borneo*. It is subtly chosen, seemingly misleading if the reader expected a sentimental work of edification. For one thing, this title is a deliberate allusion to *Love and Death in Bali (Liebe und Tod auf Bali)* by Vicky Baum, a work in which the author depicts an exotic culture in lurid colors though she has only the most superficial knowledge of the subject. For another, the author of the diary lived his life fully, indeed painfully, by the

three Pauline concepts (1.Cor.13.13). Johann Georg Baier traveled to Borneo in 1924, as one of the early pioneers of the Basel Mission on this island. He and his wife Elisabeth, a former Swiss deaconess, were motivated by *Faith* in the Gospel of Christ and its power to raise the Dayaks from their spiritual and moral degeneracy to a new life. His work was inspired by the *Hope* that even if his efforts seemed to bring very few tangible results at the time, the new faith would eventually succeed; a hope which, in view of the later growth of the indigenous church, was not unfounded. Above all, Baier was moved by *Love* for the lost souls, a commitment that never wavered. Even after the loss of his first wife, it gave him the strength to look up to his Heavenly Master, take his congregation into his heart, and to find courage to carry on, after 1932 in company with his second wife, the missionary nurse Luise née Junginger.

Baier was also a powerful speaker, who could advocate the missionary cause in his home country. Among his effects (1988) was a small communion set, with the inscription: "Georg Baier, 1.Cor.11, 26—with true affection, from your brothers and sisters of the mountains," (*Schwabische Alb.*—here referring to the senior Johann Baier's own native pietistic community in Southern Germany).

(The Editor thanks Professor Peter Beyerhaus, University of Tübingen, for permission to reprint this review in the *BRB*, and Heidi Munan for translating it into English. Heidi rightly notes that the scriptural terms of the book's title are more commonly rendered in English, in different order than they are in German, as "Faith, Hope, and Charity." The author, Dr. Martin Baier, prefers "Love" to "Charity," and hence we have followed his guidance in our translation.)

***Pantang Iban*, by Jeroen Franken and Sven Torfinn (1998) Rotterdam: Typography & Other Serious Matters, 160 pages.**

The Dutch have been arriving in Borneo for several centuries on various missions ranging from extracting mineral wealth to obtaining scientific knowledge. We shouldn't be too surprised to learn that some have come in the late twentieth century in search of tattoos, as were the authors of this appropriately titled book. (One meaning of *pantang* in the Iban language is tattoo.) But they were not simply out to document what they saw as Iban "fading tattoo values"—they also had their own bodies tattooed in older designs and tattooed Iban men in exchange. This was their self-described "*bejalai* adventure through Sarawak," and they traveled to the Skrang and Bangkit rivers in search of men who still knew the old methods.

There are several components to the book. The main text (by Franken) sets down the authors' travel itinerary and experiences, and it is probably the least noteworthy part of the book. The text conforms to the usual romantic travelogue, offering an attempt at "in your face" journalism with a few long, hyphenated adjectives. For example, in describing the pain of being tattooed, Franken calls it a "there's-a-bunch-of-flies-gathering-in-the-hollow-of-my-kuee irritation." Perhaps it makes more sense to view it as a Dutchman writing in English, given the Dutch propensity for long adjectival phrases in writing.

Another part of the book is the margin notes in light print. These cover aspects of Iban culture and religion drawn from various sources, including Richards' *An Iban-English Dictionary* and Sellato's *Hornbill and Dragon*. Some of these notes are uncredited and may have been derived from the author's own "field" notes. Then, between

each chapter are renditions of Iban creation myths adapted from *The Sea Dyaks and Other Races of Borneo* (edited by Anthony Richards) and *Basic Iban Design* (by Augustine Anggat Ganjing).

The photograph section takes up about half the book. It is a collection of beautiful black-and-white photographs of tattoos, tattooing, and longhouse life. The photos (by Sven Torfinn) seemed to me to be something the late Hedda Morrison might have taken—if she had been a young male in the 1990s looking for adventure. My favorite is the very first, a two-page spread of six handsome men tattooed from throat to ankle, dressed in ritual garb, and standing on the *tanju'* of their longhouse. Then there is the one of a young boy, in mid-backward-jump, joining his friends for a cool swim in the river. But in looking through the photos, one is immediately aware, and maybe not a little alarmed, that there are no captions to tell the reader the whos, whens, and wheres. While the text is not meant to be anthropologically authoritative and can be forgiven for these deficiencies, the lack of photo captions seemed the most lacking part of this stylish book.

The final section is devoted to tattoo designs, and these are set down type by type in word, photo, and line drawing. There are two subsections—old-style and new-style designs. The division between the old and the new comes into a bit of a contradiction, however. In this section, Franken says the old-style dates back 250 years, while the new-style is only 100 years old. Yet in the introduction, he cites Ida Pfeiffer's 1852 journey through western Borneo and her claim that the Iban did not tattoo. He also cites the observation by Hose and Shelford in the 1920s that the Iban were “the most extensively tattooed tribe in Borneo.” This accords with my own findings in the Dutch colonial archives and suggests that the Iban did not start to tattoo themselves in a serious way until around the turn of the twentieth century, as they ventured further and further into central Borneo in search of forest products, and thereby picking up tattooing from people like the Kayan and Kenyah.

In addition, the *buah terong* design (or what I know as the *bungai terong*) finds a place in both sets, which suggests the old/new division is rather arbitrary. The meanings ascribed to the designs are sometimes consistent with what I have heard or read, and sometimes at variance, but that is no real surprise—the Iban are not so homogeneous as we might be tempted to believe. One of the most pleasing parts of this section is that the two Iban artists who drew many of the patterns are given copyright credit. (Reed L. Wadley, Department of Anthropology, University of Missouri, Columbia, MO, USA)

**Han Knapen: *Forests of Fortune? The Environmental History of Southeast Borneo, 1600-1880*. KITLV Press, Leiden 2001. 498 pp.**

Han Knapen's book is a tremendously informative piece of work. As its title indicates, it is a book on environmental history, but its significance is far broader. Based on thorough and unusually extensive archival research in the Netherlands and Jakarta, it has utilized most of the vast historical literature on Southeast Borneo, as well as current research. Since these historical sources have been rarely used, at the same time as the region considered has received relatively little scholarly interest in recent times, its importance for the regional specialist is obvious. However, the great detail in which the data is presented, and the sophisticated analysis which accompanies it, should make it interesting for all Borneanists, and beyond.

It is difficult to do justice to *Forests of Fortune* in a brief review. Not only is it immensely rich in data, but it is also broad in scope, attempting to describe most major forms of impact of the people on the environment during the period studied, as well as the impact of the environment on the people. The book's principal interests, however, are clearly demography and economics (broadly defined), and their interrelationship with the environment. Its central substantial chapters deal with "Population developments and patterns of fertility," "Patterns of mortality and morbidity," "Agriculture in Southeast Borneo," "Development and commercialization of agriculture," "Animal management and domestication," and "Resources of the forest and the sea" (fishing, hunting, forest product collection). In two concluding chapters, "Uncertainty, diversity, and adaptation," and "Population-environment interaction," the general significance of the book's findings are discussed.

One of the principal merits of *Forests of Fortune* is its demonstration of the diversity of population-environment interactions in Southeast Borneo in historical times. There was not one way of making a livelihood, but many. Perhaps the most illuminating chapters in this respect are the ones on agriculture. They describe the occurrence in the lower Barito region (which is the part of Southeast Borneo that receives most attention in the book) of several different cultivation systems, corresponding to different ecological zones: swidden cultivation (itself diverse, and diversified over time), west monsoon *sawah* ("ordinary" wet rice agriculture in the "fan lowlands"), east monsoon *sawah* (an unusual, very hazardous, but potentially extremely high-yielding form of wet rice growing in the *danau* area), deepwater cultivation in monotonous swamps, and tidal agriculture in the tidal swamp area. The coexistence of these cultivation systems goes a long way in explaining why, despite long-present climatic irregularities and yield uncertainties, the lower Barito (particularly Hulu Sungai) became such a successful rice growing area, thus making possible the regionally strong position of the Sultanate of Banjarmasin and its predecessors. The chapters on agriculture also describe, in detail, the historical use of a considerable number of cultigens other than rice, both endemic and introduced, including cash crops such as pepper, the adopted cultivation of which (initially by Ma'anyan Dayaks) "instantly put Banjarmasin on seventeenth-century European maps," but also brought early environmental degradation and diseases in its wake. Other chapters describe the use of various wild and domesticated animals, and a great diversity of forest and aquatic resources. Interesting examples in this connection are freshwater fish from the Hulu Sungai, long exported in great quantities from Banjarmasin; and ironwood, which was often subjected to taboos concerning its felling and uses, but which has, nevertheless, been locally overexploited for a long time, for example, by the Ma'anyan who cut large amounts for shipbuilding. Another particularly fascinating and thoroughly analyzed case is rattan, a non-timber forest product with an unusually long commercial history. As in other cases throughout the book, the typically far-reaching and complex influence of the Dutch as well as the Banjarmasin Sultanate on the livelihood of coastal and interior people (e.g. by way of decrees, regulations, taxes, and military presence) is vividly demonstrated through Knapen's discussion of the use of this natural resource.

Another major contribution of this book is its demonstration of the centrality of real and perceived risks and other uncertainties to an understanding of the economic strategies and general way of life of Southeast Borneans. Basically, three types of uncertainties are

discussed: natural hazards (including human and plant diseases), economic risks, and political insecurity, all having affected local people's lives historically. A very basic way in which they have done so is by prompting the development of various risk-avoiding or risk-spreading strategies, and these strategies are also, at least indirectly, very much what Knapen's book is about. Dayak swidden cultivation, with its system of mixed cropping, is one well-known example of such a strategy that Knapen illuminatingly examines from this perspective. Other examples include such practices as "silent barter," and the tendencies toward isolationism and migration that often characterized interior peoples well into the nineteenth century. Knapen notes that, even though Banjarmasin had been extensively engaged in international commerce for centuries, trade in forest products and other commercial activities in the interior (especially in the far interior) were quite insignificant until about the 1820s, at least in comparison with the subsequent period, which witnessed drastic change in this respect. The increasing presence of the Dutch beginning in the late eighteenth century also at first led to greater economic uncertainties and caused Dayak migration toward the interior (according to my own data, the ethnogenesis of some Bawo or hill Dayak in the area reflect the same influence). Increasing trade in forest products similarly first entailed increasing economic uncertainties, in addition to health risks (epidemics). In the mid-nineteenth century the tide turned, however, and economic, political and demographic uncertainties generally decreased, thanks particularly to the impact of colonialism.

Demography is, as already mentioned, a major preoccupation of *Forests of Fortune*, and Knapen is especially interested in discussing factors affecting fertility and mortality. He attempts as a central task to answer the question of why population numbers in Southeast Borneo were so low before 1800 (a fact which impeded various forms of economic development in the area), but also what enabled them to slowly rise in the nineteenth century. Hence, he sets out to identify and assess the relative importance of factors limiting and promoting population growth. On the negative side, limiting growth, he discusses, among other things, various endemic and epidemic diseases (especially malaria, cholera, smallpox), headhunting and warfare, prolonged breast-feeding, sizeable marriage payments delaying marriage, sexual abstinence, various taboos, and the female workload. Among these factors he identifies disease as particularly consequential (and headhunting and warfare, for instance, as less so), but also intentional and unintentional interference with fertility, especially upriver. On the positive side, he identifies as singularly influential the Dutch vaccination campaigns, the *Pax Neerlandica* (largely effective already in the early nineteenth century in the Barito region), and increasing opportunities for trade (itself much a consequence of the two first mentioned factors, being decisively prompted by the decreasing incidence of epidemic disease and the cessation of warfare, piracy, and headhunting). Knapen also notes that the value of children as social capital must have risen significantly under the combined influence of pacification and increasing trade opportunities, at the same time as the institution of slavery gradually lost ground, thereby increasing people's motivation to bear more children. Earlier, on the other hand, in the context of the uncertainties prevailing then, children had represented, in cost-benefit terms, a more risky investment than slaves (who, unlike children, were expendable, moveable, and exchangeable), something which may also have contributed to the historically low population growth of Southeast Borneo.

*Forests of Fortune* also includes a chapter on “The history and peoples of Southeast Borneo” containing basic, but, nevertheless, rare and highly interesting information on the ethnic groups of the region, the Dayaks as well as the Malays. Particularly interesting in this chapter, perhaps, is Knapen’s discussion of the Ngaju and the Bekumpai. According to his findings, the Ngaju, Southeast Borneo’s most numerous Dayak group, who are today interior peoples, were formerly coastal dwellers, engaged in trade, seafaring (including piracy), and probably incipient tidal agriculture. In the more remote past, they appear also to have practiced longhouse residence to a greater degree than they did in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. They gradually moved away from the coast toward their present locations as a result of the development and expansion of the Sultanate of Banjarmasin, and, later, Dutch taxation and corvée labor demands. The Bekumpai are an indigenous population descending from the Ngaju, Islamized in the seventeenth century, but retaining their original Ngaju-related language. They used to live mainly on the lower Barito around Marabahan at the strategic confluence of the Barito and Negara rivers, acting as middlemen of the sultan and controlling much of the trade in the area. Since at least the beginning of the nineteenth century, however, as a result of improved opportunities for forest product trade and Dutch attempts at breaking the Bekumpai’s trade monopoly on the lower Barito (including the Bekumpai War, 1824-25), they have continuously migrated ever further and further upriver, and in the process, marrying and assimilating local Dayak. Through this process they have also contributed critically to the development of interior trade, and created for themselves a distinct ethno-economical niche as interior traders, intermediate between Dayaks and Malays.

Knapen also gives a presentation of the past hunters and gatherers of Southeast Borneo, those of the upper Barito and its tributaries. Discussing the Luangan and Bukit of the hills of the Meratus Range, he suggests that these Dayaks, too, used to be hunters and gatherers, a proposition which does not seem firmly sustained by the references that he advances as support. Contrary to this hypothesis, what information I have obtained on the area includes no straightforward evidence of hunters and gatherers ever occurring in Southeast Borneo south or east of the Lahei river (a tributary of the upper Barito). (Kenneth Sillander, University of Helsinki <kenneth.sillander@helsinki.fi>)

***People before Profits.* Kua Kia Soong, ed. SIRD (Strategic Info Research Development) and Suaram (Suara Rakyat Malaysia), Petaling Jaya: Malaysia, 2001. 201 pp. RM 25.00**

What will Malaysia be like in the year 2020? Will the country be devoid of forests, fish, and fruit trees? And will its citizens live in concrete jungles? Maybe there will be “islands” of healthy living that survive, such as Bario. So far Bario has no entry road, no logging, no company farms, no golf course. But it has few people now because many Kelabits have become urbanites.

People-focused questions, such as those mentioned above, are on the minds of conscientious Malaysians. A cross-section of such current problems are addressed in the book *People before Profits*. Among the 15 case studies described in the book, ten are on West Malaysia and five are on East Malaysia. Three of the five, on Sarawak, consider problems about the Bakun dam, land rights in Ulu Niah, and the Penan of the Ulu Baram.



Two of the five, on Sabah, consider acacia plantations in Kalabakan and logging in Keningau.

These five Bornean chapters cover issues well known to the environmental community. One is massive destruction of natural areas—which may never be corrected, certainly not by the year 2020 when the next generation reaches adulthood. That generation will likely never know the heritage it has lost.

Chapter 4 on the Bakun dam problems recaps much of what was published earlier in *Power Play* (INSAN, 1996) and in *Empty Promises, Dammed Lives* (Suaram, 1999). However, an update mentions decisions about the dam and the forced resettlement of people through mid-2000. The current situation for the local environment and the local people impacted by this multi-tentacled project is not widely known, as little factual information has been published. In any event, much land and river destruction has occurred, and some people have become richer while many others have become poorer.

In the case of Ulu Niah (Chapter 6), longhouse people mobilized to fend off an oil-palm megabusiness engulfing their land. They tried in vain to use all sorts of legal channels. Then a physical battle ensued that led to the death of four outsiders. Nineteen villagers were arrested in 1999 on the charge of murder and denied bail. They were detained for 18 months before their case came up for hearing in November 2000. Eight were eventually discharged in March 2001, but the remaining 11 are still imprisoned while awaiting the conclusion of their court hearing.

The case of the Penan (Chapter 11) is a long-running problem, since the 1980s. It has been well described in many venues—road blockades against logging companies and all the difficulties the Penan have subsequently experienced. In this book five Penan ask, once again, for justice. In Kalabakan (Chapter 8) logging is also an issue. And in Keningau (Chapter 12) the villagers faced not only outside logging interests but the complicity of some village leaders. A grassroots movement learned to counter these forces, but the future is more uncertain than normally is the case.

While the chapters in the book on West Malaysia may be outside the scope of this review, most are nevertheless about problems common to Borneo. Should cemeteries give way to money-making edifices? Should forest reserves be changed into mudslides by hillside developers? Then there are Orang Asli and other poor people. Should they be exploited and dispossessed to make profits for people who never go hungry?

The book could have been more carefully edited; unfortunately, reference lists provided for several papers were omitted when the book was published. Other than that, the book provides valuable information that deserves the attention of a wide audience. (A. Baer, Dept. of Zoology, Oregon State University, Corvallis, OR 97331, USA)

***Indigenous Peoples and the State. Politics, Land, and Ethnicity in the Malayan Peninsula and Borneo, Robert L. Winzeler (Ed.), New Haven: Yale Southeast Asia Studies, Monograph No. 46, 1997, 316 pp.***

The expressions “fourth-world colonialism” and “internal colonialism” have been used since the mid-1980s to refer to certain types of relationships developed between post-World War II nation-states—whose aim is to promote a national culture, religion, and language—and their ethnic minorities, the “indigenous peoples,” particularly those inhabiting politically marginal regions.

Indeed, these nation-states, most of which have in common the need to achieve "development," are reluctant to tolerate what they view as backward beliefs, customs, and lifestyles. They attempt to change and integrate their minorities into an emerging national society and culture. Moreover, in many instances, the valuable resources that exist on minorities' lands have become crucial to the State's economy. And the minorities' interests often are regarded as secondary to the State's priorities. The bottom line is that, generally, the State does not want its "indigenous peoples" to remain what they are, and it wants access to the resources these peoples' marginal lands contain.

As Winzeler rightly points out, the indigenous groups in the region under consideration are often much better known in traditional ethnological terms than as minority communities within developing nations; thus, the need to understand how these peoples react to their fast-changing predicaments. Here, the existing anthropological knowledge of these groups is put to best use as background to the studies. This work is definitely one by anthropologists interested in modern processes, not one by development sociologists.

The book includes nine essays. Four of them cover the Orang Asli of Malaya (peninsular Malaysia)—three dealing with specific groups (Kirk Endicott on the Batek; Rosemary Gianno on the Semelai; and Shuichi Nagata on the Semang) and a more synthesizing essay by Robert Dentan on the Orang Asli in general—and five essays cover particular minority groups of Borneo, including groups in Sarawak (Robert Winzeler on the Bidayuh and Ida Nicolaisen on the Punan Bah), Brunei Darussalam (Allen Maxwell on the Kedayan and Jay Bernstein on the Dusun), and Indonesia's Kalimantan (Anne Schiller on theNgaju).

These contributions investigate in great detail—from the pre-colonial to the colonial and to the modern nation-state period—the evolution of local and regional politics, economics, and policies regarding minorities, the ways in which these minorities adjusted and adapted to changing situations, and, ultimately, how they are coping with their present circumstances. These essays are fine-grained pieces of good scholarship, not the "Save-the-Noble-Savage" sort of literature now found everywhere, and, although some of the views held are deliberately provocative, they are convincingly argued.

The focus here is on "non-Malay indigenous peoples." Although the reader certainly grasps—more or less—what this expression refers to, Winzeler attempts in his introduction to deal with the Malay vs. non-Malay contrast in relation to the pervasive opposition of identities throughout the area—"traditional indigenous" vs. "mainstream national" (i.e., the State, cf. the book's title). This appears a bit confusing. First, the status of "Malayness" does not stand on very firm ground. "Who are the Malays?" is an old question. In Borneo, "Malay" politics emerged from coastal tribal groups that got involved in trade and so became connected to maritime networks. The current major world religious criterion, Islam, only came later. And, to this day, this "Moslem" criterion has remained hazy, as quite a few Moslem Dayak groups refuse to be called Malays. All this, to some extent, also applies to Malaya.

Second, while the "center" to peripheral Sarawak and Sabah is peninsular Malaysia (here, Kuala Lumpur), in Indonesian Borneo, it is Java (and the Javanese). The situations of the Kalimantan provinces and the eastern Malaysian states are similar, with the prominent local Moslem groups (the Borneo Malays) holding an intermediate position

question. In Borneo, “Malay” polities emerged from coastal tribal groups that got involved in trade and so became connected to maritime networks. The current major world religious criterion, Islam, only came later. And, to this day, this “Moslem” criterion has remained hazy, as quite a few Moslem Dayak groups refuse to be called Malays. All this, to some extent, also applies to Malaya.

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Winzeler is right, however, to stress the politically dominant role of Islam, part of the mainstream national culture—and of an explicit or covert ideology—in the shaping of modern ethnicity in both Malaysia’s and Indonesia’s marginal regions. The emergence of Christianity and, locally, of revived traditional belief systems (e.g., the Ngaju’s Kaharingan religion) as modern identity markers in the face of a strongly proselytizing Moslem culture is likewise rightfully stressed.

Facing situations ranging from ethnocide to assimilation, our non-Malay indigenous peoples’ reactions, predictably, show considerable variation. Between dependency and acceptance on the one hand, and hostility and resistance on the other, these peoples have come to look upon their own customs and way of life in a new manner, whereby hitherto implicit cultural patterns have become objectified or externalized, particularly due to the politicization of religion and ethnicity, and under the influence of tourism. These indigenous peoples, although involved for several decades in the nation-building process, have yet to achieve a satisfactory position. Their prospects appear to vary widely: in certain instances (Sarawak, Kalimantan) cultural survival, if not political autonomy, seems negotiable, and even locally, under modified forms, indigenous ethnic identities are seen making some progress; in others (Malaya, Brunei), due to either the minuscule numbers of their participants or the State’s powerful cultural bulldozing, indigenous cultures seem doomed to disappear.

This volume will be an indispensable reference to all scholars interested in the hot question of the conflictual relations between centers and peripheries and in the contemporary processes of ethnic change in Southeast Asia. (Bernard Sellato, Institut de Recherche sur le Sud-Est Asiatique, UMR 6571 CNRS et Université de Provence. With minor change, reprinted, with permission, from *Moussons*, December 1998)

**Jérôme Rousseau, *Kayan Religion: Ritual Life and Religious Reform in Central Borneo* (1998) Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde No. 180. Leiden: KITLV Press.**

In the 1940s a religious reform movement transformed life in several Central Borneo societies, including that of the Kayan. Known as *adat Bungan*, it eliminated many of the

onerous taboos and practices under the old religion, now called *adat Dipuy*. Within a decade, elements of the old ways had crept back as both aristocrats and priests sought to regain their control over Kayan society and religion.

In this encyclopaedic account of Kayan religion, anthropologist Jérôme Rousseau describes the early stages the Bungan revolution and its subsequent transformation as a reform of the old religion. He devotes separate chapters to the religious environment of everyday life, religious beliefs, ritual specialists, the rituals of the annual rice-farming cycle, the rituals of the domestic unit, curing and protective rituals, and the rituals of the life cycle. In each he provides a comparison of *adat Bungan* as practiced during his fieldwork in the 1970s and *adat Dipuy* as remembered by the Kayan.

Rousseau makes very clear throughout the book the great importance of understanding Kayan stratification. This is seen, for example, in the history of the new religion. *Adat Bungan* came at a critical time in central Borneo. Dissatisfaction with the old religion among commoners was high as a result of rapid social change brought by colonial penetration. Subsequent epidemics, missionary activity, and the deprivation during World War II lead many to question the efficacy of the old ways. Beginning as the religion of commoners, Bungan did away with many of the burdensome taboos and other practices in *adat Dipuy* (such as time-consuming augury), but it also challenged the authority of both chiefs and priests. Rather than opposing the newly-popular religion and risk losing their authority entirely, most aristocrats and priests chose to accede to the revolution while slowly reintroducing elements of the old that had bolstered their positions in the past.

The author is mindful that his descriptions are not of a monolithic Kayan religion, but rather are drawn from a particular set of Kayan at a particular period of history. To reinforce the point of variation in practice, he provides useful comparisons with other Kayan people elsewhere in central Borneo. Rousseau is also aware of his own role as ethnographer and provides valuable information about his fieldwork techniques. He shows that the Kayan with whom he worked viewed him as being interested in *adat Bungan* in order to convert Europeans and that his priestly Kayan name made his work easier. However, throughout the book, he keeps the focus on the Kayan view of things, rather than on himself as has become the fashion in some recent anthropology.

There is a lot of detail in this book, detail about ritual that will be fascinating to some, daunting to others, and perhaps excruciatingly boring to still others. At times the prose becomes a bit monotonous, but the description is sufficiently broken up by anecdotes, excerpts from prayers, and commentaries to keep the interested reader moving forward. Students of religion and of central Borneo societies will find the book useful, but it is likely they will also have points of disagreement with it. The parts I found the most interesting were the history of the Bungan reform movement and the chapter on Kayan beliefs. In the latter, Rousseau also deals with Kayan disbelief and scepticism, important subjects that have been too often ignored in traditional ethnography. In addition, as an anthropologist working in Borneo with the Iban (a society very different from the Kayan), I found myself at every turn comparing Rousseau's descriptions with my own experience. There are even several prayers asking, for example, that Kayan spears "be like lightning to the eyes of the Iban." Despite the ending of hostile relations long ago, memories of the old enmities are still preserved in ritual, as they are among the Iban.

KITLV Press and its editors are to be thanked and congratulated for having published such a comprehensive ethnography. Nothing is perfect, however, and the one thing I found most lacking was a table of contents for the photographs scattered throughout the book. Photos might appear several or tens of pages away from their references in the text, making them especially troublesome to locate. But this minor matter should not detract from the content of the book itself, which will surely come to be widely used in studies of Southeast Asian religion. It will also likely be of great interest to the Kayan themselves who might look to Rousseau's work as a source for understanding their past as well as for shaping their future. (Reed L. Wadley, Department of Anthropology, University of Missouri-Columbia, Missouri, 65211, USA; reprinted with permission from the *IIAS Newsletter*, 20th November 1999)

## ABSTRACTS

Editor's note: Abstracts marked **EI** have, with permission of its Editorial Board, been reproduced from the abstracts journal *Excerpta Indonesia*, P.O. Box 9515, 2300 RA Leiden, The Netherlands. We thank the Editorial Board for allowing us to reprint them here.

**[film] *A Trial in East Kalimantan—The Benaq Dayak Resistance*, by Sandeep Ray. Produced by Karma Foley with assistance from Documentary Educational Resources; additional funding from PACT Indonesia and the East Kalimantan Human Rights Committee. Color, 50 minutes, rd 2000, video sale \$195, rental \$50.**

This film, shot in Indonesia in 1999, gives a rare insider's look at the beginnings of democracy during a period of political unrest and economic turmoil throughout the country. On the island of Kalimantan, a Dayak village organizes a sit-in to protest the destruction of their agricultural land and the desecration of sacred funeral sites by a multinational palm oil company. During the sit-in, eleven community leaders are arrested on charges of vandalism. We follow the fates of Petrus Dukung and Benjamin Tawwakng, two young Dayak leaders, as they face a corrupt political and judicial system. The involvement of human rights lawyers, student groups, and other activists brings the Dayak struggle to the attention of the media. We witness the power of organized demonstrations as activists question their government and voice doubts about the court's commitment to justice. A second Indonesian/Dayak film, currently in production, will further explore issues in contemporary Dayak life, and the tension between tradition and modernity. Recommended for Asian Studies, International Relations and Politics, International Development and Economics, Human Rights and Culture Change. (Documentary Educational Resources, 101 Mores Street, Watertown, MA 02472.)

**Alqadrie, Syarif Ibrahim, 1999, Konflik etnis di Ambon dan Sambas: suatu tinjauan sosiologis. *Antropologi Indonesia*, Vol 23 (no. 58): 36-57.**

Were the ethnic conflicts in Sambas and Ambon the result of the same set of factors? The author of this article thinks that they were, blaming the ambivalent and unfair treatment meted out by the police and the armed forces, and the subsequent absence of

proper and just law enforcement. Feeling pushed into a corner with no way out, the local people, the Malays and Dayaks in Sambas and the Muslim and Christian Moluccans in Ambon, literally took the law into their own hands when the grip of the New Order regime was relaxed. Cultural differences did play a role, but not nearly as cogently as the non-cultural factors. The differences between the conflicts in Ambon and Sambas lay in the economic disparity in the former and the inequality in job opportunities and ownership in the latter. Not content with simply identifying causes, in the last part of the article the author suggests three steps by which he feels the problems could be solved (EI, Rosemary Robson-Mckillop).

**Dove, Michael R., 2000, The life-cycle of indigenous knowledge, and the case of natural rubber production. In: Roy Ellen, Peter Parkes, Alan Bicker, eds., *Indigenous environmental knowledge and its transformations*. Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers, pp. 213-251.**

Departing from his study of the indigenous knowledge system of smallholder cultivators of para rubber in Kalimantan, the author considers two different views of indigenous knowledge. The first is that for a long time indigenous knowledge has been ignored as a consequence of the preference for modern, scientific knowledge over local, traditional knowledge, but that the new study of indigenous knowledge will have positive effects. The other view questions the genuineness of this critique on the preference for modern knowledge and contends that emphasizing the difference between scientific knowledge on the one hand and traditional knowledge on the other is just another "self-privileging antinomy" (as there are many in anthropological theoretical discourse). The rubber case shows that when the epistemic origins of this indigenous knowledge system are revealed, the validity of the label "indigenous knowledge" may become questionable. It turns out that the knowledge system is rather hybrid, and its representations contested by the different parties involved. The author not only criticizes the concept of indigenous knowledge, but also places this critique in a wider intellectual framework, showing that indigenous knowledge may be analyzed through "its life-cycle of initial reception and utility followed by subsequent rejection and disunity." With this heuristic use of the concept it becomes clear that the way in which Western scholars, including anthropologists, conceive of indigenous knowledge also tells us something about the way they conceive of knowledge in general (EI, Rosemary Robson-McKillops).

**Guritno, Ali Djoko, 2000, Indonesian forest management problems: what are the comments and opinions of the groups and organizations concerned? *Tonan Ajia kenkyu*, 37: 492-510.**

The objectives of this study, which was primarily carried out in the Dipterocarp forest of East Kalimantan, are: (1) to clarify the major forest problems in Indonesia; (2) to collect the comments and opinions of those most closely connected with forest problems; (3) on the basis of this to propose some solutions. Among those consulted were the Ministry of Forestry and Estate Crops, the Regional Forestry Office, the Provincial Forestry Service, university lecturers, those holding private concessions, the forest product sector, NGOs, and the Forest Product Development Research Centre. The four

main topics which were raised were: the imbalance between wood supply and demand, deforestation issues, forest disturbances, and conflicts between concessionaires and the forest communities. It seems that the increasing number of forest industries has led to a shortage of wood which is what drove concessionaires to log illegally. The Ministry policy, blinded by the lure of foreign currency, has supported the concessionaires. There has been a general negative effect on the forest communities. Any attempt to improve the situation has run against a number of stumbling blocks such as lack of forest resources data, weakness in forest area control, efficiency of timber getting and processing techniques, and general confusion in the overlapping areas of forest concessions and land tenure. The author believes that the industrial timber concessions should be expanded in order to make more commercial timber available, matching the wood supply to the capacity of the forest industry when granting licenses, improving wood efficiency in the forest industry, better security systems to reduce the number of forest disturbances, strengthening checks on the wood market to prevent the sale of illegal timber, and involving the communities more in the whole process (EI, Rosemary Robson-McKillop).

**Hansen, Eric, 2000, The hidden history of a scented wood, *Saudi Aramco World*, 51 (6): 2-13.**

For numberless centuries *gaharu* wood, which is claimed to produce the very best incense, has been one of the most expensive commodities in the world. The species of tree (*Aquilaria*) which this fungus (*Phaophora parasitica*) invades is found throughout much of Southeast Asia and Assam, which was the source of the famed biblical aloes. In fact there are seven sub-species of this tree and the one which concerns the author most is the *Aquilaria malaccensis* which is harvested by the Penan of Kalimantan. He traces the history of the trade in incense in the Middle East, where the product is known as 'ud in Arabic, and in China where it was certainly highly prized as early as the Han Dynasty (206 BC-AD 220) (EI, Rosemary Robson-McKillop).

**Handoko, H., et al. Length variations in the COII-tRNA (lys) intergenic region of mitochondrial DNA in Indonesian Populations. *Human Biology* 73 (2): 205-223, 2001.**

Among 99 Dayaks of Palangkaraya, C. Kal., 35% were found in this study to have the "9-base-pair deletion" that is common throughout Southeast Asia. This is only the 2nd or 3rd report on mtDNA in Kal. In earlier reports on Borneo, about 25% of Barito "villagers" and 19% of Sabah "aborigines" were reported to have the deletion. There have been no reports on Sarawakians (Dee Baer).

**Laman, Tim, 2000, Wild gliders: the creatures of Borneo's rain forest go airborne, *National Geographic*, 198 (4): 68-85.**

A number of reptiles (snakes, lizards), amphibians (frogs), and mammals (lemurs) transport themselves from tree to tree in the canopy of the rain forest of Borneo by gliding. This is an extensive photographic report about some of these creatures (EI, Rosemary Robson-McKillop).

**Lim, Li Chiug. 2001, 'Blurring the Boundaries' Manoeuvring State and Non-State Spaces: Rule, Compromise, and Contested Development among the Bajau Laut of the Sulu Sea. M. Phil. degree, Development Studies, Institute of Development Studies, Sussex University.**

The Bajau Laut are sea nomadic communities, brought under increasing state control through projects of state simplifications and governmentality. The dissertation draws on Scott's categories of 'non-state' and 'state spaces', extending these to examine how the Bajau Laut *produce* non-state spaces *within* state spaces, rendering development a contested terrain. I look at three means by which they do so, explored through the term *compromise*. They compromise the success of projects of rule, they compromise 'official' conceptions of space, and they compromise the cultural realm. Such an analysis challenges us to recognise the Bajau Laut, not as 'victims' of development, but as actors possessing agency (author).

**Lindell, Pamela N. 2000 The Longhouse and the Legacy of History: Religion, Architecture, and Change among the Bisingai of Sarawak. PhD dissertation, University of Nevada, Reno.**

This dissertation is an anthropological study of the Bisingai, a subgroup of the Bidayuh ethnic group, of Sarawak, Malaysian Borneo. The purpose of my dissertation is to examine the role of the built environment in sociocultural change among the Bisingai by 1) demonstrating how the uses and meanings of built forms changed in response to social and cultural transformations and 2) analyzing how the Bisingai now use and transform the built environment, as well as other aspects of so-called "tradition," in the representation, maintenance and revival of their cultural identity. A chapter on Bisingai culture as it is thought to have existed prior to mass conversion to Christianity provides the cultural context in which to view later sociocultural changes and transformations in the built environment.

Prior to Christian proselytization, the Bisingai lived in eight villages on the slopes of Mount Singai. Most people lived in longhouses, each of which comprised a ritual corporate group with its own communal rites and ritual leader. When Christian missionaries established themselves in Singai and began the process of conversion, which is now almost complete, the longhouse was transformed from an environment that facilitated social harmony to one that inhibited it. Christian converts began to move to the base of Mount Singai, where practitioners of the old religion eventually joined them. The two groups are now able to live amongst each other again, partly because of the secularization of their *adat* or customary laws, and partly because they have largely adopted detached houses, which are devoid of inherent ritual meaning and are therefore accepted by both religious groups. The longhouse, while still used for rituals of the *adat* religion, has primarily become a ritual building (author).

**Maier, Judith, 1999, Everyone wants to get a head: environmental and cultural tourism in the Borneo interior. IN: Jill Forshee with Christina Fink and Sandra Cate, ed., *Converging Interests*. Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 51-83.**



This contribution gives a broad overview of the benefits as well as the potential for adverse impact associated with relatively small-scale tourism to tropic forests and villages of indigenous societies in both the Indonesian and Malaysian parts of Borneo. Many areas “off the beaten track” have gained a reputation among travelers and tour operators as ecologically and culturally interesting, relatively safe, friendly, and accessible destinations. A review of recent writings on environmental and cultural tourism, emanating from such diverse sources as the tourist industry entrepreneurs, government and official development promoters, conservation organizations, tourists and travelers, “host communities”, and social analysts, precedes the main discussion which covers topics such as the scale of “green” tourism in Borneo, parks and protected areas, infrastructure, facilities and services, political aspects, the increased role of money in a cash-scarce economy, cultural conservation, revitalization, and stereotypes. In her concluding remarks, the author submits that self-reflection on the part of “responsible” tourists about their own roles and the lasting ecological, political, and economic effects of their visits must form the basis for developing tourism along more benign lines (EI, Dr. Ewald Ebing).

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All contributions should be sent to Prof. Clifford Sather, Dayak Studies, IEAS, Universiti Malaysia Sarawak, 94300 Kota Samarahan, Sarawak, Malaysia  
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