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NOTES FROM THE EDITOR

In a departure from past practice, A.V.M. Horton opens this issue with an extended, collective memorial for a number of persons, both Bruneians and others whose lives in some important way involved Brunei Darussalam and whose deaths occurred during the year 2004. This does not, of course, replace our usual practice of publishing longer memorials for single individuals and next issue will contain at least two of these.

The topics addressed by the Research Notes that follow range from linguistics and history, through politics and anthropology to indigenous art and cultural history. A final Note reports on cross-border relations along one small section of the highly porous border that separates Indonesian and Malaysian Borneo.

The first paper by Professor James Collins draws upon the results of recent research undertaken by scholars and students from the Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia and the Universitas Tanjungpura, Pontianak, to report on some socio-linguistic characteristics of the Iban-related languages and dialects spoken in West Kalimantan and to survey their present distribution. While the number of ethnic Iban in West Kalimantan is quite small, certainly in comparison with Sarawak, where the Iban number over 600,000, groups speaking Iban-related (or Ibanic) languages are numerous and, indeed, comprise, as Professor Collins notes, a significant proportion of the province's population. Again, compared with what we know of Iban, these languages and dialects are poorly documented and very little is known regarding their internal relationships or distinguishing characteristics. Professor Collins's paper is therefore especially welcomed.

In this connection, it might be briefly noted that, in terms of linguistics, West Kalimantan is one of the most poorly studied provinces in Indonesia. While there have been some recent publications by the Pusat Bahasa in Jakarta, the only major intensive study that I am aware of, and which, I would add, was brought to my attention by Dr. Sander Adelaar, is a Ph.D. dissertation by Sumarsono (La Trobe University, Melbourne) on Bekatik, a West Kalimantan Bidayuh, or, in Professor Collins's terms, Bidayuhic language. In addition, Dr. Adelaar himself has just published, as this volume goes to press, the first in-depth study of a West Kalimantan language to appear in print, *Salako or Badamea: Sketch grammar, texts and lexicon of a Kanayatn dialect in West Borneo* (Frankfurter Forschungen zu Südostasien, 2005). In addition to a sketch grammar, the book includes 50 pages of textual data and a 100-page lexicon. Salako is a dialect of Kanayatn (Malay: Kendayan) and is spoken in the far northwestern corner of West Kalimantan, and in closely adjoining areas of western Sarawak where its speakers are generally known as Selako. Professor Collins, too, mentions Salako (or Selako) in his Research Note. As such, Salako is not an Ibanic language, as Professor Collins notes, but belongs to the larger category of West Kalimantan Malayic languages, which Professor Collins in his paper also touches on briefly, and to which Iban and other Ibanic languages are themselves more distantly related.

The second Research Note also concerns West Kalimantan. In this paper, "Captain Burn and Associates," Andrew Smith returns to a subject he first introduced in an earlier paper which appeared in Volume 33 of the *BRB*, "Missionaries, Mariners and Merchants: Overlooked British Travelers in West Borneo in the Early Nineteenth Century." In the present paper, he reconstructs the career and commercial activities for the last ten years of

his life of one of these merchant-mariners, a British “country trader,” Captain Joseph Burn, basing his reconstruction, in part at least, on Burn’s own letters. As Dr. Smith notes, Captain Burn, who resided for part of this period in Pontianak, is of special interest to historians as a source of intelligence for Sir Stamford Raffles’s invasion of Java. Equally important, information from his extended letters to Raffles on conditions in western Borneo was incorporated into John Leyden’s often-cited “Sketch of Borneo,” a major historical source for early nineteenth century Borneo. Until now, little has been written about Captain Burn himself. In addition to tracing Burn’s career, the paper also conveys something of the eventful lives led by independent “country traders,” fraught as these lives were, not only with physical perils, but also with the ever-present dangers of litigation, broken contracts, and financial ruin.

In the third paper that follows, “Turbulent Times in Sarawak,” Vernon Porritt, a regular contributor to the *BRB*, traces the end of expatriate influence and the restructuring of politics in Sarawak along West Malaysian lines that occurred in the years that immediately followed Malaysian independence, 1963 to 1970. In retrospect, the outcome of the events described now seems inevitable, but that was hardly the way it appeared to Sarawakians at the time. The result was a radical shift in the balance of ethnic power that has only widened since and the emergence of a Melanau family dynasty that, in the breadth of its control over state affairs, and certainly in the immensity of its wealth, would come to far exceed anything that the Brookes might ever have imagined.

In the next paper, Antonio Guerreiro responds to an earlier Brief Communication by Herwig Zahorka, published in the *BRB* in 2001, describing a people known as the Basap, or Orang Darat, of the Mangkalihat Peninsula in East Kalimantan. As both authors observe, the Basap are perhaps the least known people living in the province. Zahorka’s original Brief Communication, entitled somewhat ambiguously, perhaps, “The Last Basap Cave Dwellers in the Mangkalihat Karst Mountains, East Kalimantan,” described the regular use of caves as shelters by Basap hunting and collecting parties.

Dr. Guerreiro, in his rejoinder, adds valuable information about the rapidly changing circumstances that have overtaken the Basap since the late 1960s, particularly Indonesian resettlement policies ostensibly aimed, more generally, at “stabilizing” indigenous populations, imposing “order,” and re-housing so-called “isolated” (*terasing*) tribal groups, like the Basap, in fixed, accessible locales. While hunting and the collection of forest products remain important activities, it is clear from Guerreiro’s account that the vast majority of Basap have, for some time now, subsisted primarily by cultivation. This development, it seems, occurred independent of government resettlement efforts. The latter, in fact, appear to have had little long-term impact upon the Basap, and one of the interesting points that the author makes is that, with the fall of the Suharto government, the very label “isolated societies” (*masyarakat terasing*) — and the government programs associated with it, including resettlement — have come to be resented by Dayak groups in East Kalimantan, including the Basap. Instead, these groups prefer to be called “customary law societies” (*masyarakat adat*), a label which acknowledges not only their cultural distinctiveness, but also, significantly, in light of logging and other forms of recent capitalist penetration, their rights to land.

Also of interest is the nature of Basap “society.” Their small numbers, scattered distribution and tendency to intermarry with the members of other ethnic groups appear to

result in their ready assimilation and, as Guerreiro puts it, in a tendency “to adapt their ethnicity to local conditions.” Hence, it is no simple matter, it would seem, to say who is, or isn’t, a “Basap.”

Following Antonio Guerreiro’s paper, Herwig Zahorka offers a brief reply. This is followed by some additional remarks by Guerreiro. Here, I would like to add that we, as readers, are indebted to both authors. Whatever their disagreements, they have raised some interesting questions and, in his final rejoinder, Guerreiro sheds additional light on contemporary social and economic change in what remains a still little known region of East Kalimantan.

In this issue we welcome a new contributor to the *BRB*, Paolo Maiullari, who offers us a fascinating account of the use of *hampatongs*, carved wooden images or sculptures, by the Ngaju Dayaks of Desa Telangkah, on the Katingan River, in Central Kalimantan. In addition to identifying the different types of *hampatongs* that are used locally by the people of Desa Telangkah, the author also describes two particular examples, each representing a once living person, showing how these sculptures convey aspects of each individual’s life history and personal connections with the spirit world. Through the superb photography of his wife, Junita Arneld Maiullari, we are provided with an excellent visual record to accompany the text.

In the next paper, “Mystery of the Twin Masks on Megaliths at Long Pulung in East Kalimantan,” the author, Herwig Zahorka, discusses, and offers a possible interpretation of, a set of sculptured designs that appear on a stone urn and pillar at what is believed to be a prehistoric burial site on the upper Bahau River in the present-day Malinau Regency. Zahorka likens these designs to anthropomorphic masks and compares them with others in Southeast Asia, in particular, with moko drum designs and with design motifs found on the famous Pejeng drum in Bali. On the basis of the similarities he sees, he argues that the Long Pulung stones may have once served as print molds for the production of bronze objects and speculates that the upper Bahau-Kerayan area, in addition to being a former center of megalithic development, may have once also been a metalworking center. In this connection, he stresses the need for an archaeological survey of the region. Finally, in concluding, he draws attention to what he sees as the persistence of similar design motifs in, for example, Dayak tattooing and building ornamentation, and even in the modern Dayak-inspired designs that adorn the Balikpapan airport building.

In the last paper, I Ketut Ardhana, Jayl Langub, and Daniel Chew provide an ethnographic account of cross-border relations between the Lun Bawang of the Kelalan Valley of Sarawak and the Lun Dayeh of the Kerayan District of East Kalimantan. Although divided from one another by an international border, the Lun Bawang and the Lun Dayeh are, in cultural, social, religious and linguistic terms, as well as by their own perceptions, a single people. On the other hand, as the authors show, the presence of the border profoundly, and in increasingly important ways, affects their daily lives and interrelations with one another. Moreover, population movements and cross-border disparities of income and economic opportunity now strongly color these interrelations and have created in some instances conflicts and divergent interests. In addition, the border highlands represents a distinctive and fragile environment, which, the authors note, borderland development increasingly imperils.

Concluding this issue, in an extended review essay, Eva and Roger Kershaw examine the recently published four-volume diaries and the earlier *Stimmen aus dem Regenwald* (*Voices*

from the Rainforest, published in 1992) of Bruno Manser. They also touch more generally in their essay on Manser's life and conservationist legacy. Given the fact that almost five years have passed since Manser's disappearance and probable death, this review is especially timely.

Once again, from Sarawak, our resident man of letters, Otto Steinmayer, sends us, as a Brief Communication, another "Letter from Lundu." In this one, he relates events at his home in Kampung Stunggang during the recent rainy season, including Chinese New Year, two village weddings, and Christmas, ending with a reflection on the Sumatran tsunami.

And once again, I would like to thank all of those who assisted me during the year with article reviews, news items, announcements, comments, suggestions, and editorial help. The list is a long one and includes, among others, Sander Adelaar, George Appell, Dee Baer, Martin Baier, Jim Collins, A. V. M. Horton, Terry King, Jayl Langub, Heidi Munan, Vernon Porritt, Bob Reece, Bernard Sellato, Kenneth Sillander, Andrew Smith, Vinson Sutlive, Phillip Thomas, Reed Wadley, and Bob Winzeler. To all, my thanks. Special gratitude goes to my wife, Louise Klemperer Sather, who now, for a second issue, as our Assistant Editor, carefully read through all of the papers and reviews that appear here. As always, her editorial skills, patience, and close attention to detail have been an invaluable help.

Some Changes in the *Borneo Research Bulletin*

I would like to remind readers that Dr. A. V. M. Horton has taken on the job of Book Review Editor and compiler of our annual Bibliography section. Please contact Dr. Horton about book reviews or with bibliographic information for future *BRBs*. You may do so either by mail or by e-mail:

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Beginning with the last issue, Volume 34, we have initiated a new production process for computer formatting and layout. This process links the technical production of the *BRB* directly to the general publications operations of the Borneo Research Council. Mrs. Joan Bubier, the Council's Administrative Assistant, who oversees the production side of the BRC's publications (i.e., the monograph series, proceedings volumes, etc.) has assumed the task of *BRB* Production Editor. I am deeply grateful to Mrs. Bubier for all the work she did in preparing the present volume for publication and for overseeing its printing, distribution, and mailing.

Our volunteer Production Editor, Dr. Phillip Thomas, continues to assist us and helped in formatting the first three Research Notes in the present volume. He also offered invaluable editing advice. Again, our thanks to Phillip.

Beginning with this volume, a brief biographic note for each of our Research Note authors appears immediately following these Notes from the Editor.

Borneo Dissertation Website

Readers are reminded that Professor Robert L. Winzeler and his colleagues at the University of Nevada, Reno, have created a Borneo dissertation website (see "Notes from the Editor," *BRB*, vol. 33). I would urge you all to consult the dissertation list and add to it any dissertation that you may know of that is not listed, including, of course, your own. The website address is the following: <<http://www2.library.unr.edu.dataworks/Borneo.edu>>.

The website is maintained by Professor Winzeler and is hosted by the University of Nevada, Reno, Library's DataWorks. Those of you with comments and suggestions are invited to write directly to Professor Winzeler at <winzeler@unr.edu>.

When the initial announcement of the site was made by your Editor in Volume 33, the site was then still in a pilot form, and, as of February 2003, it listed some 230 dissertation titles. Over the last year, Bob and his colleagues have added a large number of new entries, so that the current total number of dissertations listed has doubled to more than 460. The site, at the moment, Bob believes, is pretty much up-to-date and complete so far as the US, Canada, and the UK are concerned. But serious underreporting remains for Japan, Europe, Malaysia, and Indonesia, and anyone who can provide information on these areas is especially encouraged to contact Professor Winzeler at the e-mail address given above.

As a final Brief Communication in the present volume, Robert Winzeler and Duncan Aldrich provide a useful update concerning the Borneo dissertation website, its history and objectives, what it contains, and how to use it. They also offer some statistical information regarding the current status of dissertation writing on Borneo.

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Here we wish to thank the following individuals for their contribution over the last year to the BRC Endowment and General Funds.

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Once again, our thanks to all these individuals for their support.

About the Authors in this Issue

Daniel Chew, Ph.D., was Senior Research Fellow at the Sarawak Development Institute (SDI), Kuching, and is now an independent researcher based in Adelaide, Australia.

Professor James T. Collins, Ph.D., has served as a principal research fellow at the Institute of the Malay World and Civilization, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, since 1995. Among his most recent publications are "Language use and language change in Manjau, Kalimantan Barat: Exploring the Tola' Dayak language and society" (With Sujami Alloy) *BKI* 160: 227-284, 2004, and "A book and a chapter in the history of Malay: Brouwerius' *Genesis* (1697) and Ambonese Malay," *Archipel* 67: 77-128, 2004.

Antonio J. Guerreiro, Ph.D., a social and cultural anthropologist, is currently a senior research associate of IRSEA-CNRS, Marseille, and a member of the team of the Musée de l'Homme in Paris, "Objets, Cultures, Sociétés."

Eva Maria Kershaw, a native German speaker, is a graduate of London University in German and Khmer. Her principal specialty, the Dusun (Bisaya) language and religion of Brunei, developed during 1985-1993, while she was resident in the Sultanate in the company of Roger Kershaw. Her main publications comprise a bilingual collection, *Dusun Folktales* (University of Hawai'i at Manoa, 1994); and *A Study of Brunei Dusun Religion* (Borneo Research Council, 2000).

Roger Kershaw is a graduate of Oxford University in Modern History, later Ph.D. in Political Science at London University (SOAS). He has lectured on Southeast Asian Studies at the Universities of Hull and Kent. Owing to the decline of the subject in the UK, he joined the Brunei Education Service between 1984-1994. Among a variety of published work, the broadest in scope is *Monarchy in South-East Asia* (London, Routledge, 2001).

I Ketut Ardhana, Ph.D., a historian, is Head of the Division of Southeast Asian Studies at the Indonesian Institute of Sciences (PSDR-LIPI), Jakarta.

Jayl Langub is a retired Sarawak civil servant, the former Secretary of the Majlis Adat Istiadat Sarawak, and, at present, Senior Research Fellow at the Institute of East Asian Studies, Universiti Malaysia Sarawak (UNIMAS), Kota Samarahan, Sarawak.

Paolo Maiullari was born in Como, Italy, but now lives in Switzerland. His wife, Junita, is a great granddaughter of Cilik Riwut, the first governor of Central Kalimantan, and a niece of Kusni Sulang, the professor, writer and Ngaju Dayak poet. Now part of a Ngaju family, he and his wife have set up the Borneo Indonesian Art Gallery in Switzerland, specializing in Ngaju Dayak art and culture (www.borneogallery.ch).

Dr. Vernon L. Porritt is currently Visiting Research Associate at Murdoch University, Western Australia. Before embarking on an academic career, Dr. Porritt was a government servant in Sarawak during the closing years of British rule and the first years of

independence, serving as General Manager of the Sarawak Electricity Corporation (previously, Company) from 1956 to 1969. He has written five books on Sarawak and a number of papers, journal articles, and memorials, his most recent book being *The Rise and Fall of Communism in Sarawak 1940-1990*, Monash University Press, 2004.

F. Andrew Smith is Professor Emeritus at the University of Adelaide, South Australia. Originally trained as a plant biologist, his research interests since the mid-1990s have centered primarily on the history and ecology of Borneo, especially West Kalimantan. He is a member of the Borneo Research Council and a frequent contributor to the *BRB*.

Herwig Zahorka, MSc, is a German forestry scientist who has worked for his government in Thailand, Malaysia, Pakistan, Ethiopia, and most extensively in Indonesia (Kalimantan and Sumatra). He has written three books on Indonesia and more than one hundred articles, mostly on ethnography, history, archaeology, ethnobotany, and ecology (focused primarily on Kalimantan and Siberut). This is his third contribution to the *BRB*. Since his retirement he has lived in Indonesia.

MEMORIALS

NEGARA BRUNEI DARUSSALAM: OBITUARIES 2004

Introduction

The obituaries appearing here deal not only with Bruneians, but also with foreigners who have had some connection with the sultanate. The domestic death roll includes two *ceteria*, one distinguished diplomat, a retired air force officer, and a *menteri darat* ('land chief').

The two *ceteria* comprise, first, YAM Pengiran Lela Wijaya Pengiran Dato Seri Laila Jasa Haji Yussof bin Pengiran Mohd Limbang (1917-2004) and, secondly, Pengiran Jaya Perkasa Pengiran Anak Haji Mohamed Hassan bin Pengiran Sabtu Kemaluddin; the diplomat was Dato Paduka Malai Haji Ahmad Murad bin Syed Haji Mashor; the retired air force officer Kolonel Mohd Radin bin Datu Maharaja Setia Dian; and the *menteri darat* Orang Kaya Indera Perkasa Awang Haji Zulkeflee bin Abdullah.

The list of foreigners connected to Brunei who departed includes some important British diplomats and colonial service officers with direct connections with the sultanate, notably Sir John Peel, Mr. Eric Bevington, Dr. J. A. R. Anderson and Commander J. A. Davidson, whose combined careers in Brunei virtually furnish us with a history of the country for the first three decades after the Second World War. The NBD Government might well view with mixed feelings the demise of Tan Sri Khoo Teck Puat, who had proved to be a little too smart for anyone in Bandar Seri Begawan. The geologist Professor N. S. Haile also died.

Miscellaneous other personages are mentioned to round off the list. This category includes President Arafat and a host of British and Australasian diplomats and soldiers, particularly from the Confrontation Era, such as "Henry" Hall, the Duke of Devonshire, and Lord Hill-Norton, along with a former Director of the Special Air Service (SAS) Regiment.

The cut-off date is 20 November 2004.

Bruneians

YAM Pengiran Lela Wijaya Pengiran Dato Seri Laila Jasa Haji Yussof bin Pengiran Mohd Limbang (1917-2004) died on the morning of 14 *Jamadalakhir* 1425 (1 August 2004) to be survived by his widow, Pengiran Datin Hajjah Siti Hadizah binti PH Menudin. The marriage had been blessed with ten sons and five daughters (*PB* 4.8.2004: 16*). PLW Yussof was a prominent nobleman, Privy Councillor, and sometime nominated Legislative Councillor in the sultanate. The award of the title *YAM Pengiran Lela Wijaya* on 12 August 1972 admitted him to the ranks of the lesser *ceteria* (*WKNB* 9.9.1972: 364; *cf.* Brown 1970: 200, No 50). He was also decorated with the POAS in 1966 and the DSLJ in 1978.

Born at Kampong Kuala Sungai Sumbiling in Brunei Town in 1917, he was educated at Brunei Town Malay School and served in the Forestry Department before rising to become Assistant Minister of Social Welfare and Posts between 1965 and 1970. His other activities included membership in the Pilgrimage Advisory Council, the Municipal Council, and in the *Majlis Kemajuan* (Development Council). Alternative name spellings might be encountered, such as "Yusof" or "Yusoff"; and "Limbang" might be used instead of "Mohd Limbang."

Another of the lesser *ceteria*, **Pengiran Jaya Perkasa Pengiran Anak Haji Mohamed Hassan bin Pengiran Sabtu Kemaluddin DSLJ SNB PHBS PJK**, died on the evening of

8 October 2004 at the age of eighty-three (RTB, cited in *BBO* Sa.9.10.2004: h8.htm). During his early days of service with the government, he worked at the Workshop Unit of the Public Works Department before being employed as *Ketua Kampung* (Headman) of Kampong Bendahara Lama in Bandar Seri Begawan. He “was also a former member of [the] *Adat Istiadat* [Council]” (*BBO* Sa.9.10.2004: h8.htm). His decorations, besides those listed above, included the Long Service Medal and the Coronation Medal (according to *BBO* Sa.9.10.2004: h8.htm). “Hassan” is sometimes used instead of “Mohamed Hassan.”

The death of **Tuan Yang Terutama Dato Paduka Malai Haji Ahmad Murad bin Syed Haji Mashor**, Ambassador of NBD to the United Arab Emirates from August 2001, had to be deduced from an application for probate dated 25 February 2004 by his widow, Datin Hajjah Rafeah binti Dato Haji Md Yassin, published in *Pelita Brunei* (*Iklan* section) on 17 March 2004 (page 7, column three, paragraph 6). The exact date of death is not given. The last reference I have for him as Ambassador to the UAE is *PBA* 13.8.2003: 9; his successor, TYT Awang Haji Adanan Zainal, was appointed in April 2004 (*GBOW ON* Tu.13.4.2004).

Born in 1943, Dato Ahmad Murad was educated at Al-Azhar University, where he received a Bachelor of Arts degree in Islamic Law, Birmingham University (Diploma of Education), and at the University of Oxford (diplomatic course). He joined government service in 1971, initially as a lecturer at the Hassanal Bolkiah Arab Secondary School (*PB* 13.8.1997: 1). He succeeded Dato Haji Othman Bidin as Principal of the Seri Begawan Sultan Teacher Training College in 1975 (*Brunei Annual Report 1975*: 274). Switching to the diplomatic corps in 1981 (*PB* 13.8.1997: 1), he was a Senior Administrative Officer at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs between 1981 and 1984 (*PB* 13.3.1996: 4). He then became Ambassador to Egypt (1984-1986) and to Saudi Arabia (1987-1989), before being appointed to posts in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Bandar Seri Begawan, first as Director of the Political Department and then as Director of Administration (*Pengarah Pentadbiran*). This was followed by Ambassadorships in the Philippines (1993-1996) and Japan (1997-2001), sandwiched by a spell as High Commissioner in Canberra (1996-1997). A member of HM Sultan Hassanal Bolkiah’s entourage during the *haj* of 1987 (Abdul Aziz Juned 1990: 10), his awards included the DPMB, Order of the Republic, PIKB (Abdul Aziz Juned 1990: 10), with the PKL following in 1996 (*PBA* 24.1.1996: 7). He was presented with his letters of appointment as NBD Ambassador to the UAE by HM Sultan Bolkiah in a ceremony held at the Istana Nurul Iman on 15 August 2001 (*PBA* 22.8.2001: 4). The name variations “Masshor” and “Mashore” might be encountered.

Orang Kaya Indera Perkasa Awang Haji Zulkeflee bin Abdullah died at the age of sixty-four on 4 January 2004 at his home in *Skim Tanah Kurnia Rakyat Jati* Lorong Tiga Selatan. His funeral was held in Seria on 5 January 2004 (*BBO* Tu.6.1.2004: h8.htm). Appointed headman of Lorong Tiga in October 1992, he was appointed *Orang Kaya Indera Perkasa* in May 1996 (*PB* 5.6.1996: 16). This is a title held by *menteri darat* (land chiefs) in Belait District (Brown 1970: 205). “Zulkeflee” appears in various alternative forms, such as “Zolkeeflee,” “Zolkeflee,” “Zolkiflee,” and “Zulkifli.” The application for probate by his widow, Hajjah Kasmah binti Abdullah, reveals that he was a convert to Islam, originally known as Numba bin Elai (*PBI* 20.10.2004: 3a #2).

Kolonel Mohd Radin bin Datu Maharaja Setia Dian, a retired officer of the Royal Brunei Air Force, was killed in a road accident on the evening of 21 February 2004 at the age of fifty-four (*BBO* Th.26.2.2004: h35.htm). He had been run over by a car along the highway

near Kampong Madang when he was on his way home from Muharram prayers at the Jame Asr' Hassanil Bolkihah in Kiarong (*BBO* M.23.2.2004: h10.htm). He was buried at the Muslim cemetery near the said mosque on the morning of 22 February 2004 (*BBO* M.23.2.2004: h10.htm). A former Deputy Commander of the Royal Brunei Air Force doubling as Officer Commanding Training Branch (*PB* 4.1.1995: 14), he had ended his career as a military attaché at the NBD Embassy in Indonesia (*BBO* M.23.2.2004: h10.htm).

Foreigners

Dato Sir John Peel, Mr. Eric Bevington, Dr. Robb Anderson, and Commander James Davidson are taken in chronological order of their appearance in Borneo. Their combined obituary provides us with a thumbnail sketch of the history of Brunei from 1946 until 1978, whilst the career of Tan Sri Khoo Teck Puat takes us forward into the 1980s. Mention is also made of Mr. Nigel Nicolson and Professor N.S. Haile.

Dato Setia Sir William John Peel MA Cantab (1912-2004) was British Resident in Brunei (1946-1948) upon the resumption of civilian administration after the Second World War. Peel, always helpful to students of Brunei history, was also a member of a British Parliamentary delegation to the sultanate in 1959. Knighted in 1973, he also held two Brunei datoships, the DSNB 1971 (*WKNB* 25.8.1973: 401) and the DSLJ 1969 (*WKNB* 26.12.1970: 316). Sir John, who died at his London home on 8 May 2004 aged ninety-one, was survived by his widow, three daughters (Joanna, Alethea, and Lynda), one son (Quentin), and various grandchildren and great-grandchildren. The family funeral was due to take place at Putney Crematorium on 18 May 2004 (*DTM*.12.5.2004: 24h #8ff). A wealthy gentleman, he left an estate valued at £681,057 net (*DT Sa*.7.8.2004: 22c #3).

Born on 16 June 1912, he was the son of Sir William Peel KCMG KBE (1875-1945), who rose to become Chief Secretary of the Federated Malay States and then Governor of Hong Kong ("a dignified personage unlikely to cause nervousness at Whitehall," Welsh 1994: 390). In 1936 W. J. Peel married Rosemary Mia Minka Redhead. Educated at Wellington and Queen's College, Cambridge (*DT W*.12.5.2004: 25*), he served in the Colonial Administrative Service from 1933 until 1951, including three years as a prisoner of the Japanese (1942-1945), and ending as Resident Commissioner, Gilbert and Ellice Islands (1949-1951).

"Within six months of returning home [from Japanese POW camp], Peel was appointed British resident in the sultanate of Brunei, then a British protectorate. It was regarded as an auspicious sign that a mango tree in the residency's grounds flowered for the first time since the Japanese occupation. While in Brunei he became friendly with Omar Ali Saifuddin, father of the present Sultan, who later made a point of summoning old friends to his personal suite at the Dorchester; in 1969 he made Peel an honorary member of the Brunei nobility [*sic*]" (*DT W*.12.5.2004: 25*).

Peel was Member of Parliament for Leicester South-East constituency between 1957 and 1974. A parliamentary private secretary from 1958 until 1960, he was an Assistant Government Whip in 1960-1961 and a Lord Commissioner of the Treasury from November 1961 until the Conservative Party lost power in October 1964. Among his many later appointments, Sir John was a Member of the British Delegation to the European Parliament in Straßburg in 1973-1974, a Member of Council of the Victoria League for Commonwealth Friendship from 1974 until 1983, and honorary Director of the Conservative Party's

International Office in 1975-1976 (*WW 2002*: 1668). Sir John was the last-surviving former British Resident of Brunei by the time of his death, albeit not the longest-lived; that distinction belonged to his immediate successor, Mr. L. H. N. Davis CMG, who died on 16 June 2003 at the age of ninety-four (*DT W.18.6.2003*: 24f #4ff).

Eric Raymond Bevington CMG CEng MIMechE (1914-2004), who departed this life on Friday 30 April 2004, had been Commissioner of Development in Brunei between 1954 and 1958, when he was responsible for the implementation of the first National Development Plan. He was acting British Resident for a few weeks from 18 December 1955 until 11 January 1956 whilst J. O. Gilbert was on leave (*BGG 31.1.1956*, *BGG 29.2.1956*). He also doubled on occasion as Controller of Civil Aviation (*BGG 31.12.1954*). A volume of his memoirs, *The Things We Do For England*, appeared in 1990; a manuscript version, dated 1970, is held at Rhodes House Library in Oxford.

Educated at Cambridge University, Mr. Bevington worked for HM Overseas Service for twenty-six years between 1937 and 1963, originally in the Gilbert and Ellice Islands. Much of his career was spent in Fiji, where he became a District Officer in 1942 and an Administrative Officer in 1950. In 1951 he was appointed Assistant Colonial Secretary (Development) there. After leaving Brunei he returned to Fiji as Finance Secretary (1958-1961) and then as Commissioner of Development (1962-1963). He had spent an interval in Nigeria (1945-1946) as Secretary of the Commission of Enquiry into cost of living allowances. Back in the United Kingdom, Mr. Bevington served as Senior Housing and Planning Inspector at the Department of the Environment (1970-1978) and as a member of the New Forest District Council (1979-1983). Husband, father, grandfather and great-grandfather, his funeral was held at Burley Parish Church on 14 May 2004 (*DT M.10.5.2004*: 22e #6).

Dr. James Aidan Robb Anderson OBE MC PBS (1922-2004), who died on 25 May 2004 (*Sarawak Association Newsletter 2004*: 3), was a member of the Sarawak Civil Service for two decades (1951-1971), acting as State Forest Officer in Brunei between in 1956-1957 whilst B. E. Smythies was on leave. As Deputy Conservator of Forests in Sarawak, he visited Brunei, for example on 1 February 1966 (*Brunei Annual Report 1966*: 89). His doctoral thesis on "The Ecology and Forest Types of the Peat Swamp Forests of Sarawak and Brunei in relation to their Silviculture" was accepted by the University of Edinburgh in 1961.

Born at Bamburgh in Northumberland (England) on 11 July 1922, Robb Anderson was educated at Durham School and gave distinguished war service (MC and bar) with the Black Watch in the Second World War. After demobilization in 1946, he studied forestry at Edinburgh University and undertook post-graduate research in Finland. He joined the Colonial Office in 1951 and was immediately posted to Sarawak. In 1972 he founded a private forestry consultancy with David Marsden, and in this capacity, "he conducted the first full survey of the forests of Brunei, commissioned by the Sultan of Brunei. This was to be his last major achievement before the contraction of Weil's Disease forced his early retirement in 1984." He is survived by his widow, Anne, whom he married in 1963, and by three sons (*DT 21.6.2004*: 21).

Commander James Alfred Davidson OBE RN (1922-2004) was British High Commissioner in Brunei in the mid-1970s (1974-1978), when he took part in negotiations for a new Brunei-UK Treaty, eventually signed on 7 January 1979, sometime after he left Bandar Seri Begawan. He also wrote articles about the sultanate, such as "Postal Services in

Brunei's Water Town" (*Brunei Museum Journal* 1976) and "Brunei Coinage" (*BMJ* 1977). He was a Fellow of the Royal Numismatic Society.

Educated at Christ's Hospital and at the Royal Navy College in Dartmouth, Commander Davidson served with the Royal Navy for more than twenty years (1939-1960), including spells in the Far East during the Pacific War and again during the 1950s (*BMJ* 1977: x). Called to the Bar at Middle Temple in 1960, he joined the Commonwealth Relations Office that same year. He served as British High Commissioner in Dacca (1972-1973) and as Governor of the British Virgin Islands (1978-1981). After retirement from the diplomatic service, he became, among other things, a Visiting Fellow at the Centre for International Studies, London School of Economics (1982-1984) and Chairman of the Pensions Appeals Tribunals (1984-1995) (*WW* 1998: 492).

Davidson died on 8 May 2004 at the age of eighty-two. He is survived by his widow (Daphne), four children (Duncan, Gavin, Caroline, and Emma), and a multitude of grandchildren (*DT* Tu.11.5.2004: 22e #4). His photograph appears in the *Brunei Annual Report 1975*, facing page 360.

Tan Sri Khoo Teck Puat (1917-2004) was born in Singapore on 13 January 1917 and died on 21 February 2004, by which time, reportedly with a little help from the now-defunct National Bank of Brunei, he had amassed a fortune estimated at £1,500m (137th richest person in the world, according to *Forbes* magazine). The Khoo family were "involved, from 1965, in the setting up and running of the National Bank of Brunei. But in 1986 it was alleged that they had siphoned off more than £300 million from the bank by means of undocumented and unsecured loans to private investment companies. Khoo Teck Puat was never charged, but in later years he adopted a lower profile in the business world." Despite the alleged scandal, "Khoo retained the admiration of his South-East Asian peers as a supremely shrewd investor and trader: he put his own success down to luck, timing and a knack of spotting undervalued assets no one else wanted to buy" (*DT* Tu.2.3.2004: 23*).

He was the son of Khoo Yan Thin, a rice merchant, landowner and stakeholder in several small Hokkien banks amalgamated in 1933 to form the Overseas Chinese Banking Corporation (OCBC). Educated at St. Joseph's Institution, Khoo Teck Puat joined OCBC as a clerk shortly after its formation, rising to becoming deputy general manager by the time he left in 1959. A founder of Malayan Bank in Kuala Lumpur, he was pushed out after Singapore separated from Malaysia in 1965. He then took over some of Malayan Bank's assets in Singapore, including a hotel. Meanwhile, he had been a Senator in Malaysia during the years 1964-1965. In 1986 he acquired a 13.5% stake in Standard Chartered Bank and helped to block a hostile takeover bid by Lloyds Bank. A prominent philanthropist, he had two wives (both of whom predeceased him) and fourteen children (*DT* Tu.2.3.2004: 23*).

This is a suitable place, perhaps, to remember **Nigel Nicolson** MBE (1917-2004), a co-founder in 1949 of the publishing firm of Weidenfeld and Nicolson, whose catalogue includes Lord Chalfont's biography of HM Sultan Hassanal Bolkiah (*By God's Will*, 1989). Nicolson died on *Hari Guru* (23 September) 2004.

Finally, **Professor Dr. Neville Seymour Haile** (1928-2004) died on 20 June 2004 (*Sarawak Association Newsletter* 2004: 3). Born in the United Kingdom in 1928, and educated at the University of Oxford, he worked for the British Borneo Geological Survey for fifteen years between 1949 and 1964, when he was appointed Professor of Geology at the University of Malaya (*JMBRAS* 1975/1: 134). A Memorial Service was due to be held at St.

Andrew's Church, Oxford, on 29 June 2004 (*DT W.23.6.2004: 24f #11ff*).

Other Foreigners

This section includes sundry British and Australasian diplomats and military men, but begins with a Palestinian leader with connections to Negara Brunei Darussalam.

President "Yasser Arafat" (1929-2004), *nom de guerre* of Mohammed Abed Ar'ouf Arafat, President of the Executive Committee, Palestine Liberation Organisation (Al Fatah) from 1968, was born on 24 August 1929. He visited NBD in July 1984, when he was granted an audience with HM Sultan Hassanal Bolkiah. He also held an unofficial meeting with HRH the Pengiran Perdana Wazir at the twelfth Non-aligned Movement Summit in Durban in early September 1998 (*PB 9.9.1998: 5*). Known to his supporters as "Abu Amar," Mr. Arafat died in Paris on 11 November 2004 (*BBC R4 News, Th.11.11.2004: 0730h GMT*); his funeral in Cairo, on 12 November 2004 (*BBC R4 News, F.12.11.2004: 0855h GMT*), was attended by HM Sultan Hassanal Bolkiah and HRH the Perdana Wazir, who had both been performing the *umrah* at the time (*GBOW ONF.12.11.2004*). "Allahyarham will be fondly remembered by Bruneians as the leader and hero of the Palestinians and their struggle for an independent state of Palestine," Radio-Televisyen Brunei reported. "Many Bruneians had the chance to meet him when he made a short trip to Bandar Seri Begawan twenty years ago" (cited in *BBO F.12.11.2004: h3.htm*).

Of diplomats, mention might quickly be made, first, of **Sir Horace Phillips** KCMG (1917-2004), who was Ambassador of the United Kingdom to Indonesia from 1966 to 1968 (*DT F.26.3.2004: 29**). Secondly, the **eleventh Duke of Devonshire** (1920-2004), a major grandee who died on 3 May 2004 (*DT W.5.5.2004: 25**), served (1960-1964) as a minister in Macmillan's government "first as parliamentary undersecretary, then as Minister of State for Commonwealth Relations and later as Minister of State for Colonial Affairs" (*DT W.5.5.2004: 25**). Thirdly, **Lieutenant-General Sir John Charles Chisholm Richards** KCB KCVO (1927-2004) was Marshal of the Diplomatic Corps in the United Kingdom between 1982 and 1992. As such, he escorted TYT Pengiran Haji Mustapha bin Pengiran Metassan (NBD High Commissioner to the UK) when the latter presented his letters of credence to HM the Queen at Buckingham Palace on 20 November 1990 (*PB 19.12.1990: 11*). He was also present at a reception in London in February 1992 marking NBD's eighth national day (*PB 29.4.1992: 11*). He died on 5 October 2004 in Aix-en-Provence (*DT Tu.18.10.2004: 22f #8*).

Quite a few persons connected with the Confrontation Era have departed the scene. Let us start with the diplomat **Harold Percival Hall** CMG MBE (1913-2004), known as "Henry," a "Colonial Office 'troubleshooter' who travelled widely to ease the winding down of the Empire" (*DT Th.18.11.2004: 31**). For four decades, the report continues, "he served in the Indian Army and the Indian Political Service; he was a Colonial Office official and deputy high commissioner for Eastern Malaysia, Kuching and Sarawak [*sic*]." He was secretary to the Commonwealth Royal Commission on Malaysia's constitution, when "the Indonesians attacked Brunei [*sic*]. To the astonishment of all, Hall had an amiable working relationship with the fiery Major-General Walter Walker, in charge of the Borneo operations, thanks to their earlier acquaintance in India."

A veritable platoon of military personnel reached "the last post" during 2004 (or late 2003). First to be mentioned is **Group Captain "Bill" Sise** (1917-2003), a "Beaufighter pilot

who enjoyed a reputation as a 'ship buster' for leading torpedo attacks on German convoys" during the Second World War, and also served at the headquarters of the Far East Air Force in Singapore between June 1960 and September 1963. A New Zealander born on 22 January 1917, he died on 23 December 2003 (*DT W.18.2.2004: 25**).

Secondly, **Wing Commander George Walter "Johnnie" Johnson** (1923-2004) was born on 8 January 1923 and died on 28 July 2004. In February 1962 "he was appointed to command the Operations Wing at RAF Tengah, Singapore, the home of four RAF squadrons of Hunters, Javelins and Canberras and a RNZAF bomber squadron. In November 1963 [thus] the generally even tenor of station life overseas was interrupted by the 'confrontation' with Indonesia. With detachments of his squadrons in Malaysia, Kuching and Labuan [*sic*], Johnson had a hectic time, commenting that 'confrontation' became 'a way of life, never reaching a climax but causing a good deal of frustration, proving that 'action stations' with no subsequent action is extremely debilitating'" (*DT Tu.14.9.2004: 23**). Serving with the RAF from 1941 until 1969 and then with Hawker Siddeley Aviation marketing team (1969-1988), he wrote a memoir, *Three Greens* (2000), and is survived by a daughter.

Thirdly, **Lord Hill-Norton** GCB (1915-2004), Freeman of the City of London, was Second in Command, Far East Fleet (1964-1966) and in 1969 "went back to the "Far East" for a while as Commander-in-Chief. He was the author of *No Soft Options*, published in 1978 (*DT W.19.5.2004: 25**).

Fourthly, **Lieutenant-General Sir John Peter Barry Condliffe Watts** Kt CB CBE MC. (1930-2003), born on 27 August 1930, died on 10 December 2003. Educated at the élite Westminster School and Sandhurst, he served with the world's most famous regiment (22 SAS) in Malaya (1955-1957) and then in Borneo (1964-1965) during the "Confrontation" era. "The task of maintaining surveillance along nine hundred miles of border, combined with carrying out cross-border raids to damage the enemy's forward bases, had overstretched the regiment, and another squadron was essential. Watts raised and trained 'B' Squadron and, within a few months, it was not only fully operational but was the first unit to be allowed to penetrate up to six miles into enemy territory — three times the previous limit — in a conflict which became public knowledge only a decade later." In a distinguished military career Watts rose to become Director of the SAS (1975-1978) before moving to Arabia, where he became Commander of the Sultan of Oman's Land Forces between 1979 and 1984 (*DT M.15.12.2003: 27**).

Fifthly, **Marshal of the RAF Sir John Grandy** GCVO GCB KBE CB DSO (1913-2004), born on 8 February 1913, was involved immediately after the Second World War in the evacuation of civilians during the fighting in the Dutch East Indies. His "appointment in 1965 as the Commander-in-Chief of Far East Command during the period of confrontation with Indonesia gave him responsibility for the three British services and several Commonwealth countries" (*DT Tu.6.1.2004: 25**). Grandy subsequently became Governor of Gibraltar (1973-1978) and then Constable of Windsor Castle for ten years. He died on 2 January 2004.

Sixthly, **Major-General Simon Lytle** (1940-2004), who ended his career as Director of [UK] Army Aviation (1992-1995), "had been attracted to helicopter flying following his command of the Faughs' Air Platoon on operations in Borneo." Born on 1 October 1940 at Weybridge, he died on 17 October 2004, to be survived by a widow and three sons (*DT Th.11.11.2004: 25**).

Finally, **Air Chief Marshal Sir David Lee** GBE CB, who was born on 11 September 1912, and died on 13 February 2004, might be noted here as the author of an official history, *Eastbound: A History of the RAF in the Far East* (1984) (DT W.18.2.2004: 24f #5).

Symbols, Abbreviations, and Sources

*monochrome photograph.

#paragraph.

24f #11 fpage 24, column six; paragraph eleven from foot of page.

BAR, *Brunei Annual Report*.

BBC R4, British Broadcasting Corporation, Radio Four.

BBO, *Borneo Bulletin* (online).

BGG, *Brunei Government Gazette*.

BMJ, *Brunei Museum Journal*.

Brown 1970, D. E. Brown, *Brunei: The Structure and History of a Bornean Malay Sultanate* (Brunei Museum, 1970).

BST, British Summer Time.

CB, Companion of the Order of the Bath.

CBE, Commander of the Order of the British Empire.

CEng, Chartered Engineer.

CMG, Companion of the Order of St Michael and St George.

DPMB, *Darjah Seri Paduka Mahkota Brunei Yang Amat Mulia, Darjah Kedua* / Crown of Brunei Order, second class (carrying the title *Dato Paduka*). Note that when an Awang Haji is awarded the DPMB, his new title becomes Dato Paduka Awang Haji; but when a Pengiran Haji receives the same award he is known as Pengiran *Dato Paduka* Haji (emphasis added).

DSLJ, *Dato Seri Laila Jasa*.

DSNB, *Dato Setia Negara Brunei* / Order of Setia Negara Brunei, instituted 1959, second class; carries title *Dato Setia*.

DSO, Companion of the Distinguished Service Order (UK).

DT, *The Daily Telegraph* (London).

fffrom foot (of page).

GBE, Knight/Dame Grand Cross of the British Empire.

GBOW ON, Government of Brunei Darussalam Official Website, online news.

GCB, Knight Grand Cross of the Bath.

GCVO, Knight/Dame Grand Cross of the Royal Victorian Order.

GMT, Greenwich Mean Time.

JMBRAS, *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Kuala Lumpur).

KBE, Knight Commander of the Order of the British Empire.

KCB, Knight Commander of the Order of the Bath.

KCMG, Knight Commander of the Order of St. Michael and St. George.

KCVO, Knight Commander of the Royal Victorian Order.

Kt, Knight Bachelor (i.e., a knight not belonging to any particular order of chivalry).

MBE, Member of the Order of the British Empire.

MC, Military Cross.

MIMechE, Member of the Institution of Mechanical Engineers.

NBD, Negara Brunei Darussalam (1984-); previously known as Brunei.
OBE, Officer of the Order of the British Empire.
PB, *Pelita Brunei* (Bandar Seri Begawan).
PBA, *Pelita Brunei* (Aneka section).
PBI, *Pelita Brunei* (Iklan section).
PBS, *Pegawai Bintang Sarawak* / Officer of the Order of the Star of Sarawak.
PHBS, *Pingat Hassanal Bolkiah Sultan* / Sultan Hassanal Bolkiah (Coronation) Medal (est. 1968).
PIKB, *Pingat Indah Kerja Baik* / Meritorious Service Medal.
PJK, *Pingat Jasa Kebaktian* / Loyal Service Medal.
PKL, *Pingat Kerja Lama* / Long Service Medal.
POAS, *Pingat Omar Ali Saifuddin III* / Sultan Omar Ali Saifuddin III Medal.
RAF, Royal Air Force.
RN, Royal Navy (UK).
RNZAF, Royal New Zealand Air Force.
RTB, *Radio-Televisyen Brunei*.
SNB, *Darjah Setia Negara Brunei Yang Amat Bahagia, Darjah Ketiga* / Setia Negara Brunei Order, third class.
TYT, *Tuan Yang Terutama* / His Excellency.
Welsh 1994, Frank Welsh, *A History of Hong Kong* (HarperCollins Publishers, London, pbk, 1994; first published in 1993).
WKNB, *Warta Kerajaan Negeri Brunei* / State of Brunei Government Gazette.
WW, *Who's Who* (London).
YAM, *Yang Amat Mulia* (used for nobles, i.e. high-ranking *pengiran*).

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RESEARCH NOTES

IBANIC LANGUAGES IN KALIMANTAN BARAT, INDONESIA: EXPLORING NOMENCLATURE, DISTRIBUTION AND CHARACTERISTICS

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Introduction

Iban, spoken as a first language by hundreds of thousands of people in Sarawak, Brunei, Sabah and western Kalimantan and as a second language by scores of thousands more,¹ has long been an object of scholarly research. For more than 150 years, wordlists, dictionaries, grammars, harvest chants, bible translations, comic books, novels, and school primers have been published from Nottingham to Bombay and Kanowit.² The Iban community's strong demographic profile, political importance

¹ As the language of Sarawak's largest ethnic community, with more than 600,000 first-language speakers, Iban is a very influential language in many areas. Along the upper reaches of the Saribas and Lupar Rivers, for example, many Malay and Chinese grow up bilingual in Iban and their home languages; see Collins (2000a). On the Rejang River, the Iban language is used in Catholic church services in Kejaman-speaking villages (Collins 2001a). As early as 1911, even along the Limbang River, far from the traditional centers of Iban influence, Iban was used by Lun Dayeh and Kelabit speakers (Moulton 1912), a phenomenon recently observed by Jayl Langub (personal communication, 21 September 2000). No accurate count of Sarawakians who speak Iban as a second or third language has ever been conducted; see Collins (2000a, 2000c) on the use of Iban among non-Iban Sarawakians. It is interesting to note the existence of an Iban language handbook published in Mandarin (Sim 1965), which suggests the generally perceived importance of Iban.

² In 1958, Cense and Uhlenbeck published an impressive list of publications in and about Iban. And, the past 40 years have seen a remarkable increase in such materials. When they wrote their bibliography, Scott's 1956 dictionary was the latest lexicographic contribution, but since then Richards (1981), Ngadi (1989) and Sutlive & Sutlive (1994) have enriched that tradition. No comprehensive grammar of Iban had been written 40 years ago, but today we can refer to Asmah (1981) and Steinmayer (1999). Numerous Iban textbooks, novels and short stories have appeared along with the publication of traditional literature and a wide range of church materials, including the complete Bible, *Bup Kudus* (Bible Society 1997), as of 1997 already in its sixth printing, and a comic book version of the gospels published in Bombay (Pai 1984). Moreover, *Bup bacha hari Minggu* (Komiti 1983, 1984, 1994), the complete three-

and easy accessibility to English-speaking westerners have ensured its status as one of the few Austronesian languages of Malaysia that has been studied in considerable detail.³

Although the Iban communities of Sarawak comprise the largest ethnic group in the state with a population of more than 600,000 (Sather 2004), across the border in Kalimantan Barat the number of ethnic Ibans is rather small⁴ and the distribution of Iban communities often displays a pattern of pockets or enclaves distant from each other. On the other hand, communities that speak languages and dialects closely related to Iban comprise a significant percentage of Kalimantan Barat's population with patterns of distribution that suggest a lengthy settlement history and processes of internal diversification.

The existence of these language variants that are closely related to Iban has long been known. For example, Van Kessel (1850: 183) wrote about the movement of at least 2000 Kantuk Dayaks ("*de Dajaksche stam Kantoh*") to the Selimbau area. Cense and Uhlenbeck (1958: 12-13) mentioned only Iban and Mualang, but, in fact, western Kalimantan (Kalimantan Barat, Indonesia) has a large population of speakers of diverse language variants that must be classified in the same sub-branch as Iban. These include (among other named variants) Mualang, Kantuk, Desa, Seberuang and Ketungau, most of which are spoken along the mighty Kapuas River and its upriver tributaries and wetlands.

Among these, only Mualang has been studied to some extent, particularly by D. Dunselman (1950, 1955). A small monograph about Kantuk (Yoseph 1992) was published in Jakarta and a large Kantuk dictionary lies unpublished in Pontianak (Kadir 1991). Rahim (1997) undertook a preliminary comparative study of Iban, Mualang and Kantuk and has published a few short articles on related topics, for example, Rahim (1998). There is also a brief study of reduplication in Iban spoken in Kalimantan Barat (Mustafa 1990). The anthropologist M. Dove (1985, 1988 and elsewhere) has provided insightful analyses of Kantuk ethnolinguistics; another anthropologist, R. Wadley (1994, 1999, 2000 and other writings) has written extensively about the Iban communities of Indonesia. But, by and large, very few linguistic studies of the language variants closely related to Iban that are spoken in Indonesia have been undertaken.

year cycle of Catholic liturgy, is now in its second edition. We should also note the enormous popularity of Iban-language films and song collections, especially those distributed in CD format.

³ Even before the many ambitious projects organized and sponsored by the Tun Jugah Foundation (see Editor's Note), the study of Iban has far exceeded mere wordlists and dictionaries. Iban oral literature, in particular, has attracted the attention of western scholars since the 19th century; see Collins 1989a.

⁴ Wadley (2000: 44-45) estimated the total Iban population in the Kapuas Lakes and nearby areas at about 9,600 in 1995. This is the largest concentration of ethnic Ibans in Kalimantan Barat.

Drawing on recent research conducted by staff of both The Institute of the Malay World and Civilization (Pontianak Field Office) of Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia (UKM) and Institut Dayakologi (Pontianak) as well as published sources, in particular Wurm and Hattori (1983), the names of these “Ibanic” groups and their distribution across Indonesian Borneo will be considered. Because of this paucity of information about the closest congeners of Iban, this brief and very preliminary description of the linguistic characteristics of some of these Ibanic languages, for example, Ketungau Sesat, Desa and Mualang, will be touched upon. This essay will discuss the term “Ibanic,” provide some background information about some of the Ibanic communities of Kalimantan Barat and describe some of the Ibanic variants there within the family of Iban-like variants. The opportunities for further research will become immediately obvious.

1. Iban and Ibanic

More than thirty-five years ago, A. B. Hudson began his fieldwork in southern Borneo, focusing on the culture of the Ma’anjan community. He also collected limited wordlists of more than twenty-five language variants in that part of Borneo. In Hudson (1967), some of these wordlists were used to propose a classification of the variants spoken in the Barito River Basin. In that essay, Hudson dealt with the names ascribed to the various ethnic groups in the region. He discussed at some length the use of the terms “Dayak” and “Malay.” Nonetheless, Hudson followed an established tradition of using “Dayak” as a term to refer to languages not “shown to have closer affiliations to languages indigenous to regions outside Borneo than it has to other Borneo languages.” Hudson followed Cense and Uhlenbeck (1958) in using “Malay” as a term “to indicate languages more closely related to those of the Malaya-South Sumatra region than to other indigenous Borneo languages.”

In 1969-1970, Hudson conducted a linguistic survey of Borneo’s indigenous languages based on fieldwork in Sarawak and Kalimantan Barat, with funding from the American Council of Learned Societies. He collected at least thirty-five 330-item wordlists of Bidayuhic (“Land Dayak”), Malayic and Tamanic variants spoken in western Borneo. The results of his fieldwork in Sarawak and Kalimantan Barat, as reported in Hudson (1970), persuaded him to refine the Malay-Dayak dichotomy he had proposed in Hudson (1967). In doing so, Hudson introduced a large number of terms — some useful, some obfuscatory — that have persisted in the field of Borneo linguistics.

First, Hudson had discovered that, contrary to popular nomenclature, Selako was not a “Land Dayak” language at all. Thus, in order to emphasize the linguistic cleavage between Selako and the many indigenous languages already labeled “Land Dayak,” Hudson introduced a new term, “Malayic Dayak,” to refer to variants “spoken by non-Moslem Dayaks, but which appear to be more closely related to Malay than to other Bornean languages.” So “Malayic Dayak” was meant to contrast with “Land Dayak” in the western Borneo area. He admitted that “Malayic Dayak was an “evil-sounding term” (Hudson 1970: 302) but he justified its use as an alternative

to Cense and Uhlenbeck's naming Iban a Malay dialect, which had "raised many local hackles."

Second, following from the term "Malayic Dayak," he introduced the term "Malayic, as a general term to refer to the various descendants of Proto-Malayic, such as Malay, Iban, Selako, and Minangkabau, wherever they occur."⁵ Thus, Malay and all its dialects belong to the same Austronesian branch as "Malayic Dayak"; that branch he named "Malayic." He emphasized that Iban was not "just another of the myriad Malay dialects to be found scattered around the archipelago.... Iban is, however, a close relative of Malay, one more like a first cousin than a delinquent child."

Third, it was in this article that Hudson (1970: 304) apparently introduced the term "Ibanic," although he did not provide very convincing evidence to justify this term. He wrote (1970: 306):

[M]embers of an Ibanic sub-group, comprising such isolects as Sebuyau, Mualang, Kantu', Seberuang, and the various related Iban dialects of Sarawak and Brunei, may be easily identified on the basis of the presence in word-final position in certain lexical forms of /-ai/ where cognates in other Malayic dialects exhibit /-an/, /-ang/, or, less frequently, /-ar/.

He gave seven examples of this "Ibanic" phenomenon: *bajalai* 'walk', *jalai* 'path', *makai* 'eat', *datai* 'come', *terbai* 'fly', *panjai* 'long' and *besai* 'large.'⁶

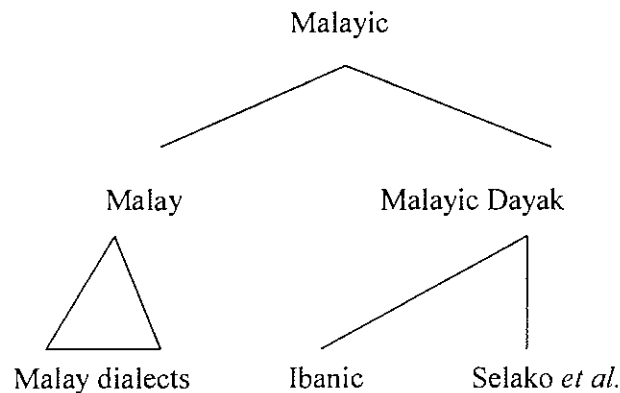
Although in 1970 Hudson (1970: 303) modestly acknowledged that his categories were "rough-hewn," "very general indeed," and "provisional," he repeated and affirmed all three of these terms in a later publication without any such modest posturing. Hudson (1978: 14-15, 18-19) used "Malayic Dayak," "Malayic" and "Ibanic" to categorize languages in his overview of linguistic relations among Bornean peoples. The internal relationships among these three named groups appears to be as follows in Figure 1.⁷

⁵ He also wanted to account for the existence in Borneo of Muslim groups who speak Dayak languages (such as the Bakumpai, already noted in Hudson 1967), so he provided the term "Islamic Dayak." But in Hudson (1978) he wisely dropped this cumbersome term.

⁶ These seven examples did not advance the diagnostic features for classifying Ibanic much beyond Van Kessel (1850: 166) who noted that in Ketungau and Kantuk there were words such as *bezai*, not *bezaar* 'big' (V. Kessel's spelling), *panjai*, not *panjang* 'long' and *lebai*, not *lebar* 'wide,' which characterized a group of Dayak languages he labeled "*Maleisch*."

⁷ Note that Hudson did not present his conclusions in tree diagram form. Figure 1 is my approximation based on Hudson's (1970, 1978) discussions; no misrepresentation is intended.

Figure 1. Malayic, Malayic Dayak and Ibanic (Hudson 1978)



All these groups and subgroups are considered by Hudson to be “exo-Bornean”—that is, not autochthonous to Borneo!⁸ He linked Iban and Selako to “Malaya-South Sumatra.” Indeed, many languages spoken by Dayaks are “exo-Bornean” — another cumbersome term introduced by Hudson (1978: 18). In any case, Hudson realized that there were no linguistic grounds for classifying all the languages spoken by Dayaks in a single category, although by making Dayak the headword of his compounds (“Malayic Dayak”) that is precisely the implied status of Dayak. Hudson introduced a nomenclature that is clearly illogical but curiously long-lived; see Adelaar’s (1992) use of the terminology.

In this paper the term “Malayic” is used to refer to all the languages that display the innovations listed by Adelaar (1992). The term “Ibanic” refers to that subgroup of Malayic language variants that display most of the features noted by Nothofer (1988) for Iban. Hudson’s term “Malayic Dayak” is explicitly rejected here and the internal relations among Malay, Ibanic, Selako/Kendayan and other Borneo languages closely related to Malay, such as Menterap, Mahap, Kendawang and Kayung, are considered undetermined.⁹ Hudson’s term “exo-Bornean” is also rejected because it rests on an unjustified premise that close relations to a language outside Borneo imply an origin outside Borneo (see Collins 1996).

There appears to be a large number of unstudied Ibanic variants with diverse names spoken in Kalimantan Barat. Hudson (1970: 304) told us that the Ibanic language spoken at Kampung Kedemba’ on the Ketungau River is known as Air Tabun. Hadi Kifly (personal communication, 25 January 2001), on the other hand, reported that other speakers on the Ketungau River refer to their (Ibanic) language as Bahasa

⁸ Hudson (1978: 18) wrote: “Exo-Bornean isolects are those that appear to have closer affinities to languages indigenous to regions outside Borneo than they do to other Bornean languages.”

⁹ However, see Collins (2003) for a tentative classification of Menterap.

Demam. L.H. Kadir (1991) listed Kantuk-speaking villages on the Ketungau. Apparently, as is often the case in Borneo, nomenclature is not so clear-cut; ambiguities and probably multiplicities persist. Wurm (1983, Sheet 42, Note 7) cited King (through Appell): “‘Ibanic’ (Ketungau) consists of a considerable number of sub-dialects spoken along the Ketungau River, i.e., Air Tabun, Sigarau, Seklau, Sekapat, Bugau, Banjur, Sebaru’, Demam and Maung.”

Although Hudson (1970) collected a Kantuk wordlist from a speaker from Kampung Sagin on the Suai River, Upper Kapuas, more than 800 km. from the coast at Pontianak, most Ibanic communities live further downriver. Some occupy niches in the swampy areas near the Kapuas Lakes region, about 500-600 km. from the coast between the Kapuas River and the border with Malaysia.¹⁰ Others, including the groups mentioned by Wurm, live on the Ketungau River. Diverse Ibanic groups, including Iban and Mualang communities, live further downriver on the Kapuas or its tributaries.

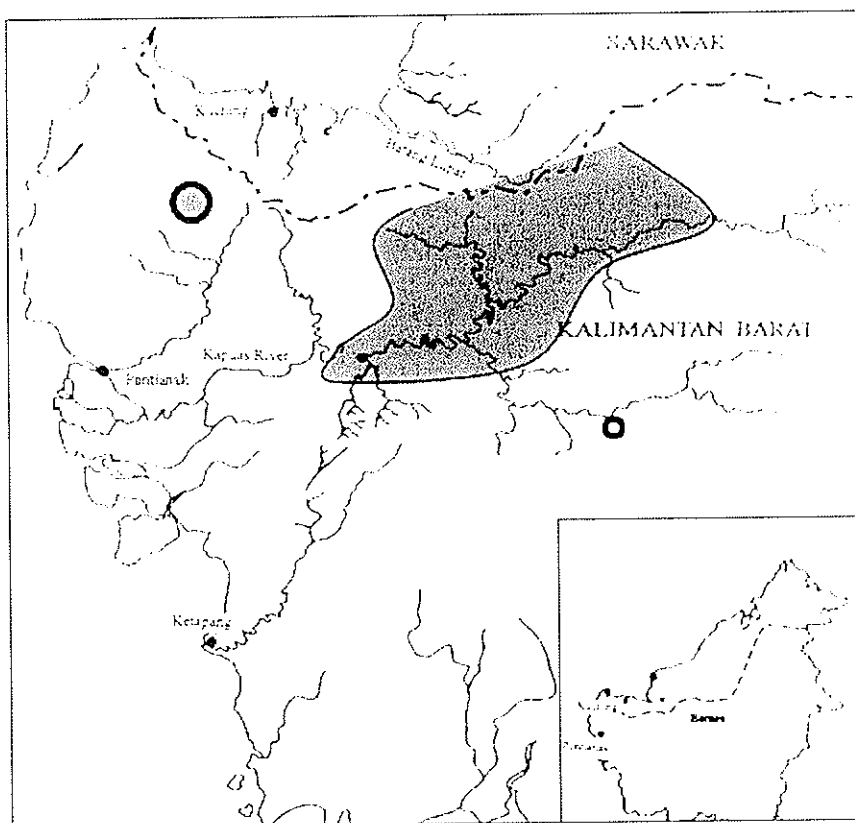
Some of these groups are small isolated communities surrounded by local majority non-Malay groups. For example, Sellato (1986) discussed the existence of a single community of 107 Iban speakers about 100-150 km. south of the Kapuas on the Menukung River, a tributary of the Melawi, the major branch of the Kapuas.¹¹ In the uppermost reaches of the Sambas River near Seluas, Albertus (2002) worked with two Iban speakers coming from a total of about 250 located in 2-3 villages completely surrounded by Bidayuhic speakers (both Bakati’ and Jagoi languages). See Map 1, where these Iban outliers appear as small circles far from each other and disconnected from other Ibanic communities as well. Another group of just 4000 Ibanic speakers, locally known as “Dayak Kedeh” lives in hamlets about 40-50 km. east of Balai Karangan near the international border (Sujarni 2002).

Other Ibanic groups, such as the Desa and Seberuang communities near Sintang on the Kapuas itself “are jumbled up” (King, cited in Wurm 1983) in complex settings of multilingualism; see also King (1974, 1976). Dove’s (1985, 1988) descriptions of the complex relationships that obtain between Iban and Kantuk speakers on the Kantuk River just south of Lubuk Hantu (Sarawak) reflect similar complex patterns of language use and social behavior. Moreover, apparently in the upper reaches of the Ketungau River near Senaning, several named Ibanic variants are spoken, including Iban, Sebaru’ and Bugau, with traditional multilingualism and intermarriages and marriages not only in Indonesia but in Malaysia as well (Demetrius, personal communication 13 June 2002).

Ibanic variants in Kalimantan Barat are spoken in a wide range of sociological settings. One of those settings, perhaps atypical, is the focus of the following section.

¹⁰ See Wadley (2000) for a detailed survey of this region. Moreover, Yusriadi (2004) reported that many Malays living far south of the Kapuas and not near any Ibanic groups acquire speaking knowledge of Iban as they pass through those northern lakes and streams en route to the lively trade along the Indonesian-Malaysian border.

¹¹ This seems to be the same group that was noted by Enthoven (1903: 452). On 1 January 1895, there were 265 Ibans mixed with (including?) Ransa Dayaks.



Map 1: The Approximate Distribution of Ibanic-Speaking Communities in Kalimantan Barat

2. Ibanic Communities: The Case of Ketungau Sesat

At the southwestern edge of the geographic region peopled by speakers of Iban and Iban-like language variants, in fact, just beyond the orange and dotted area circumscribed for such communities by Wurm and Hattori in their maps of Borneo (1983, Sheets 41 and 42)¹² lie numerous hamlets of “Ketungau” speakers. These communities project a rather different sociolinguistic profile compared to the various

¹² As has been noted often, Wurm and Hattori’s (1983) maps need numerous revisions. Although they represent a solid contribution to the world community’s knowledge about the Pacific area, including insular Southeast Asia, the research underpinning them is based on what scholars knew or could find out twenty years ago. Certainly, it is time for a thorough-going revision, now that more data and details are available.

situations noted above. They are not isolated from one another in small enclaves, nor (for the most part) are they “jumbled” with other groups. On the contrary, the majority of these Ibanic speakers know only their own language in a wide range of dialects (see Section 3 below) and local Sekadau Malay (plus standard Indonesian). Perhaps, by examining this peripheral, distant relative of Iban we can better understand the whole Ibanic family.

Along the lower reaches of the Sekadau River, a southerly tributary of the Kapuas River, about 300 kilometers upriver from the provincial capital, Pontianak, and also in some areas immediately to the west and east of the Sekadau Valley and on the northern side of the Kapuas across from the mouth of the Sekadau, are numerous hamlets and villages of “Ketungau” speakers. When I first began to study Ketungau, I was immediately informed that this language variant in the Sekadau area was “*Ketungau Sesat*,” that is ‘Ketungau Gone Astray,’ if you will. I was only slightly surprised because I had learned earlier in 1996 that the Sekadau River Basin boasts a number of *sesat* (‘stray’) language variants (Collins 1996-2002). By that time, I already had worked with speakers of “*Taman Sesat*” and “*Sawai Sesat*.”¹³ These were the terms used by the language informants themselves, but it is not clear whether they are endonyms, or merely exonyms that are tolerated by the “*sesat*” speakers. Each of these communities has oral traditions about ancestors who made the wrong turn, drifted too far, got left behind or simply went astray. Speakers usually emphasize that their language is not the same as the respective mainstream variants, spoken elsewhere in the province.

Indeed, about 100 km. further upriver from the mouth of the Sekadau River, the Ketungau River, noted repeatedly above, flows from the north into the Kapuas River. Along the Ketungau River there are groups of Ibanic speakers who sometimes are referred to as Ketungau speakers, that is, speakers of whatever named Ibanic languages are spoken in the Ketungau River.¹⁴ Thus, the Ketungau of Sekadau are

¹³ For example, the language spoken along the Taman River, a tributary of the Sekadau, and elsewhere in the Sekadau area, is a “*Taman Sesat*” variant; *Kami ini tiruan*, “We here are imitations” (Marselinus Siswandi, personal communication, 13 April 1996). Indeed, it is not related to the Taman language spoken in the headwaters of the Kapuas River, about 300-400 km. upriver from the Sekadau area. The Sekadau variant of Taman is a Malayic language, whereas the language spoken in the upriver Taman River is a Tamanic language (Hudson 1970, 1978). Another group living on tributaries of the Sekadau is known as the *Menterap Kabut*, that is, the ‘blurred Menterap.’ They comprise a small, widely dispersed ethnic group, that is *not* found on the Menterap River.

¹⁴ The “ethnolinguistic” map of the Ketungau River produced by Institut Dayakologi (Sujarni Alloy et al. 2000) as well as the report on languages in the Ketungau Basin written by Yovinus (2000) seem to simplify a language ecology that is far more complex according to King (Wurm 1983), Kadir (1991) and the informants that I personally interviewed. See Enthoven (1903) for a more detailed survey of the river valley.

peripheral in a geographical sense because they are located on the very southwesternmost fringe of the Ibanic territories, and also peripheral in a social sense because they do not speak the mainstream Ibanic variants. Moreover, they acknowledge that they are “*sesat*.” Whatever the linguistic and sociohistorical relationship between the “Ketungau” variants of the Ketungau River and of the Sekadau River, it is clear that the Sekadau variant of Ketungau can be identified as Ibanic, as will be seen in the following section.

Along the Sekadau River, the Ketungau Sesat speakers reportedly constitute the largest non-Malay group (Agum, personal communication, 24 January 2001). About 100 years ago, a colonial official, J. J. K. Enthoven (1903: 695-696), listed the Ketungau community as one of ten separate Dayak groups (“*stammen*”) on the Sekadau River. At that time, Ketungau was already the largest non-Malay community among the ten such “tribal” communities that Enthoven surveyed; he estimated the number of Ketungau at 2500 persons, or 30% of the total Dayak population of 8390 at that time.¹⁵

Traditionally, the Ketungau speakers in the Sekadau Valley are swidden rice farmers. But most recently they have succeeded as cattle breeders (and even cattle rustlers!). More striking is the fact that many work as day laborers in the new palm oil plantations planted in the flat stretches of the Sekadau River’s lower reaches. Moreover, most Ketungau hamlets are less than 20-30 km. from Sekadau Town, connected by roads and motorbike trails, and in some cases fairly regular public transportation services (local buses and *ojek* (‘chartered’) motorbikes, many of these owned and operated by Ketungau speakers).

Because of their relative proximity to the town of Sekadau and their reportedly early conversion to Catholicism,¹⁶ centered in the town, with its locally strong educational infrastructure (see Chong Shin 2002), many Ketungau speakers are well-educated and work as teachers and government officials throughout the province. And there is a strong impression that Ketungau speakers constitute the majority of students in every upper secondary school in Sekadau — even the Islamic ones, like Sekolah Menengah Ekonomi Atas Amaliah, though, for the most part, the students remain Catholics (Yohanis Anas, personal communication, 20 May 2001). A few mixed Chinese and Ketungau families live in Sekadau Town, where they usually speak Hakka, Ketungau, local Malay and Indonesian (Chong Shin 2004). In fact, Ketungau can often be heard in Sekadau Town and some Chinese and Malays in town have some competence in the language.

¹⁵ Note that a conservative estimate of Dayak villagers in the Sekadau Valley today stands at 50,000 (E. Marino, personal communication 30/5/2002). If the Enthoven proportion of Ketungau to other Dayak groups has remained the same (30%), then there might be almost 17,000 speakers of various dialects of Ketungau Sesat in the Sekadau area.

¹⁶ This statement is based on information given by Ketungau informants. However, Van de Boom (1974: 383) also noted that the Ketungau were among the first Sekadau Dayak groups to accept “new opinions and ideas,” including the Catholic religion.

A measure of the socioeconomic position of Ketungau speakers can be glimpsed from data recently collected in Lamau, a small *dusun* (hamlet) that forms a part of the Sejirak village. The main road of the Sekadau Valley, linking the estuary with the interior headwaters about 80-100 km. away, runs through the hamlet. By motorbike, Sekadau town is less than 20 minutes away. In Lamau, there are only 47 households (216 persons) living in single family houses, scattered on either side of the road. Among these approximately 40 houses, there are 30 televisions, 16 satellite-broadcast receivers (*parabola*) and 11 video compact disk players — this in a settlement that does not include a primary school.

Other Ketungau villages and hamlets are not so favorably located or as prosperous. For example, although larger than Lamau (about 250 persons), Tinting Boyok on a tributary of the Peniti River, a minor tributary of the Kapuas immediately to the west of the Sekadau Basin, can only be reached by a footpath suitable for motorbikes from the provincial road that runs parallel to the Kapuas River. Nearby, Tebelian Mangkang, where a different dialect of Ketungau is spoken, is smaller and shares the same primary school with Tinting Boyok. In both these hamlets, speakers usually know only their own dialect of Ketungau, Sekadau Malay and Indonesian. In Selabi, a much larger village directly across the Kapuas River from Sekadau Town (a 500 rupiah boat ride), the Ketungau speakers often also know Benawas, a Malayic (non-Ibanic) language more closely related to Malay, because a number of Benawas hamlets are found in the vicinity.

Thus, Ketungau, like many Ibanic variants in Kalimantan Barat, is spoken in a large number of dialects in a diverse array of social settings.

3. Characteristics of Ibanic Variants in Kalimantan Barat

In this section a few observations are made about some Ibanic language variants spoken in Kalimantan Barat. These notes are far from complete and the intent is simply to provide a few examples for our discussion. Clearly an intensive, comprehensive research program ranging over the whole region is sorely needed. The notes presented here are intended merely to give an impression of both the obvious diversity and underlying unity of Ibanic in Kalimantan Barat.

It must also be emphasized that these impressions are not based on a focused study of Ibanic variants. Rather, the research conducted so far has been discontinuous and serendipitous. Initially, the data that spurred this study were collected in Pontianak in 1999 from a 39-year old Ketungau “*Sesat*” speaker from Empaung Village (on the Sekadau River). I compared these materials with a smaller Mualang vocabulary collected in 1996 (Collins 1996-2002). Then in 2001, more data were collected in Lamau from two Ketungau speakers in their 20s born in Sejirak hamlet about 18 km. from Sekadau Town.¹⁷ Later in 2001 I set about collecting a few samples of other

¹⁷ In March 2001, Marjuki, a Ketungau language assistant, and Hady Kifli, staff associate in Pontianak, collected recordings of oral literature in Sejirak, which Marjuki and I later transcribed and studied for the better part of 5 days in Sekadau and Pontianak.

Ketungau variants and of the Desa language. In 2002-2004 additional wordlists of other Ibanic variants were added for comparison.¹⁸ So it must be emphasized that, although these data were collected by the same fieldworker, the collection was sporadic and discontinuous over a period of nine years, 1996-2004.

For comparative reasons, the data, few as they are, and analyses, preliminary as they are, are arranged in three sets: Ketungau Sesat, Seberuang and Desa, and Mualang and Bugau.

Ketungau Sesat

One of the most divergent Ibanic languages is probably Ketungau, as it is spoken in villages in and around the Sekadau River Basin. Not only does it differ markedly from our notion of Ibanic, based on Sarawak's standard Iban, it also displays considerable internal, that is interdialectal, diversity. As an example, please refer to Table 1, a simple 15-word vocabulary of five dialects of Ketungau Sesat.

¹⁸ Again, I express my thanks to all my informants, especially Djuanda, Deme, Anas, Lapur, Marto, Yanto, Ilon, Kemiylul, Rufinus, Herpanus, Tanton, Panco, Rama, Petrus, Mumi and Marjuki for their cheerful assistance and advice. I apologize for any errors that might have crept in and misrepresented their languages.

Table 1. Brief Vocabularies of Five Ketungau Sesat Variants
(Sekadau, Kalimantan Barat)

No.	Malay	Sejirak	Empaung	Selabi	Temblian Mangkang	Tinting Boyok
1	tangan	jaɣiy	jaɣiy	ləŋan	jaɣʌy	ləŋan
2	siku	sikuw, sikəw	sikəw	siku ^w	sikʌw	sikəw
3	kuku	silu ^{w?}	silə ^{w?}	silu ^w	silʌw?	siləw?
4	jari	tujju ^{wɔk}	tujju?	tujju ^{w?}	tujju ^{wʌ?}	tujju?
5	kiri	kibə?	kibə?	kibaw?	kibə?	kibə?
6	kanan	kanan	kanan	kanan	kanan	kanan
7	kaki	kakiy	kakiy	kakiy	kakʌy	kakəy
8	mata kaki	tulā: buku?	bukəw lali ^{y?}		bukʌw? kakʌy?	bukəw? lalay?
9	tumit	tumbe ^{y?}	tum ^{b?}	tumi ^{y?}	tumɛ?	tumiy?
10	lutut	pələtu ^{y?}	pələtu ^{y?}	lutu ^{y?}	palatui ^{y?}	pələtwe?
11	betis	bətə ^y h	bətih	bətiyh	bətɛh	isəy? bətiyh
12	paha	po ^{w:}	pə ^ɔ	pao	pə:	pəɔ
13	berjalan	bəjalay	bəjalay	bəjalay	bəjalay	bəjalay
14	lari	bəyəntuw	ɣəɣiy	ləɣəy	bəyuntʌw	ləɣəy
15	pergi	bəjalay	tuyun	pəɣiy	mupuləh	tuyun

These five dialects display a number of similarities. First, we note DIPHTHONGIZATION of final high vowels, /u/ and /i/¹⁹, ranging from the moderate diphthongization in Selabi ([siku^w] ‘elbow’ and [kakiy] ‘leg’) to diphthongization coupled with centralization of these vowels; for example:

	Empaung	T. Mangkang	Tinting Boyok
elbow	sikuw	sikʌw	sikəw
leg	kakiy	kakʌy	kakəy

Second, all these dialects display the shift of final alveolar occlusives, /t/ and /s/, to the matching glottal occlusive, [ʔ] and [h] respectively, usually with a glide trace or another change in the preceding vowel. So, we note:

¹⁹ This phonological phenomenon has been noted in many other Malayic variants, especially dialects of Malay. The process is discussed in some detail in Collins (1983a) and numerous examples of diphthongization and centralization of final high vowels can be found in Collins (1983b). In Borneo, too, diphthongization was recorded in a number of Malay variants spoken in the Saribas River Basin and in downriver Samarahan; see Collins (1987) and Collins (2000a).

	Empaung	T. Mangkang	Tinting Boyok
heel	tum ^b iʔ	tuməʔ	tumiʔ
knee	pələtʉʔ	palatuiʔ	pələtweʔ
calf	bətih	bətəh	bətih

Third, each of these dialects shows a shift of /a/ in final open syllables or final syllables ending in an original glottal stop /ʔ/ to a low back vowel, often rounded,²⁰ for example:

	Empaung	T. Mangkang	Tinting Boyok²¹
left side	kibəʔ	kibəʔ	kibəʔ
thigh	po ^w :	pə:	pəo

A fourth characteristic of Ketungau Sesat variants is the weakening of the final velar nasal, /ŋ/, which is retained only as nasalization of the preceding vowel. Note, however, that the front nasals /m/ and /n/ are unchanged in final position. In Table 1, the only example is the Sejirak compound [tulā: bukuʔ] ‘malleolus,’ where [tulā:] is /tulan/ ‘bone.’ Other examples collected in the fieldnotes include:

	Empaung	T. Mangkang	Tinting Boyok
return	pulā:	pulā:	pulā:
swim	kədən ^d a:	kədənā	kədən ^d ā:
waist	puŋgəŋ	puŋu ^w ā	puŋo ^w ā.

These few examples provide a glimpse of the phonological complexity of Ketungau Sesat dialects. Among speakers of other Ibanic variants in Kalimantan Barat, Ketungau Sesat is considered difficult to speak.²²

²⁰ As can be seen in Table 1, in the Selabi dialect, /a/ is accompanied by a rounding offglide, [w]: [kibawʔ] ‘left side’, but the occurrence of [pəo] ‘thigh’ suggests some variation.

²¹ The form given by the Tinting Boyok speaker is not cognate with /puŋgəŋ/ so the Selabi form has been used as a replacement to indicate the variation in the region.

²² Two young men who had lived in Sekadau Town for 2-3 years and had many Ketungau friends and schoolmates, Ilon (22, Mualang) and Lapur (17, Seberuang), recognized Ketungau as a language similar to their languages but with “difficult pronunciation.” The level of interdialectal variation must also complicate efforts to speak Ketungau. Pronunciation differs in detail in almost every village. Note, too, that when Ketungau recordings (see Texts 1 and 2) were played for an audience of Iban speakers at the Tun Jugah Foundation, 1 July 2002, many reported a low level of understanding.

Seberuang and Desa

As noted above, King observed that these two named groups lived in close proximity near the Kapuas River Basin in the vicinity of Sepaoh and Sintang. The population estimates in Wurm suggest a disparity. Seberuang is estimated at 20,000 speakers and Desa at 5000 speakers. These seem to be unreliable figures because Sellato (1986) counted about 10,000 Desa speakers in just two districts of the Melawi River Basin. Yovinus (2000) also had higher figures for Desa speakers in the whole Sintang residency, a total of 41,000 in 1998. In any case, there appear to be a large number of Desa dialects. The data discussed here were collected from Desa speakers (interviewed in Pontianak, 2001 and 2002) of two different variants and one Seberuang speaker (interviewed in Sekadau, 2002); please refer to Table 2 for a few examples taken from the 500-word vocabularies collected.

Table 2. A Selected Vocabulary of Seberuang (S) and Desa (D)

	Temanang (S)	Lengkanan (D)	Baning Pendek (D)
1 arm	ləŋan	jaʔiy	jaʔiy
2 elbow	siku	sikuw	siku
3 nail	siluʔ	siluwʔ	tʊŋoʔʔ
4 left side	kibaʔ	kibaʔ	kibaʔ
5 right side	kanan	kanan	kanan
6 leg	kakiy	kakiy	kakiy
7 calf	bəʔis	bəʔis	bəʔeh
8 thigh	pahaʔ	pa:	pa:
9 walk	bəʔalay	bəʔalay	bəʔalay
10 run	bəʔuanʔ	bəʔuwa ⁹ ŋ	bəʔuay
11 return	pulay	balik	pulay
12 neck	*ʔəkunʔ	*ʔəku ⁹ ŋ	ʔəkənʔ
13 jaw	*ʔaŋ	xa:ŋ	ʔa:ŋ
14 blood	daʔah	daʔah	daʔah
15 person	uʔaŋ	u ^x ʔaŋ	uʔaŋ
16 in-law	ipa ^x	ipa ^x	ipa ^ʔ
17 centipede	ləməyax	ləməya ^ʔ x	ləməya ^ʔ
18 pig tusk	tayinʔ	ta ^x ʔi ⁹ ŋ	tayinʔ
19 ear	pəni ^ʔ ŋ	pəni ^{2x} n	pəni ⁹ ŋ

First, we observe the large number of shared lexical items with the Ketungau variants of Table 1 as well as the shift of *-an* to */ay/* in */bəʔalay/*, said to be diagnostic of all Ibanic languages (Hudson 1970). But if we pay closer attention to the list, we note that, whereas Ketungau reflects [pulā:], that is */pulaŋ/*, ‘return’, both Seberuang and Desa show */pulay/*, in common with Iban (Richards 1988: 288). More curious is Entry 10, ‘run’, where we see both Seberuang and one Desa variant displaying

/bəɣuaŋ/ but the other Desa variant /bəɣuay/.²³ This variant, Baniŋ Pendek, also yielded /ujay/ ‘rain’; whereas Temanang and Lengkanan, in common with Iban, had /ujan/. These data suggest the need to explore more carefully the distribution of unexpected diphthongs (for *-aN) in Ibanic variants. After all, it is the basis for Hudson’s subgroup “Ibanic”!

Second, we should observe that the Seberuang data indicate that in initial position /ɣ/, the voiced velar fricative, is often pronounced with a voiceless velar fricative onset, [x]; moreover, in final position /ɣ/ often appears simply as [x], as in Nos. 17-18. The Lengkanan dialect of Desa displays similar, but perhaps more advanced, phonetic shifts; note that in some words, for example [xa:ŋ] ‘jaw’ and [u^xɣaŋ] ‘person, other person’, [x] appears in both initial and medial positions as well as in final position (Nos. 17-18). Though there is weakening of /ɣ/ in Baniŋ Pendek, this Desa variant did not reflect [x]. Closer, more intense work is required and we simply need data from more Desa and Seberuang variants before we can make a broader statement about these phenomena.²⁴

Third, in Table 2, there are also differences in the treatment of certain final consonants. In Baniŋ Pendek, but not in Lengkanan, /s/ in final position shifts to [h], again with some influence on the preceding vowel. In addition to No. 8, ‘calf’ [bətɕh], in the complete list from this speaker we also find [d³ɣa^h] ‘swift-flowing’, [mula^h] ‘untwist (a bottle top), turn (a cover), tweak (an ear),’²⁵ [mane^h] ‘sweet’ and [puɣ:t alo^h] ‘intestine’. A note should also be made of Nos. 19-20 in which we see oddly diphthongized high vowels before /ŋ/ in final position. In No. 20, because the preceding nasal, [n] is phonemically a cluster /nd/ (compare to Iban *pending*), nasalization is blocked and the velar quality of /ŋ/ impacts the preceding vowel.²⁶

Again, because of the paucity of data, and the need to test these existing data against a larger community of speakers, no generalization is possible about the relationship of Desa²⁷ and Seberuang. All we can say is that they do seem very

²³ In Richards (1988:107) we find both *guai* and *guang* with slightly different meanings but still suggestive of a doublet.

²⁴ Nonetheless it is interesting to recall that Bampflyde (in Ray 1913: 7-8) claimed that in Sarawak the Enkaris Iban could “not pronounce” *r*, for which they substituted *h*. Bampflyde’s *h* may in fact be the voiceless velar fricative /x/, under discussion here. On the other hand, I observed in September 2003 that Seberuang variants spoken on the Seberuang River, about 150 km. east of Temanang, often displayed [h] as an apparent allophone of this /x/.

²⁵ This contrasts with [mulah] ‘make, do.’

²⁶ See Blust (1997) for a discussion of some of the nasal phenomena found in languages of Borneo.

²⁷ The Ibanic variant surveyed here, Desa, should not be confused with another “Dayak” language, Desa, spoken much further to the west, just south of the Kapuas River, about 20-30 km. from Tayan. The Ibanic variant is [dasa] but the non-Ibanic variant near Tayan is [desa].

similar; and that is also the opinion of a Seberuang speaker (Lapur, personal communication, 29/5/02).

Mualang and Bugau

As noted in the introduction, Mualang is the only Ibanic language of Kalimantan Barat to have been studied in some detail (Dunselman 1950; Dunselman 1955), but that was about 50 years ago.²⁸ The chief Mualang settlements are on the Aya' and Belitang Rivers, both northern branches of the Kapuas, to the west of the Ketungau River and the east of Sekadau Town. Although access to many of these villages is limited because of the swampy terrain, the introduction of massive palm oil plantations and government-sponsored Javanese resettlement projects has changed the movement and dispersal of the Mualang groups.²⁹

The Bugau group centers around the town of Senaning in the uppermost reaches of the Ketungau River. Apparently, the Bugau group is rather well-known in Sarawak; indeed, according to Cullip (2000: 8-9), among the Remun (an Ibanic group in Sarawak), the Bugau are both respected as bearers of traditional culture and mocked (by the young) as rustic and old-fashioned. The proximity of the Bugau to the border near Serian may explain their clear profile in the Serian area. As noted above, the area around Senaning includes not only the Bugau but also speakers of Iban and Sebaru' as well as a sizeable settlement of Sintang Malays; even remote villages, such as Jassa, have mixed Bugau and Iban populations (Demetrius, personal communication 13 June 2002).

In Table 3, a few words of Mualang and Bugau are set forth for our purview. The first thing to notice is that both these variants appear (to my view) closer to the standard language of Iban. In Nos. 4 and 5, /k/ and /ʔ/ appear as distinct phonemes; note, also, that in both Mualang and Bugau, just as in Iban, there are very clear minimal pairs like /kəʔaʔ/ 'the long-tailed macaque' and /kəʔak/ 'rice crust'; or in Bugau /ŋayaʔ/ 'address or call someone uncle' but /ŋayak/ 'winnow rice'. This contrasts with most dialects of Ketungau Sesat, Sebuyau and (probably) Desa, where /k/ and /ʔ/ have apparently merged as /ʔ/.

²⁸ In 1996 I was able to buy a small collection of cassette recordings of Mualang oral literature in Pontianak city. I have not seen them for sale since, however.

²⁹ It was a surprise in March 2001 to arrive in Entibuh, on the upper reaches of the Kedukul River, and find that Mualang speakers had migrated there, far to the west of their traditional territories, by traveling along palm oil, lumber and *transmigrasi* roads.

Table 3. A Selected Vocabulary of Mualang (M) and Bugau (B)

	Menawai Tekam (M)	Senaning (B)
1 arm	jaɣiy	ləŋan jaɣiy
2 elbow	sikuw	sikuw
3 nail	siluʔ	siluʔ
4 finger	tʉnoʔk	tʉnuk
5 left side	kibaʔ	kibaʔ
6 right side	kanan	kanan
7 leg	kakiy	kakiy
8 calf	bətis	bətəh
9 thigh	pa:	pa:
10 walk	bəjalay	bəjalay
11 run	bəguay	bəguay
12 return	bəbalek	pulay
13 neck	ɣəkəŋ	ɣəkəŋ
14 jaw	ɣaŋ	ɣaŋ
15 blood	dayah	dayah
16 person	uɣaŋ	uɣaŋ
17 centipede	ləmayay	mɔbaya:
18 leech	ləmətak	məltak
19 rambutan	bliteʔʔ	bəltik
20 ear	pəniʔŋ	pəniəŋ

In particular, Bugau often (but not always, see No. 20 in Table 3) displays nasal-occlusive clusters that are weakened or phonetically lost in many of the variants spoken closer to the Kapuas. For example, in Bugau [mandok] ‘roast (chicken)’ but [manok] ‘chicken’; whereas in Mualang [manok] ‘roast (a chicken)’, without the phonetic realization of the stop /d/, contrasts with [manəŋk] ‘chicken’ marked by the presence of nasalization and an excrescent nasal consonant before final k.

In detail, even Bugau and Mualang display many apparent differences from standard Iban. In Bugau, forms like [mɔbaya:], [məltak] and [bəltik] (Nos. 17-19) contrast with Iban *lemayar*, *lemetak* and *beleti*’; see Richards (1988).³⁰ The /ə/ off-glide in No. 20 in both Mualang and Bugau is also unexpected,³¹ see the discussion above about No. 20 in Table 2. The shift of /s/ to [h] in final position in Bugau in No. 9, [bətəh] ‘calf’ is regular; note, for example:

³⁰ However, his definitions for *lemayar* and *beleti*’ seem rather weak, if not mistaken.

³¹ In Bugau, forms such as [təŋiliəŋ] ‘pangolin’, [kəniəŋ] ‘forehead’, also occur with [ə] off-glides.

[mpuŋaeh]	'wash one's face'
[babeɦ]	'forest'
[tipeɦ]	'thin'
[ateɦ]	'above'
[pədeɦ]	'ginger'
[pədiɦ]	'painful, ill'

Two forms show apparent dissimilation (uCus --> uCuh --> uCeh); [puteɦ] 'snapped apart' (compare to *putus*) and [luɣeɦ] 'straight' (compare to *lurus*).

The occurrence of sandhi forms in Bugau is also striking:

[neɦ]	'sew'
[pet]	'bitter'
[dɔn]	'leaf'
[jɔɦ]	'distant'
[tɔn]	'year'

A closer study of both Bugau and Mualang is imperative. The results of this initial survey suggest such small differences between them and Iban that we may be dealing with dialects of the same language. Text collection and morphological analysis are necessary.

Conclusion

A hundred years ago, Enthoven (1903: 697) observed that the Mualang language with certain differences in pronunciation and intonation belonged to the same language group as Rambai, Kantuk, Ketungau, Belabang and Seberuang in Kalimantan as well as Batang Lupar (in Kalimantan and Sarawak), and Undup, Ketibas, Saribas and Lemandak in Sarawak. He noted that "It is thus certainly the most wide-spread 'dialect' of West Borneo."

The issue that needs resolution is whether all or only some of the Ibanic variants of Kalimantan stand as separate languages closely related to, but not the same as, Iban itself. Based on a somewhat close examination of Ketungau Sesar, a preliminary assessment would be that this is a separate language within the Ibanic family. On the other hand, specimens of oral literature in Ketungau Sesar display a literary style which is in some ways closer to Iban. We might look at some materials recorded in Sejirak, the one a sung poem, the other a folktale with some sung parts, both performed by Ma' Jinah; see Texts 1 and 2.³² As noted above, the recording, transcription and analysis of texts is a prerequisite to classifying languages, especially closely related languages.

³² Text 1 includes a preliminary translation; Text 2 includes a word-for-word interlinear gloss.

Another perspective can be attained through the speakers' eyes. Most Ibanic speakers have opinions about other variants; some have already been cited here: "difficult to pronounce," "passive understanding," "roughly the same," and so forth.

Table 4. Contrasts Between Bugau and Iban, as Specified by Local Speakers (Demetrius 13/6 2002)

	Bugau	Iban
1 face	mua	gambal
2 cook rice	ɲumai	bəɣapi
3 go	aŋkat	məɣaw
4 dirty	jəɣaba?	kamah
5 durian paste	mpuyak	mpikaw
6 chew	ɲiɲa	ɲəmpa?
7 see	ɲilaw	məda?
8 white	putaw	buɣak
9 black	itoŋ	cəlum
10 dead	mati	paɣay

In Table 4, one speaker of Bugau offered his (or his community's) perception of some of the differences between Bugau and Iban. It is not clear if the Iban he referred to was the Iban spoken in the Senaning area or the Iban he observed in villages near Serian. But even by simply referring to Richards (1988), one can find most of these contrastive Bugau words in Iban. This is reminiscent of the problems faced by Cullip (2000: 15) in his efforts to "establish[] the 'identity' of the Remun language." Neither anecdotal evidence (such as Table 4 here) nor lexicostatistics is convincing. Moreover, a speaker's reservoir of knowledge about other Ibanic variants allows the speaker to supply the meaning of words he or she may not use in his or her own variant. And of course this is how traditional literature works as well as taboo avoidance languages (Collins 1989a, 1989b, 1992).

This necessarily brief and sketchy paper is presented simply to draw attention to the pressing need for intensive research about the languages closely related to Iban spoken in Kalimantan. In themselves they are worthy subjects for linguistic and literary research. Most of them are spoken by communities of a large enough size to expect that literary and ecological knowledge will still reward researchers. At the same time, although Iban is among the best studied Austronesian languages of Malaysia and Southeast Asia in general (as noted in the Introduction), very little is known about the relationship of Iban to its closest congeners, that is, about the prehistory of the Iban language. Preliminary surveys, like the research recently conducted by The Institute of the Malay World and Civilization (UKM), are prerequisites, but not conclusions, to scholarly investigation of Borneo, the center of Southeast Asia and the Malay World.

Text 1. A Ketungau Sesat Dirge Sung by Ma' Jinah (55)
in Sejirak, Sekadau, Kalimantan Barat

o bala mənadi? ku tampow lindaj
o bala ana? ku bəlum ku bənimaj
tingaw kataw inday di baju nimaṅ
kataw iniy? di bədiṅaṅ lawaṅ

di bədiṅaṅ lawaṅ
niy? ne dah tuə janaw
duə? bəliṅaṅ pantaw
uban ne da? mampaw
kə buṅa lalaṅ

duə? ne dah tutum powə datu? tabalaṅ
lagu? tabalaṅ tiṅaw kataw balaw
inday ta? tu? bəbaju nimaṅ tiṅaw
jantuəh balaw təcu? a pəndiē ku bənimaj

kalaw pagi ayiy
jəmay di usaṅ
naṅ gaw? jadiy
pantun həlabi pagiy ayiy
naṅ gaw? jadiy
kataw cayitaw deyi?

O, my family, place of protection,
O, my children whom I've not yet lullabied
Listen to mother's words in the clothing of a lullaby
The words of grandmother quite near the portal

Near the portal
This grandmother is old and aged
Sitting side by side, gaze
At these gray hairs not so strong
As the blossoms of *lalang*

Sitting thus as if Datu' Tabalang
The song of Tabalang hear the words all
Of this your mother clothed as if a lullaby, hear
the speech you grandchildren hearken to me lullabying

If tomorrow
 In the ages yet to pass
 Let it not become
 A poem widespread tomorrow
 Nor let it become
 The words in anyone's story

Text 2. Dongeng Lamambang Bulan, A Ketungau Sesat Folktale from Kampung Sejirak, Sekadau (Kalimantan Barat), Told by Ma' Jinah (55)

kataw ne teh jadyi tu^wuo?. jadi ɲo? a:ʔh kataw tuwɔo? tanti? tanti? lah lamambā: bulan
 say 3 s that so T. become that ah say T. wait wait EMPH L. moon

ləmah sulayku niti? tatay lənah buku? ku di sini ləmah tulā: ku niki? bulan
 weak bone 1s TR+goup hill weak joint 1s here weak bone 1s TR+goup moon

tanti? kəsudah ne teh tanti? lamambang bulan tanti? agi? tanti? agi? dah ɲo? tunggu?
 wait after 3 s that wait L. moon wait again wait again COMPL that wait

agi? jalay ne agi? jalay paŋkayh ne agi? tanti tanti? lah lamambā: bulan ləmah gaw?
 again walk 3 s again walk call 3 s again wait wait EMPH L. moon weak too

tulay ku niki? tatay bələmba: dah ɲo? teh tanti? datay ka ləmbiə ləmbiə kata ne.
 bone 1s TR+go-up hill MD+ valley COMPL that that wait arrive to L. L. say 3 s

ləmbiə dah bəjalay siggah siggah ne teh siggah diau diam atay uyaŋ ɲo?
 L. COMPL MD+walk stop stop 3 s that stop 3s stay arrive person that

teh samə sida^w? duə iku? ɲo? teh samə sida^w? duə iku? samə siggah bəiga^w?
 that together 3p 2 counter that that together 3p 2 counter together stop MD+ look for

kutu^w linsa^w? ba: tundiə? dah ɲo? teh la:p tinduə? ləmbiə teh la:p tinduə?
 louse nit PRT squash COMPL that that doze sleep L. that doze sleep

dah tinduə? teh tinggal lamambā: bulan agi? tinggal ne bəjalay agi?
 COMPL sleep that leave behind L. moon again leave behind 3 s MD+walk again

pupuah nə agiy? way kata ne kini lamambā: bulan ninggal aku pədaw?
 chase after 3s again hey say 3s to where L. moon TR+leave behind 1s see

ne dah jauh paŋ paŋkayh ne agi? tanti? tanti? lah lamambā: bulan
 3 s COMPL far 3s+EMPH call 3 s again wait wait EMPH L. moon

ləmah tulay ku niki? tatay ləmah buku? ku niki? dah tuay tuay ne teh
 weak bone 1s TR+go-up hill weak joint 1s TR+go-up COMPL old old 3 s that

atay kə taŋga^w? laŋe? atay kə taŋgaw laŋe? teh nao^w akal əmbia kataw me aku tauə?
 arrive to stair stay arrive to stair stay that what idea 2s say 3s 1s know

niki? kataw lamba: bulan əmbiə tauə? nikit naday aku umbo? aku əmo?
 TR+go-up say L. moon 2s know go-up NEG 1s follow 1s carry-on-back

aku ami? kataw ne au? tau? ami? namo akal ami? lalā: tujuoh tiy? ami? lalā: tujuoh tiy?
 1s take say 3s yes know take what idea take grass 7 seed take grass 7 seed

tanggaw lagey? tujuoh tujuoh tiy? bau? tiki? suti? tos tiki? suti?
 stair stay 7 7 seed then go-up 1+seed IDEO go-up 1+seed

agi? tō? tiki? suti? agi? tō? tujuoh tiy? tujuoh putuyh pu:w ne teh jatua?
 again IDEO go-up 1+seed again IDEO 7 seed 7 shapped IDEO 3s that fall

lamba: ləmbiəh teh jatua? jatua? teh laluw balaw ulay? ne teh jədiy tuwua? jədiy tuwua?
 L. L. that fall fall that then group maggot 3s that so T. so T.

jam dah tujo? dah tiŋbol bulan jo? bulan jo? bəbuŋiy mə tuwua?
 3s EMPH COMPL this 3s COMPL appear moon that moon that MD+make-noise PRT T. IDEO

tuwə? tuwə? tuwə? namo teh hampu? bulan nampa? buŋiy ne buŋiy dah jo?
 IDEO IDEO IDEO what that that smoke moon be apparent sound 3s sound COMPL 3s

sujiy? ne dah satu malam bulan nampa? tuwua? tuwua? tuwua? kataw ne dah jo?
 quiet 3s COMPL 1 night moon appear IDEO IDEO IDEO say 3s COMPL that

tuyun agi? hampay bankuə? mataw ne paba? ŋəñā: tuwua?
 go down again to-the-point narrowed eye 3s weep TR+recall IDEO

lamambā: bulan ŋuwā: ne piaw? agi? ne bau? dah jo? teh kataw aday ləmbiəh ləmbiəh
 L. moon TR+visit 3s thus again 3s then COMPL 3s that say EXIST L. L.

ləmbiəh pintu bukə? bah ləmbiəh o: pintuw dibukə? ləmbiəh kini aku ŋuā:
 L. door open EMPH L. oh door AF+open L. to where 1s TR+visit

əmbiəh a:ʔh pa:h pay ləmbiəh anā: piaw? bah ləmbiəh pagi ne la ləmbiəh
 2s EXCL why L. don't thus EMPH L. morning 3s EMPH L.

ŋəñā: aku kətiy m:mbiəh ləmbiəh hampay bankuə? mataw jadi tuwua?
 TR+recall 1s how 2s L. to-the-point narrowed eye become IDEO

tuwua? ana: ŋəna: aku agi? əmbiəh ləmbiəh au? ŋəñā: me kataw ne asaw piaw?
 IDEO don't TR+recall 1s again 2s L. yes TR+recall 3s say 3s if thus

taw kətiy tau? nəday əmbiəh ŋumbə? aku la liəbouw əmbiəh nəday tau? nundo?
 Ipi how know NEG 2s TR+follow 1s EMPH later 2s NEG know TR+follow

aku tau? kini əmbiyəh kiaw? akuw jam me teh bəpupuəhpəñ
 1s know to where 2s *** 1s 3s EMPHPRT that MD+chase+RED

bəpupuəhpəñ kiaw? ne mupəh lakiy ne jo? teh lamambā: bulan lamambā:
 MD+chase+RED to there 3s TR+chase husband 3s 3s that L. moon L.

bulan teh a: kau ne ŋulā: lamambā: bulan natay tau? dadədadədah.
 moon that ah 2s 3s TR+invite L. moon NEG know RED+RED+RED+RED+COMPL

kataw lamambā: bulan əmbiəh bayah mə nundo? aku əmbiəh dah piaw?
 say L. moon 2s no-need PRT TR+follow 1s 2s COMPL thus

naday aku gumbo? əmbiəh kiniy əmbiəh kiaw? ku kiniy əmbiəh kiaw? ku ā: a
NEG 1s TR+follow 2s to where 2s to there 1s to where 2s to there 1s HES

anu? tauw? əmbiəh gumbo? akuw tau? tau? naday əmbiəh təyabā: nundo?
PRT HES know 2s TR+follow 1s know know NEG 2s fly TR+follow

aku aku gumbo? aku əmo? kataw ne nam tuḡun tuḡun ne niki?
1s 1s TR+follow 1s carry-on-back say 3s 3s EMPH go down go down 3s TR+go-up

ne tambah niki? kene teh ḡahaw ne naday tau? niki? teh tiggal lamambā:
3s and go-up PRT that because 3s NEG know TR+go-up that leave behind L.

bulan di bawah ləmbiəh lamambā: bulan teh niki? kə laḡe? a: ḡo? mə nampa?
moon at below L. L. moon that TR+go-up to stay ah that PRT appear

bulan tu? bukan sejatij bulan nampa? aday cuntouw pow nsiaw di atayh bulan ḡo?
moon this NEG real moon appear EXIST features as-if human at above moon that

mə lakiy ne teh lamambā: lamambā: bulan ḡo? mə sudah musiā: bulan bəsay nampa?
PRT husband 3 s that L. L. moon that PRT COMPL season moon big appear

nə bəbuḡij mə tuwua? aday mə ne tuwua? kə tuwua? sampay baḡkuə?
3s MD+make noise PRT T. EXIST PRT 3 s T. to T. to-the-point narrowed

mataw ne ḡəḡā: kə lakiy ne naday dapay? ne mupuəh ne lakiy ne naday dapay?
eye 3s TR+recall to husband 3 s NEG get 3s TR+chase 3 s husband 3 s NEG get

ḡami? ne ne naday tauw? mupuəh lakiy ne bau? dah ḡayayh ḡampayh
take 3s 3s NEG know TR+chase husband 3s then COMPL TR+vanish TR+disappear

ne dah hampay kə tauw? aday ḡayḡi buḡij tuwua? bah kalaw aday bulan
3s COMPL to-the-point to Ipi this EXIST continuous sound T. EMPH if EXIST moon

bəsay təyā: aday mə tuwua? bəbuḡij bəbuḡij mə tuwua? hampay
big clear EXIST PRT T. MD+make noise MD+make noise PRT T. to-the-point

kə tauw? aday ayij mə buḡij tuwua? kay ne ḡəḡā: kə
to Ipi this EXIST continuous PRT sound T. because 3 s TR+recall to

lakiy ne hampay matij ne jadiy buḡuā: teh hampay baḡkuə? mataw ne ḡaba?
husband 3s to-the-point dead 3s so bird that to-the-point narrowed eye 3s TR+weep

ḡəḡā: tuwua? tuwua? kə tuwua? a: dah mə nisi? aḡi? mə.
TR+recall T. T. to T. ah COMPL PRT not-exist again PRT

Notes

This essay is a revised version of an invited paper by the same title that I presented at the Tun Jugah Foundation in Kuching on 1 July 2002. I am very grateful to the Foundation, especially its director Datuk Amar Leonard Linggi, for the opportunity to present the results of my preliminary research to a distinguished and well-informed audience whose comments and insights greatly contributed to the value of this brief essay.

The research upon which the essay is based has a long and serendipitous history. In 1998, I was asked by Pontianak's Institut Dayakologi in cooperation with Pusat Kajian Melayu, Universitas Tanjungpura, to conduct a workshop on fieldwork and phonetic transcription. I am grateful to the Institut and especially its director at that time, S. Djuweng, and to Dr. Chairil Effendi, director of Pusat Kajian Melayu, for being invited to work with them and their staffs. It was during this workshop that I was introduced to Ketungau Sesat by one of the participants, Bapak Djuanda. In 1999 I met again with him in Pontianak, where he worked as a teacher, to collect some preliminary language data and to learn more about the setting of the Ketungau communities in the Sekadau River Valley.

In July 2000, the Institute of the Malay World and Civilization (ATMA), Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, in cooperation with Pusat Kajian Melayu, Universitas Tanjungpura, was granted a Southeast Asian Studies Regional Exchange Program (SEASREP) collaborative research grant to conduct research about language and identity in western Borneo (Grant Number D00-EC-03). I was appointed consultant and frequently visited the Sekadau area (2000-2003). In 2001, I worked with Ketungau Sesat informants in Lamau (a nearby hamlet), and later with young speakers of other Ketungau dialects who lived in Sekadau Town. Also in 2001, SEASREP staff in ATMA's Pontianak office collected recordings in Sejirak (near Lamau). In 2002-2004, I worked briefly with speakers of Seberuang, Mualang, Desa, Sekujam and Bugau in both Sekadau and Pontianak. I am grateful to all these generous language informants and to Prof. Shamsul A.B., director of ATMA, who provided innovative leadership in supervising this SEASREP grant. I was also allowed to refer to other Ibanic data collected by the staff of ATMA's field office in Pontianak and to use field reports written by my M.A. students at that time, Albertus, Sujarni and Yovinus, staff members of Pontianak's Institut Dayakologi. My thanks go to them, to Dr. Chairil Effendi and Hadi Kifly for their help, to Dr. Chong Shin and Dr. Yusriadi, then students at ATMA, who have provided genial support in collecting and organizing these and other SEASREP data, to Petrus Derani, my field assistant, who organized sessions with Ibanic speakers in both Sekadau and Pontianak, and to Dedy Ari Asfar, a recent M.A. graduate at ATMA, who located Ibanic speakers for me in Pontianak.

Editor's Note: The Tun Jugah Foundation

Professor Collins's paper was originally presented in Kuching, under the auspices of the Tun Jugah Foundation, in the Tun Jugah Building auditorium on 1 July 2002. Having been present myself, your Editor can attest that the paper drew a large and appreciative audience and was followed by a lively discussion.

In this connection, I think it may be relevant to add a brief note on the role of the Tun Jugah Foundation in promoting the use and scholarly study of Iban and other Ibanic languages. Since its establishment in 1985, the Tun Jugah Foundation and its staff have been actively engaged in research, publication, and the collection, recording, and archiving of Iban language and language-related materials, including Iban traditional songs, oral narratives, life histories, folktales, local histories, *pantun*, prayers, funerary chants, bardic invocations and other ritual texts.

In addition to maintaining a library and an extensive sound archives of tape- and digitally recorded language-related materials, the Tun Jugah Foundation also publishes scholarly work in both Iban and English. Among the Foundation's currently available publications, containing extensive Iban language materials, are the following:

- 1) Vinson H. Sutlive, *Handy Reference Dictionary of Iban and English*, 1994, pp. 925. This work contains nearly 50,000 entries; 13,000 Iban-English and 36,000 English-Iban.
- 2) Robert Menua Saleh (compiler), *Leka Timang*, 1997, pp. 617. A collection of Iban bardic chants, in Iban.
- 3) Robert Menua Saleh (compiler), *Pantun Iban II*, 1998, pp. 157. An anthology of selected *pantun*, with a background discussion of their use, in Iban.
- 4) Robert Menua Saleh (compiler), *Sabak*, 2000, pp. 382. A Rejang Iban lamentation for the dead, in Iban.
- 5) Vinson H. and Joanne Sutlive (general editors), *The Encyclopedia of Iban Studies*, Vols. 1-4, 2001, pp. 2,783. This work contains more than 4,000 entries, with articles from 40 contributing editors, including entries on language, verbal arts, folk taxonomies, ethnobotanical terms, etc.
- 6) Clifford Sather, *Seeds of Play, Words of Power: An Ethnographic Study of Iban Shamanic Chants*, 2001, pp. 753. This study includes a 200-page introduction to Iban shamanism, followed by a description of nine shamanic rituals, including complete ritual texts (in all, 3,148 lines of Iban ritual poetic texts, with English glosses and free translations of each line).
- 7) Robert Menua Saleh and Janang Ensiring (compilers), *Sampi enggau Biau*, 2001, pp. 382. An anthology of traditional prayers and blessings, in Iban.

- 8) Janang Ensiring and Robert Menua Saleh (compilers), *Renung Semain*, 2001, pp. 161. A collection of traditional Iban love songs, in Iban.
- 9) Jantan Uambat, Clifford Sather, Janang Ensiring and Robert Menua Saleh (compilers), *Pelian*, 2002, pp. 382. Texts of Iban shamanic chants (*pelian*) recited by Manang Bangga anak Anggat of Muton Longhouse, Debak, in Iban.
- 10) Jantan Uambat and Janang Ensiring (compilers), *Ripih Pengawa' Gawai Antu*, 2004, pp. 203. A monographic account of the ritual celebration and chants of the major Saratok-Saribas memorial rites for the dead (*Gawai Antu*), in Iban.

Current Foundation projects include the compilation of a comprehensive Iban-Iban dictionary; the translation and annotation of the *sabak* or lamentation for the dead; and the translation and analysis of a Saribas-Saratok bardic ritual of curing, the *besugi sakit*.

For more information on these publications and other activities of the Foundation, see the Foundation website at: www.tunjugahfoundation.org.my/.

(Clifford Sather, University of Helsinki)

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**CAPTAIN BURN AND ASSOCIATES:
BRITISH INTELLIGENCE-GATHERING, TRADE,
AND LITIGATION IN BORNEO AND BEYOND
DURING THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY**

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Introduction

John Leyden's well-known "Sketch of Borneo" (Leyden 1811)¹ included a large amount of information that had been supplied to T. S. Raffles from Pontianak by "Mr. J. Burn." This information has been used by many historians of the region, but without paying attention to Burn. He was Captain Joseph Burn, a country trader from India. This paper traces Burn's experiences in the last ten years or so of his life. It was the comment by Mary Somers Heidhues (1998: 277) that little is still known about Burn, and the fact that much of the information in his letters has not been published, that led to the present study. It may help to give better recognition to those whose adventurous lives are mostly difficult to follow in any detail — the British country traders.

Joseph Burn and the Invasion of Java

John Leyden wrote his "Sketch of Borneo" while a passenger on the *Lord Minto* during the slow voyage of the British invasion fleet between Malacca and Java.² Most of the recent information in the "Sketch" had been sent earlier in the year to T. S. Raffles by "Mr. J. Burn," after "a residence of several years" in Pontianak, West Borneo (Burn 1811).³ Burn's letters were in response to correspondence from Raffles who, from his base in Malacca, was gathering intelligence about Borneo that included details of piratical attacks on British shipping but ranged much more widely. Leyden summarized some of Burn's descriptions of West Borneo, Pontianak as the most important trading port, and also the customs of the Dayak people. The "Sketch" does not seem to have been merely an academic exercise. In October 1810, during a visit by Raffles to Calcutta, Leyden wrote to Olivia Raffles: "I have however settled with R. that the instant he is Governor of Java I am to be his Secretary. That is the only chance you ever have of seeing me. The time fast approaches when I shall proceed to take possession of Borneo & whenever I

¹ The "Sketch" was first published in 1814, and reprinted by J. H. Moor in 1837. The reprint has some editorial changes to the spelling of place-names, and an error in that it said (p. 101) that J. Burn's account was communicated "by" Raffles instead of "to" Raffles, as in the 1814 version (p. 34). Moor's version is more accessible and is used here, cited as Leyden 1811 to reflect the origin.

² The *Lord Minto* was often called the *Minto* in the contemporary literature. British or Dutch place-names are used here for their major settlements, with present-day names for others.

³ "West Borneo" is used in the present account for what is now West Kalimantan.

proceed, I am determined to *succeed*" (his emphases) (Bastin 2002: 70). Whatever Leyden's plans were with respect to Borneo, they were not to succeed; he died of fever soon after the British landed in Java (Wurtzburg 1954: 167-168; Bastin 2002: 83).

Soon after writing to Raffles, Burn gave assistance in surveying a route via the Karimata Islands off West Borneo for the planned assault on Java. Because of the prevailing winds the only alternative was a much longer passage from Malacca around northern Borneo. The matter was not settled in favor of the former route until May 1811, after the arrival in Malacca of Lord Minto, Governor-General of India, and his entourage (Boulger 1897: 101-103; Wurtzburg 1954: 122, 136, 141-142). Shortly before Minto's arrival, Raffles wrote to him: "I recommend your employing the services of Capt. Burn, now residing at Pontiana. You can easily arrange to pay him and may leave him at Matan or Succadana to complete any points that have been commenced but unfinished by you, for want of time." (Lady S. Raffles 1830: 40-41). Raffles reported slightly later that Burn was helping Captain Greig, (often called Greigh), who commanded the *Lord Minto* and had been sent from Malacca to make the hurried survey. Leyden had recommended to Lord Minto that Greig be put under Raffles's command (Boulger 1897: 98). He had made many voyages from India to the east as a country trader, including at least one visit to Pontianak, in October 1808 when Burn was probably living there (*Prince of Wales Gazette (PG)* 3/155: 11 Feb 1809). Burn was to be left to complete the survey after Greig returned to Malacca and would help pilot the invasion fleet: "Captain Burns [sic], who has long been a resident at Pontiana... is understood to have once brought a fleet without difficulty through the passage" (Raffles 1811: 117). This other fleet remains unidentified, but Burn's knowledge and assistance certainly deserves recognition in view of the credit always given to Captain Greig in establishing the feasibility of the passage. Captain David Macdonald of the Bombay Marine, the naval arm of the East India Company (EIC), visited Pontianak in HCC (Honourable Company's "Cruizer") *Ariel* during his missions for Raffles before the invasion and met Burn there. He did not give dates but it would have been late in 1810. Macdonald mentioned the Sultan of Pontianak's story about the orangutan which had captured a slave-girl and kept her for 14 months, after which she escaped (Burn 1811: 114; Heidhues 1998: 291). According to Macdonald, Sultan Kassim got "Captain Burns who resided at Pontianak" to write it down and it was he (Macdonald) who took this account to Raffles (Macdonald c. 1840: 309).⁴ Unfortunately, Macdonald said nothing more about Burn. Referring to Greig as "an experienced commander of a Malay trader," Macdonald commented that he himself had "minutely examined the whole coast" of West Borneo — perhaps an indication that he thought Greig had received too much credit (Macdonald c. 1840: 148, 163). The invasion fleet was eventually to amount to 25 vessels of the Royal Navy, eight of the Bombay Marine, 57 transports and several small gun-boats; about 100 vessels in all. Depending on uncertain land breezes and with many squalls, including one in the Karimatas that caused severe difficulties, the voyage from Malacca to Java took about six weeks (Thorn 1815: 12-16; see also his Plate III).

The mass of information sent by Burn must have strengthened Raffles's resolve to establish British power in Borneo and increased his interest in its history (Bastin 1954: 84-119). Raffles presented Leyden's "Sketch" at a meeting of the Society of Arts and

⁴ Macdonald's memoirs were published privately and were not dated. The edition cited was probably published in 1840; see Smith (2002).

Sciences, formerly the Bataviaasch Genootschap der Kunsten en Wetenschappen, in Batavia on 24 April 1813, after which it was published in the Society's *Transactions*. Over the past 150 years, many historians of West Borneo have cited the "Sketch" and used information that Burn had provided (e.g., Veth 1854-1856: many references; also Heidhues 2003: 48-84). However, virtually no attention has been paid to Burn himself. Gibson-Hill tentatively identified Joseph Burn, the British Resident in Kupang in 1813, as the same man (Gibson-Hill 1852: 18, footnote 11; Gibson-Hill 1955: 184). This conclusion came from a journal kept by John Clunies Ross, who visited Timor at the time, and mentioned "Mr Joseph Burn" (Gibson-Hill 1952: 120-128). Unfortunately, Gibson-Hill did not say how he made the connection with Mr. Burn of Pontianak. The only certain deduction that can be made about Burn's earlier life from his letters is that he had spent time in Madras: he mentioned Brahminy kites that he had previously seen there (Burn 1811: 117). He also compared the Dayaks of West Borneo with the Batak people of Sumatra and the inhabitants of the Andaman Islands, which suggests that he may have visited those places (Burn 1811: 18, 124-125). Graham Irwin suggested (1955: 23) that "Raffles sent Mr. F. [sic] Burn to Pontianak early in 1811 as his political and commercial agent,"⁵ but this is not in accord with the evidence given above.

Joseph Burn, David Dalrymple and the *General Wellesley*

"Mr Burn" was indeed Joseph Burn, who was included in the EIC's residency lists as a free mariner — not an EIC employee — based at Bombay and then Fort St. George (Madras) from 1803 until 1810 (*East-India Register and Directory* 1803-1810; *List of Europeans in the districts subject to the Presidency of Fort St George 1804-1810*; passim). He was listed in the *East-India Register and Directory* as captain of a country ship, the *Fair Armenian*, in 1805; however, this publication was always at least a year out of date. The shipping news in the weekly *Madras Courier* (*MC*) reported voyages of the *Fair Armenian*, commanded by Burn, to and from Calcutta between July and September 1803. There was a voyage to Pegu in Burma at the beginning of 1804, during which the ship was repaired, and it was then sold in Madras (*MC* 19/927: 13 Jul 1803; 19/939: 5 Oct 1803; 20/956: 1 Feb 1804; 20/961: 7 Mar 1804). The *Madras Courier* did not report any voyages of a vessel under Burn's command for the remainder of 1804 or for most of 1805. During that time he became associated with Captain David Dalrymple, the managing owner of the *General Wellesley*, another country ship that was involved in trade with Burma and based at Madras. (*MC* 20/967: 18 Apr 1804; 21/1009: 6 Feb 1805; 21/1022: 8 May 1805; 21/1033: 24 Jul 1805).⁶ At the end of 1805 Burn commanded the *General Wellesley* in a voyage to Rangoon, returning to Madras in February 1806 via Penang. Near the Andaman Islands he rescued survivors from the wreck of a Burmese vessel (*MC* 22/1056: 1 Jan 1806; 22/1061: 5 Feb 1806). Very soon afterwards, the *Madras Courier* carried an advertisement by the merchant house of Parry, Lane & Co. for freight for Penang and Malacca, to be shipped on the *General Wellesley*, and the ship left Madras on 8 March. (*MC* 22/1062: 12 Feb 1806; *PG* 1/6: 5 Apr 1806). Despite the residency records, Burn left Madras for the last time on this voyage, along with

⁵ Irwin must have misread the hand-written "J. Burn" in the letters.

⁶ Dalrymple had earlier been based in Calcutta (entries in *East-India Register and Directory* 1805 and 1806).

Dalrymple. Douglas Murray, also with previous Burmese trading connections,⁷ was a passenger on the *General Wellesley*. He too owned some cargo and was Parry's provisional agent should anything happen to Burn (*PG* 3/123: 2 Jul 1808; 5/212: 17 Mar 1810). By then the *General Wellesley* was licensed as a privateer and the cargo was textiles, rice, iron and steel. Burn was the commercial agent for Parry, Lane & Co, who owned part of the cargo and, with others, held mortgages over the ship. Thomas Parry, the senior partner, was half-owner of another ship, the *Marquis Wellesley* (sometimes called *Marquess Wellesley*) with Captain John Grant, who had trading connections with Borneo and also invested in the *General Wellesley* (Hodgson 1938; *passim*).⁸ The *Marquis Wellesley* was lost by fire off the Malabar coast at the beginning of April, (*PG* 1/16: 14 Jun 1806)⁹ causing Parry major financial problems.

Thomas Parry was soon to regret his decision to invest in the *General Wellesley*. Commanded by Dalrymple, the ship arrived in Penang at the beginning of April 1806, (*PG* 1/6: 5 Apr 1806) and then sailed via Malacca for Pontianak. On the way it ran aground on a shoal off the Karimata islands, but was refloated with very little damage (*PG* 1/35: 25 Oct 1806). At Pontianak Burn sold some of the cargo to Sultan Abdulrahman. In September 1806 Parry received a letter from Burn which said that that the sale was for gold dust and cash and that more cargo had been left there unsold (Hodgson 1938: 120).¹⁰ The ship soon left Pontianak for Sulu, off East Borneo, now with Burn in command, (*PG* 1/14: 31 May 1806) but with Dalrymple still on board. At Sulu, two British naval vessels, HMS *Greyhound* and *Harrier*, encountered the *General Wellesley*. At this time Britain and Spain were at war, and the *General Wellesley* was thought to be an enemy vessel. In the chase that followed Burn ran his ship ashore but refloated the next day. Burn had earlier captured a large Spanish ship with naval stores that was going from Manila to Batavia. These events were reported when HMS *Greyhound* arrived at Penang on 19 August (*PG* 1/26: 23 Aug 1806).¹¹ Little of the cargo was sold during a stay of two months at Sulu, so the *General Wellesley* returned to Pontianak, where more cargo was off-loaded. Burn left the ship to dispose of the cargo, and remained in Pontianak. He received a bond from the Sultan for 35,000 Spanish dollars that, as we shall see, was to cause many legal disputes (*PG* 5/212: 17 Mar 1810).

The *General Wellesley* returned to Penang in October 1806, commanded by Dalrymple (*PG* 1/35: 25 Oct 1806). There he learned that the British colony in New South Wales was short of grain, so he exchanged the Sultan of Pontianak's gold dust and cash for a cargo of rice, wheat and spirits, and departed for Australia. He arrived at Port Jackson in February 1807 and sold the cargo to the Government (*Historical Records of*

⁷ *The East-Indies Register and Directory* listed Murray as a resident of Calcutta in 1805. For mention of a voyage by Murray to Rangoon in the *Sally*, see *MC* 21/1051: 27 Nov 1805.

⁸ Hodgson was a partner in Parry & Co of Madras, and later its Chairman. The information came from Parry & Co's archives. A voyage by Grant to Penang and the unsuccessful EIC settlement at Balambangan, North Borneo, was reported in *MC* 22/1060: 29 Jan 1806.

⁹ *PG*: reprint of letter to the Editor, *Bombay Courier*, from John Grant.

¹⁰ Hodgson implies incorrectly that Burn was already in Pontianak as Parry's agent.

¹¹ The captured Spanish ship was the "*St. [San?] Raphael*"; it was sold at auction in Penang on 20 April 1807, as "prize to the General Wellesley letter of marque, Captain Dalrymple... for the moderate price of 3700 Spanish dollars" (*PG* 2/61: 25 Apr 1807). The prize was purchased by James Scott, then one of the most influential merchants in Penang.

Australia 1916: 128, 138, 192, 194). Parry did not learn of this voyage until March 1807, when he received a letter that Dalrymple had sent before leaving Penang. Dalrymple said that he planned to be back in Penang in May or June with a cargo of timber, doubtless for the projected naval dockyard (Hodgson 1938: 120). Parry was, not surprisingly, alarmed by these developments, especially as the ship no longer had insurance cover. He also received news from Burn that the Sultan of Pontianak had confiscated the unsold cargo and refused to pay for it (Hodgson 1938: 121-22).¹² Accordingly, Parry sent his nephew David Pugh to Penang, apparently to try to settle the affairs at Pontianak. It is likely that Pugh would have met Burn, who returned to Penang via Malacca as a passenger on the *Mary* in August 1807 (*PG*: 2/78: 22 Aug 1807).¹³ Pugh also reported to Parry that he had learned of Dalrymple's arrival in Port Jackson, and left at the end of the year to return to Madras (Hodgson 1938: 121-122).¹⁴

Meanwhile at Port Jackson "D. Dalrymple & Co." sold in April 1807 a one-third share of the *General Wellesley* to an emancipist merchant, Simeon Lord, who was Parry's agent there and was seeking to establish his own trading interests in the Pacific (Hainsworth 1981: 69-71, 172). Dalrymple then embarked on an extended voyage that included Tahiti, New Zealand, Sulu and then back to Malacca and Penang, where the *General Wellesley* arrived once more early in March 1808 (*PG* 2/106: 5 Mar 1808; reported in *MC* 24/1175 13 Apr 1808; see also Hodgson 1938:122).¹⁵ Dalrymple handed over the cargo of timber to George Seton, Parry's agent, for sale.¹⁶ He soon left Penang again for Fiji,¹⁷ where he planned to obtain a cargo of sandalwood for Canton, doubtless as part of his agreement with Simeon Lord. Parry had advised that this was a sensible course of action and that Dalrymple should not return to Bengal because of his heavy debts there (Hodgson 1938: 123). However, Parry had still received no remittance from either the transactions in Australia or Pontianak. According to Hodgson, Parry interested the Royal Navy in his problems at Pontianak, and Rear-Admiral Drury sent a squadron to put pressure on the Sultan (Hodgson 1938: 123). It is possible that one of Drury's ships visited Pontianak to

¹² Unfortunately, Hodgson did not give the date of the letter and Burn's location, but it was probably sent from Pontianak.

¹³ His arrival was also reported in the *Madras Courier* 23, 1147: 30 Sept 1807.

¹⁴ Parry received conflicting reports both of the fate of the ship and profits that might be expected.

¹⁵ The eventful voyage can be traced in detail from Davies (1961) and especially Robarts (1974). Robarts, who had deserted from a whaler, returned to Penang with Dalrymple. He worked there for Raffles's brother-in-law, Quintin Dick Thompson, and when the latter died, moved to Raffles's house before leaving for Calcutta, where he was supported by John Leyden.

¹⁶ George Seton had commanded the *Marquis Wellesley* before moving to Penang (*East-India Register & Directory* 1806, Part 2: 243). The ship then belonged to Chase & Co., who went bankrupt; Parry was appointed liquidator (Hodgson 1938: 113).

¹⁷ The date has not been ascertained because issues of *PG* for April and May were missing from the set that was consulted. A complication is that names of captains, and dates, show that some arrivals and departures of the "*General Wellesley*" refer to a ship of the same name that was registered in Calcutta, as listed in the *East-India Register and Directory* for this period.

show the flag but a full-scale expedition at this time seems highly unlikely in the absence of other evidence.¹⁸

Early in 1808 Burn was again in Pontianak. When Sultan Abdulrahman was on his deathbed (said to be in February 1808) he sent for Burn and asked for forgiveness for swindling him over the sale of valuable cargo some time previously: presumably cargo from the *General Wellesey* (Leyden 1811: 104). Burn then went back to Penang and suffered unpleasant consequences from Dalrymple's brief reappearance. At the beginning of July 1808 the *Prince of Wales Island Government Gazette* reported in detail a court action of "trover" (to recover the value of property that had been illegally converted), brought against Joseph Burn, "now resident at Prince of Wales Island." This civil case was brought by Douglas Murray, the passenger on the voyage to Sulu in 1806 (*PG* 3/123: 2 Jul 1808). On arrival at Sulu, Burn had refused to unload Murray's share of the cargo on the grounds that it was the custom in Malay trade that the cargo belonging to the ship's owner (or owners) was sold first. This was to ensure that they obtained the highest prices. Murray then transferred to another ship, possibly the *Spanish Prize*, and left his own 21 bales of textiles on board the *General Wellesey*. When the latter ship returned to Penang in October 1806 Dalrymple unloaded Murray's cargo, and put it in George Seton's warehouse "for the use of Burn." Seton offered the goods to Burn when he arrived in Penang from Pontianak in August 1807 but Burn refused to take possession and unwisely directed Seton to dispose of the cargo "to the order of Dalrymple." After returning from the Pacific in March 1808, Dalrymple sold the cargo to the Penang agency house of Carroll & Scott, who in turn auctioned it. Dalrymple had used the proceeds to refit the *General Wellesey* for his second voyage to Australia and the Pacific. When charged, Burn's defense was threefold. First, he said that he personally never had had possession of Murray's goods, not having signed the bill of lading. Second, it was indeed the custom to sell the owner's goods first, which had not been possible. Last, it was Dalrymple who had sold the goods in Penang. The issue was thus whether Burn was responsible for acts of his partner Dalrymple. The Penang Recorder, Sir Edmond Stanley, said that he could not expect the plaintiff to search for Dalrymple in the South Seas, and found Burn guilty. Burn was fined 5474 Spanish dollars with costs, and with no allowance for depreciation of Murray's cargo, nor for freight charges. Stanley said that it was up to Burn to seek redress from Dalrymple (*PG* 3/123: 2 Jul 1808).¹⁹ Stanley had arrived in Penang late in May 1808, (*PG* 3/119 "Extraordinary": 31 May 1808)²⁰ and the trial helped highlight his mission to improve the previously uncertain judicial system. It would have been the trial referred to by Olivia Raffles in her letter to John Leyden (3 August 1808) in which she said "a cause of some consequence has been tried and gain'd for the plaintiff to the satisfaction of all" (Wurtzburg 1954: 64-65). "All" were presumably the British officials, who took a dim view of country traders and their unregulated activities. Sir Edmond Stanley certainly set out to teach the locals a lesson. In

¹⁸ Drury, who had arrived in Madras in February 1808, soon took a squadron to Achin and Penang, returning to Madras by mid-June. In August he was back in Penang, on his way to China: see Parkinson (1954: 312, 314, 317, 320-33).

¹⁹ Confusingly, this case occurred soon after the arrival of the other *General Wellesey* from Calcutta, commanded by Captain Brown (*PG* 3/122: 25 Jun 1808).

²⁰ Stanley passed through Madras in January 1808 (*PG*/2, 107: 12 Mar 1808; extract from *Madras Gazette*). He might have been briefed about the *General Wellesey* at that time.

passing judgment, he emphasized that he “wished (as far as his humble talents would allow him) that the British Law should be fully explained and well understood by the Inhabitants of this Island, whenever cases occurred which required an explanation of it.” This was doubtless why his judgment was reported at great length (*PG*: 3/123: 2 Jul 1808). Burn was imprisoned in Penang for the debt but was released when, at Murray’s suggestion, Burn handed over to him the Sultan of Pontianak’s bond along with Burn’s own bond for his personal cargo in Pontianak as security (*PG*: 5/212: 17 Mar 1810). Although no further details of events at this time are given in the *Prince of Wales Island Gazette*, Burn must have soon returned to Pontianak to seek payment for the cargo, this time from Sultan Kassim.

Burn was not able to obtain legal redress from Dalrymple, who did not survive his second journey to the South Seas. He died late in 1808 between Fiji and New South Wales in a brig that he had chartered to obtain fresh crew and supplies for the *General Wellesley*, which had become embroiled in the local conflicts in Fiji. The Chief Officer had also died, so the supercargo, William Scott from Penang, took command in association with traders from New South Wales who included the famous John Macarthur, and in December 1808 took the *General Wellesley* from Fiji to Canton with a cargo of sandalwood. Simeon Lord attempted to assert his rights as part owner against these business rivals in the New South Wales courts, but without success (Hainsworth 1981: 173-174; see also Lockerby 1925, *passim*).

Back in Penang, Douglas Murray was still actively pursuing his claims that had arisen during the voyage to Pontianak in 1806.²¹ When William Scott and the *General Wellesley* arrived in Penang from China in December 1809 this ship “against which... so many claims have been made... was sequestered at the suit of Mr D. Murray” (*PG* 4/199: 23 Dec 1809).²² Mr. John Hewitt, Registrar of the Penang Court of Judicature, made a successful application to the Court to administer Dalrymple’s estate and effects (*PG* 4/200: 30 Dec 1809), but Dalrymple’s many creditors were soon dissatisfied with the way in which Hewitt was handling the estate. In February 1810 the Court ordered that the *General Wellesley* and her stores should be sold, the proceeds be paid into the Penang Treasury, that Hewitt should sort out the assets and debts and report to the Court, and that the creditors should appear before Hewitt to “prove their respective demands” (*PG*: 4/207: 17 Feb 1810 and several subsequent issues). The creditors promptly took court action against Hewitt (*PG* 4/209: 24 Feb 1810 and subsequent issues). The list of creditors is a complicated one. The first name was Thomas de Souza (a Bombay merchant), as executor of John Grant, who had died in Bombay soon after the *Marquis Wellesley* burned (Hodgson 1938: 115). The other creditors were listed as Alexander Colvin (a Calcutta merchant and associate of Parry) and others, trustees for the creditors of Harvey, Weatherall and Co. (shipwrights of Calcutta), Arratoon Aredist on behalf of themselves and other creditors, Soliman, a serang (bosun), and John Thomas (mariner), on behalf of themselves and the ship’s company of the *General Wellesley*, Douglas Murray, Joseph Burn, Thomas Parry, David Pugh, and others.²³ The creditors (or their

²¹ He had arrived from Malacca in August 1809 and was named as a member of the Penang Grand Jury in November 1809 (*PG* 4/183: 26 Aug 1809; 4/195: 18 Nov 1809).

²² The arrival in Penang was also reported in *MC* 26/1274, 6 Mar 1810.

²³ There were Armenian merchants called Arratoon (or Aratoon) in Bombay, Calcutta and Penang: see Milburn (1813), Vol. 1: 234 and Vol. 2: 170, and Lee (1978: 24, footnote 47).

legal representatives) then fell out among themselves and there was an unpleasant shock for Douglas Murray, who was sued by Parry, Lane & Co. on the same grounds that Murray had sued Joseph Burn. The Madras trading house sought to recover the bond originally given to their agent Burn by the Sultan of Pontianak and which had passed into Murray's hands, as acknowledged (by letter) by Burn. The Recorder's judgement was consistent with that passed on Burn in June 1808. He ruled that the plaintiffs indeed had the right to recover the bond and gave an injunction against Murray from trying to use it to obtain money. However, this injunction was made without prejudice to any attempt by Murray to get recompense from the hapless Burn or indeed from Parry, which certain letters said to be in Murray's possession might allow (*PG 5/212*: 17 Mar 1810). Interest in the *General Wellesley* had been maintained in Madras, and the *Courier* soon reported Murray's trial (*MC 26/1279*: 10 Apr 1810).

This was not the end of this extraordinary series of legal wrangles. Reading between the lines of the reports in the *Gazette*, it is clear that John Hewitt was still trying to retain the *General Wellesley* and Dalrymple's other assets. In April and May 1810 the *Gazette* carried advertisements for the sale by auction of the *General Wellesley*, lying off Carnegie & Co's wharf, and the spars brought back in March 1808, which were still unsold at the premises of the late James Scott at that time (*PG 5/215-219*: 7 Apr-5 May 1810). The sale was suddenly postponed "by order of the Court" (*PG 5/220*: 12 May 1810) but proceeded, though it was not reported. In September 1810 the creditors sued Hewitt in 12 separate suits to recover the proceeds of the sale of the ship. There were two complications. One was that soon before the case was settled, Hewitt, "late Registrar," had departed for Europe, apparently in a hurry (*PG 5/236*: 1 Sept 1810).²⁴ The other was that Simeon Lord had also made a claim in New South Wales. However, Sir Edmond Stanley ruled that as the first mortgagee had been the deceased John Grant, Thomas de Souza as his executor had first claim, and that the other creditors could obtain future assets when realized. He also ruled that an apparent irregularity over the registration of the ship was not an issue (*PG 5/241*: 6 Oct 1810).²⁵ Sadly, there was no indication as to what happened to Murray, nor that Joseph Burn received any payment.

In June 1810 there was a report from Malacca that mentioned "the death of Captain Joseph Burn to the eastward" (*PG*: 6/226: 23 Jun 1810). This was corrected the following week: Burn, said to have died at Pontianak, was "in perfect health" (*PG*: 6/227: 30 Jun 1810). This information probably came from Captain Tait, the commander of the country vessel *Thainstone*, which had arrived in Penang that week from the eastward, including Pontianak. The *Thainstone's* voyage had included an attack by pirates at Muntok on Bangka that resulted in the death of the ten crew-members of his ship's longboat (*PG 6/227*: 30 Jun 1810; *Lady S. Raffles* 1830: 79).

During the events described above, Raffles was mainly in Penang, with short visits to Malacca in 1807 and 1808. Given the very small size of the European population in Penang, Raffles must have known Burn. He would have been involved in the court case in 1808 as Registrar and approved publication of the details in his capacity as Licensor of

"Aredist" is obscure: it is reminiscent of the Parsi name "Ardaseer." Apart from Soliman, the other creditors have been identified from Milburn and the *East India Register & Directory*.

²⁴ Curiously, the ship on which he sailed was bound for China.

²⁵ Hodgson (1938) does not mention the court proceedings in 1809 and 1810. He says (p. 124) that Parry wrote off the *General Wellesley* account as a loss in December 1808.

the Press (Wurtzburg 1954: 64-65). The later events that revealed that it was Dalrymple who was the real rogue in the *General Wellesley* saga probably changed Raffles's opinion of Joseph Burn, and led him not only to recommend Burn to Lord Minto but himself to use Burn's services.

Burn's Letters Revisited

Burn's two letters to Raffles are about 150 pages of manuscript and contain much information beyond that given by Leyden. At the beginning of the first letter (12 February 1811) Burn said that he had received Raffles's letter, delivered by Captain Lambert. He had forwarded to Sambas in the Sultan of Pontianak's prahu a letter from Raffles that requested the hand-over of the pirates who had captured the brig *Malacca* in June 1810 (Burn 1811: 1). At that time there had been a large increase in piracy in the region and the *Malacca* had been cut off at Bangka and its captain, Hercules Ross, killed. Raffles's special interest in the *Malacca* may have been due to his friendship with Alexander Hare, who was then trading out of Malacca and had owned the vessel. The pirate chiefs were named in the *Prince of Wales Island Gazette* as "Inchee Rassib, Majee, Booang and Daood," all of whom lived on Bangka (PG 6/224: 9 Jun 1810; 6/230: 21 Jul 1810). They appear frequently in later reports of piracy in the region. The Sultan of Sambas refused to hand over the pirates but Burn believed that he had received most of the cargo of the *Malacca* that included tin, and was worth 15,000 Spanish dollars. The Sultan's letter to Raffles still exists (*Raffles Collection*: MSS Eur D742/1; translated by Ahmat bin Adam 1971: 28-29). Burn also reported that another British vessel, the *Commerce*, that had been dismasted and had drifted ashore near Sambas, had been burned by the Rajah of Sarawak, a relative of the Sultan of Sambas (Burn 1811: 5). This information was also given in an extant letter to Raffles from the Sultan of Pontianak (Ahmat bin Adam 1971: 20-23). The rest of Burn's first letter (about 25 pages) included descriptions of the Dayaks and their customs, and a brief account of Sanggau on the River Kapuas and its relations with Pontianak. Burn also mentioned the fate of the ruling house of the former sultanate of Sukadana, that had been overthrown and destroyed in 1786 by forces from Pontianak, with Dutch naval support. Burn had seen the "Rajah" of Matan — ruler of the residue of the sultanate of Sukadana — on a Dutch vessel at the end of 1810; he stayed in Pontianak for 15 days and was heavily under the influence of opium. Burn mentioned the fabled "diamond" of 367 carats that was owned by the ruling house of Sukadana, and the letter included a sketch of this impressive stone by Sultan Kassim of Pontianak. It had once been seen by the Sultan in company with W. M. Stuart, then Dutch Resident at Pontianak, who had been sent by the Governor-General in Batavia to buy it in exchange for gifts that included 150,000 Spanish dollars and two armed brigs. This extraordinary offer was refused because of the healing properties of water in which the "diamond" had been placed. Mr Stuart thought that the stone was a diamond "of the first water" (Burn 1811: 20-27).²⁶ The letters from the Sultans and that from Burn were taken to Raffles in Malacca by Captain Tait.

Burn's second letter (12 March 1811), that he entrusted to an Arab trader bound for Malacca, started with a warning to Raffles that a few days previously the notorious Pangeran Anom, half-brother of the Sultan of Sambas, had come out of Sambas River with two small ships. One of the pirate chiefs who had attacked the *Malacca*, and now

²⁶ Many years later the Dutch established that it was in fact rock crystal.

called “Assang Rasib,” was on the smaller ship and the ships were openly challenging not only Chinese junks but also English vessels (Burn 1811: 36-37). They were clearly much more of a threat than the large prahus that were the standard pirate vessels. The information was also provided in another letter from the Sultan of Pontianak, who asked for assistance from Raffles (Ahmat bin Adam 1971: 24-25).

Burn’s second letter included a lengthy account (60 pages) of the history of Pontianak. Some of this material was included in Leyden’s “Sketch” and, along with other contemporary source material, by Heidhues in her valuable description of the origins of the sultanate of Pontianak at the end of the eighteenth century (Heidhues 1998). Burn said that the site of Sukadana was occupied by one Bugis merchant “of any consequence” and by “outcasts and Lanuns” — i.e., pirates. Pontianak had also conquered Mempawah to the north, but some authority (at least over coastal and near-inland areas) was subsequently restored to the original ruling family. Beyond Mempawah lay the sultanate of Sambas, which had strong political aspirations in the region. Burn described in detail the origin of the warfare between Pontianak and Sambas at the beginning of the nineteenth century. This was said to have arisen from a dispute between the rulers of Sambas and Mempawah over control of the gold-mining areas of Monterado and Selekau, where Chinese settlers were gaining increasing autonomy. Forces from Mempawah had attacked and burned Selekau, and the Sultan of Sambas demanded financial restitution. The Sultan of Pontianak was called in to resolve the dispute, but he was unsuccessful and Sambas attacked Mempawah. Mempawah applied to Pontianak for funds to buy off Sambas. These were provided and the forces from Sambas withdrew. Mempawah then refused to repay the loan from Pontianak, which in turn besieged Mempawah. To the astonishment of Pontianak (according to Burn), Sambas then sent assistance to Mempawah and the forces from Pontianak eventually withdrew (Burn 1811: 49-55). There followed ongoing warfare between Pontianak and Sambas on land and water, in which the British were later to become involved.

Burn described the controversial succession of the second Sultan to the throne of Pontianak, and his character. The dying Sultan Abdulrahman told Burn to beware of the then Panambahan Kassim of Mempawah, his eldest son, who was a man of bad character and might kill him. The Sultan and his chief followers wanted the second son to become Sultan but the latter refused. Kassim was accepted as Sultan after promising to mend his ways, which he did, as recorded by Burn (Burn 1811: 57-60; see also Leyden 1811: 104; Heidhues 1998). According to Burn, trade at Pontianak had declined after the accession of Kassim. He outlined the main exports from Pontianak (gold, wax and birds’ nests) and the imports from English ships, especially opium. After this commercial intelligence Burn related some anecdotes: the dispute when the Sultan Abdulrahman learned about an approach to one of the Dutch by a palace concubine, the torture of four runaway slave girls and Sultan Kassim’s handling of an affair between a Bugis and one of Abdulrahman’s widows (see also Heidhues 1998).

After the salacious details Burn provided a lengthy account (nearly 50 pages) entitled “The Settlements above Pontiana.” This expanded on his brief descriptions in the first letter. Leyden very quickly passed over this material, which is summarized in Table 1. The times of travel by water look very reasonable for slow-moving cargo vessels, except possibly for the six days between Belitang and Sintang, which are only about 50 km. apart by water. The settlements were all governed by “Malay” rulers who differed in status and hence their dependence on the more important polities such as Pontianak and

Table 1. Summary of Joseph Burn's Descriptions of Settlements on the River Kapuas Above Pontianak. Present-day names are in brackets. Travel times are from the previous place, starting at Pontianak. D: Dayak; M: Malay; Ch: Chinese. Rulers are all Malay.

Travel (days)	Name	Ruler	Population	Products and notes
4	Tayan (Tayan)	Rajah	D: 8000 M: 200 Ch: "few"	Iron ore, iron-stone. Chinese make pots and guns from iron; addicted to gambling and opium. Rajah is subject to Pontianak.
1	Mellinsom (Meliau)	Pangeran	D: 1000 M: 50-60 Ch: 0	Rice, wax, gambier. Pangeran is very old, with little authority.
5	Sango (Sanggau)	Rajah	D: 8000 M: 1000 Ch: 500	Gold, small diamonds, wax, many fruits, coffee. Rajah intermarried with Dayaks. Conquered by Pontianak. Hill people resemble Battas (Bataks) of Sumatra.
3	Seccado (Sekadau)	Pangeran	D: 10,000 M: ? Ch: ?	Gold, rattans, rice, wax. "Of little importance." Soil poor compared with Sanggau.
2	Spaw (Sepauk)	Pangeran	D: 1000 M: 50 Ch: 100	Gold, wax, cotton (originally from Java). Soil marshy; place of little importance.
1	Billiton (Belitang)	Pangeran	D: 6000 M: 100 C: 0	Gold, rice, cotton, tenkawan oil (run into bamboo; hardened, exported and used to seal prahus). Seven days to Punan, who have no rice: they use sago, and need salt, pots and iron parangs.
6	Sintang (Sintang)	Sultan	D: 60,000 M: 1000 Ch: 700	Gold, coarse cotton cloaks: trades with Banjarmasin and Bangka. "Of much importance"; takes little notice of Pontianak. Twelve days away is large lake; Ascarbaloo (?) D live around the lake. Ten days away are Mintooree (Mendawai?) D; they have gold and rice and fight Biajoo (Biadju) and Ambaloo (Embalah?) D; the latter are tributary to Sintang.
3	Seelat (Nanga Silat)	Panambahan	D: 2000 M: 350 Ch: 50	Gold, wax, cotton, prahus.
1	Sogat (Suhaid?)	Kiai	D: 3000 M: few Ch: 0	Gold, wax; unimportant place.
2	Seelimboo (Selimbau)	Kiai	D: 1000 M: 50 Ch: 0	Wax, cotton. The river is like a large lake and connects with a river to Banjarmasin.

Sintang. Burn described Sanggau, said to be 230-250 miles (and 10 days travel) up the Kapuas from Pontianak, in such detail that he had probably visited the place. There were the remains of a small “square built fort of brick,” which the Malay inhabitants said was built 140-150 years ago by the Portuguese who — again according to Burn’s informants — had been there for many years (Burn 1811: 4-16). There is no record of the Portuguese ever having had a settlement at Sanggau, though there was at least one Portuguese penetration into the lower Kapuas in the mid sixteenth century (Smith 2000, 2001). The structure is likely to be the remains of a much earlier Hindu-Buddhist building. Sanggau produced the best gold dust in West Borneo and also diamonds. “All the fruits of India” were grown there (Burn 1811: 4-16, 108-119). Judging by the content of his letters, Burn himself did not travel far up the River Kapuas, and almost certainly not beyond Sanggau. He obtained information about the farther settlements from Arab traders. One was named as Sheik Omar, who had traveled very widely in Borneo and had “a settlement of his own near Sango” (Burn 1811: 14). There was also Sayid Abdullah, who knew about the remote Punan country and had purchased a female Punan slave who could not understand the local Dayak language. The Punan were said to resemble the Batak people of Sumatra and those of the Andaman Islands, except that their skin was much fairer. Beyond Sintang were the “Mintooree” (Mendawai?) Dayaks, who had long earlobes and tattoos (Burn 1811: 124-135).

Burn also described Landak (not included in Table 1). It lay about six days’ journey up a branch of the river above Pontianak and was “a remarkably sickly place” where “jungle fever” was easily caught, but had a lot of gold. The Chinese made many attempts to get access to the gold but without success because the ruler of Landak (“Rajah”: Burn) had seen the increasing Chinese strength at Monterado and Selakau, formerly controlled by the Sultan of Sambas, who had permitted the Chinese to mine gold. Landak fought against Sambas with the aid of Pontianak, but Sultan Kassim told Burn that he did not trust the Landak people (Burn 1811: 139-146; Heidhues 1998). Finally, Burn returned to relations between Pontianak and the Dutch when the latter held control, and in particular their imposition of taxes (Burn 1811: 146-151; Heidhues 1998).

The commercial intelligence that Burn provided is still useful for comparison with later information obtained by the Dutch when their officials first traveled up the Kapuas in the 1820s, and by other nineteenth century travelers, including American missionaries (Anon. 1840).²⁷ Burn’s information also helps chart the spread of the Chinese up the Kapuas as gold and diamond mining developed (see Jackson 1997; Heidhues 2003), and gives a background to the instability and conflict among the polities in the inland areas of West Borneo in the first half of the nineteenth century (Veth 1854-1856, *passim*; Wadley 2000, 2001).

Burn’s description of Sanggau included a description of wildlife. The animals included deer, hogs, rhinoceroses, “small tyger cats,” civet cats, porcupines (one of which was in the habit of entering his room in search of food and pestering him), monkeys, orangutans etc. He also mentioned a range of birds, including the Brahminy kites — the famous Dayak omen-bird — that he had also frequently seen at Madras. Burn was also impressed by birds identifiable as hornbills; they have a “remarkably large red bill” and make “a most uncommon loud hollow short noise, or in short notes but resembling the

²⁷ The authors are identifiable from missionary literature as Elbert Nevius and William Youngblood.

mewing [or “mooring”: word nearly illegible] of a conch shell.” He described the nesting habits of hornbills inside tree hollows (Burn 1811: 115-118). It may be that Burn was an early bird-watcher or, perhaps more likely, that Raffles had requested such information. The later report to Raffles by John Hunt, who was Raffles’s Resident in Pontianak for a short time in 1813, also contains information about wildlife, which was one of Raffles’s many interests.²⁸

Apart from seeking recompense from Sultan Kassim, and possibly shelter from further legal action, how Burn spent his time in Pontianak is not known. Gibson-Hill suggested that he may have been an employee or business associate of Alexander Hare, because of Burn’s interest in the fate of the *Malacca* (Gibson-Hill 1952: 18, footnote 11; Gibson-Hill 1955). Gibson-Hill also suggested that it was Hare who put Raffles in touch with Burn (Gibson-Hill 1952: 21). However, there is no evidence of an association between Burn and Hare at this time. Alternatively, Burn may have been a commercial agent for other British traders or indeed have commanded one of the vessels that belonged to Sultan Kassim. In 1811 these included two well-armed small ships and two or three brigs, said to be for protection against his neighbors (*Java Government Gazette (JG)* 1/36: 31 Oct 1812; Hunt 1812: 26), but doubtless also used for trade and smuggling. Leyden’s comment that Sultan Kassim was Burn’s “principal associate” suggests that he was employed directly by the Sultan (Leyden 1811: 101). He must have been on a local vessel in May 1811 if he continued to survey the Karimata area after Greig returned to Malacca.

Joseph Burn and the *Olivia*

Whether Burn helped pilot the invasion fleet has not been established but he must have left Pontianak by mid-1812. Alexander Hare had arrived in Batavia from Malacca during or soon after the invasion. In November 1811 he accompanied Captain Richard Phillips on a mission for Raffles to Palembang and in April 1812 he was appointed British Resident at Banjarmasin in Borneo (Gibson-Hill 1952: 25-26). Hare was the owner of a brig, the *Olivia* (presumably named after Olivia Raffles), which arrived in Batavia as part of the British expeditionary fleet. The cargo included opium, which was transferred to the EIC warehouse by Captain Ramsay, possibly the commander (*Java Factory Records* 1812: Return of opium received into HC Warehouse, Batavia).²⁹ The Java government chartered the *Olivia* (if they had not already done so) for an indefinite time. In mid-March 1812, listed as a transport brig from Malacca, the *Olivia* was at Batavia ready to sail to an unspecified destination; the commander was not named (Gibson-Hill 1952: 129, footnote 24, quoting J.C. Ross; *JG*: 1/3: 14 Mar 1812).

Commanded by Joseph Burn, the *Olivia* was involved in the aftermath of the stranding of the *Coromandel*, en route to Java, in the Karimata islands in August 1812. This incident was to have serious repercussions for Sambas (Smith 2002). The stranding was discovered by the country ship *Helen*, which had taken stores to Muntok (renamed Minto after its occupation by the British in May 1812) and was sailing to Batavia by the

²⁸ The original report does not seem to have survived and the date in the title as published (Hunt 1812) is questionable. The report mentions the unsuccessful attack on Sambas in November 1812, and the vessels did not return to Batavia until December.

²⁹ The list also includes Alexander Hare as the importer of opium from the *Tweed* in January 1812.

northern passage round Borneo, a route that passed the Karimatas. Pangeran Anom's flotilla from Sambas was by then plundering the *Coromandel*, and he had persuaded some of the crew of lascars to join him. Outgunned, the *Helen* returned to Minto to spread the news. Meanwhile, the *Olivia*, commanded by "Captain Burns," and another small vessel, the *Maria*, that had sailed in company with the *Helen*, arrived off the mouth of the River Kapuas (*JG*: 1/27: 29 Aug 1812; 1/35: 24 Oct 1812; 1/36: 31 Oct 1812).³⁰ On 7 September they picked up the officers, passengers and crew from the *Coromandel* who had taken refuge in Pontianak, and set off for Java. The *Maria* and *Olivia* soon encountered one of Pangeran Anom's ships, so they returned to Pontianak to inform Sultan Kassim of its presence. The *Maria* and *Olivia* set off again, this time for Minto, and not far from the Karimata Islands they met HCC *Aurora*, commanded by Captain David Macdonald. He had sailed from Bangka to investigate and decided to pursue Pangeran Anom to Sambas. "Captain Burns of the *Olivia* tendered his services to proceed to Pontiano for pilots who were acquainted with the Sambas River, where it was probable the Pirate had gone." He returned from Pontianak two days later (*JG*: 1/36: 31 Oct 1812). "Captain Burns" was Joseph Burn, surely the same man who had lived at Pontianak, now certainly associated with Hare and hence the EIC and making use of his local knowledge.³¹ The *Aurora*, accompanied by the *Olivia* and *Maria*, pursued Pangeran Anom to the mouth of the Sambas River. However, the ship escaped over the shallow bar into the river (*JG* 1/36: 31 Oct 1812).

The British vessels involved in these encounters dispersed to destinations that are, with one exception, easily traced. The *Aurora* proceeded via Bangka and Malacca to Penang (*PG* 7/347: 24 Oct 1812), as did the *Maria* (*PG* 7/351: 21 Nov 1812). The *Helen* sailed from Bangka to Batavia and then Semarang (*JG* 1/136: 31 Oct 1812; 1/38: 14 Nov 1812). The *Thainstone* appeared at Pontianak and Mr. De Letang (or Deletang), a passenger from the *Coromandel*, transferred from the *Olivia* and was taken to Semarang and then Batavia (*JG* 1/138: 14 Nov 1812). Missing entirely from these shipping movements is, unfortunately, the *Olivia*. Still on board were said to be nine "Gualas or Milkmen," who had been on the *Coromandel*. They were keenly awaited in Java in order to instruct the local people in managing a dairy and making ghee, which was much in demand by the sepoy's stationed there (*JG* 1/36: 31 Oct 1812). However, the *Java Government Gazette* did not report the arrival of the *Olivia* at any of the ports in Java that were regularly covered in its "Shipping Intelligence"; these were Batavia, Subaraya and Semarang.

The fate of the milkmen remains undiscovered, but at some time during the next six months Burn and the *Olivia* proceeded eastwards, bound for Timor. Burn had reached the climax of his career, having been appointed Resident at Kupang, and his arrival had been expected for some time. Early in May 1812 Richard Phillips, who was then British Commissioner in Macassar, wrote to Raffles saying that he had sent Lieut. Knibbe of the Amboynese Corps in the *Minto* to take charge in Timor, "provisionally until the arrival of

³⁰ The *Maria* and *Olivia* were "schooners" according to *JG*.

³¹ This must be the connection previously made by Gibson-Hill. He briefly referred to the *Coromandel* affair, as reported in *JG* (1952: 123, footnote 9). There is no indication, even in the list of literature that he used, that he looked at *PG*.

Mr Burns" (*Java Factory Records (Java) 17: Council Meeting, 4 Oct 1812*).³² Knibbe arrived there in March and reported to Phillips that Captain Thurston of HMS *Hesper* had taken possession in January and had stripped the place of cash (*Java 17: Council Meeting, 4 Oct 1812*).³³ On 27 July Phillips informed Raffles that "as Mr Burns has not yet arrived — despairing now of seeing him and being obliged to send some ammunition to Timor, I have dispatched the Honorable Company's cruizer *Nautilus* to that Port." Lieutenant Watson of the Bengal Volunteers was to replace Lieut. Knibbe, and as Watson had "a competent knowledge of Malay" and "it being uncertain whether Mr Burns would ever arrive I have thought myself fortunate in being able to send him" (*Java 17: Council Meeting, 4 Oct 1812*). These letters do not fit comfortably with Gibson-Hill's statements that in 1812 the *Olivia* was apparently stationed at Macassar (Gibson-Hill 1952: 18, footnote 11; 123: footnote 9; no citations given). Nevertheless, this may well have been the destination that was originally intended for the *Olivia* after leaving Bangka in August 1812 on the northern passage.

Joseph Burn in Timor

Joseph Burn did eventually arrive in Kupang on the *Olivia*, relieving Lieutenant Watson at the beginning of May 1813. The *Olivia* remained there without a commander for some weeks until the arrival of a British whaler. On board was a junior officer, named as "Charles Ross," to whom Burn gave the command of the *Olivia*. Ross left Timor for Macassar at the beginning of June, bearing with him Burn's report to Captain Phillips on the state of the establishment (*Java 19: Council Meeting, 13 July 1813*). Burn was unhappy with the condition of the fort, which had been "healthy" until Lieutenant Knibbe had cut down the trees, but lacked water. The Government House was unfit to be inhabited, and Burn rented a house belonging to a Dutch woman. Trade had been previously disrupted by the activities of the British whalers, who carried letters of marque and had captured nearly every vessel going to and from Kupang. The industrious Chinese settlers had accordingly retired to Portuguese East Timor but were returning since the British takeover of the Dutch territory and trade was reviving. Kupang was stacked with goods from Bengal and Java but Burn expected that these would soon be sold. The native inhabitants and their rulers were mainly well-disposed to the British. However, Burn had problems with disputes among the inhabitants because the Dutch records of the past 20 years had been destroyed. Finally, the troops were unhealthy and lacked clothing. Phillips's letters to Java also included news that Lieutenant Watson had arrived back in Macassar on the *Olivia* and that two crew members of the *Olivia* arrested by Burn for mutiny were still on board. The account of this mutiny stated that on 7 March 1813 the *Olivia* "lay at the Brothers — an unhelpful reference, because British maps and charts of the period show islands of that name both at the southern tip of Sumatra and southeast of Malacca, with "Two Brothers" in the Karimata group. This uncertainty leaves unresolved Burn's failure to proceed to Timor sooner.

As well as Burn's report, the documents sent by Phillips to Java included a cargo receipt from "Charles Ross." He was in fact John Clunies Ross, and his journal, later sent

³² Phillips must have already known Burn: he had been an officer in Madras and arrived in Penang in May 1807 (*PG 2/65: 23 May 1807*).

³³ The Java Government was not pleased with Captain Thurston, but as an officer of the Royal Navy he was outside their control.

to Raffles, gives the circumstances of his arrival at Kupang on the whaler *Baroness Longueville* (Gibson-Hill 1952: 120-128). On taking command of the *Olivia*, Ross received permission to engage in limited private trade, which suggests that Burn also had this privilege while an EIC employee. Ross sailed on the *Olivia* on many voyages in the region, and it was at this time that he came into contact with Alexander Hare, later transferring to the command of other vessels owned by Hare (Gibson-Hill 1952: 120-128). The voyages were recorded in the shipping intelligence of the *Java Government Gazette*, where it was first reported that the *Olivia* arrived in Batavia from Bima in Sumbawa early in July 1813 (*JG*: 2/72: 10 Jul 1813). Confusingly, the captain was again named as "Charles Ross," then in later arrivals and departures as "Ch." or "C. Ross," and lastly just as "Ross".³⁴ As regards Joseph Burn in Kupang, there appears to be no further material in the records of the EIC that describes his attempts to put the place in order. Phillips died suddenly in Macassar at the end of 1814 and there was a considerable hiatus in the administration. In March 1815, Captain Wood, by then the Acting Resident there, reported to Raffles that he had received no accounts from Timor (*Java* 42: Council Meeting, 13 May 1815). It appears that Burn's career as an EIC official did not last long. Dutch sources reveal that he became addicted to alcohol and died suddenly, well before the British restored the island to Dutch rule late in 1816 (Veth 1855: 713-716; van der Kemp 1911: 317). The short anonymous account of Timor and neighboring islands that was published in *Malayan Miscellanies* (1820) contains no information identifiably provided by Burn. It was probably written in 1815 or early 1816, as it mentions the activities of Burn's successor, the energetic Acting Resident Hazaart, a Dutchman who retained control in Kupang when British rule ended (Anon. 1820).

Conclusions

Joseph Burn's activities should be seen, if briefly, in the broader context of the events that influenced them and their aftermath. The *General Wellesley* left Madras at a time when there was a severe downturn in commercial activity, and hence in Thomas Parry's fortunes, caused in part by the war with France and its allies and in part by drought and famine (Brown 1954: 31). Parry, rather than lying low, was trying new trading ventures but these were not to be successful. He believed that John Grant, co-investor in the two *Wellesley* ships, had cheated him and was amazed to learn that he had died a rich man (Hodgson 1938: 115). Nevertheless, unlike many early nineteenth-century British merchant houses in India, Parry's partnership survived the financial hardships, and after he died in 1824 the firm developed increasingly broader business interests. Still based in Madras, it existed into the 1950s as Parry & Co (see Brown 1954).³⁵

The voyage of the *General Wellesley* to Borneo and Sulu was a bold speculative venture that took place at a time when the British had not yet established naval control over France, Spain and Holland in the area. The ship was well armed and its license as a privateer would also have been an attraction to the investors.³⁶ Responsibility for the

³⁴ A handwritten "Clunies" might have been misread once as "Charles" but why his correct name was never given is a mystery. On one occasion the vessel commanded by "Ch. Ross" was named as the *Oliver* (*JG* 2/84: 2 Oct 1813). The account by Clunies Ross leaves no doubt that there was no Captain Charles Ross.

³⁵ In the 1970s the company was "Indianized" and is now E.I.D. Parry (India) Ltd.

³⁶ John Hunt was shipwrecked in the Sulu region during an expedition in 1810 after peace was established between Spain and Britain. Captain Greig and the *Lord Minto* were also

financial failure of the voyage must be shared by Sultan Abdulrahman of Pontianak and David Dalrymple. Compared with Dalrymple's unscrupulous activities, including the voyages to Australia and beyond that prevented his prosecution, Joseph Burn's conviction for "trover" seems rather unfair. He was certainly wrong to hand over responsibility for Douglas Murray's cargo to Dalrymple. Otherwise, his main fault seems to be that he gave Murray the Sultan of Pontianak's bond that really belonged to Parry in order to buy his way out of debtor's gaol in Penang. In due time, however, Murray got his own legal desserts. Their trials reflect Sir Edmond Stanley's zeal in establishing British law in Penang. The Charter of Justice that he brought on his appointment had "rescued this Island from the state of confusion in which it had so long been involved; and the removal of which he trusted would raise its credit and respectability in all parts of the civilized and commercial world" (PG 3/123: 2 Jul 1808).

Burn's opportunity for rehabilitation was triggered by Raffles's interest in Borneo and particularly by Raffles's intelligence-gathering from his base in Malacca. Burn's letters from Pontianak seem to be a judicious account of the region. Although he commented on the gold mining activities there was none of the exaggeration of Borneo's riches, as given by Hunt, that also contributed to Raffles's growing obsession with Borneo and found its way into his *History of Java* (Raffles 1817, Vol I: 236-242). Also, there was no tirade against Sambas, again as given by Hunt. According to Burn the difference between Sambas and Pontianak was essentially that the latter polity had given up its former piratical activities, at least according to the Sultan. Hunt's report gives much more information about many areas of Borneo, and particularly the north, than does Burn's but contains errors that include incorrect dates and details of piratical attacks blamed wrongly on Sambas. He did not refer to Burn by name but knew of "a description in another place" of the rise of Pontianak, obviously a reference to Burn's report (Hunt 1812: 25). The poor reputation of Sambas did not deter all British country traders. For example, the brig *Tweed*, owned by Carnegie & Co and commanded by Daniel Smith, returned to Penang from Sambas and other trading ports to the eastward on 6 May 1811 (PG: 6/272: 11 May 1811). Smith was one of the country traders whom Raffles consulted at that time as to the suitability of the route via the Karimatas for the invasion fleet before despatching Captain Greig on his survey (Raffles 1811).

After his appointment as Lieutenant-Governor in Java, Raffles became keen to extend British influence over Borneo. He argued that because the Dutch had abandoned Borneo before the British conquests, it could remain a British possession even if the Dutch were to regain power in the East Indies. Raffles also wanted to restrict foreign trade to "Borneo Proper" (Brunei), Banjarmasin and Pontianak (*Java* 61: Raffles to Supreme Government 12 June 1813). The plundering of the abandoned *Coromandel* gave a convenient excuse to campaign against Sambas, and after the successful attack in 1813 the coastal areas under its control were blockaded by the Royal Navy and Bombay Marine until mid-1814. Sultan Kassim of Pontianak lobbied against the restoration of Sambas as a trading center and sought British protection (*Java* 61: Hare to Raffles, Enclosure 2, 23 March 1813; Sultan of Pontianak to Raffles, not dated but also March 1813). Interestingly, despite Raffles's support of Pontianak, Alexander Hare expressed doubts about the Sultan's influence and the stability of the state, which he visited in the lead-up to the second British attack on Sambas (*Java* 61: Hare to Raffles; private letter not dated but also

there (PG, 5, 241: 6 Oct 1810).

March 1813).³⁷ By 1814, Raffles's policy towards Borneo was not supported by the EIC either in Calcutta or London, and he was forced to withdraw his commercial agent, Mr. Bloem, from Pontianak. A short time previously Sultan Kassim had, like his father, entered into a dispute over British cargo. Despite an appeal by its owner, Captain Daniel Smith, Raffles declined to become involved on the grounds that he no longer had authority to influence events in Borneo (*Bengal Civil Colonial Consultations*: 7 Oct 1815; Wright 1961: 287-288).³⁸

Joseph Burn would seem to have been a suitable choice as Raffles's representative in Pontianak in 1812. The reason that he was not appointed may be that his relations with the Sultan had been too close. Clearly Burn's rehabilitation was sufficient for him to be appointed Resident at Kupang — a significant consolation for a convicted country trader. Timor had strategic interest both to the Dutch and British. It was a local trading center, with a large Chinese community, and European and American whalers called there for supplies. Unfortunately, Burn did not live long enough to have an identifiable impact on the local affairs, and in any case had he survived he would have been replaced by Hazaart when the Dutch reassumed control late in 1816.

After he left Java, Raffles continued to argue that the British needed a base beyond Penang and Bencoolen that would counter Dutch control of the shipping routes and trade. In England he wrote a lengthy paper (1817) for George Canning that included an island off the West coast of Borneo "with a very good harbour" after Bangka and Bintang (Riau) in a list of possible sites for such a base (Boulger 1897: 271-272). This must be Penebangan, one of the Karimata islands, which the British invasion fleet had used in 1811 as a rendezvous and to take on water, as described by Lord Minto in his diary (Wurtzburg 1954: 159-160). It was the nearest that Raffles himself ever came to Borneo. By the time that he arrived in Bencoolen in March 1818, Bangka had been handed back to the Dutch, and by September 1818 they were exerting control over the Riau archipelago, Pontianak and Sambas. Raffles's response was the foundation of Singapore, which soon became a center for trade with West Borneo despite restrictive practices that the Dutch attempted to impose. The early Singapore newspapers expressed ongoing interest in West Borneo (Smith 2002) and this was reflected in Moor's (1837) compendium of articles. Though commercially unsuccessful, the latter eventually brought Leyden's "Sketch" — and hence, knowledge of Burn's letters — to a readership much wider than that of the old *Transactions of the Society of Arts and Sciences in Batavia*. The extensive information provided by Burn was doubtless included in the 1000 pages of Raffles's "former history, present state, population and resources" of Borneo that was lost in the fire on the *Fame*, in which Raffles was traveling when he left Bencoolen in 1824 (Wurtzburg 1954: 685). Ironically, because of a delay in the arrival of the *Fame*, Raffles had decided to charter the *Borneo*, which was built near Banjarmasin and was owned by Alexander Hare and John Clunies Ross. Commanded by the latter, the *Borneo* had arrived at Bencoolen to take on pepper for England. The arrival of the *Fame*, which was much larger, prevented this arrangement being put into place (Wurtzburg 1954: 675). Once back in England, and despite his losses, Borneo was still in Raffles's mind. In January

³⁷ Hare made a 10 day excursion from Pontianak up the river to Landak and on through the gold-mining country to Mempawah.

³⁸ The documents include letters from D. Smith, 25 Feb 1815 and 24 Mar 1815, and from W. Bloem (or Bloeme or Bloemsz), 27 Feb 1815. Wright (1961) does not name Smith.

1825 Ross, then in London, sent him the journal in which he had recorded his meeting with Joseph Burn in Kupang, along with yet another brief description of Borneo (Gibson-Hill 1952: 111-120, 121-128).³⁹

Joseph Burn will never be more than a footnote in the history of the region but he did, indirectly, produce a lasting outcome. Burn's appointment of John Clunies Ross as commander of the *Olivia* resulted in Ross meeting Alexander Hare and his employment in 1816 in Hare's short-lived and controversial fiefdom near Banjarmasin in South Borneo. Still associated with Hare, Ross paid a short visit to the Cocos-Keeling Islands in the Indian Ocean at the end of 1825. Hare settled there with his entourage and harem in 1826 and Ross returned to settle there in 1827. Their association ended in acrimony and Hare left in 1831 (Gibson-Hill 1952, *passim*). The Clunies Ross (later Clunies-Ross) family dynasty that ruled the islands remained strong even when they became a Territory of Australia in 1955, and the family retained property there until the 1990s.

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³⁹ Gibson-Hill, perhaps tactfully, did not include the introduction in which Ross referred to the Malays of Borneo as a "piratical, slave-catching, ferocious and murderous race, the scourge of the Archipelago" who "harass and enslave the aboriginal natives" and whose piratical activities continued "as a consequence of European *weakness* not *power*" (original emphasis; Ross to Raffles, 17 Jan 1825, *Raffles Collection*, MSS Eur C36).

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**TURBULENT TIMES IN SARAWAK:
THE END OF EXPATRIATE INFLUENCE AND THE STRUGGLE FOR
POWER OVER AND WITHIN THE STATE**

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Expatriate influence in the Sarawak State Government came to an abrupt end on 30 July 1966. This was some three years after Sarawak became part of the Federation of Malaysia. Prior to becoming part of Malaysia, Sarawak had been a British colony (1946-1963), an independent state under the Brookes (1841-1946) although occupied by the Japanese (1942-1945) during the Second World War, and before 1841 part of the Brunei Sultanate. The end of expatriate influence in 1966 was the outcome of an ongoing struggle for power over and within the state played out with all the inevitability of a pre-scripted *Wayang Kulit* from the moment Sarawak became a state in the Federation of Malaysia on 16 September 1963.

The first elected Chief Minister was Stephen Kalong Ningkan, a forty-three year old Iban from Betong who was selected by the Sarawak Alliance which was comprised at the time of four political parties.¹ Although the Sarawak Alliance only received thirty-four percent in the first round of voting in the mid-1963 three-tier elections, very adroit political maneuvering secured over two-thirds of the seats in the Council Negri (Legislature), which enabled the Alliance to form the Supreme Council (Cabinet/Government). The Sarawak Alliance was made up of the pro-Malaysia Barisan Ra'ayat Jati Sarawak (Berjasa) headed by Tuanku Bujang, a high ranking Sibu Malay; Party Pesaka Anak Sarawak (Pesaka) headed by a Third Division Iban leader, Temenggong Jugah; the Sarawak Chinese Association (SCA) headed by a Sibu Chinese businessman, Ling Being Siew; and the Sarawak National Party (SNAP) headed by Ningkan. Collectively the socialist and predominantly Chinese Sarawak United People's Party (SUPP) with Stephen Yong Kuet Tze as secretary general and Party Negara Sarawak (PANAS) with Abang Haji Mustapha as chairman secured 1.5 percent more primary votes in the elections than the Sarawak Alliance, but were consigned to the opposition.

Prior to the formation of Malaysia, Tunku Abdul Rahman had shown his willingness to intervene in Sarawak politics by announcing that he only supported the pro-Malaysia Sarawak Alliance.² Also the Sarawak Alliance had sought and was given help by the ruling Malayan Alliance in conducting its campaign during the 1963 elections. During this period the ruling Malayan Alliance leaders established strong links with the

¹ See the Biographical Appendix for brief biographical information on Stephen Kalong Ningkan.

² *Sarawak Tribune*, 29 June 1963, p. 1; 15 May 1963, p. 1.

prominent Berjasa member Abdul Rahman Ya'kub, a pro-Malaysia, thirty-five year old Muslim Melanau from Mukah. A UK trained lawyer, Ya'kub was the Deputy Public Prosecutor in the Sarawak Legal Department from 1959 to 1963. He had ethnic, political, and religious empathy with the Malayan Alliance leaders, who supported an unsuccessful attempt to secure his nomination as Sarawak's first Chief Minister (Leigh 1974: 83). Showing the high regard in which United Malays National Organisation (UMNO) leaders held Ya'kub, he was appointed an executive member of UMNO Malaya on 16 May 1965 in the midst of the Land Bill crisis in Sarawak. He became a key player in molding the politics of Sarawak in the UMNO image.

The first dramatic scene in this epic was set just prior to the formation of Malaysia, when a controversy erupted between the Malayan and Sarawak governments over who would be the first governor of Sarawak as a state within the Federation of Malaysia. The Sarawak Alliance, in which the Dayaks were predominant, nominated an Iban, Pesaka leader Temenggong Jugah, for governor.³ However, the Tunku rejected this nomination and, supported by PANAS, insisted on the appointment of a Malay.⁴ But Party Pesaka represented over thirty percent of the Sarawak Alliance's strength in terms of elected district councillors and had forfeited any representation on the Supreme Council in exchange for nomination of the party's leader as governor. Rejection of their leader aroused strong resentment among Party Pesaka members, compounded by their lack of representation in the Supreme Council (Leigh 1974: 78-79). To appease Jugah and Pesaka members, mainly the Third Division Ibans, the Federal Government created for Jugah the post of Federal Minister for Sarawak Affairs (Porritt 1997: 104). Abang Haji Openg, a prominent Malay aristocrat and civil servant, was duly appointed Governor. With the appointment of a Malay head of state paralleling the Malay Sultans in Peninsular Malaysia, the molding of Sarawak in the UMNO-led Malayan Alliance image had begun.

Another key player pertinent to this saga was introduced on 22 July 1963 when Ningkan formed Sarawak's first elected government. This was Abdul Taib bin Mahmud, a 27-year old Australian-trained lawyer who was the nephew of Ya'kub. Taib had joined the Sarawak Government's Legal Department in early 1962. He was not a contestant in the 1963 elections nor had he been involved in any political activity prior to the formation of Sarawak's first elected government.⁵ However, under an agreement between the member parties of the Sarawak Alliance, Berjasa was entitled to nominate two members as State Ministers. On the recommendation of his uncle, Taib was nominated and duly appointed as a State Minister in the Ningkan government. Like his uncle, Taib had ethnic, political, and religious empathy with ruling Malayan politicians and is said to have envisaged Sarawak politics as re-structured on the Malayan pattern of "a dominant Islamic-led native party, with a more or less subservient Chinese partner" (Leigh 1974: 87). "Islamic-led" in this context translated into the Malay and the majority of the

³ "Dayak" was the term used for all non-Muslim natives of Sarawak, which excluded the Muslim Malay and Melanau people. Seventy per cent of the non-Muslim natives were Iban.

⁴ The Constitution of the State of Sarawak in the Federation of Malaysia published in a Government Gazette notification and in the Sarawak Tribune on 12 September 1963 states the governor was to be appointed by the Agong "acting in his discretion but in consultation with the Chief Minister," not the Prime Minister.

⁵ *Sarawak Tribune*, 2 April 1987, p. 4.

Melanau people as they were the only significant Muslim native ethnic groups in Sarawak.

Thus, all the elements to mold Sarawak in the UMNO-led Malayan Alliance image were already in place when Malaysia was formed. Ya'kub had not been successful in the local council elections, the first stage in the three-tier election system to the Council Negri, but as a Berjasa leader was nominated to the Federal Parliament.⁶ He was then made the Assistant Minister for Justice and Rural Development in the Federal Government, providing a strong link between the top federal government leaders and the Sarawak body politic through his nephew Taib, who was appointed State Minister for Works and Communications. Ya'kub, Taib, the Tunku, and UMNO shared a common vision for the future of Sarawak's politics. A setback occurred in the latter part of 1965 when UMNO leaders decided to open a branch in Sarawak to unite the Sarawak Malays, who were then divided between Berjasa and PANAS. However this was not successful, serving only to annoy Chief Minister Ningkan as one more sign of federal interference in local politics.⁷

What was seen as the next opportunity to further the UMNO image for Sarawak occurred when three land bills were to be introduced in the Council Negri in 1965. These were the outcome of the report of a land committee set up in mid 1962 "to make recommendations as to the measures necessary to ensure the best use of land in the national interest."⁸ The government accepted most of the recommendations and the first of note, free issue of title to land held under Native Customary Rights (NCR), was covered in a Land Code (Amendment) Bill passed in the Council Negri in early December 1963. Another three bills on establishing ownership, protecting NCR holdings, and how the government could acquire and pay compensation for NCR land, were published for public discussion in February 1964. The underlying aim of these bills was to free land held under Native Customary Rights (NCR) for large-scale plantation crops and intensive agriculture by landless Chinese farmers. At the same time, the bills attempted to incorporate safeguards protecting native interests. Freeing land for economic development and use by landless Chinese farmers was considered important in combatting communism. Thus the bills would enable the Ningkan government to pursue its solutions to resolving the communist problem then threatening the state.⁹ Considerable publicity was given to the bills in the press and in question-and-answer sessions over the radio, with no indication that the bills would suddenly become an explosive issue.

The bills were to be tabled at a Council Negri meeting on 11 March 1965, but this was postponed to 11 May to amend provisions of the Land (Native Dealings) Bill in response to "certain representations." On 10 May, PANAS, Pesaka, and Berjasa formed the Sarawak Native Alliance, with Temenggong Jugah (Pesaka) as President and Abdul Taib (Berjasa) and Thomas Kana (Pesaka) as Joint Secretaries. The SCA and the SUPP, both predominantly Chinese, were automatically excluded, together with Ningkan's party, SNAP, as the vice-chairman of SNAP, James Wong, was Chinese. At the same time, the

⁶ Information from an early draft of Chapter One in *Footprints in Sarawak and Malaysia: Memoirs of Tan Sri Datuk Ong Kee Hui: 1963 to 1983*, Vol. 2.

⁷ *Sarawak Tribune*, 23 October 1963, p. 1; 26 October 1963, p. 2; 18 January 1964, pp. 3, 4, and 10.

⁸ *Sarawak Tribune*, 1 June 1962, p. 1.

⁹ *Sarawak Tribune*, 17 March 1963, p. 2.

President of the Barisan Pemuda Sarawak, Haji Su'ut bin Tahir, issued a statement opposing the Land Bills.¹⁰ On the morning of the Council Negri meeting, Berjasa and Pesaka submitted letters of withdrawal from the Sarawak Alliance, placing the Land Bills and the government in jeopardy. As the Sarawak Native Alliance (Berjasa, Pesaka, and PANAS) held twenty-two seats in the thirty-nine seat Council Negri, the government was in danger of losing office. However, prior intelligence and very quick thinking avoided the potential collapse of the SNAP-led Ningkan government by last minute withdrawal of the Land Bills in the Council Negri on 11 May. Officially the bills were withdrawn due to strong opposition from the Malay and Dayak communities and the public was unaware that Pesaka and Berjasa had resigned from the Sarawak Alliance.

Overthrow of a government led by a Second Division Iban by a group headed by a Third Division Iban would have divided the Iban community and exacerbated the historical differences between the Second and Third Division Ibans, with unpredictable consequences for internal and external security at a very critical time.¹¹ This was serious as the Ibans made up over thirty percent of Sarawak's 800,000 population and seventy percent of the Dayak population. Further, the Dayaks had not been over-enthusiastic supporters of the Malaysia concept and a perception of federal involvement in local politics would fuel anti-Malaysia feelings. Thus, Dayak support in fighting Indonesian armed confrontation and hence its allies, the Sarawak communists, would be at risk. Virtually all the personnel of the Sarawak armed services, the Field Force and the Border Scouts, were Dayaks. By 1965 Indonesia had amassed nine battalions in West Kalimantan alone, with the defense of all the Borneo states in the hands of three British and Commonwealth Brigades and one Malaysian Brigade supported by a British battalion (Denis and Grey 1996: 254). The Dayak people were playing an essential part in the defense of Sarawak by providing essential intelligence on armed Indonesian intrusions along the 1,000-kilometer border with Kalimantan and on the movements of Sarawak communist guerrillas. Faced with this potentially disastrous situation, Ningkan and his principal advisers, who had already averted the immediate collapse of his government by withdrawing the land bills, had to move very quickly. The principal advisers were Ting Tung Ming, Tony Shaw, and John Pike (Leigh 1974: 83).¹²

Ting Tung Ming, a Sibu Foochow and SCA party member, was Ningkan's Political Secretary and a very close confidante. Tony Shaw, the forty-eight year old, Cambridge educated, expatriate State Secretary, had served in Sarawak since 1948. John Pike, a thirty-nine year old, Oxford educated expatriate who had joined the Sarawak Civil Service in 1949 was the Financial State Secretary. To prevent the government's collapse and retain Dayak unity, Pesaka (11 Council Negri seats) had to be persuaded to rejoin the Alliance. Further, to give a comfortable working majority, either Berjasa (six Council Negri seats) or PANAS (five Council Negri seats), had to be induced to rejoin the Sarawak Alliance. For bargaining purposes to this end, John Pike suggested removing the

¹⁰ *Sarawak Tribune*, 12 May 1965, p. 1.

¹¹ Antipathy between the Second and Third Division Ibans had its origins in the suppression of Iban uprisings in the Third Division by the Brooke regime, mainly in the second half of the 19th century. Second Division Ibans provided the bulk of the irregular forces recruited for these expeditions. There may well have been earlier territorial issues.

¹² See the Biographical Index for brief biographical information on Tony Shaw and John Pike.

three ex-officio expatriates from the Supreme Council, namely Tony Shaw, John Pike and the Attorney-General Phillip Pike, to enable three new ministries to be created and filled by local politicians. The Supreme Council immediately accepted this plan. Working against an impossibly tight schedule, by the next day, 12 May, a Constitution Amendment Bill removing the three ex-officio members from the Supreme Council had been prepared and was tabled in the Council Negri. The bill was passed a day later, but not without some questioning in view of the speed with which it had been introduced.

The alliance between Pesaka and Berjasa appeared to collapse immediately after the Land Bill was withdrawn on 11 May, as Pesaka withdrew its resignation from the Sarawak Alliance on the same day in writing. Two days later, Ningkan publicly hinted that the Sarawak Alliance would appoint two ministries from Pesaka and one from PANAS.¹³ This addressed Pesaka concerns over having no seats in the Supreme Council and hence no voice in the government, although it was the major party in the Sarawak Alliance with more seats than any other party in the Council Negri. On 16 May Ningkan announced that Berjasa's resignation from the Sarawak Alliance had been accepted and that Berjasa members Abdul Taib and Awang Hipni would have to give up their state ministerial posts. Although not stated, Berjasa nominee Federal Minister Ya'kub would also be affected. Ya'kub countered by claiming that Berjasa's resignation had been withdrawn by telephone as soon as the land bills were withdrawn and publicly blamed the Sarawak Deputy Prime Minister, James Wong and his "expatriate bosses" for Ningkan's "decision to drop Berjasa from the [Sarawak] Alliance."¹⁴ Ironically, this would have averted the second part of this crisis completely, but Ningkan denied having received any such telephone call. Several days of rather frenetic and confused inter-party negotiations followed, with Berjasa seeking to restore its position through the Sarawak Native Alliance, which had a commanding twenty-two seats in the Council Negri.

A perceptive T. C. Lim wrote to the *Sarawak Tribune* asking if this were "the right time to topple the state government when our enemies at the gate [Indonesia] are waiting to over-run us" and said that "those who have taken the advantage of splitting the Ibans living in the Second and Third Divisions because of their past conflicts must be very short-sighted indeed."¹⁵ On 18 May four Pesaka leaders were in Kuala Lumpur, having been summoned by Malaysian Deputy Prime Minister Tun Razak, where they joined Berjasa leaders Ya'kub and Taib. Ningkan was also scheduled to fly there on 18 May to discuss the crisis with the Tunku and Razak. However, when he "was told he was to visit Kuala Lumpur to attend a round table conference, arranged by the Prime Minister and his Deputy, Tun Razak, to solve the Sarawak crisis," he declined to go, later saying that the "Sarawak crisis must be settled in Sarawak."¹⁶ Instead, Ningkan elected to attend a meeting with Pesaka leaders in Sibu on 21 May at the invitation of Jugah. During the talks Jugah withdrew his support for the proposed Sarawak Native Alliance and declared that he backed the Chief Minister's government and party "all the way."¹⁷ Ningkan informed Tun Razak of their decision to allow Berjasa and PANAS to submit formal applications to rejoin the Sarawak Alliance and their applications were duly accepted.

¹³ *Sarawak Tribune*, 14 May 1965, p. 1.

¹⁴ *Sarawak Tribune*, 20 May 1965, p. 1.

¹⁵ *Sarawak Tribune*, 21 May 1965, p. 2.

¹⁶ *Sarawak Tribune*, 19 May 1965, p. 1; 22 May 1965, p. 2.

¹⁷ *Sarawak Tribune*, 22 May 1965, p. 1.

Ya'kub retained his Federal Ministry; Abdul Taib and Awang Hipni were reinstated; Abang Othman (PANAS) was appointed Minister of Social Welfare, Youth, and Culture; and Tajang Laing and Francis Umpau (both members of Pesaka) were appointed Ministers of State. By mid June, Ningkan's willingness to compromise for the sake of national unity and the gambit of creating three new ministries by removing the expatriate presence in the Supreme Council had removed the immediate threat to the Ningkan government. But the endplay for the Ningkan government was only a year away.

Direct expatriate influence in the Supreme Council had been removed, but three expatriates were still Council Negri members and advisers to Ningkan in their respective roles. Phillip Pike, the Attorney General, took the oath of office of Chief Justice in September, a local officer, Tan Chiaw Tong, taking over as Acting Attorney-General. This left only two expatriate officers in the Council Negri, Tony Shaw and John Pike, who, together with Phillip Pike were awarded the Honorary Panglima Bintang Sarawak with the title of Dato on 3 October 1965, the Governor's birthday. Orderly plans for the replacement of both Tony Shaw and John Pike by local officers when their contracts expired on 31 August 1967 were already in place. Gerunsin Lembat was appointed Deputy State Secretary on 15 May 1965 and T'en Kuen Foh served as Under Secretary (Finance) from time to time.¹⁸ As Ningkan explained in April 1966, "we have men ready for all the top posts ... if I am able to obtain 100% support from the Federal government in giving away money, then I can ... let them go with compensation."¹⁹ On 16 May 1966, T'en Kuen Foh was appointed Acting Financial Secretary when John Pike left on overseas leave. By then the security situation had improved dramatically with the threat of armed incursions by Indonesian troops removed at the end of May when Indonesian Confrontation officially ended. Also, the Indonesians had embarked on an anti-communist purge throughout Indonesia and together with the Malaysian Government were intent on wiping out Sarawak communist insurgents operating from safe havens in Kalimantan. Further, resettlement of 8,000 Chinese in guarded settlements in the First Division of Sarawak during the second half of 1965 had reduced the communist threat to internal security considerably.²⁰ Reflecting the improved security situation, agreement was about to be reached on the complete withdrawal of British troops from Sarawak and Sabah (North Borneo). On the political front however, there was still unfinished business.

In a rerun with variations of the 1965 incident, on 12 June 1966 Ningkan dismissed his Minister for Communication and Works, Abdul Taib, saying that he had lost confidence in him. When announcing this, Ningkan spoke of a rebel group in the Sarawak Alliance that was plotting to topple the government. Pesaka Secretary-General Thomas Kana immediately confirmed this by saying his party had lost confidence in Ningkan and therefore Jugah had invited Ningkan to resign. Further, Kana advised that twenty Council Negri Council members would boycott the Council Negri meeting on 14 June. The Governor, Tun Abang Haji Openg, together with Jugah, Taib (who disclaimed all knowledge of any rebel group), and other dissident political leaders left for Kuala Lumpur the day before the Council Negri meeting. According to a correspondent with the

¹⁸ Jayl Langub, "Tan Sri Datuk Gerusin Lembat 1942-1955," *Borneo Research Bulletin*, 27 (1996): 7-11.

¹⁹ *Sarawak Tribune*, 1 April 1966, p. 1.

²⁰ See Vernon L. Porrh, *Operation Hammer: Enforced Resettlement in Sarawak in 1965*, Hull: Special Issue of the Centre for South-East Asian Studies, the University of Hull, 2002.

Sarawak Tribune, “the man in the street is saying that ... Taib is determined to make a comeback.”²¹ On the day of the Council Negri meeting, the Tunku announced in Kuala Lumpur that he had received a letter from a majority of the Council Negri members demanding the resignation of Ningkan. In turn, the Tunku called on Ningkan to resign immediately, adding that charges against him would not be revealed if he did so. Predictably, as the accepted procedure was a vote of no confidence in the Council Negri, Ningkan refused to resign. The Council Negri meeting in Kuching was attended by 21 members, consisting of one Independent, one Machinda (a new political party), two PANAS, three SCA, five SUPP, six SNAP, and three ex-officio members, two of whom were expatriates, technically a majority. Undeterred, on the next day the Malaysian Alliance National Council in Kuala Lumpur nominated Penghulu Tawi Sli, a Second Division Iban, as Chief Minister.

Alastair Morrison, the expatriate Information Officer, later wrote that Ningkan’s “style offended many ... Native members of the Alliance felt that he was too closely linked to Chinese business interests ... there were competing interests for timber licences” and “his personal business conduct continued to give offence” (Morrison 1993: 170-173). Morrison wrote of dishonesty, corruption, and jealousy, also commenting that Ningkan was “much harmed” by his suggestion that the Federal Government should consider deferring the date for introducing Malay as the official language in Peninsular Malaysia from 1967 to 1973, to accord with the minimum ten-year period from Malaysia Day agreed for Sarawak. According to Morrison there were federal fears that “some of the dissidents might well have been induced to change their minds” if the issue was debated in Kuching. Thus any charges against Ningkan remained untested, as established constitutional procedures of a no confidence vote in the Council Negri were not followed. This reflected the inevitability of Ningkan’s removal from office in the ongoing struggle for power within the state when supported by an alienated federal government.

A high-powered delegation of the National Alliance Executive Council headed by Home Affairs Minister Tun Ismail, accompanied by Jugah, Taib, and other members of Berjasa and Pesaka, flew to Kuching from Kuala Lumpur on 16 June. Underlining Morrison’s comments, all members were sequestered from external influences by being housed with their leaders overnight. On the next day the Governor declared that Ningkan and all Supreme Council members ceased to hold office and appointed Tawi Sli as Chief Minister. At the same time Tun Ismail issued lengthy statements claiming that the Governor’s actions were constitutional and admonished the local press for accusing the National Alliance of acting unconstitutionally.

Completing the replacement of the Ningkan government, on 22 June Tawi Sli appointed five members of his new Supreme Council; Taib and Hipni (Berjasa), Umpau and Laing (Pesaka), and Abang Haji Abdulrahman (PANAS). Two months later two SCA nominees, Teo Kui Seng and Ling Beng Siong, were added to the Supreme Council, while Taib became the Minister of Development and Forestry and Deputy Chief Minister. Although there was some dissension, PANAS recognized the new political reality and decided to support the Tawi Sli government, but SNAP withdrew from the Sarawak Alliance. Ya’kub had retained his Federal Ministry and Taib, Abdulrahman, and Kana became the inner circle of advisers to the Chief Minister. As Leigh wrote, “the Sarawak Alliance had been restructured, and more closely resembled the Malayan Alliance, both

²¹ *Sarawak Tribune*, 14 June 1966, p. 2.

in policy and composition" (1974: 107). The *Wayang Kulit* still had three acts to run: whether quick action would be taken to remove the two remaining expatriate members of Council Negri, Tony Shaw and John Pike, the legality of Ningkan's dismissal, and completing the Tunku-Ya'kub-Taib vision for Sarawak politics based on the Federal UNMO-led Alliance model.

Under the terms of the London Agreement, Tony Shaw, John Pike, and a number of other expatriates in the Sarawak Administrative Service had agreed to serve the Sarawak Government up to 31 August 1967, that is, four years from the intended date of the formation of Malaysia. However, there was constant political and union pressure to replace all expatriate personnel in government and quasi-government organizations more quickly. For instance, with an understandable vested interest in freeing posts for promotion of local officers, the Sarawak Government Asian Officers Union (SGAOU) wrote to the Chief Minister in June 1965 seeking speedier replacement of expatriate officers. SAGOU pointed out that their services could be dispensed with by paying compensation and claimed that retaining expatriates in administrative posts "tended to discredit the position of the country in the eyes of the outside world."²²

Pressure also emanated from the highest levels, the Tunku echoing SAGOU's comments nine months later by saying that Sarawak still had an administration that was colonial in nature.²³ Some saw the expatriate officers as an obstacle to a closer integration of Sarawak within Malaysia due to their insistence on compliance with every detail of the Inter-Governmental Agreement intended to protect Sarawak's interests upon becoming a state within the Federation of Malaysia. Others saw the expatriates as obstacles to their own careers. Further, Tony Shaw and John Pike had been close and trusted advisers to Ningkan, leading to some resentment from some State Ministers and politicians who felt that their roles had been usurped. On 27 July, six weeks after the Ningkan government had been overturned, Tawi Sli spoke of a need for "an independent country to be administered by its own local officers" and Shaw was given ten days to leave the state.²⁴ This was clearly inadequate and Shaw resisted. The Chief Minister then announced on 30 July that Shaw would proceed on leave at the end of August prior to retirement. Shaw was paid out for the remainder of his contract, leaving shortly after a farewell lunch hosted by Tawi Sli on 26 August. Pike, who was then overseas on leave, was advised that there was no need to return to Sarawak and was similarly compensated.²⁵ Although some 300 expatriate officers still remained in government and quasi-government organizations, they were either on contract or with predetermined dates of departure. This enabled Acting Chief Minister Taib to announce all posts in the Sarawak Administrative Service would be held by local personnel by October 1967.²⁶ It is generally conceded that the abrupt departure of Shaw and Pike was not the initiative of Chief Minister Tawi Sli.

The two remaining acts of the *Wayang Kulit* were long and tedious and hence are much abbreviated here. Predictably, Ningkan appealed to the High Court against his dismissal, which was declared *ultra vires* in the High Court on 8 September, and both SNAP and SUPP immediately called for a general election. However, some not very

²² *Sarawak Tribune*, 9 June 1965, p. 1.

²³ *Straits Budget*, 2 March 1966, cited in Leigh 1974: 101.

²⁴ *Sarawak Tribune*, 28 July 1965, p. 1; Leigh 1974: 107.

²⁵ John Pike was allowed to return to clean up his personal affairs.

²⁶ *Sarawak Tribune*, 1 October 1966, p. 8; 10 August 1967, p. 1.

serious threats to anti-Ningkan Council Negri members provided a very controversial rationale for declaration of a state of emergency by the Federal Government on 15 September. This in turn enabled the Federal Parliament to unilaterally amend the Constitution and give Sarawak's Governor the power to dismiss the state's Chief Minister, against a backdrop of Tawi Sli claiming some expatriates and foreigners were "going out of their way to assist Ningkan."²⁷ Ningkan was duly dismissed and Tawi Sli, together with his Supreme Council, were re-sworn in in their respective posts on 24 September. Ningkan duly petitioned against his dismissal and the declaration of emergency. After a series of appeals, in August 1968 the Privy Council finally rejected Ningkan's petition, on the grounds that his lawyers had failed to show that there was no state of emergency on 14 September 1966. This ended this episode, leaving only the Tunku-Ya'kub-Taib vision for Sarawak politics based on the Federal UNMO-led Alliance to be completed.

This came about due to an unlikely alliance of two political parties, SUPP and Parti Bumiputera, the outcome of the June 1970 elections. Parti Bumiputera, a merger of Berjasa and PANAS, was inaugurated on 25 March 1967 and finally united all the Sarawak Malays and Muslim Melanaus, thus ending a long-standing political division in those communities that had originated over cession in 1946. At the inauguration ceremony Tun Razak said that Sarawak must have a government that could cooperate with the Central Government if it were to achieve progress and development. The President of Parti Bumiputera was MP Abang Ikhwan Zainie and the Secretary General was Abdul Taib.²⁸ Also serving to unite the Muslims in Sarawak, in May 1968 the Angkatan Nahdatul Islam Bersatu (BINA) was formed, with Ya'kub as Chairman and Taib as Treasurer. SUPP, which had been in opposition since the formation of Malaysia, was invited to join a future coalition government by Tun Razak a month before the June 1970 elections. Election results announced on 4 July showed Parti Bumiputera had won twelve seats, Pesaka eight seats, and SCA three seats, giving the Sarawak Alliance twenty-three votes in the forty-eight seat Council Negri. Thus the Alliance could not form the government alone, leaving SUPP and SNAP with twelve seats each in a strong negotiating position, but with SNAP's position weakened by past differences with the Sarawak Alliance and having been led by the deposed Ningkan. A round of involved negotiations and shifting alliances between the various parties then began.

SUPP leaders astutely recognized federal preferences, and with Parti Bumiputera as an equal partner, formed the new government (Yong 1998: 194-199). Both parties signed a letter of understanding on the composition of the new State Government. This would comprise a nominee of Parti Bumiputera (Abdul Rahman Ya'kub) as the chief minister; two deputy chief ministers, one nominated by SUPP (Stephen Yong) and the other an elected Iban, Simon Demak Maja (Pesaka); with the appointment of all other ministers and allocation of portfolios by joint decision of signatories Ya'kub and Yong. Thus the

²⁷ *Sarawak Tribune*, 19 March 1968, p. 3.

²⁸ Taib resigned as State Minister of Development and hence from the Supreme Council and the Council Negri in November 1967 after a scathing attack by Jugah over the amount of money being spent on mosques and suraus, saying that little was being done for the Dayaks living in the interior. Taib was recommended to the Dewan Rayat and appointed Deputy Minister of Commerce and Industry (*Vanguard*, 9 October 1967; *Sarawak Tribune*, 25 November 1967, p. 1).

SCA, SUPP's political rival among the Chinese, could be excluded from the government. The Ibans had won twenty seats, but, unlike Parti Bumiputera, they had not reconciled past differences and were divided between two parties, with SNAP mainly representing Second Division Ibans and Pesaka mainly representing Third Division Ibans.²⁹ Thus the Ibans forfeited a commanding position in negotiations on who should form the government. On the other hand, with a Chief Minister who had ethnic, political, and religious empathy with the Malaysian Alliance leaders and the party representing the majority of the Chinese safely in the state coalition government, Sarawak politics had finally been molded in the UMNO-led Peninsular Malaysia Alliance image. And a family dynasty of state chief ministers that would last beyond the turn of the century had been established.

Biographical Appendix

- **Stephen Kalong Ningkan**

An Iban from Betong in the Second Division, Ningkan was born on 20 August 1920. The son of a farmer, he was adopted by his step-grandfather, a Chinese goldsmith, and spent a year in China in 1926, picking up some Cantonese. He went to St. Augustine's School in Betong, and matriculated by correspondence. He started his career as a clerk with the Rubber Fund (1938-1939) and was with the Sarawak Constabulary from 1940 to 1946, thus having secure employment during the Japanese occupation. After the Second World War, he became a teacher at his old school for three years. Following the Iban practice of *bejalai*, he traveled to Brunei where he became a hospital assistant in the Shell hospital from 1950 to 1961. In 1958 he founded the Brunei Dayak Association and in 1961 founded SNAP with a few other Iban employees of Shell. As a law student, he passed his first year. Just prior to Sarawak becoming part of Malaysia, Ningkan was selected by the Sarawak Alliance, which consisted of four political parties including SNAP, as Sarawak's first elected Chief Minister. The period of his tenure of office was difficult as the Sarawak government was facing the inevitable settling-in period with the Federal government, dealing with a communist insurgency, Indonesian Confrontation, and gradual replacement of expatriate personnel in the Sarawak Civil Service with local staff. His brother, a sergeant in the Constabulary was killed by the communists. He made some unwise decisions on his choice of friends and there is some evidence that he acted unwisely on occasion. Alastair Morrison, the Information Officer at the time, later wrote, "The Chief Minister ... became estranged from much Native opinion through his often autocratic behaviour" and "his personal conduct continued to give offence; his popularity and standing declined." Ningkan tended to attribute his downfall to his refusal to submit to Federal government pressure to make Malay the official language in Sarawak before 1973, the date laid down in the Inter-governmental Agreement. After being removed from office, he joined the Opposition in the Council Negri (1966-1974). Later he established his own business, dealing initially in cement. Ningkan died on 31 March 1997 and was honored by a state funeral three days later.

²⁹ SNAP was formed on March 1961. Pesaka was formed in August 1962 to ensure the Third Division Ibans had a political voice in the developing debate over Sarawak becoming part of Malaysia since few were willing to join SNAP due to their historical differences.

Note: The quotes are from Morrison, *Fair Land Sarawak*; pp. 170-171.

- **George Anthony Theodore (Tony) Shaw**

Born on 25 October 1917, Shaw was educated at Marlborough and Clare College and joined the Malayan Civil Service (MCS) as a customs officer in 1940. He served as a lieutenant in the Army Intelligence Corps during the Second World War from 1942 to 1946, and was the under-secretary in the government of India's home department during 1944-1945. His intelligence work included a failed attempt to get the first Japanese POWs captured in the 1941-1942 Malayan campaign back to India. In 1948 he rejoined the MCS, transferring to Sarawak. Following Brooke traditions of establishing a close rapport with the local people, as an Assistant District Officer and District Officer he added a "sound knowledge of Dayak to his already impressive command of Malay and Cantonese." He also served as an assistant resident in Brunei, returning to Sarawak when he was appointed resident of Sarawak's Third Division. On 16 September 1963, the day Sarawak became part of Malaysia; Shaw was appointed State Secretary charged with guiding the state through its integration within the Federation of Malaysia. This was a difficult phase as "Only a small minority of Malays in Sarawak's population were unrestrainedly pro-Malaysia" whereas "the great mass of non-Muslim native peoples" were "unhappy at the prospect of Malay dominance in Sarawak" as were "the Chinese population" which "as a whole was torn in its loyalties." Shaw was awarded the CBE in 1965. Although he was meticulous in ensuring the terms of the Inter-governmental Agreement, which protected Sarawak's interests in Malaysia, were followed, he "saw the desirability of enabling the 'growing-up process'" continuing "under local guidance: by looking the other way during a virtual *coup d'etat* organized from Kuala Lumpur he enabled the removal of both the Chief Minister and himself" as well as John Pike. After his abrupt removal from office in 1966, he returned to England where he played a valuable role in the Milton Keynes New Town Development Corporation and the Severn Trent Water Authority. Shaw was graciously offered and graciously accepted an invitation to attend the 20th anniversary celebrations of Sarawak's becoming part of Malaysia in 1983 as a guest of honor. Seven years later he died at the age of 72.

Note: The quotes are from his obituary published in *The Sunday Telegraph*, London, on 10 June 1990.

- **John Pike**

Born on 7 January 1924, Pike was educated at Dauntsey's School and St. Edmund Hall in Oxford. Like Shaw, during the Second World War he served as a lieutenant and then a captain in the Army Intelligence Corps from 1943 to 1946. Specializing in Japanese intelligence, he was on the Ultra List, one of the few allowed to view intelligence obtained via the German Enigma Code and its Japanese equivalent. Because of the security risk, those on the Ultra List were not allowed to go anywhere where they could be captured. Pike arrived in Sarawak through an interesting series of events. He was ordered to the Parachute Training School in a plan to airdrop him in the Penang area,

but before the operation was carried out, the atom bomb was dropped on Hiroshima and, shortly after, the war ended. Subsequently when taking Japanese documents from India to Singapore in an RAF Lancaster for wartime trials, on arrival he found several cartons contained cigarettes, which could be sold at huge profits. He reported this to his colonel who instructed him no further action was necessary. The colonel is understood to have lived in Singapore from this novel way of running a cigarette import business for many years. Pike was “rewarded” by an immediate posting to Labuan and thence to Kuching as OC SEATIC Sarawak. In December 1945 he was sent to Aceh in Sumatra with a company of the Durham Light Infantry to bring out the Japanese Imperial Guards Division, on which the local people had turned, using the weapons given to them by the Japanese. A British destroyer had to be called in to provide fire cover to extract the Japanese Division, which was “evacuated” in three troopships. Back in Kuching, Pike had the task of recapturing two escaped Japanese war criminals. The trail led into what was then Dutch Borneo, but those Japanese were never tried, as Dayaks had already beheaded them. Attracted to Sarawak, he applied for a post there and after completing his degree at Oxford, joined the Sarawak Civil Service as a cadet in 1949. He became a firm adherent to the Brooke tradition of establishing a close rapport with the local people. An early challenge was being directed to be the defending officer of the assassins of Duncan Stewart, Sarawak’s second governor, on 3 December 1949.

After Pike had accumulated over ten years experience as a District Officer, he was given a short study course with the World Bank. Thus, when Sarawak became part of Malaysia, and the incumbent Financial Secretary declined to continue, Pike was the obvious choice for that post. During his tenure of office, one of the highlights was being deeply involved as acting Chief Secretary when 7,600 Chinese were resettled in guarded settlements in 1965 during the communist insurgency. After his abrupt removal from office in 1966, he joined the London School of Economics as financial secretary, finally retiring in 1983 to live in the Oxford area. Recognizing his contribution to Sarawak, The Sarawak government invited him to attend the 30th and 40th anniversaries (1993 and 2003) of Sarawak’s integration in the Federation of Malaysia as an honored guest, when he was able to visit many of the places in which he had served.

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A REJOINER TO HERWIG ZAHORKA'S "BASAP CAVE DWELLERS IN MANGKALIHAT" AND SOME ADDITIONAL NOTES ON THE BASAP AND RESETTLEMENT IN EAST KALIMANTAN

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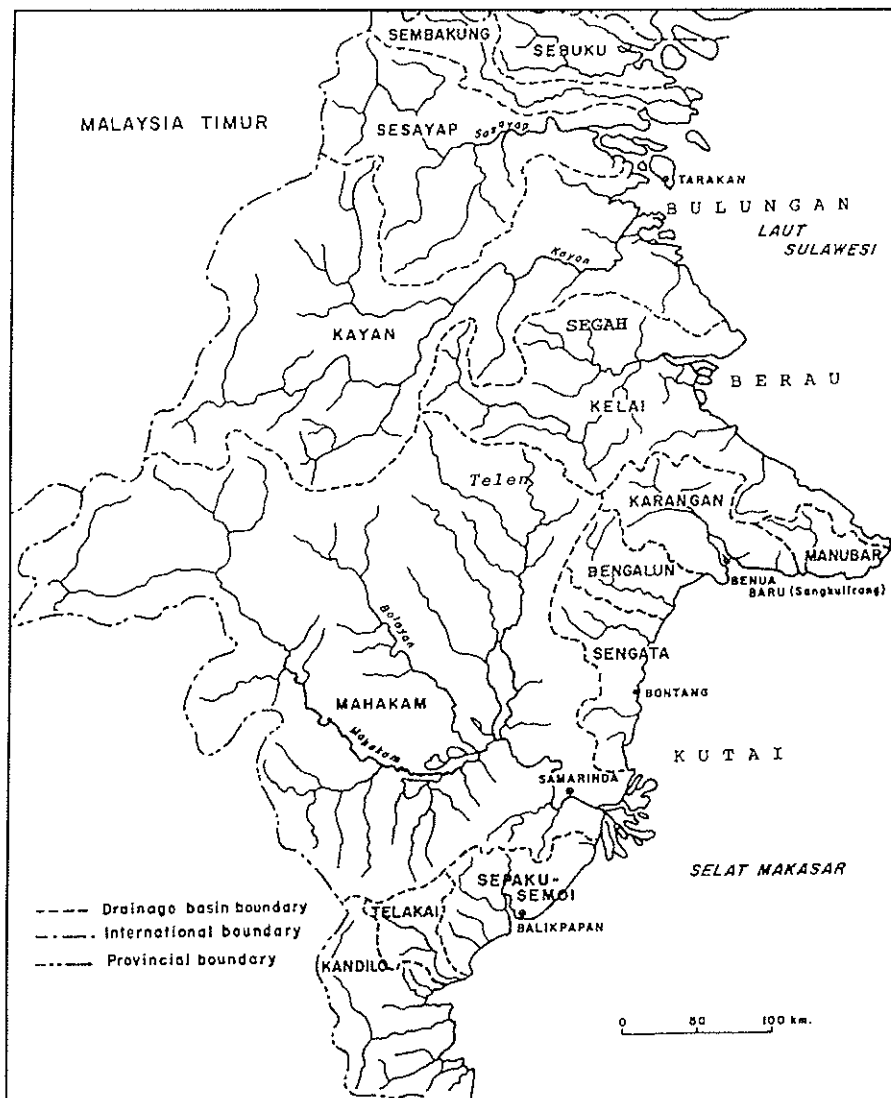
The title of the short article by H. Zahorka published in the 2001 issue of the *Borneo Research Bulletin* (Zahorka 2001b: 140-147) was surprising, as during my recent visit to the same community I did not meet any genuine "cave dwellers." In fact, I felt that the article gave a biased impression of the Orang Darat's (Basap Selatan) current situation in regard to their way of life and the resettlement programs they have experienced since the 1980s, and specifically the use of caves by the people in Teluk Sumbang or other neighboring communities. In short, it would be worthwhile to provide some precise information about the wider ethnographic and sociological contexts of resettlement, and more generally of ethnicity and socio-cultural change among the peoples of the Mangkalihat Peninsula located between the northern Kutai and southern Berau regions, because Zahorka does not address these issues directly in his article. The following notes were taken during an expedition of the boat *la Boudeuse* to Mangkalihat during February-March 2000 and during former surveys in Berau and Kutai.

Introduction

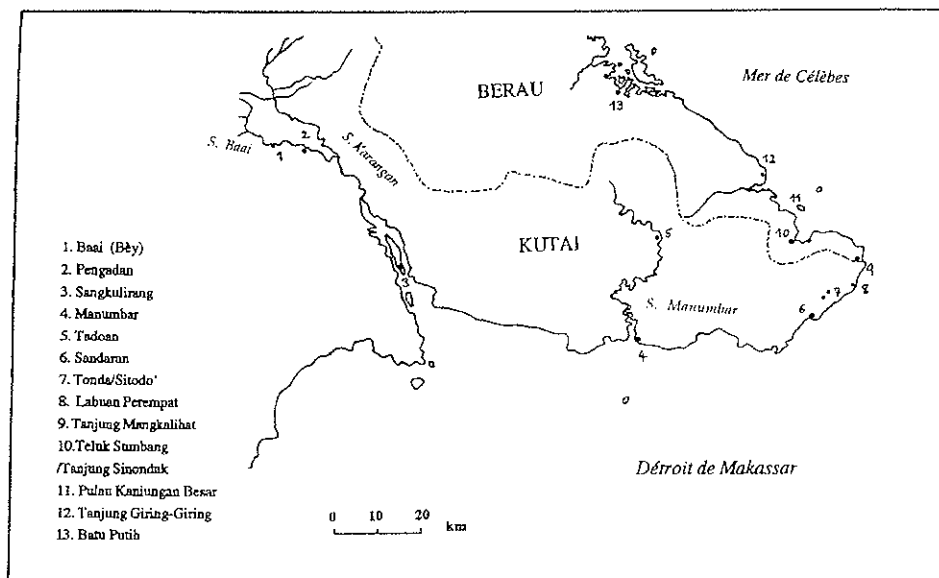
The so-called "Basap" — the term is a derogative exonym given to them by the Kutai and Berau Malays — are probably still the least-known people of the Province of East Kalimantan in Indonesia (see maps 1 and 2). These forest dwellers, foragers and horticulturists/swiddeners are divided into several scattered local groups which do not maintain close relationships with one another. By and large, the various Lebbu/Basap groups exhibit cultural and linguistic similarities in contrast to neighboring peoples who are part of the "Dayak" and "Punan" ethnic categories. Because of the difficult nature of the terrain they inhabit, the huge distances between communities, and their limited demographical size, these people tend to assimilate quickly into other ethnic groups by intermarriage or conversion to world religions. Furthermore, they seem to adapt their ethnicity to the local conditions of each area they inhabit, readily taking on cultural elements from other neighboring peoples. Thus, they show a large range of variations in economic activities and cultural patterns.

The Basap Selatan prefer to be called "Orang Darat" or, more generically, "Suku Darat" (considered as a "generic" ethnic category). Orang Darat is a neutral term in the Malay language, based on their geographical position, lit. 'people of the interior', because they used to live in the uplands of Mangkalihat, on the slopes of Gunung Data' in the Tindah Hantung mountain chain, while the Malays (Orang Kutai, Orang Barrau or Orang Banuwa), the Bugis/Mandar and Bajau settlements are found in the coastal areas. The ethnic label 'Basap' or *Bassap* according to Orang Barrau/Orang Benuwa pronunciation, clearly retains a derogatory connotation of 'primitive forest dwellers' or 'unclean peoples'. However, its precise etymology is not known — perhaps the Malay words *basah* lit. 'wet' and/or *asap* 'smoke' could be sources. When asked about the meaning(s)

of their ethnic name, the 'Basap' themselves were puzzled. In short, they do not know the origin or the specific meanings of the term, but only its negative connotation, amounting to an insult (Obidzinski 1997: 2-4).



The Province of East Kalimantan (Kalimantan Timur)
(adapted from A. Massing 1982)



The Mangkaliah Peninsula (after Guerreiro 2000)

Resettlement Policies and Socio-Cultural Changes

The historical development of the resettlement programs in East Kalimantan *Resetelemen Penduduk, Resetelmen desa* (RESPEN, RESEDES), directed at the non-Malay indigenous peoples, suggest they were conceptualized as a “new policy,” aimed first at “stabilizing” the Dayak communities living in the border areas of this huge Province. Thus, they focused specifically on the more mobile and migratory groups with large populations living in the uplands such as the Kenyah, Kayan, Belusu’, Abai, Lun Dayeh and also some Punan. The imperative of national security, coming after the end of the Confrontation with Malaysia in 1966 and the birth of the new regime of President Suharto (*orde baru*) the same year, created a situation that made possible the initial steps leading to the planning of the program a few years later.

At the time, the fast development of timber exploitation in East Kalimantan, the transition from the manual so-called “free logging” system (*banjir kap*) to an industrialized system, and the formalization of forest exploitation rights through the granting of concessions to logging companies by the central government in Jakarta, made adjustments in the administration of land law in the interior areas of the Province necessary. The combination of rapid demographic growth, the high cost of goods in upriver areas and the cultural changes experimentally tried by the Dayak communities during the 1950s and 1960s, especially by the Kenyah and Kayan sub-groups living in the remote Bahau-Punjungan and Apo Kayan areas, as well as the growing need for manufactured goods, conversion to Christianity, and formal education had triggered a wave of migrations towards the lowlands. Of course, this process was reinforced by the timber and oil booms of the early 1970s, when cheap labor was in great demand on the coasts and in timber camps. The depopulation of the border by spontaneous migrations

became an issue (the “new” Dayak villages in the lowlands were considered then as “pre-resettlements” by the administration in Kaltim, see Colfer, Herwarsono Soedjito, Albar Azier 1980; Eghenter 1999; Guerreiro and Sellato 1984a, 1984b; Guerreiro 1985).

Several measures were enforced in order to curb further migrations, such as the Governor’s instructions to the subdistrict heads (*camat*) and, more generally, development projects aimed at providing basic services of health, agriculture and schools to the Dayak communities. In the socio-economic sector, the emphasis of the resettlement program was on the implementation of wet rice cultivation as an alternative to the shifting cultivation of hill rice, considered a threat to the all-important timber resources of the province. Another concern of the resettlement policy was to integrate the Dayak and Punan communities into the mainstream of Indonesian society, moving them from a so-called “primitive way of life” to a more modern outlook (e.g., it suggested change from longhouses to individual housing, from traditional clothing and hair styles to western clothes, and conversion to a world religion, especially Christianity or Islam).



A Orang Darat youngster holding a blowpipe and wearing a *parang* (Tonda, 2000 AG)

The different socio-economic, political and “cultural” considerations were combined in an integrated resettlement program to be implemented in the Province by the Board for the Organization of the Resettlement Project in East Kalimantan (Avé and King 1986; Government of the Province of East Kalimantan, 1973, 1976/1977; TAD, 1977). In this first phase of the program (1971-1972), the small groups of forager/horticultural forest dwellers, such as the Punan, Basap and related peoples, were not the specific target. Another program was implemented later by the Directorate of Social Development of the Ministry of Social Affairs, Depsos, stressing the “development and education of the isolated communities in order to achieve their welfare” (*pembinaan kesejahteraan masyarakat terasing* or PKMT), initiated in 1978 at the national level. That year a national census of “isolated communities or societies” gave the figure of 300,000 families (1,484,748 individuals) for Indonesia as a whole. The program was designed to improve the social welfare and generally, the cultural integration of the ‘isolated peoples’ (*masyarakat terasing*) into the mainstream of society (on the anthropological conceptualization of “isolated society,” see Koetjaraningrat, ed. *et al.* 1993). In practice, it stressed a socio-cultural center approach focusing on the implementation of pilot sites

(*Pusat Sosio-Budaya*, or P.O.S., that would become later, in the course of the project, a PKMT site) where facilities and guidance were provided to the resettled communities. This included houses placed in regular rows, a football or sports field, and some agricultural materials (seeds, tools and various implements). A social worker from the Depsos (*petugas pos*) was dispatched there in order to get the project under way, supervise its administration on a day-to-day basis, and improve the “moral” standard in the community, according to the Depsos’ definition.

In the PKMT project, the ideological change from the former, nomadic hunting-gathering and swiddening way of life, to that of a “peasant society” based on the model of Malay/Javanese farmers, was advocated. At the same time, the people were expected to adopt Indonesian cultural values and behavior in line with the national ideology of Pancasila, “the Five Principles,” especially an organized religion instead of their traditional beliefs, labeled usually as “animism.” In some of the resettlement sites, conversion to a world religion was suggested by the construction of either a mosque or a church building. In the four regencies (*kabupaten*) of the Province of East Kalimantan a total of 22 projects were identified in the administrative year 1980-1981, of which some were already being implemented. The projects were classified under the program called “directions for welfare and social development” (*bimbingan dan pembangunan kesejahteraan sosial/BKPS*), and included the resettlement of villages (or RESDES) and the PKMT projects mentioned above.

It was planned that the socio-cultural development of the “isolated communities” or the “isolated tribal peoples” (*suku-suku masyarakat terasing*) would follow basically a two-step approach. The first step in implementation focused on improving the “moral behavior” (*sikap mental*) of the group, based on the assumed stimulus provided by moving into “modern houses” (*rumah penduduk* or *rumah sehat* “clean houses”). This type of small plank-built house designed basically for a nuclear family of four persons, had a corrugated iron roof, and in fact was the standard type of housing provided in large numbers for the transmigrants in East Kalimantan and in other provinces. At the same time, the move to the resettlement area was intended to create a radical change corresponding to the beginning of a “new life” as citizens, in contrast to their former “tribal way of life” (compare Adicondro 1985; Appell 1985, 1986; Lowenhaupt Tsing 1993; Parsudi Suparlan 1995; Persoon 1998; Schefold 1998).

The resettlement plan was based on the process of building a socio-cultural center for community development (P.O.S). If the results were considered satisfactory, according to the field staff and the Regency’s Depsos office, then the second step of the implementation of the PKMT project could proceed.¹ At this stage, the people would actually stay permanently in the resettlement site where they had been moved from their

¹ More precisely, the following steps were stressed from the start in regard to the selection, implementation and monitoring of the projects: 1) orientation (*orientasi*), 2) socio-cultural approach (*pendekatan sosial budaya*), 3) education and socio-cultural development (*pembinaan sosial*), 4) functional coordination (*koordinasi fungsional*), and 5) supervision (*supervisi*). The Regency Depsos’ offices (*kantor wilayah T. II*) were supposed to draft trimestrial, semestrial and yearly progress reports on the PKMT sites for the Provincial office, then the data were to be sent to the Directorate of Social Welfare in Jakarta, the division of Depsos which was actually funding the program (Departemen Sosial, Directorate of Social Welfare 1983-1984: 159).

original village(s) or hamlet(s) by Depsos staff, and participate in the programs organized under its supervision (Departemen Sosial (Depsos) 1980/1981: 25-30; Directorate General of Social Welfare 1983/1984: 153-171).



Modern houses” built by Depsos on the slopes of Gunung Macan
(Pemukiman, Teluk Sumbang, 2000 AG)

By and large, the PKMT program was designed within the context of the national integration goal during Indonesia’s New Order (1966-1998). Before and after the fall of Suharto and the emergence of the *Reformasi* movement from 1998 onwards, the label of “isolated community,” *masyarakat terasing*, came to be resented by the Dayak, Punan and Lebbu/Orang Darat communities, so instead, the term *masyarakat adat*, “customary society or community,” was promoted by NGOs. More generally, the rationale of the resettlement policy was questioned. Local observers also called for the acknowledgment of the forest peoples’ cultural characteristics and land rights. Eventually the program was dismantled in the restructuring of the Departemen Sosial during the *Reformasi* period in 1998/1999 (Roedy Haryo Widjono 1998a, 1998b).

It should be noted that recently the Punan communities in the Malinau District of Bulungan, on the Malinau and Tubu Rivers, have formed an *adat* customary law council for preserving and promoting their cultural identity in the region, in contrast to that of their dominant neighbors, the larger Dayak communities (Kenyah, Kayanic Bau/Merap, Bulusu/Abai/Tebilun), and the Malays and other Muslim groups such as the Tidung. They held a workshop and discussions about land tenure rules and the sustainable stewardship of forest resources, especially the ones they are managing in the upper reaches of rivers (which are classified now as “protected forest areas,” Roedy Haryo Widjono 1998a, 1998b; Sellato 2002). On the other hand, the wide geographic dispersion of the Lebbu, “Basap,” and Orang Darat in Kutai and Berau, and the characteristics of each of their local situations, preclude the development of a unified *adat* tradition and identity. Reflecting on the actual impact of resettlement on their social life, the former

nomads and horticulturists/swiddeners (Punan, “Basap”/Orang Darat), because of their small numbers, mobility and the characteristics of their small-scale settlements and culture, seem to have coped better than other, formerly settled longhouse-based societies such as the Bulusu’ described by George Appell (1986: 203-205, 212-214), or some of the Kenyah-Kayan “new villages,” I visited in the Mahakam area and Berau.

Resettlement of the Basap and Lebbu Communities

A number of resettlement projects concerning the Lebbu and Basap were prepared in the late 1970s and early 1980s. In Kutai there were two sites in *kec.* Bontang: Keraitan with 25 KK (KK = *kepala keluarga* or households, 70 persons) and Tebangan Lembak, 25 KK (62 persons) and in *kec.* Sangkulirang, the village of Raya (Tadoan) on the upper Manumbar River, 56 KK (165 persons). While in Berau many other projects were planned: two in *kec.* Gunung Tabur with 48KK (147 persons) on the Sembarata and Lati Rivers, in Sambaliung, only one at Inaran Baru, 28 KK (115 persons), in *kec.* Kelay or Muara Lesan, three further projects were suggested for the Lebbu people (with a combined population of 505 persons (100 KK): Merapun, Merabu and Pana’an villages). Two sites were mentioned for the Basap Selatan in *kec.* Talisayan, Teluk Sumbang and the Tabalar River, 108 KK or a total of 462 persons. Typically the resettlement site was to be located downriver from the original site of the Basap and Lebbu hamlets, like those of Merancang Hulu and Inaran Baru, or near to the main village as is the case in Teluk Sumbang.

All of this suggests that the numerous “Basap” communities in Talisayan, with a large population of about 1,300 in 1940 and probably about 2,000 in the 1980s, had already become settled agriculturists by then or in the following years (Ensing 1937: 45; Krom 1940: 52 ff). In other words, they did not belong to the category of “isolated community” (*masyarakat terasing*) identified by the field staff of the Depsos who did extensive surveys of all accessible places to identify possible PKMT projects, but rather to the Dayak or Berau Malay (*Orang Benuwa*). In the latter case, these peoples had already converted to Islam, i.e., they had “become Malay” (*masuk melayu*) either by intermarriage — a Basap woman marrying a Kutai or Barrau man — or by way of religious conversion to Islam (*muallaf*). That would also fit the description of the Dayak groups in Talisayan mentioned by the Suku Darat in Teluk Sumbang and Tonda as being related to them. In Berau, the two projects concerning the “Basap” were actually implemented by Depsos as PKMT sites, one at Inaran Baru on the Inaran River, and the other at Teluk Sumbang in the south.

The resettlement scheme in Inaran Baru was one of the earliest developments for the Lebbu planned by Depsos in 1981. When I visited the site in 1984, all the houses had been built, including a dispensary (*balai kesehatan*) and a primary school (SD), and a mosque had been placed in the center. The buildings were spread out alongside a large sports field. Each family was allotted a large garden space (*pekarangan*) around the house for planting vegetables and fruits trees. However, the space remained uncultivated and bare and few houses were actually inhabited, although some parts of the compound, especially in front of the field staff’s office, had been kept clear of weeds. It seems that the people were in a state of transition, from both social and economic points of view. The population was then 151 persons (36 KK families). The majority, about 75%, of the people had converted to Islam (*muallaf*) four years ago, while the others were either Protestant Christians (10%) or still followed the *adat* tradition (15%). A Depsos field staff

worker was posted there permanently. This fact could probably be explained by the proximity of the town of Tanjung Redeb, with the site being on the right bank of the Kelai, at the mouth of the Inaran River. At the time the people were still engaged in collecting forest products (rattan, damar, gaharu, ironwood, bird's nests) and they alternated between their former village upriver, Inaran Lama, and the resettlement site (from Tanjung Redeb to Inaran Lama using a 3 to 5 hp engine on a dugout, the trip took 20-24 hours going upstream and 12-16 hours downstream, but only 5-7 hours and 6-8 hours to the new village of Inaran Baru; Depsos Report, *Inaran* 1981). The people there called themselves Lebbu Isi in order to be distinguished from the more numerous Lesan Lebbu. They were also swidders of padi and vegetables. In addition, they were making small ironwood shingles (*sirap*) to sell in Tanjung Redeb together with other forest products to get a cash income. The latter were sold to their Chinese towkays in town.

In Teluk Sumbang, the "socio-cultural approach" (POS) had been implemented and later the PKMT program was developed by the Depsos of Berau. Two separate locations had been prepared and opened for the resettled "Basap" people. It seems that the preliminary surveys were initiated around 1979/1980 while the Depsos report indicates that the Direction for Welfare and Social Development Program (BPKS) was not yet implemented there (Departemen Sosial, Pembinaan Masyarakat Terasing 1980/1981: 29). The two groups of Ulun Basap in the village (*desa*) originally came from the Gunung Datar area located far inland. They settled *circa* the early 1960s in the hills near the village of Teluk Sumbang, a small harbor (pop. 500), inhabited by Bugis and a few Mandar people. One group was the Sinondo' group, named for the cape where they lived, Tanjung Sinondo' (Sinonduk is the official spelling). The other group was established in the hills behind the village of Talok. The first group was moved down from the hills to near the sea and beach, and 11 "modern" houses, one for each nuclear family, were built for them, but in 2000 only three were still inhabited. The other houses had deteriorated, as the Orang Darat had moved back to their former field locations, just above the cape on the hills, to a place called Balay Bakul. When the *pemukiman* ("settlement" or "colony"), the main resettlement site, was opened up on the hills of Gunung Macan overlooking the bay, the 33 or so families living around in dispersed hamlets or swidden fields in about a 10 km radius from the resettlement — a traditional settlement pattern — were gathered and concentrated in the new village, but much later it seems, according to the informants in the late 1980s. The new village is connected to the upper section of the mostly Bugis village of Teluk Sumbang (Talok) by a rugged forest path.

Divergent Interpretations of Basap Selatan "Cave-Dwellers"

While Herwig Zahorka in his article gives some hints about Basap Selatan *adat* traditions in Teluk Sumbang, he does not provide many ethnographic details or acknowledge the resettlement scheme itself. Furthermore, his report is actually focused on the alleged use of a cave as a permanent residence by Basap Selatan there as late as 1994. In this regard, the title of the article is significant: "The Last Basap Cave Dwellers," and the article features several photographs of Basap men and women posing in the cave dressed in their "traditional clothing" (Zahorka 2001b: 241-247). However, all the Orang Darat informants and the other sources concerning this point suggested instead that caves were used only temporarily, during hunting and forest-products collecting trips made by small groups of from six to ten people. The peoples of Tonda and Sitodo' would camp and rest in the places named Batu Uliras or Batu Payong, the latter is located on the

side of the logging sites of Landas (PT Sima Agung), which I visited in the company of the *kepala suku* of the village. Actually, the same point had been stressed by Obidzinski in his report:

According to some of the people who were in the caves while the government commission made their visit to Teluk Sumbang, the visitors never realized (or did not care to investigate) that the “cavemen” were only there temporarily. The subsequent newspaper articles did not bother to mention that Basap at Teluk Sumbang, in spite of their “cave-dwelling habits,” had cultivated gardens, planted rice, and engaged in trade for a long time. The big fuss *about men and women wearing only loin-cloths is also highly suspect*, as I heard some Basap say that they were paid to pose as “wildmen” for the visitors’ cameras (1997: 11; my emphasis).

A similar fact had been reported in the Samarinda daily newspaper *Manuntung*, as early as 1992 (*Manuntung* May 5th), illustrated with a photograph of two Basap “cavemen” sitting on the porch of a cave. The text explained that the photograph coincided with the development of the proposed resettlement site and the moving of some of the scattered “Basap” families there. Then, Zahorka may have been misled about the situation of the Orang Darat in Teluk Sumbang while in Samarinda or Berau, although he does not mention his relation to the Depsos Berau in the article. When in Teluk in 2000, I was interested to find out the actual facts behind these events. I learned from the headman of the village that a film project had been planned and organized by Depsos in the Province in order to obtain support at the national level for their policies. The headman had collaborated actively in the shooting. A film was supposed to have been made, according to the newspaper article it was produced by the Perusahaan Film Negara (PFN) in Jakarta, but I have no further information on whether the film had actually been made. The headman of Talok told me that the shooting — or only photograph-taking? — was rather a kind of “reconstitution” of the traditional way of life of the Basap Selatan (he, himself, wrote a short typed ethnographic summary of two pages about the people at the time of the project). Later it seems that this show was repeated for the benefit of the other official visitors to the resettlement site. The men, equipped with blowpipes, dart quivers and *parang*, would pose wearing the bright cotton headbands and loincloths which currently constitute their customary wear (*pakaian adat*) in Tonda as in Talok. However, the whole scheme reminds us rather of the Tasaday cave-dwellers’ “exposure” in the Philippines in the early 1970s under PANAMIN supervision (Nance 1975).

Current Trends among the Orang Darat

Currently (2000), most inhabitants have moved out of the main site (*pemukiman*), but they still maintain a house there. Both settlements have a combined population of over 180 inhabitants, or 43 families, according to both the *adat* heads and elders and the village head (*kades*) of Talok, and form two RT II (*rumah tetangga*), of the village. Thus in term of population, a noticeable difference can be seen with the figure of 322 persons or 72 families (KK) in 1980/1981 (or was this an inflated figure for budget reasons?). However, this difference could be explained if the people had moved out of the

resettlement area in the late 1990s, as I was told. A large KINGMI² church was build in the *pemukiman* a few years ago. In term of ethnicity and cultural identity, the religious conversion to Christianity of the Suku Darat allowed them to maintain their *adat* traditions rather than follow the *masuk melayu* pattern. The several families of Tanjung Sinondo' have also converted to the KINGMI Church following the visit of a minister (*pendeta*) from Batu Putih in the north. Now the use of Christian names is becoming more common, especially for the younger generation as I noted in Taluk, while adults tend to keep their traditional names. The other large group of Orang Darat, living on the Kutai side of the border in the hamlets of Tonda/Sitodo', has also converted to Christianity of the same denomination, and they intermarry with the peoples around Talok. They came originally from the same group of families formerly established on the slopes of Gunung Data' (Datar). It makes sense also in terms of kinship relations because they are related, and they have to respect the *adat* regulations for birth, marriage, bride-price and inheritance of property as well as in other circumstances of social life such as legal cases and *adat* fines. The people also stressed the fact that they have assimilated with "Dayak" people in the region, the little-known groups called Paleng and Riwa. Their healing traditions are based on shamanism and possession séances (*babalian*) and are still performed. The ritual curing involves the making of carved images (*tapatung*) as well as song and dance performances (Guerreiro 2000, 2001). More generally, beliefs about the spirit world and forest-related activities are maintained by some of the people in both villages. On the other hand, modernization in the form of educational and health facilities, a primary school (SD -*klas* I - VI) and a small polyclinic (PUSKEMAS Pembantu), is found in the lower section of the village of Talok. All the small shops (*toko*) owned by Bugis people are also located there.

Until the late 1940s, before their stabilization in semi-permanent hamlets near the villages of Sandaran and Teluk Sumbang, Orang Darat communities would engage in "silent trade" with Malay and Bugis merchants, exchanging forest products for salt, iron, cooking implements, cloths, and beads. It seems that bartering rates were different from one place to another. Now, the coastal trade in forest products and manufactured goods is carried out by Bugis, Bajau, and Orang Barrau in small motorized boats (*kapal*) along the coast in both the Kutai and Berau areas and the island of Kaniungan, just off the Bay of Telok Sumbang. However, in Kutai the related Basap Selatan in Tonda and Sitodo' — in marked contrast to those of Teluk Sumbang — do have a commercial link to the port of Donggala in the province of central Sulawesi, established mostly through personal connections, as well as the local economic center of Sangkulirang (they sell mostly rattan canes, several species of wood and bananas which are cultivated extensively). The isolation of their settlement located up the Tonda River behind the fringe of coastal mangrove (*hutan bakau*) was a good protection for the villagers. In Kutai, the Basap Selatan of Sandaran Tengger have converted to Islam following, it seems, pressure from their neighbors. This pressure was why the Tonda and Sitodo' people moved from there to their present isolated location which is much closer to the frontier of Berau.

² The acronym stands for *Kemah Injil Gereja Kristen Masehi Indonesia*, lit. 'The Tabernacle Gospel of the Protestant Christian Church in Indonesia', or in short: *Gereja Kemah Injil Indonesia* (GKII). It developed from a fundamentalist missionary movement, the Christian and Missionary Alliance (C&MA) which started proselytizing in the 1930s in the northern Bulungan region, making many converts among the Kenyah people.

Currently, the economic base of the Orang Darat communities in Tonda and Sitodo', Teluk Sumbang /Tanjung Sinondo' is a combination of hunting, fishing, gardening and the collecting of forest products. However, the cultivation of padi (*Oryza sativa*) and other cultigens such as maize, tubers, vegetables, and fruit trees in swiddens (*uma*) is central to their diet. The old system of subsistence was based on the consumption of tubers, bananas, fruit and game rather than sago, although the Lebbu people used to make sago flour from different palms (Guerreiro 1996: 5-6). They would also occasionally sell animal skins and bird feathers to Dayak and Malay middlemen, and the men would work temporarily in the nearby logging camps of PT Sima Agung. An offshoot settlement of five houses of Ulun Tonda is now located at the place called "Kilo delapan" or "Kilometer 8" on the Landas logging road located on the Berau side, and they have also opened their swiddens there.

The buildings of the Orang Darat settlements visited (in Tonda and Sitodo') were constructed according to traditional techniques, using only forest materials (posts from the lowland forest and mangrove timber, tree bark for walls, palm frond roofing, rattan bindings). There were different types of buildings from small forest huts and shelters of the simple *pondok* type to more elaborate houses called *balè*, typically made of platforms placed at different levels, and Malay-influenced buildings. The Lebbu architecture observed in the village of Merapun was very similar, but generally simpler, the main differences were seen in some of the timber and bark species used, and in the height of the houses. Some were much higher among the Lebbu, probably because of their former defensive function — they were exposed to Modang Menggae and Wehea headhunting raids — although different types were observed in the same settlement (Merapun). Other items of material culture are interesting to mention, especially rattan and bamboo basketry (including carrying baskets, rattan tote baskets and other types of bags and pouches, and winnowing trays and baskets) and woodcarving such as mortars and dugouts, which are still used in everyday life. This important indigenous knowledge should be maintained as much as possible. On the other hand, iron implements (spear points, bush-knives, small knife blades) and blowpipes are obtained from outside the community by barter, exchange, or purchase (Guerreiro 1985: 120; 2001; Guerreiro 2003: 127-133; Rutten 1917: 720).

If one compares the Orang Darat villages of Bèy (at the village of Muara Bulan, pop. 150) on the Baay River, a tributary of the Karangan, and Tonda/Sitodo' (pop. 115) which have not been involved in a PKMT resettlement project, the differences are striking. The people in both villages show much autonomy and dynamism. Their socio-cultural situation also contrasts with that of the resettled villagers. In fact, they are being influenced by the local situation. In Bey, located in a predominantly Melayu area, the whole population became Muslim and a large mosque (*mesjid*) was built with the help of a logging company (located in the multiethnic downriver village of Pengadan), and they still carry on their traditional hunting and gathering activities. In remote Tonda, the majority (about 95%) of the inhabitants are now members of the KINGMI Church and they are involved in many socio-economic activities, as mentioned above. Clearly they have chosen to remain distant from the *desa* of Sandaran, their administrative unit in the *kec.* Sangkulirang.

Conclusion

In short, in-depth studies of the Lebbu and Orang Darat communities would be necessary for an understanding of cultural patterns and subsistence activities in the coastal highlands of the long-settled Kutai (now *kabupaten* Kutai Timur) and Berau Regencies (*kec.* Talisayan, *kec.* Kelay, *kec.* Gunung Tabur) up to *kec.* Tanjung Palas in Bulungan. This approach should also include specific studies concerned with the interaction and exchanges that took place in the Eastern region of Kalimantan as expressed in the upriver-downriver polarities (*hulu-hilir*), river-inland and coast-interior dynamics from both historical and contemporary points of view. They should also address the more immediate questions relating to the cultural survival of these scattered, dwindling peoples in the multiethnic and muticultural society of East Kalimantan (compare Guerreiro 2003; Sellato 2002).

The combined impact of the past resettlement schemes, opening of logging roads, conversion to world religions and modernization, especially intermarriage with peoples of other ethnic groups, deforestation and the exploitation of mineral resources, have induced rapid acculturation among these forest communities since the early 1990s. In fact, the trend may possibly have been accelerated by the recent decentralization process which started in 2001 in East Kalimantan, one of the fastest economic growing provinces of Indonesia. (Conservation policies and recommendations which are designed to protect the rainforests' bio-diversity, pioneered by both the National Government and the local NGOs (*Lembaga swadaya masyarakat*, LSM) are also important at this point.) Taking all the factors mentioned in this paper into consideration, I find it highly unlikely that there are full-time Basap cave-dwellers living in the area. And Zahorka himself is ambiguous on this point. This is not to say, however, that the Basap have not explored the hundreds of caves found in the coastal highlands and used them for temporary shelters when on hunting and foraging expeditions.

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RESPONSE TO ANTONIO GUERREIRO

Herwig Zahorka
Bogor, Indonesia

Antonio J. Guerreiro tries in a somewhat clumsy way to compare my brief report in *BRB* 2001 with the well-known, ridiculous Tasaday scoop “discovered” in the Philippines. A clarifying response is therefore called for.

Guerreiro wrote, (Zahorka’s) “report is actually focused on the alleged use of a cave as permanent residence by Basap Selatan there as late as 1994.” This is incorrect. 1994 was the year of my last visit to Teluk Sumbang, the first was back in 1976. In 1994 the Basap group confessed they lived in the cave until “about two years ago when our houses were constructed” high above Teluk Sumbang Bay, therefore in 1992 or earlier. That is clearly stated in my report. I also wrote: “The cave is only used when men are on hunting trips in the area.”

My description of the former living conditions in the cave is a record of an interview with Ibu Bojilbn, baptized Maria. If Guerreiro really “during (his) recent visit to the same community” was at those houses above the bay, why did he not interview Ibu Bojilbn or other people on the cave issue? He writes: “...during my recent visit to the same community I did not meet any genuine ‘cave dwellers.’ In fact, I felt that the article (of Zahorka) gave a biased impression of the Orang Darat’s (Basap Selatan) **current** [emphasis added] situation... .” And further: “I find it highly unlikely that there are full-time Basap cave-dwellers living in the area.” No wonder, Guerreiro came simply ten years or so too late, and he evidently twisted my words. I did not describe the “current situation” when Guerreiro was there, but that of 1992 and before.

There is another aspersion that Guerreiro casts on me that I must clear up, too. It is the traditional loincloths the four hunters are wearing in my photographs which he suspects I have induced them to wear. I never saw nor spoke to these men before the photos were taken. After my 1976 and 1978 visits, I was in Kampong Baru again in 1994. The village’s name was now Tembudan Bangun. There I had the opportunity to join the trip of a couple of *pendetas/evangelists* of the Protestant GKII (KINGMI) church to the Basap village above Teluk Sumbang. Among them were Penias Lasung and Damus Singa, all Lun Dayeh Dayak. I was not involved in the planning or organizing of this trip. They told me one of them had baptized these people “in the cave about two years ago.”

I don’t think that these clerics were interested in having these men remove their shirts while they hunted. Obviously, they had shorts and shirts in their houses. However, during hunting with the traditional blowpipe and poison darts they obviously preferred less expensive clothing. From their hunting they returned with a wild boar to provide us with food. One of them, Dayun, I photographed later in the village, still wearing his loincloth, and Bujaam and his son Bujampur guided me next day, still wearing their loincloths, to a huge *Antiaris toxicaria* tree, the latex of which is processed into dart poison. Basap women did not wear bras or blouses at that time while staying at home, except when entering the presbytery.

The *pendetas/evangelists* of GKII were from Tembudan Bangun, not from Batu Putih as Guerreiro says, and had been very successful in baptizing Basap people. Batu Putih is a completely Muslim village. Another doubtful piece of information that Guerreiro reports is that: “The two groups...settled *circa* the early 1960s in the hills near the village

of Teluk Sumbang... ” I traveled with the Talisayan *camat*'s boat to Teluk Sumbang in 1976 and left by a jeep on the logging road to Teluksuleman. Except for the wooden buildings in the bay belonging to the then Japanese logging company, there were no houses, let alone villages in the area at the time. Aerial photographs of the company's complete concession area showed only forests. I cannot remember having seen any clearings or *ladang* at all.

I have the impression that Guerreiro did not thoroughly read my report, or that he used my article only as a peg to hang his lengthy essay on, which reads mostly like an account of government resettlement programs, or to publish his numerous book references, very few of which he refers to in his text.

A BRIEF REPLY

Antonio Guerreiro

First, I acknowledge that the details given by Herwig Zahorka in his response to my essay complement his 2001 article on several points, especially on the recent history of the Orang Darat. However, on other questions, I would make the following remarks.

1) I suggest that Zahorka did not understand that I was in Teluk only in 2000. Therefore I could not have read his article, which was published in 2001, and so the names of the people he mentions were not relevant at the time. Furthermore, because of the neglect of the Respen site, the people of Tanjung Sinodo' had moved to other locations or to swidden farms and only three houses were still inhabited.

2) With regard to the Tasaday hoax, of course, I did not refer to Zahorka's article in the *BRB*, but rather to the apparent effort by the local branch of Depsos to cash in on so-called "primitive" Punan-Basap "cave-dwellers" for policy reasons. This occurred in 1992, well before Zahorka returned to Teluk Sumbang in 1994.

3) The GKII *pendeta* came from the vicinity of Batu Putih, south of Talisayan, the capital of *kec.* Talisayan. Zahorka is correct in observing that Batu Putih is a mixed coastal Muslim settlement (Banuwa or Orang Barrau, Bugis, Mandar, and Bajau). However, Dayak/Orang Darat live not far inland from Batu Putih, at Tambudan, which appears on the *Atlas Kabupaten Berau* and at Tambudan Bangun (Kampung Baru) situated downriver, closer to the coast. Since the 1970s, Batu Putih has also been the starting point of a logging road which runs all the way to the Mangkalihat area, passing near Tadoan on the Manumbar River and branching west to Susuk Luar. In 2000, as far as I know, Lun Dayeh *guru injil* were no longer being posted to Teluk, Sumbang or Tonda.

4) Temporary settlements of the two (or more) local groups living in the Tindah Hantung range were first established in the 1960s, after the end of silent trade in the early 1950s, according to the Orang Darat in Tonda and also Bugis traders in Teluk. This point would merit detailed investigation into the factors that led to differentiation among Orang Darat local groups in the Mangkalihat area.

5) The ethnographic and linguistic references given in the bibliography of the article were used in compiling the working paper (IRSEA 1996), the 2003 article, and the paper presented at the XV ICAES in Florence (IUAES Commission on Urgent Anthropological Research, in the press). In case Zahorka or other *BRB* readers are interested, I can provide copies of these texts.

HAMPATONGS IN THE DAILY LIFE OF THE NGAJU DAYAKS

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Introduction

The word *Dayak* means “dwellers of the hinterland.” It generally refers to the indigenous (non-Malay, non-Chinese) peoples of Indonesian Borneo who live along the banks of the Barito, Kahayan, Katingan, Kapuas, Mentaya, and other rivers and tributaries as well as in the surrounding uplands.

The Dayaks of south-central Kalimantan practice a form of religion known today as *kaharingan* and are divided into a number of different groups. Their daily lives, and the accomplishment of their tasks, which largely unfold within relatively isolated communities, favor the development of distinctive characteristics that are peculiar to the various regions and villages in which they live. Thus, to describe their customs one needs to penetrate into a context marked by particular details, one in which Hindu, Islamic and Christian influences have also, at different times, played a part, contributing to the development of distinctive cultures.

Because of these great cultural variations, we chose to concentrate our attention on a particular subject, and to circumscribe it geographically, so as to delve deeper into the details in a specific environment while steering clear of risky generalizations.

We are speaking of the *hampatong*, i.e., of sculptures that have a commemorative and protective function, which we have studied among the Ngaju Dayak of Desa Telangkah, on the Katingan River in Central Kalimantan, where the *kaharingan* religion is particularly strong (see Photos 1, 14, 15).

As we communicated with the Dayak people, we were confronted with a different structure of speech and pattern of communication. Information was not given systematically; interaction did not follow any specific methodology, but rather developed by something akin to patterns of association. The Dayaks saw us, with all of our questions, as difficult to deal with and at times, impossible to understand; but in the end, the circle of words passing from mouth to mouth warmed up, as would a writer’s hand, and came to describe customs, sketched memories, and thus created a typical environment filled with voices and sounds that allowed us to get to know a part of their lives.

This research was self-financed and was made possible thanks to the help of Arnel and Linawatie, who not only contributed a considerable wealth of information but were always at our side to handle the essential task of interpreting between the Ngaju and Indonesian languages.



Photo 1: Hampatong

The *Hampatongs* in the Daily Life of the Ngaju Dayaks

Hampatongs are Dayak sculptures representing souls of the departed, or spirits. Depending on their purpose — commemorative or protective — they distinguish themselves by their shape or by their location within the village in which they are placed. Depending on the context, such sculptures are accompanied by additional elements that interact with them in order to achieve their functions.

At the entrance to a village there may be *hampatong patahu*, small statues whose facial features are as elusive as the entities they represent. These are territorial spirits which have since time immemorial been present in the area where the village is located; their function is to protect the community from evils that may beset it, such as illnesses, deaths, or enemy aggression.

They are invariably arranged in odd numbers — seven, five or three — at the foot of a miniature shelter which lends them their name — *balai patahu* (Photo 2). The literal meaning of *balai* is “house which belongs to the village community,” or “gathering place, and hence, by extension, “home.” In this particular context, it stands for “home of the *patahu* spirits.” Inside the shelter, or at its base, depending on the shelter’s size — peculiar rocks known as *patahu* are arranged which harbor the homonymous territorial spirits, sought by the village community for its own protection. Here, the village shaman — the *pisort* — is called upon to identify the place in which to locate the first *patahu* for the home of the spirits by meditative contact with the spirit of the eagle, *Antang*. Once the first rock has been found and placed in the *balai*, the other rocks that are added will receive their properties from the first one. After that, the role of the *patahu* consists of bringing to the *hampatong* other territorial spirits which are then, once inside these figures, asked to deploy the protective function for which they are intended.

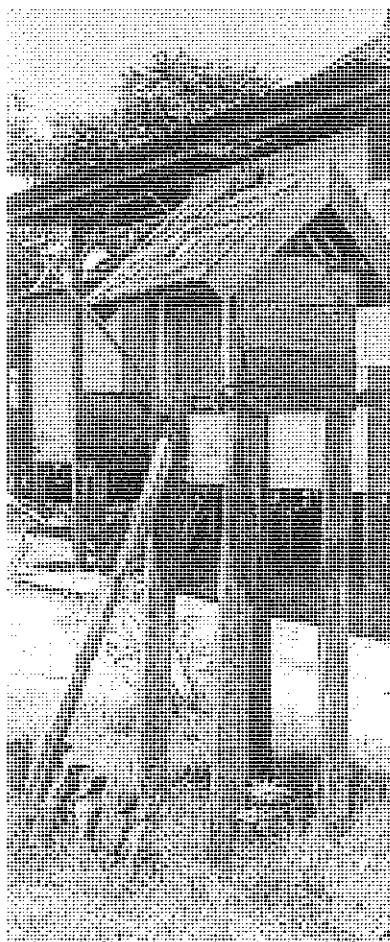


Photo 2: *bala; patahu*, miniature shelter

The number of *hampatong* varies depending on the number of *patahu* rocks; these follow the ancestral line of the villages (Photo 3). Seven small statues denote the mother-village where the first *patahu* rock is selected by the *pisort*. New villages, on the other hand, i.e., those founded by a family that has moved elsewhere, will use as their first *patahu* rock, a *patahu* rock from their original village. The first descendant village features a spirit home with five rocks and as many *hampatong*; the second descendant village has a spirit home with three rocks and as many small statues. If the community takes leave from this village, it will be necessary to go back to the mother-village and take a rock from its *balai patahu*, so that the community may then build a new village with — again — five rocks and as many *hampatong*. Customarily, in times past a family was permitted to leave only when in the *balai patahu* a sort of reproduction of the *patahu* rocks had occurred, adding one to those already existing. The new *patahu* rock was then intended for the new village. Nowadays, and more recently, a *patahu* rock is taken from the *balai patahu* and subsequently replaced with a new one. This practice shows that the *balai patahu*'s importance is given not only by its protective function but also by its role as an identity symbol denoting the root of an ancestral line.

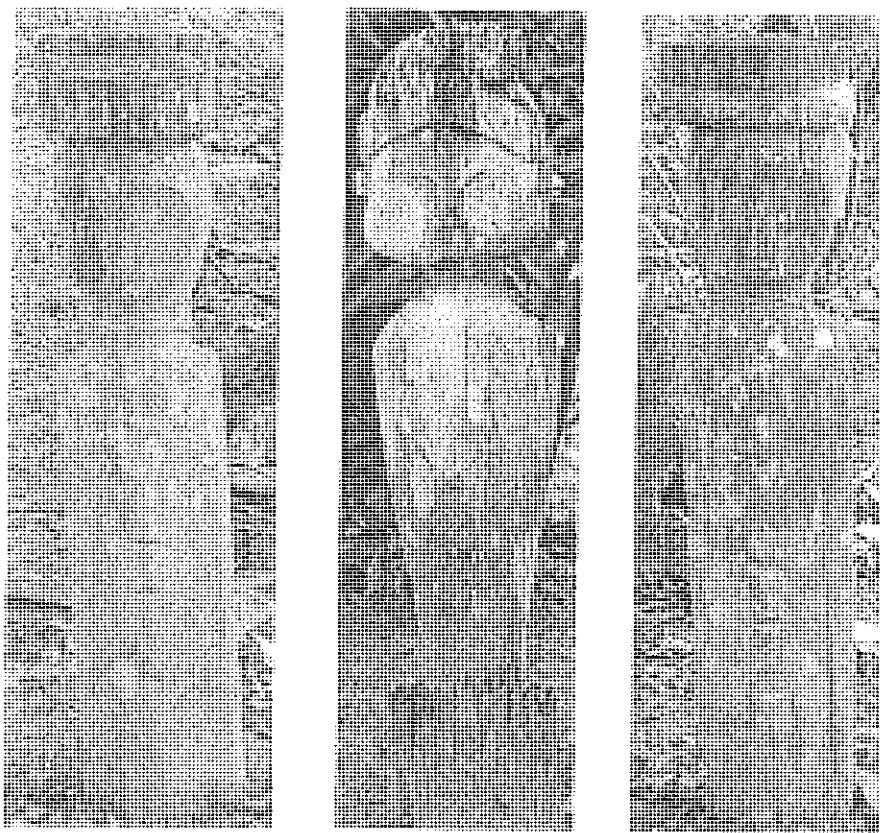


Photo 3: *Hampatong patahu* at the base of the *balai*

In the daily life of the Dayak Ngaju, the protection extended by the *balai patahu* is manifested in two ways. The first is through signs that warn of some impending danger, such as, for example, the din of the *patahu* rocks slamming against each other within the *balai patahu*, or a knocking on the door of the village chief's abode. The second is by providing help in critical situations. In the latter case, in addition to placing offerings of flowers and incense in the "home of the spirits," sacrifices are offered there, first to propitiate and then to give thanks for the granting of requests.

The *balai patahu*, combining home and *hampatong*, shows very clearly the role this structure plays for the community, since it symbolically represents a village protected by soldiers.

At some distance from the village dwellings, and set apart from them, the *balai tajahan* stands as a courthouse. Inside the *tajahan*, a rock harbors the territorial spirit entrusted with organizing a trial, while at its base the *hampatong tajahan* represents executive power. This form of justice is used only when the village chief chooses it. At his own expense, he calls on the *pisort* to bring a matter before the *balai tajahan* when he finds it impossible to work out a solution to a dispute among his followers.



Photo 4. *Hampatong tajahan* from the National Museum, Jakarta, Indonesia

In the presence of the community, the two parties to the dispute, and the village chief, the *pisort* first turns to the spirit-entity *Tajahan* to request its permission to proceed with the matter and asks it to organize the trial by calling up the spirits that are to bear witness to the oaths proffered by the parties as well as the executioner-spirits that are to be entrusted with the execution of the sentence. He then turns to *Antang*, asking him to consult the creator, *Ranying Hatalla*, in order that he may discover and report the truth in the matter.

Once the preparatory phase has been completed, the two litigating parties receive from the *pisort* a rattan thread for each of them to hold at opposite ends, while the thread itself runs over the *hampatong tajahan's* head. The *pisort* then asks the defendant whether he is indeed guilty; if the defendant enters a triple denial, the *pisort* will cut the thread in the place where it rests on the head of the *hampatong* harboring the executioner-spirits, thus initiating the trial and symbolically inflicting the penalty.

Once *Ranying Hatalla* has been consulted, *Antang* will carry the verdict to the witness-spirits, who will order the executioner-spirits to proceed. Within the following three days, the party which has been determined guilty will suffer the outcome of the penalty, which can range from a long illness to death, depending on how the punishment was negotiated.

Very often fear of the possible consequences will resolve the matter with an admission of guilt just before the thread is cut. For the same reason, this form of justice is avoided whenever possible and is therefore seldom resorted to. The place where the *balai tajahan* stands is feared because of the constant presence of evil spirits.

In the immediate vicinity of the village, near mausoleums known as *pambak* and *sandung*, where the bones of the departed are kept, as well as in front of some dwellings, there are commemorative *hampatongs*.

A *pambak* is a mausoleum in which the bones are arranged so as to reproduce the shape of the deceased's body. The mausoleum is built as a *rumah* ('house') if it is raised above the ground like a dwelling, or as a *sekurup* if the walls are sunk into the ground and the sarcophagus rests on the earth. They are intended for one or several families in the village or for certain persons (Photos 5 and 6).

A *sandung* generally stands on one stilt (but sometimes on four) known as a *sali*. This type of mausoleum, smaller than a *pambak*, is intended almost solely for the village. Another difference between a *sandung* and a *pambak* is in the arrangement of the bones, which, in the former case, are bundled together, wrapped in a red cloth, and placed inside a small sarcophagus.

Both of these types of mausoleums — *pambak* and *sandung* — are only for departed ones who have received a *tiwah*, a long and complex burial feast in which animals are sacrificed (or slaves in the past) so that the victims' souls might serve the soul of the departed during its journey to the afterworld. In front of these mausoleums, the *hampatongs* are reminders of the departed in various aspects of their existence, aided also by two objects which by their shapes will bear witness to the deceased through the ages and serve as reminders of what the deceased did during his or her lifetime. The two objects flanking the *hampatong* are the *sapundu* and the *sengkaran*.

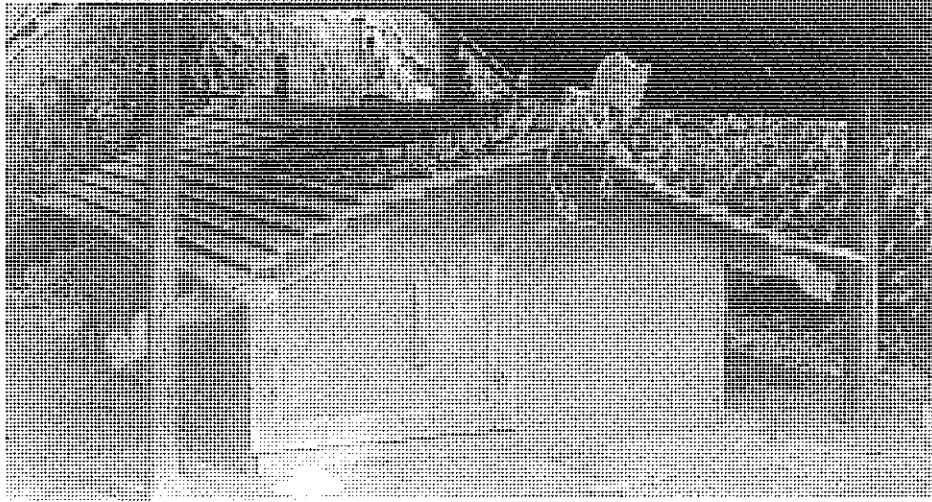


Photo 5: *Pambak sekurup* or mausoleum in which bones are placed

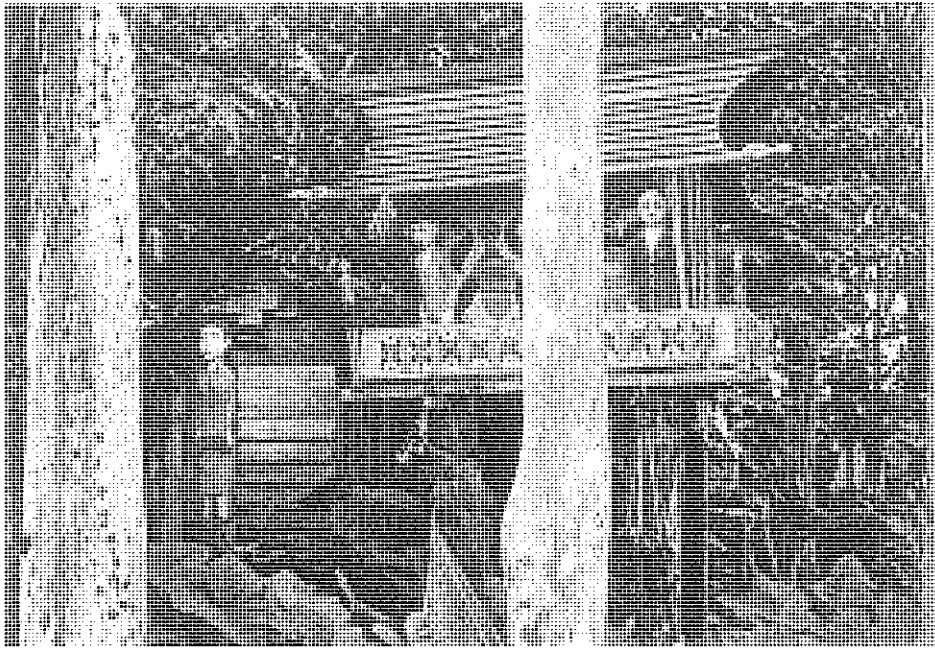


Photo 6: *Sandung* or raised mausoleum

Sapundu is the post to which animals are tied when sacrificed. It is always present in a *tiwah* and in the vicinity of the mausoleum and is no more than four meters high, just like a *hampatong*. It comes in three shapes: the first — for one or several deceased persons simultaneously — is in the simple shape of a post with perhaps a small sculpted image on top; the second — for people of noble ancestry — is a much more complex form of totem on the flanks of which a story is told; and the third kind is directly associated with a representation of the deceased, since it lends to him the appearance of a *hampatong* and thus turns the latter into a commemorative figure (Photos 7, 8 and 9).



Photo 7: *Sapundu*, post to which animals are tied for sacrifice

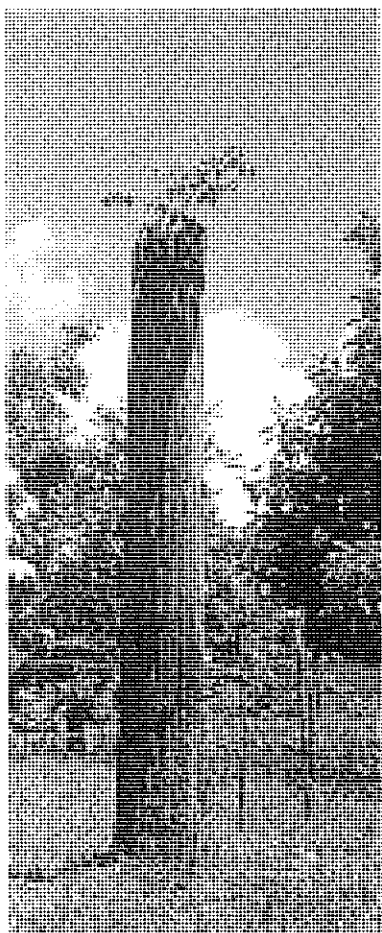


Photo 8: *Sapundu*

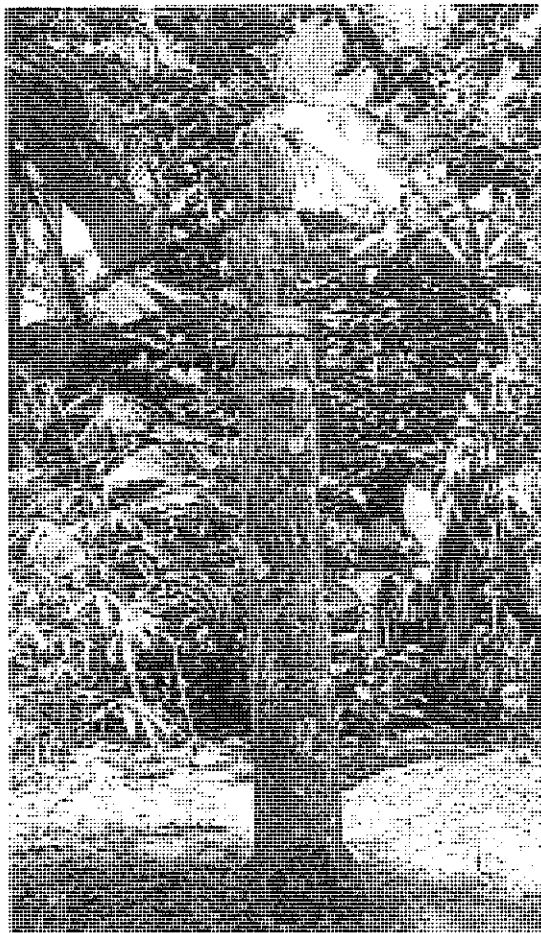


Photo 9: *Sapundu*

The *sengkaran* pertains to an optional ritual of the *tiwah*. It is a much taller post — reaching at least five meters — at the upper end of which one or more jars surrounded by spears are arranged (Photo 10, 11, 12 and 13) It symbolizes a ladder which during the funeral feast acts as yet another aid in the soul's ascent from earth to paradise, to further honor the deceased. At the foot of the *sengkaran* the remains of the sacrifice made to the *sapundu* are interred, whereas at the upper end there is one jar for each buried body.



used by the souls of the dead to ascend to paradise



Photo 11: *Sengkaran*



Photo 12: *Sengkaran*



Photo 13: *Sengkaran* posts

In addition to the one near the mausoleum, a *hampatong* to commemorate a deceased person may be set up by the family in front of its own dwelling, and there may in fact be yet another alongside the first one. These trappings, which are possible only if the family is wealthy, are actually rather seldom seen.

Themes present in *hampatong* encompass the soul's metaphysical dimensions as well as more tangible aspects of economics. Celebrating a *tiwah* involves a considerable economic expense, varying with its content, procedures, and duration. The size of a *hampatong*, the type of sculpture, the number of sacrifices and the making of the other objects with which it is associated depend on the role played by the deceased during his lifetime and by the family's financial resources, rather than only on the family's wishes.

If — despite the fact that the deceased may ritually be entitled not only to paradise but to a *hampatong* as well — his or her family uses up all of its wealth for the *tiwah*, there may not be enough left for a commemorative figure. Because to the followers of the *kaharingan* religion a *tiwah* represents both liberation to paradise and an obligation, it is in any event important that a funeral feast be held for everyone.

A funeral feast frees the soul from the burden of wandering through this world and allows it to enter paradise. Although it carries a price tag not easily within the means of every family, a funeral feast is a good thing for all, since everyone benefits from it: the deceased because he or she has reached the place of eternal well-being; the family because its pride is served, since it has been able to show respect for its own dead, while at the same time displaying its status and wealth within the village community.

The *balai patahu* and the *balai tajahan*, on the other hand, depend less on economic considerations since their cost is borne by the entire village.

The *hampatong*, in its representation of the dead and of spirits, is a sculpture whose form follows well-defined practical rules while leaving a great deal of margin in terms of design. Whether large or small, detailed or sketchy, unique, dual or ambiguous, it is a complex product which turns out differently depending on the artistic and cultural context in which it is designed, the place where it is set up, the use made of it and the actual financial means of whoever commissions it to be made (Photos 14, 15 and 16).

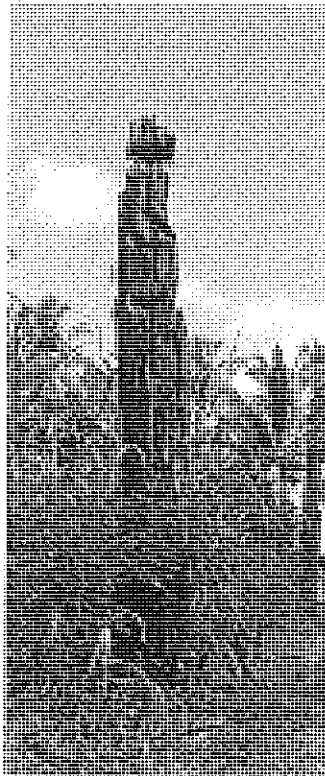


Photo 14: *Hampatong* for the dead

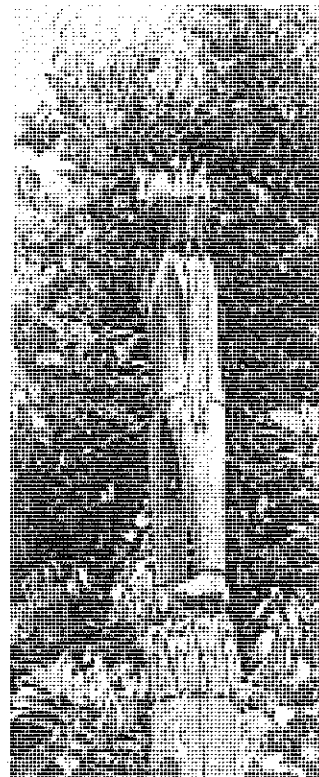


Photo 15: *Hampaton* for the dead



Photo 16: *Hampaton* representing Ibu Suyah Nadjir, Junita's grandmother

Some Specific Examples:

The Man and the Animal: Bapak Nadjir (about 1920–1979)

Bapak Nadjir was the village chief of Telangkah. In the family cemetery there is a *pambak sekurup* which harbors him and his wife, Ibu Suyah, i.e., Arneld's parents and Junita's grandparents (Photo 17).



Photo 17: *Hampatong* of Bapak Nadjir and his wife Ibu Suyah

The *hampatong* shows Bapak Nadjir as he liked to dress: with a hat, shirt, a pair of trousers and shoes, which at the same time contextually denote an intellectual person. The fact that he attended the Dutch school in Kasungan — a privilege open to only a very few people — made it possible for him to delve deeper into some areas of knowledge. Accordingly, his style is meant to set him apart from the common people.

Below, to the right, there is a carving of a crocodile which embraces him and looks at him in admiration, in memory and honor of his friendship with Jata, the crocodile spirit and ruler of the waters, which came into being at a certain point in his life (Photo 18).

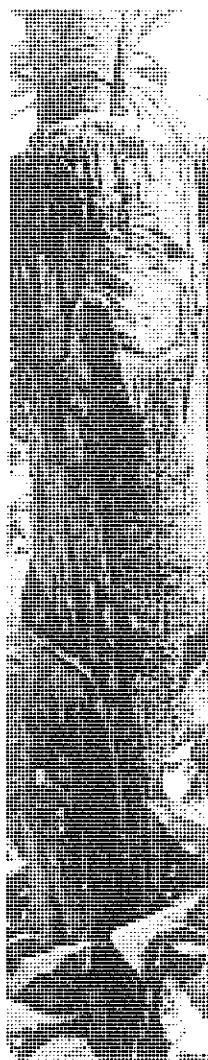


Photo 18: Detail of the crocodile at the base of Bapak Nadjir's *hampatong*

This happened when, at the end of a day of fishing, Bapak Nadjir found a baby crocodile in his nets and decided to take it home. The next night a woman appeared to him in a dream, told him that she had lost her baby, and asked him whether he might have seen it in the surroundings. When he awoke, Bapak Nadjir understood that the woman in the dream was the baby crocodile's mother, and he decided to release it back into the water. After reaching the river's edge with Arnel, who was then a youngster, he put the animal into the water: and just when the animal took off swimming it lashed out with its tail, injuring his arm. Arnel saw this as symbolizing lack of respect; but in the eyes of the father — and indeed of the entire village community — it was the token of a friendship that grew out of a great sense of recognition, since it was sealed with a blood covenant.

From then on, Bapak Nadjir forbade his family to disturb, injure, or kill crocodiles, since, from that time onward, crocodiles would protect them (Photos 17 and 18).

Man in the Evil Spirit: Bahutai

Bahutai is a character familiar to the Dayak of the Kasungan area in Central Kalimantan. The name also applies to a territorial spirit that takes the form of a big dog with wolf-like features and to people who can change their appearance and turn into wolf-dogs.

The natural predisposition of some to make contact with *Bahutai* is translated into a ritual in which the recitation of a mantra in conjunction with offerings and the burning of incense make the metamorphosis possible. The ritual is performed in order to acquire the strength and qualities of the wolf-dog at a time when the person needs to face an enemy.

The *hampatong Bahutai* (Photo 19) is the recollective posthumous representation of a person meant to evoke a facet of the individual's character, tied to a particular capacity of his, an attribute of strength but also of meanness, because in order to take on the appearance that is clearly visible in the *hampatong* — i.e., that of a person with a human body and the head of a wolf-dog — it is necessary to resort to black magic (Photo 19).



Photo 19: *Hompatong bahutai*

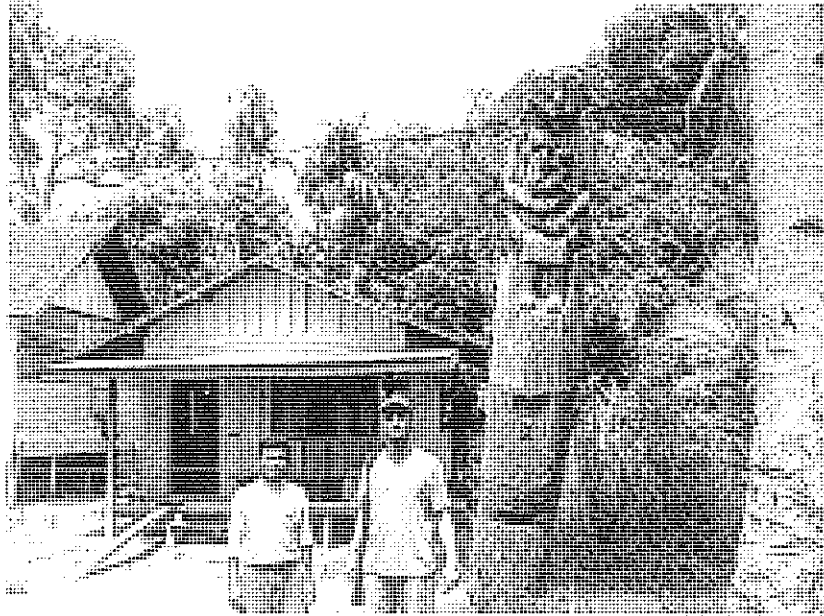


Photo 20: Paolo Muiullari, the author

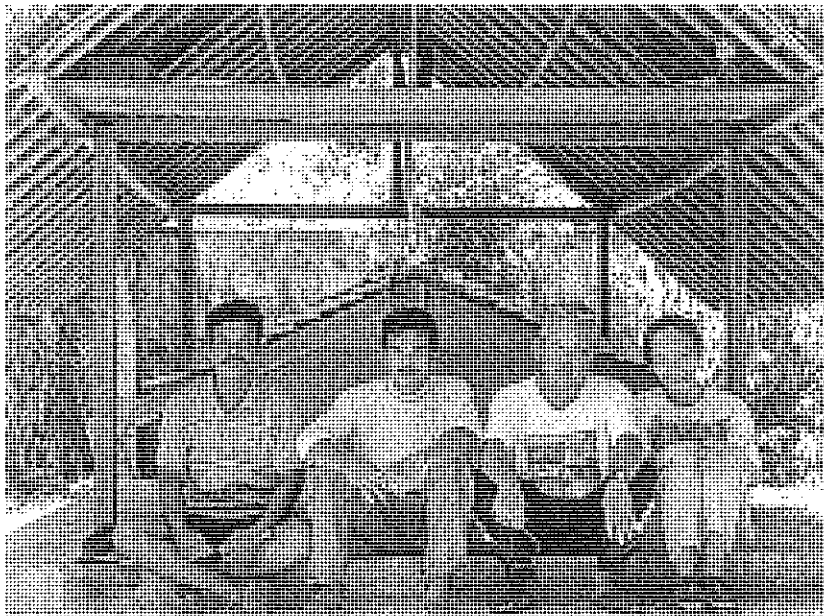


Photo 21: Arneld Nadjir and his family

THE MYSTERY OF THE TWIN MASKS ON MEGALITHS AT LONG PULUNG IN EAST KALIMANTAN

PREHISTORIC WAX MODELING MOLDS FOR CASTING BRONZE MOKO DRUMS? AN INTERPRETATIVE ATTEMPT

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Introduction

The great alignment of prehistoric urn dolmens at the site of Long Pulung hosts two exceptional megaliths with as yet uninterpreted designs. I would describe the main sculptures on these megaliths as stylized “anthropomorphic twin masks” or “double masks.” The same designs are present only on the large unique Pejeng drum in Bali and on some prehistoric bronze moko drums of which only a very few still exist. The two investigated megalithic objects would therefore seem to this author to have been “negative” wax printing molds — not the casting molds — for the production of bronze objects by the lost wax technique, most probably of moko drums. An ancient stone mold fragment with a similar head design from Manuaba, in Central Bali, was already identified in the 1930s as a wax layer print mold for the production of bronze drums. On the basis of present evidence, the possibility cannot be excluded that early metalworking was being done in this remote Bahau and Kerayan area. The exact age of the two objects is still uncertain. The exact age of the three moko drums (two are incomplete) with twin mask designs like those on the megaliths at Long Pulung in the Prehistory Collection at the Indonesian National Museum in Jakarta is unknown, but estimated at about 2000 years. An archeological survey should therefore be undertaken in the Bahau area to locate fired clay fragments from bronze casting sites for thermoluminescence verification. Simplified face or mask designs like those on the drums were still a feature of Dayak tattoos and building elements down into the 20th century.

Geographical Situation

In the East Kalimantan Regency of Malinau (formerly, Bulungan), in the sub-district of Long Pujungan, on the upper Sungai Bahau, as well as in the adjacent Kerayan area there exists a large number of prehistoric urn dolmens and some stone sarcophagi (see **Figure 1**: Map of the Upper Sungai Bahau Area). Today, this remote area is accessible only by a fortnight’s boat ride from Tanjung Selor up the Kayan River and then up the rapids of the Bahau tributary, or, using a mission airplane, by flying from Tarakan to Long Alango, on the Sungai Bahau. The urn dolmen site with the ornamented megaliths got its name from the former village of Long Pulung. This megalithic burial ground is situated above many dangerous rapids on the bank of the Sungai Bahau, between the existing villages of Apau Ping and Long Kemuat, and just opposite the mouth of a small tributary known as the Sungai Pulung, where the former village of Long Pulung is said to have once stood.

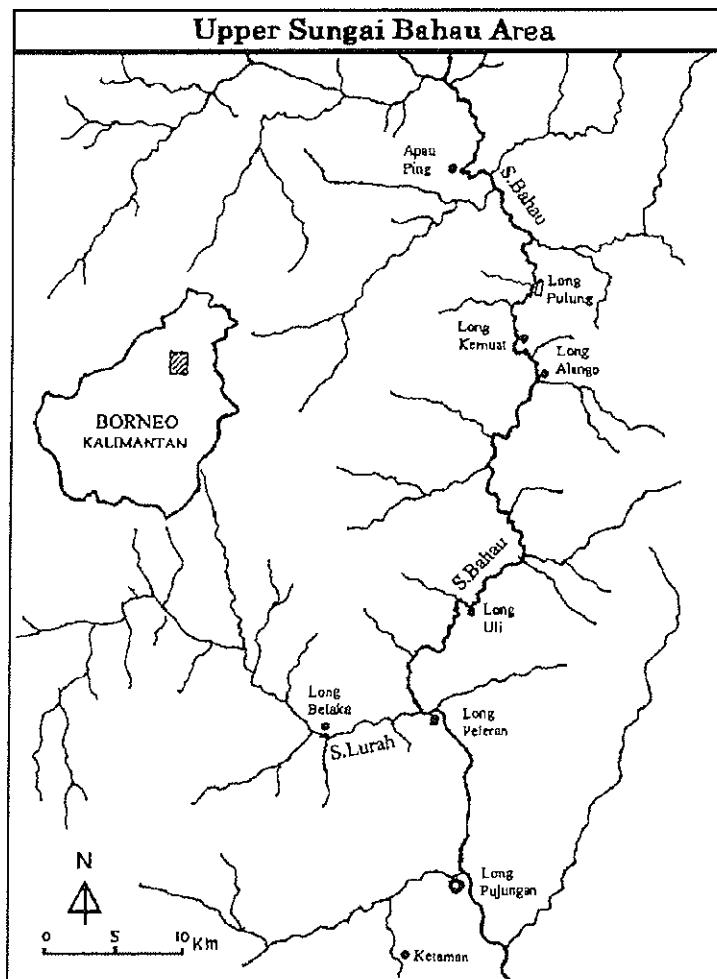


Figure 1: Map of the Upper Sungai Bahau Area

Description and Stone Working

Most urn dolmens at Long Pulung consist of large hemispherical stone containers up to one meter or more in diameter (3.2 feet) — each made of a single large river boulder — placed on a foundation of mostly four stones and covered with a stone lid. These constructions are encircled by tall stone pillars, and further bounded above by a large stone slab. The stone used in these constructions is sandstone. Hollowing out the huge boulders can only have been done with the use of metal tools, though, as we shall see, another opinion has been offered, although, in my view, it is not very persuasive. The pillars, lids and slabs are not worked. The alignment of the urn dolmens is on the high left bank along the Bahau River.

The shape of the last downriver urn, which is considered to be the most recent because of its placement, differs totally from all the other urns. It is not spherical but is a very regularly shaped hollowed cylinder with thin walls, 60 cm. (23.6 inches) in height and 40 cm. (15.75 inches) in diameter. A part has been broken off and lost.

This particular urn and one of the pillars are the subject of this paper because of their curious incised surface decoration.



Figure 2: The Three Urns at Long Pulung

Figure 2: The three urns on the lower end of the alignment at Long Pulung. The cylinder-shaped but partially broken urn with the designs and the decorated pillar are on the extreme left side. The Dayak man who appears in the photograph is the pastor of Long Kemat. (Photo by H. Zahorka, 1999)

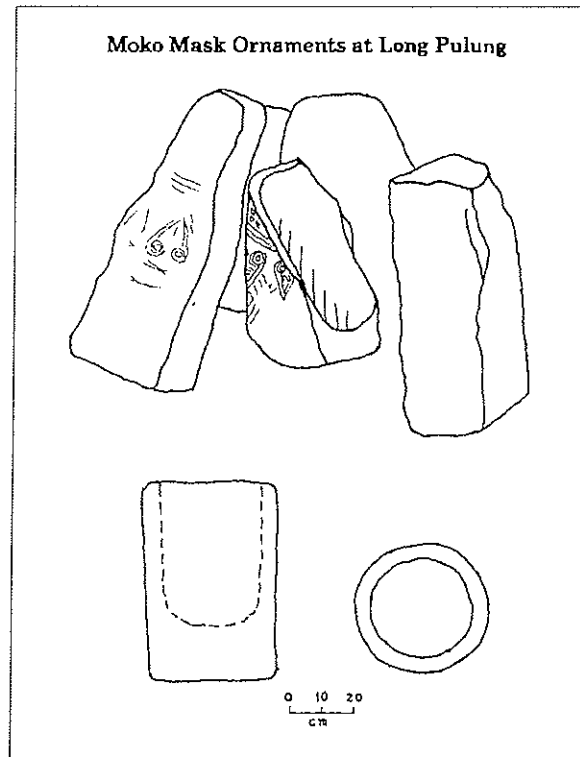


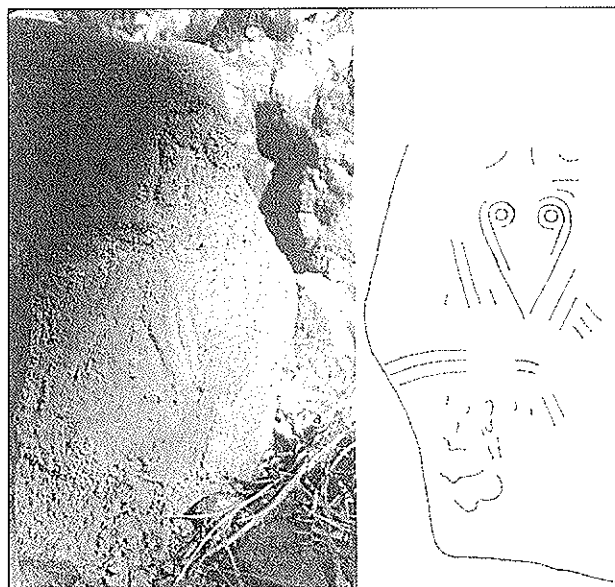
Figure 3: Moko Mask Designs at Long Pulung

Figure 3: Moko Mask Designs at Long Pulung. On the left side stands the even-shaped and decorated former pillar, which is now leaning into the center. Its exposed surface is therefore heavily weathered. After I had removed the moss from the surface, a heavily eroded incised design appeared. In the center of the design is the cylinder, which had been used as an urn. The designs on both stones are the same. As indicated, I would call them “anthropomorphic twin masks” or “double masks.” This design motif exists only on the oldest (prehistoric) moko bronze drums of the Pejeng type and on the huge Pejeng drum itself, which is called the “Moon of Pejeng” or the “Moon of Bali.” No Dongson bronze drums of Type Heger I that I have ever examined were ornamented with such mask motifs.



Figure 4: The Urn Designs

Figure 4: Both photos of the cylinder show the triangle- or heart-shaped mask faces furnished with big round eyes and pointed chins. Above the masks, horizontal lines are visible. I have not yet attempted to analyze the ornaments on the top. Below the masks are V-shaped and round engravings. All of these low reliefs are found around the cylinder which probably originally contained two twin mask sets.



Figures 5 and 6: Stone Pillar Design in Its "Upside-Down" Position

Figures 5 and 6: The pillar is no longer in an upright position, but leans into the center of the enclosure. Below the moss layer appears a heavily weathered mask. However, it is upside-down. This suggests a secondary use of the stone! In all probability, the ornamented cylinder fits this assumption as well, that is to say, that its use as part of an ossuary is a secondary one. It also seems illogical to cut a generally spherical shaped boulder into a slim cylinder and then use it as a small urn.

The drawing shows the pillar in its "upside-down" position. The mask is of the same style as that on the cylinder urn. Below are horizontal lines and the stone with a "waisted" shape. This waist is a typical feature of moko drums of the Pejeng type. These features suggest to me that these stones were originally wax-printing molds for the production of bronze drums, most probably of the Pejeng type.

References in the Recent Past

Several references to these megaliths and to the "ornamented" urn of Long Pulung have been published in recent years by Werner F. Schneeberger in 1979, Martin Baier in 1987 and 1992, Bernard Sellato in 1995, Pierre-Ives Manguin in 1995 (reporting on a survey of 1992), and Dody Johanjaya, Anggara Yonathan and Yoga Prima Subandono in 1995. Baier provides the fullest description.

Baier (1987: 121, 123) presents two photographs of the "urn with designs" and describes its shape in some detail. Referring to the ornaments he writes (translated from German): "Two pointed triangles are depicted one above the other; and above and below them are two pairs of circles." However, no hint is given of their anthropomorphic shape.

Baier (1992 and 1995) again presents a photograph of the "urn with designs" (1992: 165) with a clearly visible mask pair. He points out similarities with some tattoo patterns

used among the Kayan and Kenyah tribes. It seems, he is definitely convinced that the urns were hollowed out using metal tools. In 1995, he wrote (translated): "In the literature are confirming reports on ore mining (Elshout 1926: 100) and on iron processing (Nieuwenhuis 1904 II: 197) in pre-colonial times."

Sellato (1995 and 1996) offers another opinion. He writes that: "It is **plausible** that the funeral containers, made of coarse-grained sandstone boulders, were cut into shape with basalt adzes or scrapers and dug out with basalt gouges." He also mentions the designs: "Only two of the containers surveyed so far show any kind of decoration, incised or in low relief" ("two" containers is a misinterpretation). He finds support for his basalt tool theory (1996: 7) by referring to Padoch (1983: 36) who reported that during World War II a whole village (Nan Baa, Sarawak), comprising some twenty households, had only a single iron bush knife. "After World War II, iron tools became more commonly used," Sellato adds (1996: 8). Concluding, he remarks: "Finds of numerous stone tools in the upper Bahau region (Sellato 1995c, Karina 1995) imply that, 150 to 200 years ago, iron was not yet widely in use..." (1996: 4).

The author, however, seems to have neglected the foreign language literature. This renders Sellato's basalt tool theory not at all plausible. Concerning the hardness of the materials, it is rather absurd, and in terms of historical sources untenable. The hardness of sandstone and basalt, unless the former is weathered, is almost the same, and it would therefore have required a great deal of basalt to have worked these stones. Moreover, inside the stone sarcophagi at Long Pujungan and inside of some urns at Long Pulung sharp marks of chisel work are clearly visible, typical for the work of a metal chisel. The big prehistoric sarcophagus at Data Dian is made of andesite, a hard volcanic rock like basalt (Tillema 1938: 208 and other sources). Irong Njau, the "last Ngorek" in the Bahau area, professed that the urns were hollowed by using metal hatchets (Baier 1987: 120). The Ngorek are widely considered to be the descendants of the urn constructors. Baier also reports of stairs cut into rocks allegedly by the Ngorek using metal tools.

Although Sellato cites Van Walchren (1907) and Elshout (1926) in both his publications, it appears, however, that he has not studied these authors carefully. Van Walchren (1907: 800), reporting precisely from the Long Pujungan/upper Bahau area, writes (translated from Dutch): "Trade and industry are not performed; however, the Oma Badang had a smithy where...iron ore was processed which is found in the mountains." Particularly, he notes, spears and sickles were forged.

The existence of metal ore in Pujungan (Bahau), Kerayan and the Apo Kayan areas, together with an early knowledge of metal processing, would seem to explain the former dense population and early megalithic culture of these regions.

Bernet Kempers (1991: 13) makes it clear: "Since preparation techniques usually required metal tools, most megaliths cannot have been made before the Metal Age. Different types of megalithic monuments, such as dolmen, stone casts, stone chambers, stone vats, and stone sculptures..." (were all produced using metal tools).

Marschall (1995b: 190) concludes that (translated from German): "...all Indonesian megaliths (must) be attributed to a phase of the Metal Age..."

Manguin (1995, reporting on an archeological survey carried out in 1992 at Sungai Bahau) also gave his attention to the "site of Long Pulung" (p. 74), noting that "With one notable exception, monuments here were built on the standard shape ... Within this group, one fallen monument revealed one single, upright sculpted stone. Figures are difficult to interpret before the stone is cleared of the unglazed from an ant's nest and other fallen

stones." This description is unclear. By "upright sculpted stone," he seems to be referring to the ornamented urn of which he published a partial photo of the mask motif (Fig. 3, p. 85). Not understandable, however, is his remark about "unglazed from an ants nest." Nothing like that is visible from the photos of Baier 1987 and 1992 or my own photos of 1999. I have observed one other urn dolmen on which termites (not ants) have built nests. As an archaeologist, Manguin does mention finding "basalt tools." However, he offers no opinion about techniques of stonework.

Johanjaya et al. (1995) produced in Indonesian an inventory and a physical classification of the urns and dolmens in the upper Sungai Bahau region. Under the heading "Lampiran 13: Situs Long Pulung," they provide a detailed drawing of the stone group with the mask motives (1995: 30). On the partially broken cylinder urn, a pair of masks and horizontal lines are visible. The designs on the pillar are not depicted. Strangely, the pillar is shown as if it were standing upright, although in Baier's photo (1992: 164) and in my own photos of 1999, it is clearly in a leaning position.

It seems that it has not, until now, been recognized that the "ornaments" on the two megaliths at Long Pulung are anthropomorphic twin masks, which are also the main design motifs on the few still existing earliest prehistoric moko drums of the classical Pejeng type. These twin mask-faces are cast four-fold in a relatively naturalistic style on the huge Pejeng drum, i.e., one pair each between the four handles. On the earliest much smaller moko drums of Pejeng type, the designs are reduced to triangle-shaped masks like those on the megaliths at Long Pulung.

These "drums" have no sound-producing membrane. Therefore, they belong to the group of percussion instruments that produce sound by their own body. According to ethnomusicological classification, this group includes gongs and kettledrums.

Early Bronze Drums of the Pejeng Type

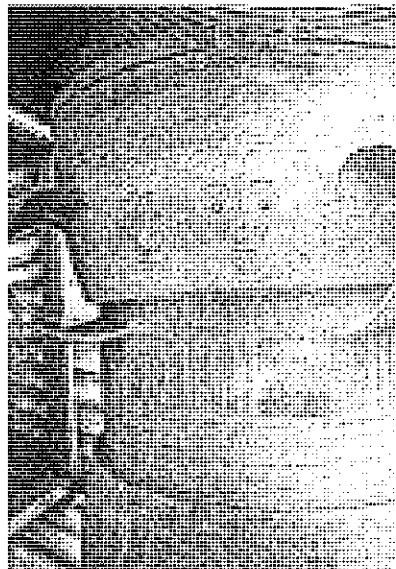


Figure 7: "The Moon of Pejeng"

Figure 7: This unique object is known as the “Moon of Pejeng” or “Moon of Bali.” With a height of 186.5 cm. (6.12 ft.), it is the biggest bronze drum of its type known. For many centuries, it has been kept in a horizontal position at Pura (temple) Penataran Sasih in the village of Pejeng, in Bali. It is considered by the villagers to be a prehistoric holy relict. With regard to bronze casting, it is a miracle: a unified whole! The photo shows that the handles are cast together with the body and were not fixed onto it later. This is typical for all early “waisted” bronze drums of the Pejeng type. Only the metal tympanum is cast separately and then mechanically fixed onto the drum’s body.

Between the four handles are situated the mask pairs, here still recognizable as faces with protruding round eyes and with nose, mouth and ears. Disc-shaped ornaments distend the ear lobes to a medium length. Today, this can still be seen among elderly Dayak people, with women having longer and men shorter distensions than on the Pejeng drum. The other geometric decorations above and below the masks are not the subject of our investigation here (Photo from *Reiseführer Bali*, Singapore: Periplus, 1991).

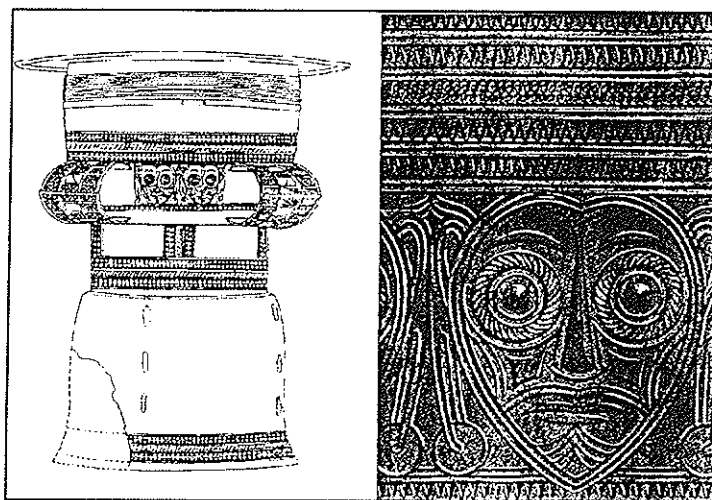


Figure 8: Pejeng Drum with Mask Face Design

Figure 8: Here can be seen the classical shape of the large Pejeng drum and one of the triangle- or heart-shaped faces (Bernet Kempers 1991: 16). The diameter-to-height ratio of this type of drum is always between 1:3 and 1:4. Bernet Kempers confirms that in Bali only this type of drum is found, although it occurs in different sizes. “So far no Heger I drums have been found in Bali...their (Pejeng type) ultimate origin must have been Central Bali” (1991: 18). Bernet Kempers also writes that “The total absence of Heger I in Bali seems to imply that the time when Heger I was making its appearance in the archipelago, Bali had already made its own preparations for casting metal drums, and had been succeeding quite well. It is thus an independent development we are directly concerned with” (1991: 19).

The Heger I bronze kettledrums had their heyday between the 4th century B.C. and 1st century A.D. (Dongson bronze). Most imports to the archipelago came, according to

Bernet Kempers, most probably after that time, “but a few specimen of much earlier Heger I drums may have reached the western parts of the archipelago long before that” (e.g., Palembang, Sumatra).

Therefore, there is some probability that the first classical Balinese Pejeng drums with twin masks might have been already cast in the last centuries of the last millennium B.C., before the appearance of Heger I drums. The question remains as to when the last drums with the twin mask design were cast, for all later moko drums were produced with quite different designs. The answer to this question could give a hint as to the latest possible age at which the stones were sculpted with the twin mask designs at Long Pulung.

Metal processing in Bali was already present in the last half of the first millennium B.C. and was not restricted only to bronze. In archaeological excavations of East Balinese tombs, not only bronze but also iron objects have been found (Hinzler 1991: 22).



Figure 9: Moko Drum

Figure 9: In a locker in the Prehistory Collection of the Indonesian National Museum in Jakarta are stored three prehistoric bronze moko drums which are decorated with the twin masks. They are described in the *Catalogus der Praehistorische Verzameling 1941* under the numbers 4950, 4951 and 4952, as “produced probably in Bali,” at Manuaba or Sembiran. Later moko drum production centered in Gresik. According to the Chief of the Prehistory Department National Museum Jakarta, Ibu Suhardini Chalid, the age of these three mokos cannot be fixed exactly. However, it is estimated at up to 2000 years. (The more recent moko drums are displayed in the large Ethnography exhibition hall. None bear mask motifs.)

Moko no. 4951 is a fragment; the part below the handles has been lost. Moko no. 4952 is also incomplete and shows many ancient repair efforts by means of bronze clamps.

Only moko no. 4950 is still in good condition except for its metal tympanum. It is shown in my photos. Its museum registration number is 14315. The height is 59 cm. (23 inches) and the diameter at its base is 28 cm. (11 inches). The tympanum rim juts out 4.2 cm. (1.65 inches) from the body, however, at least a quarter of this is broken off. The masks are heart-shaped. One pair is located between each of the four handles. The line and band ornaments above and below correspond with those on the large Pejeng drum. The vertical line visible on the right side of the drum's mantle was not created by plumbing or soldering. Rather, it is the connecting seam of the two halves of the wax sheet molds, which was filled in with molten bronze. This casting technique is described below. The *Catalogus* remarks that it was "bought by the Genootschap from Heer G.P.Rouffaer," in 1910 or earlier. The place of purchase is given as Alor.



Figure 10: Moko Drum Showing Mask Designs

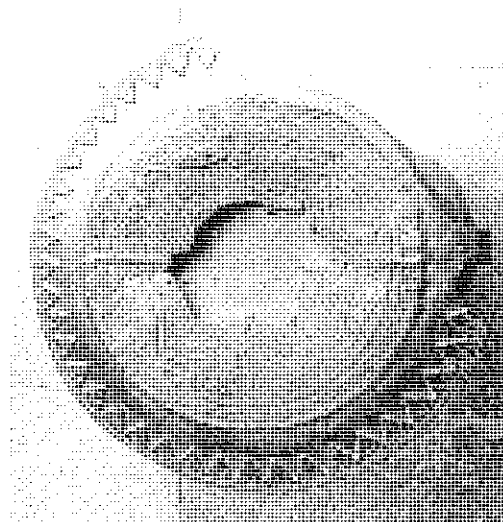


Figure 11: Moko Drum, View from the Top

Figures 10 and 11: All designs are in high relief. The casting mold must therefore have been in low relief. The designs on the stones at Long Pulung are of this nature. The masks are stylistically simplified compared to the faces on the “Pejeng moon.” The round eyes are protruding and a small ring indicates the nose. It can clearly be seen that the handles were cast as a unit together with the drum’s body. Swastika motifs adorn the handles.

The tympanum shows a complicated pattern of bands, different from the coils on the big Pejeng drum and completely different from the Heger I tympana. The star-shaped octagon in the center is nearly totally broken off. A gap of approximately 10 cm. (3.9 inches) in diameter has been closed from below with a smooth sheet of bronze and fixed to the tympanum with bronze clamps.

A drawing entitled “Another early moko from Alor” in the book of Bernet Kempers (1991: 26, Fig. 22) seems to be of the same drum.

The Tropenmuseum at Amsterdam includes several moko drums among its collections. One, which is in excellent condition, collection no. 3879-3, height 54 cm. (21.3 inches), top diameter 34 cm. (13.4 inches), bears a continuous row of masks around its body just above the handles. The *KIT Catalogus Budaya Indonesia 1987-1988* remarks that “Old mokos are considered to be the abode of ancestral spirits and are honored as such.”

A drawing of a typical pair of masks is also found in Hoop’s *Indonesische Siermotieven - Indonesian Ornamental Design*, 1949: 101. It comes from a moko of KBG no. 4952 (Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap). The text reads (translated from Dutch): “A pair of masks on a copper object of Alor (i.e., moko).” The space between and below the two masks is filled in with lines that appear to depict a longhouse on high stilts. (This information courtesy of Mr. Jan Winkelhorst, Aalten, personal communication).

The Twin Masks

Up to the present, no attempt has been made to interpret the meaning of these twin masks or faces. The twin faces might best be understood in relation to the sound of the instrument on which they appear. (Translated from German) “The sound of the gong was interpreted as the voice of the deceased, particularly the voice of the progenitor. The gong shares that function with other instruments...” (ter Keurs 1995: 312). Ancestors are often depicted in pairs when they are asked to grant fertility or when offerings are being made to them. In addition, (translated from German) “In most societies the ancestors are put at the center of adoration during rituals and also in everyday life; the ancestors are the prime mediators. Prosperity depends on them and fertility in particular... This is expressed in various arts. Once a **pair of ancestors** can be depicted to show the importance of both sexes for the continued existence of the society” (Marschall 1995b: 188).

The twin masks on the drums do not show sexual differentiation. However, this does not disqualify them from being recognized as a symbolic pair of ancestors, because, in the afterworld, sexual attributes are said not to exist. In traditional Indonesian societies drums and gongs are frequently endowed with a soul. They are beaten only at rituals, and the ancestors are requested to participate and make their voices heard through the instruments. That could be a possible interpretation, but others are not excluded.

During a trip I made in June 2003 to the small, remote village of Pa’ Raye in Kerayan Hulu, close to the border of Sabah and Sarawak in East Kalimantan, the Kepala Adat (traditional chief), Yusran Ukab, showed me a huge boulder which is called the *Batu*

Ngarok. It lies in the Pa' Rayan River close to the village. That boulder bears six incised heart-shaped masks. One pair of masks faces upriver, another pair faces downriver, and two masks are single and located at different spots on the boulder.



Figure 12: Heart-shaped Masks Incised on Batu Ngarok
at Pa' Raye, Hulu Kerayan

Figure 12 shows the pair of incised heart-shaped masks that faces upriver on the *Batu Ngarok* boulder at Pa' Raye, Kerayan Hulu. I enhanced the outline with charcoal in order to make it more visible. (Photo by H. Zahorka 2003).



Figure 13: Another Boulder at Pa' Raye With What Appears To Be
Buffalo Head Design (photograph by H. Zahorka 2003)

Figure 13 shows another big boulder (Photo by H. Zahorka 2003), 500 meters north of the same village at the edge of a rice field. There I discovered an incised front view of a buffalo head (*kerbau*, my interpretation). This, as far as I know, is without any analogy in Borneo. Even the people of the village did not appear to be able to identify the engravings, the Kepala Adat who accompanied me included. They call the boulder *Batu Narit* (incised stone) because the whole surface is covered with numerous incised linear marks made by the sharpening of cast metal tools, most probably of iron (hoes, chisels, and spear heads?). This is distinct proof of metal working in that area. During a long period of time the boulder has obviously moved and rolled down a bit into the rice field. Therefore, the buffalo head which originally must have been situated at the top now appears upside down. The deep weathered and eroded linear engravings around the head indicate a very old age.

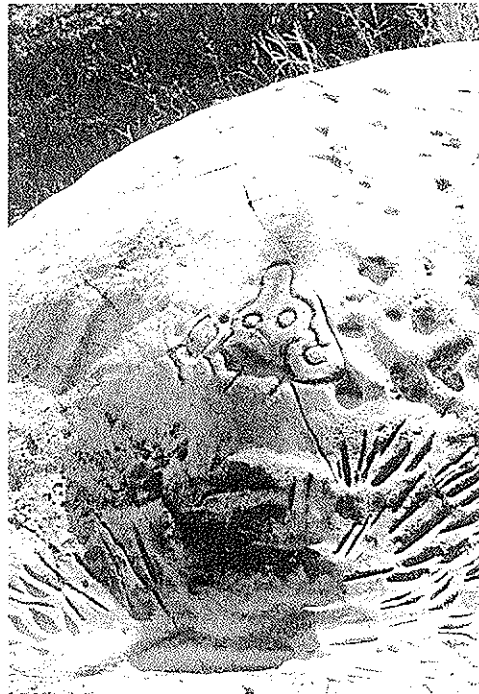


Figure 14: Buffalo Design at Pa' Raye, Shown from Above.
The Boulder on Which It Appears Is Called Batu Narit

Figure 14 shows the buffalo head from above. All these stone engravings are thought to derive from the Megalithic/Metal Period, which started in the last half of the first millennium B.C. (Hinzler 1991: 22). The water buffalo (*kerbau*) appears in the archipelago together with the Dongson bronze kettledrums like Heger I (Scheefold 1980: 130). The Kerayan District is rich in dolmens, megaliths, stone urns, stone tempayan and prehistoric mounds, which include several stone slabs. The Kelabit Dayak (Lun Daye and Lun Baa) living there use water buffalos (*karbau*) for transportation.

A number of single triangle-shaped masks — not in pairs — with large round eyes and not in a systematic order are incised on a large rock in the Kerayan Hulu area at a salt source close to Kampong Baru. This stone was reported on by Baier (1979: 79, fig. 14 and 15). I also visited the boulder in June 2003. Baier further reports (translated from German): "... (such) triangle-shaped faces were also found engraved on bones from Niah (Harrisson and Medway 1962: Plate Ib)."



Figure 15: A Sculptured Megalithic Tomb from the Sungai Sui, Upper Sungai Kayan, Apo Kayan

Figure 15: A pillar of a prehistoric megalithic tomb or dolmen on a small island in the uppermost Sungai Kayan opposite the mouth of a small tributary known as Sungai Sui, situated between the longhouse villages of Lidung Payau and Long Sungai Barang, Apo Kayan (the latter is the last upriver village on the Sungai Kayan). This sculpture also has a similar triangle-shaped face with protruding round eyes typical of the style being described here (Photo by H. Zahorka 1994).

The Bronze Casting Technique

In 1931 or 1932 in a temple at Manuaba in Bali (between Ubud and Tampaksiring) the German Artist Walter Spies discovered a stone fragment of a mold with an incised low

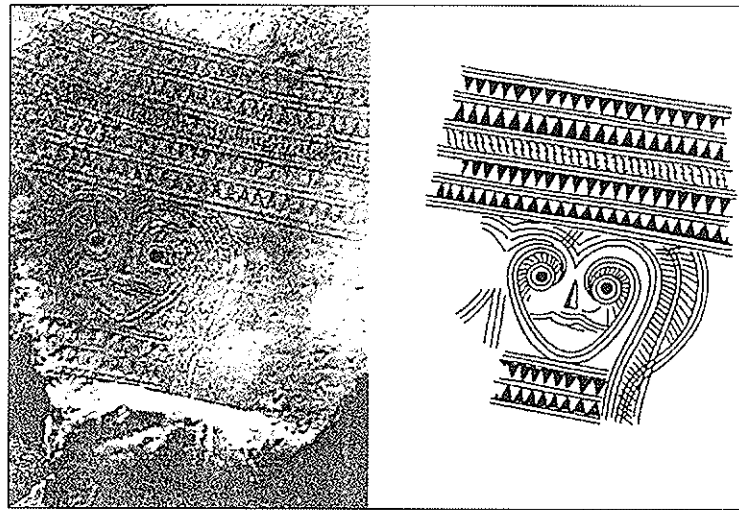


Figure
Manua

and Print

16:
ba Mold

Figure 16: Studies and examinations made by Dr. K.C. Crucq and others revealed that this stone fragment was a printing mold, not a mold for casting. It must have been meant to be used several times in succession. The total height of the mantle projected from the Manuaba mold can be calculated at 107.5 cm. (42.3 inches), or twice as high as the moko drum in the National Museum in Jakarta. The two figures show the stone fragment with the head and a print made from it. The stone is the printing mold. It is the “negative” of the later cast. The typical round eyes are holes here — as they are on the stones in Long Pulung. The cast form then is the “positive.” Here the eyes are protruding. All “negative” decorations on the printing mold become reversed as “positive” high relief on the cast drum.

To cast in the lost wax method, the clay core of the drum had to be first shaped and, for practical reasons, hollowed. A layer of wax was then pressed over the stone printing mold and carefully removed. This now became a positive relief on one side. This sheet of wax was then applied to the clay core with its relief outside. The handles were formed in wax and fixed to the body.

Because the same motif was repeated four times around the body, the printing mold did not have to cover the whole circumference. A quarter or a half was sufficient. Two or four wax layers were fixed together at their vertical edges with wax, which later looked like a plumbing seam on the cast body. As a next step, the entire wax prototype had to be carefully enclosed in a clay crust or outer mold. Bronze plugs were used to maintain the correct distance between the core and the outer mold during casting, and holes for letting out fluid wax, gases, superfluous metal, etc. had to be fixed. All was then heated for the fluid wax to escape (to be used again for the next drum). The molten metal was then poured into the narrow spaces between the inner and the outer molds. The tympanum-

cum-cuff was cast separately and mechanically fixed to the drum's body. This method allowed for the production of large bodies with a minimum amount of bronze, which was important for producing a satisfying sound when the drum was beaten.

Bernet Kempers (1988 and 1991) has published a detailed description of this casting method.

Cautious Assessment of Age

Marschall is very cautious in dating the megalithic/metal age in Indonesia (translated from German): "An exact date of the gongs of type Heger I in Indonesia is not yet possible...early dates particularly by Solheim (1972) and his colleagues are meanwhile being widely revised" (1995a: 40, 41). The Museum in Palembang, Sumatra, hosts two large boulders with sculptures. On the "Bull stone," two men hold a Dongson gong of type Heger I and on the "Elephant stone," a warrior carries a Heger I drum on his back. Both stones date from early in the first millennium A.D.

According to another source (translated from German): "...the gongs (Heger I) are the biggest and most conspicuous artifacts of the metal age culture on South East Asia's islands before the spread of Hinduism and Buddhism. It is accepted that they arrived there between 600 BC and 100 A.D. ..." (ter Keurs 1995: 312).

Today it is generally accepted that the bronze and iron production in Island Southeast Asia started about 500 B.C. Vickers (1991: 113) estimates the age of the "Moon of Pejeng" bronze drum at 2000 years.

The Popularity of the Twin Mask Motif in Borneo

In Borneo, or Kalimantan, the twin mask motif has existed in a schematic or simplified form into the twentieth century both in Dayak tattoo motifs and on buildings. Several authors have recorded drawings of Dayak tattoo designs:

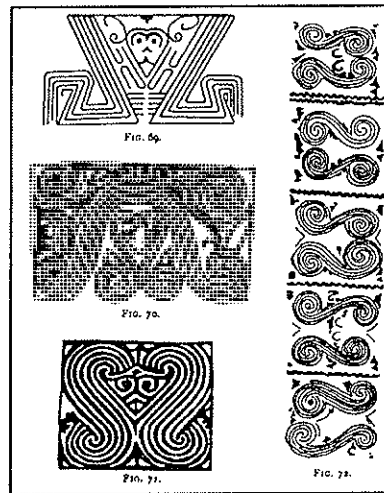


Figure 17: Tatroo Designs from Hose and McDougall

Figure 17: Four tattoo designs from Hose and McDougall (1912: 258). The authors identify these tattoo patterns as “anthropomorphic.” Fig. 69 was a tattoo on the upper thighs of women with tattoo names like *tegulun*, *silong*, or *kohong*. Fig. 70 and Fig. 71 are knee tattoos with the names *nangn klinge* and *tushun tuva*, respectively. Both patterns were also called *kalong nang*. The tattoo in Fig. 72 has lost its anthropomorphic appearance but its anthropomorphic origin is still obvious. It was called *tishin tuva* and was seen at the front side of the upper thighs of a woman belonging to the slave class.

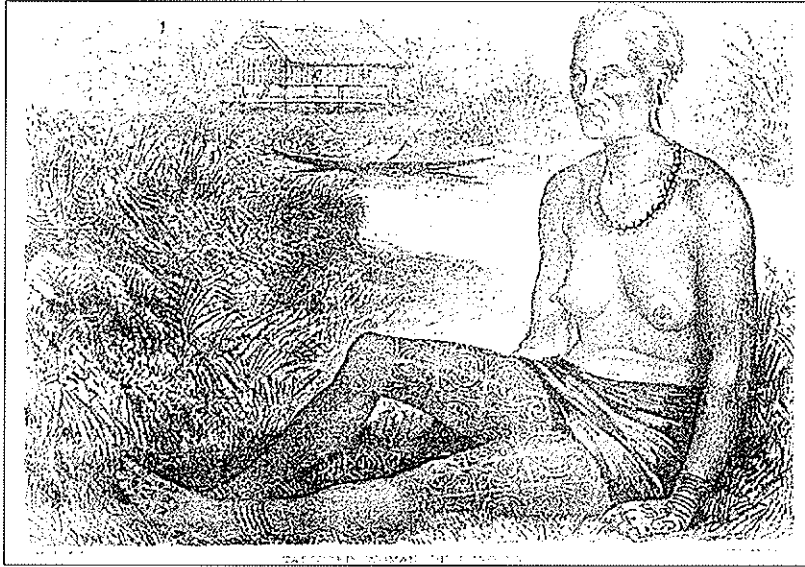


Figure 18: Tattooed Woman of Long Wai, Upper Thigh Tattoos from Bock

Figure 18: A complete view of the tattooed upper thighs of a woman from Bock (1881: Plate 6). The colored lithograph bears the caption, “Tattooed Woman of Long Wai.” This may refer to today’s Muara Wai on the Sungai Kedang Kepala. The basic pattern is in rows but remains strongly reminiscent of an anthropomorphic mask even if the spiral lines at the chin turn outwards. The eyes are also depicted as spirals.

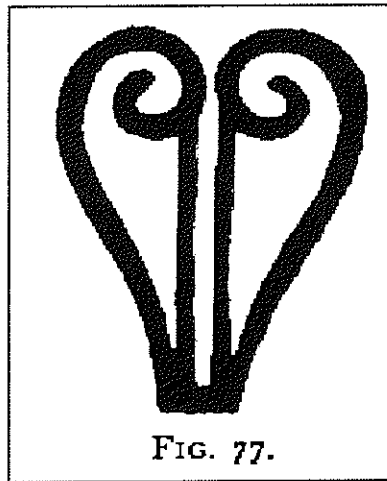


Figure 19: A Sea Dayak Tatu from Hose and McDougall

Figure 19: Also from Hose and McDougall (1912: 276), a “Sea Dayak Tatu.” It is a tattoo worn on the larynx of men. The original triangle-shaped mask is reduced to a few essential lines. The eyes are only half coils and the nose is two vertical lines. Two “meaningless” names are given: *katak* (‘frog’) and *tali gasieng* (‘spinning thread’). The Bakatan Dayak are said to have used the same motif. They called it *gerowit*.

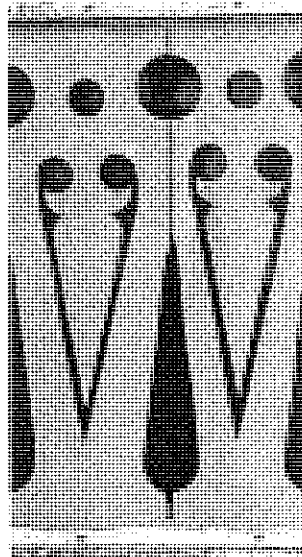


Figure 20: Mask Motifs from a Catholic Presbytery in Long Lunuk, Upper Mahakam

Figure 20: This very simplified row of longish triangle mask motifs I found decorating the terrace of the Catholic presbytery in Long Lunuk, in the upper Mahakam (Photo by H. Zahorka 2000). No special name for this motif could be given. This is the settlement area of the Bahau and the Long Glat Dayaks. Their painted or carved masks (*hudoq*) are always equipped with big round eyes, often protruding, and with long and pointed lower jaws.

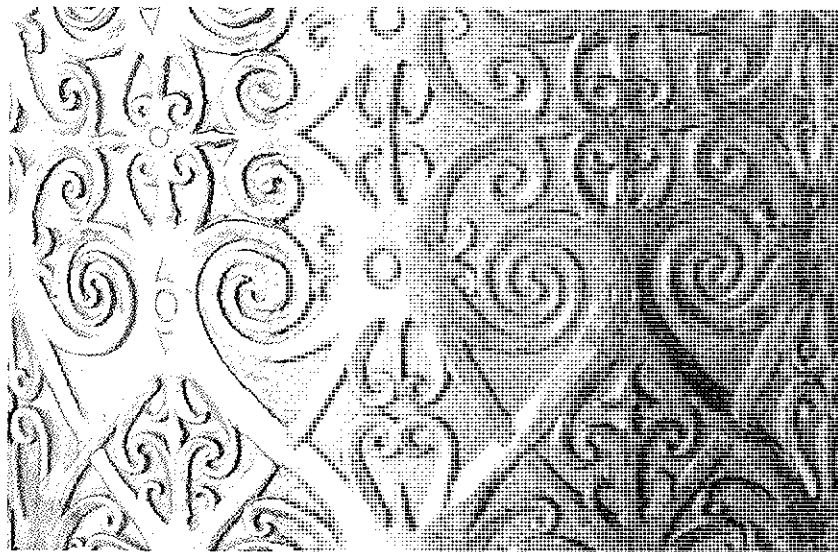


Figure 21: Modern Dayak Designs on Airport Pillar, Balikpapan, East Kalimantan

Figure 21: These woodcarvings surround the large pillars at the airport in Balikpapan, East Kalimantan. Despite their artistic arranging, the traditional heart-shaped twin masks are still very clearly discernible. Hence, this thousands-of-years-old motif is still being used as an element in Dayak-inspired architectural design in the second millennium A.D.

Conclusion and Outlook

The low relief of the triangle-shaped twin masks on the two stones with decorations, as well as their position within the urn alignment at Long Pulung, and the upside-down position of the pillar afford strong evidence that their use as an ossuary is a secondary one. The twin mask designs give a strong hint that the original function of these two ornamented stones was that of wax print molds for the early production of cast bronze by a lost wax method most probably like that used to make drums of a Pejeng type (Zahorka 2001). A similar wax print mold is represented by the “Manuaba mold” that was found in Bali which has allowed us to reconstruct the method of casting bronze in a lost wax form.

A reliable age assessment of the Long Pulung reliefs is not yet possible. However, the twin mask motifs on bronze objects are only known from the large Pejeng drum and from the oldest moko drums. Their production is assumed to pre-date the appearance of Heger I drums in the eastern archipelago, which is about 2000 years ago.

Clear evidence concerning early ore processing and metal production in the remote Bahau center of megalithic urn dolmens can only be provided by future archaeological investigations at the old sites of smelting and bronze casting. These sites must have been somewhere in the mountains west of the Sungai Bahau, from Apau Ping in the north down to the right tributary of the Sungai Lurah in the south, perhaps one of them not far from the former village of Long Pulung. Bronze smelting does not seem unlikely here as iron production was still being carried out in the Bahau and the Kerayan regions at the beginning of the twentieth century and possibly later (Bala 2002: 24, 53, 87). Using thermoluminescence dating, the age of fired clay samples from ancient bronze casting sites could then be established.

Nevertheless, at this point in time, we can assume that the numerous urn, dolmen and urn dolmen burial sites, often furnished with huge megaliths, in the upper Sungai Bahau, the Kerayan and Apo Kayan areas are the result of early metal-processing operations. These megalithic monuments give evidence that there are still mysteries awaiting study below the jungle cover and under the soil in the heart of Borneo. If future research confirms that Borneo's megalithic period was contemporaneous with that of the other islands, i.e., roughly 2000 years from the present, then the Ngorek-theory could become questionable. In this context we should not forget that the first stone inscriptions of Indonesia today originate not from Java but from Muara Kaman, Mahakam River, East Kalimantan. The applied *Palava* script was surely incised by means of metal tools. It dates back to the Mulawarman Kingdom in 350 A.D.

Acknowledgements

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All photographs by H. Zahorka except figure 7.

**BORDERS OF KINSHIP AND ETHNICITY:
CROSS-BORDER RELATIONS BETWEEN THE KELALAN VALLEY,
SARAWAK, AND THE BAWAN VALLEY, EAST KALIMANTAN**

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Introduction

The paper that follows is an ethnographic study of the socio-cultural and economic links that connect people inhabiting a contiguous highland region of Sarawak, Malaysia and East Kalimantan, Indonesia.¹ These people, while living in two different countries, share a common border and are bound to one another by ties of ethnicity, language, kinship, religion, and economics.

Border communities organize themselves not only within the confines of national boundaries but also around social ties and interactions that cross these boundaries. This is particularly true of the study area where the national border was drawn in a way that ignored the natural and social divisions recognized by local people and which, today, remains porous to movements of people and goods. However, notwithstanding the artificial nature of this border, it is now necessary for borderland communities to organize

¹ This paper is the product of a joint research project, "Border of Ethnicity and Kinship: Cross-Border Relations between the Kelalan Valley, Sarawak, and the Bawan Valley, East Kalimantan," funded by the Southeast Asian Studies Regional Exchange Program (SEASREP) of the Toyota Foundation and by the Japan Foundation Asia Center. Preliminary findings were presented at the 2nd SEASREP workshop, "Borders and Borderlands in Southeast Asia," 25-26 March 2004 in Jakarta. We wish to express our thanks to the Research Center for Regional Resources, the Indonesian Institute of Sciences (Pusat Penelitian Sumber Daya Regional, Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia), for facilitating our research application to SEASREP and to the Sarawak Development Institute for acting as the co-supporting partner.

Research was carried out in 2003 and 2004 in the Kerayan sub-district, Long Bawan, East Kalimantan, and in Ba Kelalan, Sarawak, and in the libraries of LIPI in Jakarta and the Sarawak Museum archives in Kuching. We would like to thank all of our informants in the Bawan and Kelalan Valleys and the many others who assisted us. All interpretations, however, are solely our own.

The present paper is a much abbreviated version of our final study report.

their lives around it. The border has thus become an arena where diverse interests and actors play out their roles (Koji 2003: 1). Moreover, national citizenship is now one of the identities, in addition to kinship and culture, that must be negotiated (Bala 2002: 114).

This study focuses on two themes. First, as a borderland study, it examines the various links that join people living in two different sovereign nations divided by a political border. The border is also a place where other interests converge, including those of the state, and where outsiders come to trade and work. Second, the study will analyze the role of local actors, institutions, and interests in a borderland environment where ethnicity and kinship continue to be important.

The Study Area

Research was conducted in the Kelalan Valley (or Ba Kelalan) of Sarawak and the Bawan Valley, Wilayah Adat Kerayan Darat, in Kalimantan Timur, Indonesia (see map).² All villages were studied in Ba Kelalan, while in Long Bawan, the study included only those villages closest to the border. In Ba Kelalan, seven villages were studied: Buduk Nur, Long Langai, Long Lemutut, Long Ritan, Long Rusu, Pa Tawing, and Buduk Bui, and in the Long Bawan sub-district, five villages were studied: Long Nawang, Long Midang, Long Api, Buduk Tumuh, and Pa Rupai. The population of the Kelalan Valley is roughly 1030 persons. The selected study villages in the Bawan Valley have a population of some 2400, while the entire Kerayan Valley contains 89 *kampung* with a total population of about 11,000 persons.

Research Methodology

An ethnographic approach was used, supplemented by questionnaires, archival and library research. The approach allowed the researchers to test pre-conceived lines of inquiry and respond to information-gathering on the ground. As this was a collaborative study, the Sarawak researchers worked in Kerayan Darat as well as Long Bawan, while the Indonesian team leader, Ketut Ardana, also visited Ba Kelalan. Fieldwork was carried out in stints in May, August, and November 2003, and in February and September 2004.

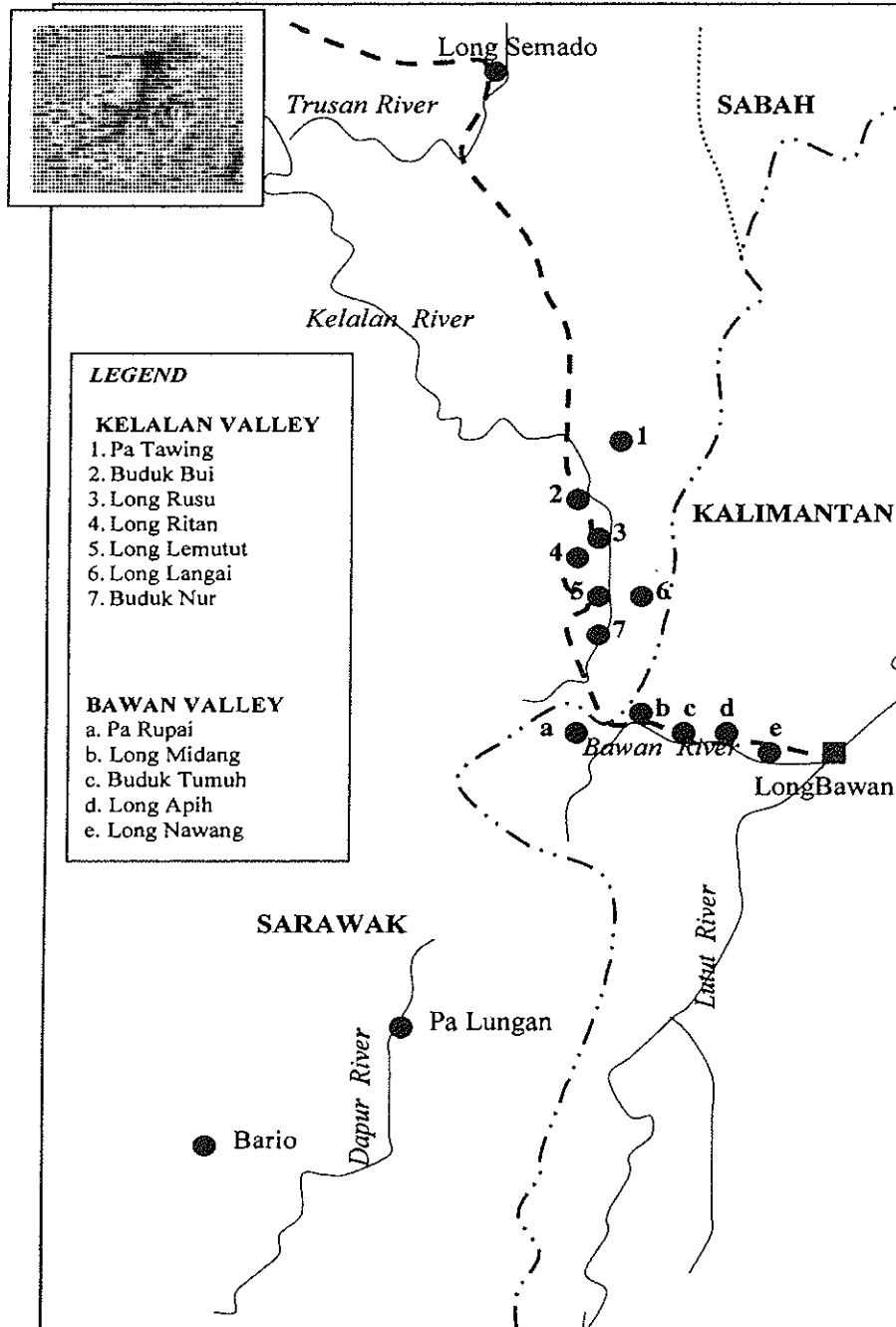
As the time available in the study area was limited, the distances between Ba Kelalan and Long Bawan, and between individual villages, proved to be a problem, as much time was spent traveling. One member of the study team, Jayl Langub, is a Lun Bawang whose mother comes from Ba Kelalan. Consequently, he not only speaks the local dialect, but knows many families and individuals in both the Kelalan and Bawan Valleys. This greatly facilitated interviews.

Ethnicity

The indigenous people inhabiting this highland plateau are called Lun Bawang in Ba Kelalan and Lun Dayeh in the Kerayan. Both groups are linguistically and culturally the same. Lun Bawang means 'people of the place', while Lun Dayeh means 'people of the interior', and researchers such as Sellato (1994: 12) and Crain (1994: 160) have noted similarities between them in terms of social organization and economy. In the past, European observers often referred to these groups as "Murut." However, the term "Murut" is no longer used in Sarawak as it can cause confusion with groups in Sabah,

² Kerayan is sometimes spelled Krayan. Indeed, the latter spelling appears to be preferred at the present time on the Indonesian side of the border.

SKETCH MAP OF BORDER VILLAGES



also called Murut, who have no cultural or linguistic affinity with either the Lun Bawang or Lun Dayeh.

Geographical Background

The study area is located in the highlands and valleys of northern Borneo, at the intersection of Kalimantan Timur, Sarawak, and Sabah. The Kerayan District (Kecamatan Kerayan) is divided into four *Wilayah Adat* (W.A.): W.A. Kerayan Hilir, W.A. Kerayan Tengah, W.A. Kerayan Darat, and W.A. Kerayan Hulu. The Bawan Valley is located in W.A. Kerayan Darat. In Sarawak, the Kelalan Valley is part of the Lawas District. One of the defining characteristics of the highlands is its relative isolation from the rest of Borneo. This is reflected in human settlement, agriculture, and economy. Isolation was caused in the past by the absence of navigable rivers, compounded by the highland terrain. The area averages 1000 meters in elevation and the climate is noticeably cooler than in lowland Borneo.

The traditional means of communication within the area was by foot. From the Kerayan to the nearest Indonesian township, Melinau, took about two weeks on foot and from the Kerayan to Lawas in Sarawak, 8 to 10 days. Air transport came only in the post-World War II period. In the upper Trusan Valley of Sarawak airfields were built at Long Semado and Ba Kelalan. However, at the time of writing, the Long Semado airfield has been discontinued and the Ba Kelalan airfield was closed for repairs. In Kerayan Darat, Long Bawan is linked by air to Tarakan, Nunukan, and Melinau.

Today, Ba Kelalan is linked by a logging road to Lawas some 160 kilometers away. The road is dry and dusty during the hot months of April through September, and muddy and treacherous during the monsoon months of October to March, and only four-wheel drive vehicles are able to operate on it. More recently, beginning in July 2004, the road from Lawas to Ba Kelalan was extended to Long Bawan. Due to the high cost of air freight in the Kerayan, the Bawan Valley has now turned to Ba Kelalan for most of its goods and also as an outlet for the sale of its rice.

The study villages consist of clusters of individual houses, with the exception of Long Bawan, the administrative center of Kerayan Darat, which also has rows of two-storey shophouses. In the Kelalan Valley, footpaths link villages which are all within walking distance of one another. Surrounding the houses are terraced rice fields. The main occupation of the villagers is wet rice cultivation, although some of the more enterprising have set up small village shops. The border is manned by Malaysian and Indonesian army posts.

Wet Rice Cultivation (*lati' ba*)

Geographical isolation and the mountainous terrain have forced both the Lun Bawang and the Lun Dayeh to settle in the valleys, where they practice a unique, complex, and productive form of wet rice cultivation known as *lati' ba*. *Lati' ba* represents a sound ecological adaptation to the mountainous topography. Rice fields are carved out of valleys and sustained by an intricate system of irrigation canals fed by mountain streams. Soils in the Bawan Valley are sandy and infertile, but the water supply helps overcome these deficiencies with natural nutrients carried by stream water from the hills and mountains (Padoch 1981). Buffaloes are kept to break up and fertilize the soil with their droppings. *Adan* rice is planted once a year, around July, and is harvested in January. After harvesting, rice fields are left fallow, and before planting, buffaloes are

brought in to graze and work the ground. No machinery is used so that labor is in high demand during land preparation and harvest.



Photo 1: Rice Fields in the Bawan Valley

This method of rice cultivation, which depends on clear water, natural fertilization, fallowing, use of buffaloes, and the non-use of pesticides has proven effective and has sustained life in the highlands for generations. As the population is small, surplus rice, especially from the Kerayan, is traded as a commodity to the Kelalan Valley and beyond. For many Kerayan families, the economic value of *adan* rice encourages them to sell it, and for their own consumption, buy cheaper imported rice. The rice grown in the highlands is recognized for its quality and taste and is in great demand in lowland towns and cities. Here it is popularly known as “Bario rice.” The term “Bario rice” is often taken to mean rice grown in Bario, Sarawak, but varieties of the same rice are grown throughout the highlands, from Ba Kelalan and Long Semado in Sarawak, through Long Pasia in Sabah, to the Kerayan region of Kalimantan. As this rice is in high demand, rice has become a major cash crop and this, as we shall see, has implications for cross-border trade. Rice cultivation is also intertwined with social and economic relationships, as rice farming in Ba Kelalan now depends on Kerayan labor.

Historical Background

According to Harrison (1959a: 8-11), the Lun Bawang are an ancient interior population who began to move into the Baram and Limbang Districts of Sarawak and into Bahau in Kalimantan sometime in the seventeenth century. Historically, before the coming of Europeans, coastal groups sought to exert control over the hinterlands. Oral traditions acknowledge that the Bawan Valley was for a time a part of the coastal Tidung

kingdom. However, the arrival of Europeans altered these relationships. Although coming within different colonial spheres, that of the Brookes in Sarawak and of the Dutch in East Borneo, people on both sides of the border remained in contact and colonial governance was minimal. Brooke rule was extended to the Trusan District in 1885 and to Lawas in 1905. On the other side of the border, Dutch control only reached the East Kalimantan interior in the early 1930s (Crain 1994). From archival sources in Sarawak, there is evidence of movement of Kerayan people, goods, and ideas into Sarawak in the early twentieth century. It was nearer and more convenient to travel to Sarawak than to the east coast of Borneo, a fact that is still true today. External influences acted as a catalyst for change and increased cross-border interactions. Trade in jungle and farm products such as damar, rice and buffaloes in return for manufactured goods, notably cloth, was a major economic force at work, followed later by wage labor.

Most historical information on cross-border relations comes from Sarawak archival records, which focus largely on trade relations between Sarawak's coastal towns and Indonesian border communities. It was at the coast that most trading transactions were recorded, not at the border. Hence, the extent of border trade is unknown, but coastal records clearly reveal the mutual advantages of trade to people on both sides of the border. The northern coastal towns of Sarawak, which served as administrative centers, were meant to foster trade and Chinese traders were encouraged by the Brooke government to set up businesses there. Following the establishment of Trusan and Lawas, interior peoples from Ba Kelalan and the Kerayan were able to walk down to the coast to trade.

Thus, in 1885 the *Sarawak Gazette* reported: "During next year, it is expected that the population will exert themselves in looking for produce, and that the different articles brought before their notice by the traders will give them encouragement...Riches are spoken of in the interior, but it is a question if the inhabitants have the energy to unearth them for the market" (*Sarawak Gazette*, 1 December 1885: 119). News of the opportunities for trade on the coast reached across the watershed into Kalimantan and in 1887 it was reported that "Muruts" from Banjarmassin had arrived at Trusan station after an overland journey of ten days. "They stated that they had heard a great deal about the Fort and things in general here, and had at length come to see for themselves; they were so much impressed that on their return they would induce others from that part of the country to follow their example" (*Sarawak Gazette*, 3 January 1887: 11). A few years later, it was reported that a group of Pa Lutut people from Dutch territory had arrived in Trusan to buy buffaloes and informed the Resident at Trusan that it would take a month to walk back (*Sarawak Gazette*, 1 August 1901: 162). Although the Brooke stations paid more attention to their own subjects, they welcomed these cross-border visitors. After these initial reports, there is hardly any mention of "Dutch Muruts" until the late 1940s. Trade had a major impact on the lives of border communities. Trade created opportunities for contact and introduced the use of money. Missionaries and Brooke officials would later cite religion as a major source of change, but exposure to coastal influences, trade goods, and Europeans began much earlier, with this first establishment of coastal trading centers.

Missionary activities began in the highlands in the late 1920s. The Australian-based Borneo Evangelical Mission (BEM) operated on the Sarawak side of the border, while in East Kalimantan, starting in the mid 1930s, American missionaries of the Christian and Missionary Alliance succeeded in making large-scale conversions. The new religion was

received enthusiastically. As individuals crossed the border, they acted as catalysts by influencing others to embrace the new religion. The BEM missionaries Carey and Southwell arrived in Ba Kelalan in 1928. Some individuals from Dutch Borneo were present and told the missionaries that two American white men were preaching the same message on the other side of the border (Southwell 1999: 80). One Kerayan Christian, Panai, a convert of the American Christian and Missionary Alliance, is said to have been responsible for the mass conversion of the Ulu Trusan (*Sarawak Gazette*, 31 March 1957). Thus religious change criss-crossed the border, and today Christian churches in both the Kerayan and Kelalan Valleys are well-established institutions and common religious identity as Christians now reinforces bonds of ethnicity.

Arguably, the Japanese Occupation opened a window into the highlands (Bala 2002: 58), when the region became a center for covert military operations. Crain credits the presence of allied units with bringing major changes to the area, arguing that “the effect of these Europeans, with their extraordinary amount of goods, medicine, weapons... et cetera, was to bring about a level and content of communication previously unknown between various areas of Lun Dayeh settlement” (Crain 1994: 125). While the Japanese Occupation may have given borderland communities a common cause and a feeling of togetherness, in 1963, a different kind of war, Confrontation, caused much distress, as national identity came to the fore, with a resulting differentiation between “us” and “them,” as Malaysians and Indonesians.

While only sketchy information on the nature of cross-border linkages is available for the early twentieth century, much more is known for the second half of the century. After Sarawak became a British crown colony in 1946, trade continued to draw people from the other side of the border. In 1949 it was reported, “Muruts from Ulu Trusan and Dutch Borneo have visited Lawas throughout the year bringing with them rice and damar for sale, and bringing back cloth and other bazaar goods to their houses” (*Sarawak Gazette*, 7 May 1949: 121). According to the same source, “Dutch Muruts come here (Lawas) in preference to Long Berang, the nearest bazaar to them in Netherlands East Indies. Long Berang is at least 25 days’ round journey from the Sarawak-Dutch border, whereas the round journey to Lawas is 16 days only and the track is less hilly and much easier for travelling, especially if carrying a load.” Buffaloes were another trading item from the Kerayan and were walked all the way down to Lawas for sale (*Sarawak Gazette*, 31 May 1952: 112).

Movement across the border for trading purposes was soon augmented by a need for labor. The Lawas District Officer in 1956 admitted that, “without the help of Indonesian Muruts, many of whom have been coming down on short money-earning sprees, the labour situation here would be grave. They are industrious, uncomplaining and prepared to accept reasonable wages in comparison with many of our own people” (*Sarawak Gazette*, 31 March 1956: 74). Building projects in Lawas needed labor and this need was filled by “Indonesian Muruts.”

It was also observed that these Muruts were “skilled in the constructional work on additional bunds,” and helped create rice farms in Ba Kelalan and Long Semado and even down to coastal Lawas (*Sarawak Gazette*, 12 September 1951: 183). Farms in Ba Kelalan and Long Semado were short of labor in the 1950s and turned to the Kerayan for help. The small population, and its drift away from the highlands to the coastal towns had already begun; “depopulation (from Upper Trusan) continues with a steady trickle of both householders and families going down to Lawas and staying there” (*Sarawak Gazette*, 30

September 1955: 236). The Trusan was underpopulated, and it was asserted that the small population increase from 1949 to 1957 was due to the movement of people from across the border, with many brides brought across from East Kalimantan (*Sarawak Gazette*, 31 October 1958: 92 and 30 April, 1961: 66).

Following independence, with Indonesia becoming a Republic in 1949 and Sarawak joining the Malaysian Federation in 1963, different political sovereignties emerged and this affected border communities by conferring notions of citizenship. In the past, people did not think in terms of the “state,” and the flow of people, goods, and ideas across the border continued despite differences in sovereignty. However, the outbreak of Confrontation created hardships as armies on both sides fought limited skirmishes and sought to restrict cross-border mobility and personal contact. But such restrictions did not work and a blind eye was generally turned to people crossing the border as they had always done. Fortunately, the Cross Border Agreement signed on 26 May 1967 between Indonesia and Malaysia recognized this reality and allowed individuals living in border communities to visit, trade, and work for one another.

Social Organization

Although separated by a national border, the Lun Bawang of the Kelalan Valley and the Lun Dayeh of the Bawan Valley organize their families in similar ways, recognize similar patterns of local leadership, and in both areas the church plays a similar role in maintaining social cohesion.

1) The Household

The basic social unit in both groups is the *uang ruma'*, or household. *Uang ruma'* means literally ‘flesh of the house’ (see Crain 1970: 189). The *uang ruma'* usually comprises a nuclear family of a husband, wife, and offspring. The occurrence of extended families is rare, and, for Ba Kelalan, the average number of people per family is 5.3 (Sarawak Development Institute 2002).

The *uang ruma'* is the unit of production, consumption, procreation, and education. Every individual is a member of one *uang ruma'*, and it is through this membership that he or she relates to the village and beyond. The head of the household is normally the most senior male, usually the father. Siblings and cousins prefer to build their houses next to each other so that help can be easily solicited. During important events, such as marriages, births, or deaths, help is sought from one’s kinsmen. The Lun Bawang and Lun Dayeh are monogamous, and marriage is possible with people outside their own ethnic group. However, in the past, the preference was for marriage not only within the group, but also within the same area. The Lun Bawang/Lun Dayeh practice the custom of paying a brideprice, so that after marriage the girl may leave her natal family and join that of her husband. In the case of the Lun Bawang, the brideprice is limited by custom to three buffaloes and cash amounting to 2000 Malaysian *ringgit*. Following marriage, the husband’s and wife’s family will try to help each other with farm work and other activities, no matter how far removed their villages are from one another. This has implications for cross-border interaction. Because one can get help from one’s brothers- and sisters-in-law, most people prefer to marry into families that have many children and close relatives who are known to be hardworking.

The next level of social organization is the village. Village organization in Ba Kelalan differs slightly from that of the Bawan Valley.

2) Village Social Organization: Kelalan Valley

The village comprises a cluster of detached houses, with each house occupied by an individual household. In the past, the Lun Bawang lived in longhouses, or *ruma' kadang*. Within the longhouse, each household occupied a separate apartment. However, in more recent times, detached dwellings are preferred. The households that form the village are bound together by a number of relationships: kin networks, farm work groups, church congregations, and village development committees. There are seven villages in Ba Kelalan, each with its own headman, or *tua kampung*, and farming territory.

The post of headman was created by the government and appointment is made through consensus of the adult village population. The holder of the office is expected to have a knowledge of community customs and traditions and must command the respect of the villagers. Since he receives only a small token honorarium from the government, he should also be economically well-off. The headman presides over the general affairs of the village. He also coordinates a number of community activities and acts as an intermediary between the village and the government. He arbitrates minor disputes between village members and provides leadership in matters pertaining to development activities. He thus chairs the village development committee (*Jawatatan Kemajuan dan Keselamatan Kampung [JKKK]*) and is assisted by a committee secretary, treasurer and members. The function of the JKKK includes general development of the village, social welfare, health, and security. It oversees the implementation of minor rural development projects, such as gravity-feed water supply, cement walkways, footpaths, bridges, and sport facilities like badminton courts or football fields. Various sub-committees may be formed depending on the needs of the villages.

Above the headman is the regional chief, or *penghulu*. This post was also created by the government and its holder is appointed through consultation with the elders of the area. The seven villages in the Kelalan Valley come under one *penghulu*. The *penghulu's* duties are similar to those of a headman except that they are more extensive. The *penghulu* visits every village under his jurisdiction at least twice a year to discuss matters pertaining to development and everyday life. He collects information for the government and has lay magisterial power, presiding over cases in the native chief's court. As a lay magistrate, he must be conversant with local customs and reports to the District Office occasionally when required to do so. Since the job takes considerable time, he is paid a monthly salary. Like a civil servant, he is prohibited from taking part in party politics, but unlike them is free to engage in commercial ventures. His appointment is for five years. However, if he performs his duties well, he may be reappointed for further terms.

There are six government agencies represented in Ba Kelalan: the Upriver Agency, a primary school, a health sub-center, an agriculture sub-office, a civil aviation office, and an auxiliary police station, which the villagers consult when the need arises. Most matters of immediate concern, however, are dealt with within the village.

The Lun Bawang are Christians and belong to the Borneo Evangelical Mission denomination or *Sidang Injil Borneo*. The church is one of the most important institutions in the village. Each village has a church (*gereja*) and church services and prayer meetings are occasions during which villagers meet and share spiritual experiences, exchange information, discuss community activities, and renew their commitment to village well-being. The church community is also a source of solace and support in times of crisis.

Church activities are looked after by a pastor who receives a monthly allowance determined by the villagers, and donations of rice and other food items. The functions of

the pastor include preaching, conducting church services and worship, arranging for prayer meetings, and counseling on matters relating to spiritual and moral issues. Sometimes he or she is called upon to mediate in domestic quarrels. The pastor is assisted in his work by deacons or *pelayan*. These are appointed by a consensus of the congregation. The criteria for appointment are good personal character and moral behavior. Deacons are respected individuals and serve many useful functions in the village. They make collective decisions on church activities, look after the finances and allowances of the pastor, and assist the pastor with church services and prayer meetings. In the absence of the pastor, they may also deliver sermons to the congregation.

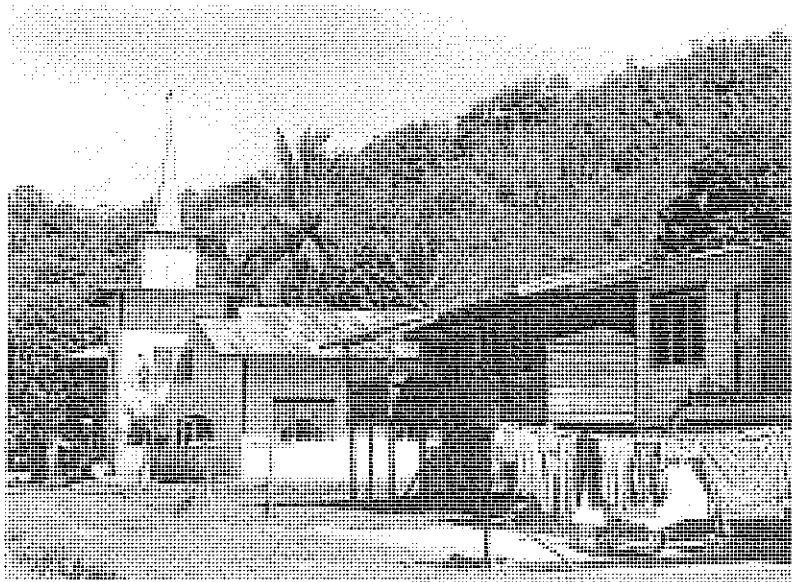
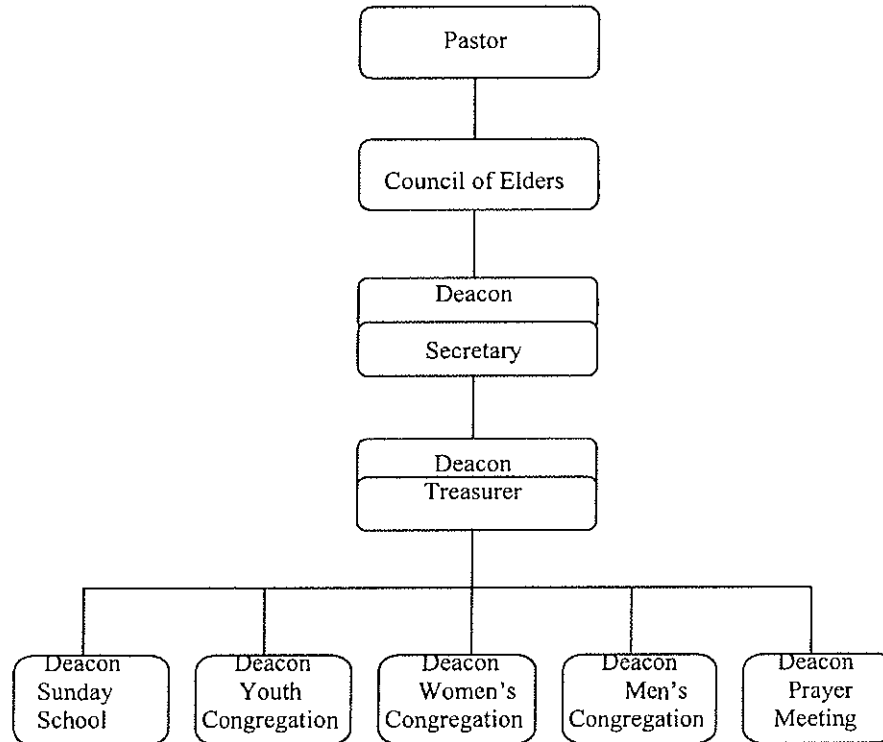


Photo 2: A Church in the Bawan Valley

Deacons also play a mediating role. When there are domestic quarrels, a deacon or a group of them may be asked to mediate between the quarreling parties. During betrothal negotiations, a deacon or a group of deacons may be asked to negotiate matters, such as the brideprice or the post-marital residence of the couple. The position of deacon is reviewed every two years, so that almost every adult male and female of good moral behavior has a chance to serve as a deacon. There are, of course, a few deacons who remain in the job for many years until age forces them to retire. These persons are highly respected for their honesty and ability. Being a deacon is voluntary and the only reward is the satisfaction of serving the community and being respected by the people. Table 1 shows the organization of the village church.

Table One
Organizational Chart of a Ba Kelalan Village Church



3) Village Social Organization: Bawan Valley

The composition of villages in the Bawan Valley is similar to that of Ba Kelalan, with clusters of detached houses forming villages known as *desa*. In the past, the Lun Dayeh also lived in longhouses. The village headman is known as the *kepala adat desa*. He is elected by popular vote of the adult population of the village and serves for a term of five years and may be re-elected.

Broadly, the *kepala adat desa* has two main roles: as an arbitrator in disputes and domestic quarrels and as a manager of village projects. As a manager, he is assisted by members of the *urusan pembangunan desa* (village development committee). This committee comprises a chairman (*kepala adat desa*), a secretary, treasurer, and three other members. Each member of the committee is also elected for a five-year term, and, like the headman, is paid a monthly allowance. Each village is given project funds by the government for minor infrastructure projects, such as dirt roads, footpaths, or sport facilities, and the village development committee organizes the manpower to implement

these projects.

In the 1970s, scattered villages in Kecamatan Kerayan were regrouped at various locations and the position of *ketua lokasi* was created to coordinate development activities at these locations (*lokasi*). The Bawan Valley is comprised of four *lokasi* with eleven *desa*. Each *lokasi* has a coordinator or *ketua lokasi*. The *ketua lokasi* coordinates all development activities that involve the participation of villages (*desa*) within the *lokasi*. Table 2 shows the number of *lokasi* and *desa* in the Bawan Valley.

Table 2
Names of *lokasi* and *desa* in the Bawan Valley

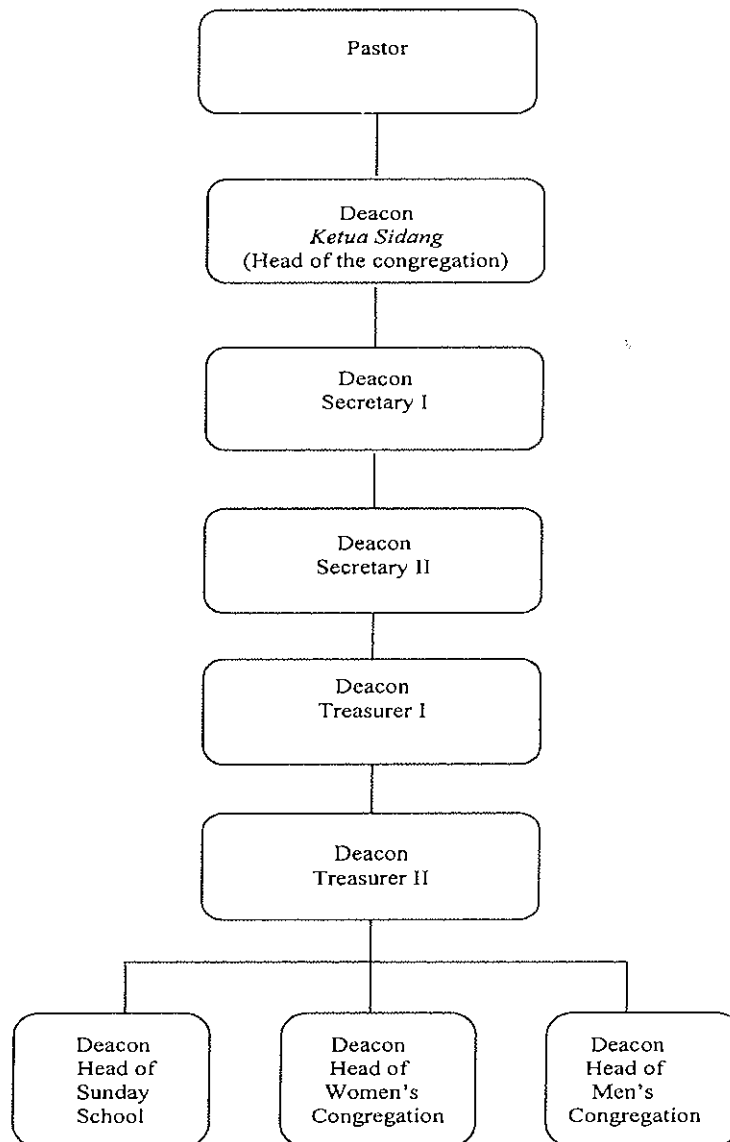
<i>Lokasi</i>	<i>Desa</i>
Long Midang	Ba' Sikur Pa' Nado Liang Tuer Buduk Kinangan Pa' Rupai
Buduk Tumuh	Buduk Tumuh Long Berayang
Long Api	Long Api Pa' Sira' Wa' Yanud
Long Nawang	Pa' Kelipal Arur Lingat

Kecamatan Kerayan, as noted earlier, is divided into four *Wilayah Adat* (W.A.). There are a total of 26 *lokasi* and 89 *desa* in Kecamatan Kerayan. The four *lokasi* and 12 *desa* in the Bawan Valley come under W.A. Kerayan Darat. Kerayan Darat is the largest of the four *Wilayah Adat* and comprises a total of 10 *lokasi* and 34 *desa*.

Each *Wilayah Adat* has a *kepala adat besar*. His responsibilities are similar to that of the *kepala adat desa* except that the area of his coverage is wider, extending to all the *desa* and *lokasi* under his jurisdiction. When a disputant is not satisfied with a decision of the *kepala adat desa*, he can appeal to the *kepala adat besar*. The *kepala adat besar* is elected every five years by popular vote of the entire *Wilayah Adat*. The *kepala adat besar* acts as a bridge between the government and the villagers under his jurisdiction. Villages in the Bawan Valley are within close proximity to the Kerayan district headquarters at Long Bawan, where various government departments are located.

There are three Christian denominations present in the Bawan Valley: *Gereja Betal Indonesia* (GBI); *Gereja Kristen Pemancar Indonesia* (GKPI); and *Gereja Kemah Injil Indonesia* (GKII), and villagers in the valley belong to one or another of these denominations. Each church has a pastor and a group of deacons comprising men and women to look after the church and its activities. As in Ba Kelalan, the church plays an important role in village life. Deacons are appointed by consensus of the congregation in the same way, and, as in the Kelalan Valley, in addition to their spiritual role, act as peace-makers in the event of disputes. Table 3 shows the organization of a village church in the Bawan Valley.

Table 3
Organizational Chart of a Bawan Village Church



3) Cross-Border Disputes

Although the people of Ba Kelalan and the Bawan Valley live in different nation states, they consider themselves to be one people. They also frequently interact with one another across the border. However, when they cross this border, they need to get an official pass from either the Malaysian or Indonesian authorities. They cross for a variety of reasons: to visit relatives, attend weddings or funerals, take part in religious events, to trade, and, in the case of those on the the Kerayan side, to look for temporary work.

Occasionally cross-border disputes arise. When this happens, those involved may call upon their respective headmen or regional chiefs to resolve the matter. Such disputes are rare and are generally settled at the village level, as individuals seldom go to officials for settlement. We did, however, learn of one case involving two hunters, one from Buduk Nur in the Kelalan Valley and the other from Long Midang in the Bawan Valley. A story of the case, which happened in 1978, was narrated as follows:

A hunter from Buduk Nur went hunting with his dogs along the border between the two villages. His dogs gave chase to a wild boar which ran across to the Indonesian side of the border. Here it was killed by a hunter from Long Midang. Unwilling to share the meat with the owner of the dogs, the latter explained that the animal he was skinning was an Indonesian wild boar. Disappointed, the hunter from Buduk Nur left with his dogs.

A month or so later the same hunters went to hunt in the same area. This time the dogs owned by the hunter from Long Midang gave chase to a wild boar. The animal ran over to the Malaysian side of the border and was killed by the hunter from Buduk Nur. When the hunter from Long Midang told the hunter from Buduk Nur that the game was chased by his dogs, the latter informed him that the wild boar was on the Malaysian side of the border.

The Long Midang hunter reported the matter to his *kepala adat desa* (headman). The headman was not sure what to do and took the case to a higher authority, the *kepala adat besar* (area chief) at Long Bawan. The *kepala adat besar* summoned the two hunters to settle the matter at the native court at Long Bawan. Meanwhile, the *penghulu* of Ba Kelalan sent word to the *kepala adat besar* of Long Bawan, saying that the matter should be amicably settled between the two hunters at either Long Midang or Buduk Nur, not at the native court. Thinking that he was being snubbed by the *penghulu* of Ba Kelalan, the *kepala adat besar* reported the matter to the *Camat* (District Officer) of Kecamatan Kerayan (Kerayan District), also based in Long Bawan. Fearing that a minor incident might sour relations along the border, the *Camat* wrote to the Lawas District Officer, asking for a meeting to resolve the issue. They met at Long Bawan and decided that the matter should be resolved amicably by the two hunters in the presence of their respective headmen.

The two hunters, we were told, did not meet to resolve the issue. Instead, the two headmen simply reminded people in their villages, in speeches, to respect the *adat* of sharing practiced since time immemorial. People in both villages felt embarrassed by the episode and wanted it forgotten and, since then, no similar incident has occurred.

The expansion of border trade between Ba Kelalan and the whole of the Kerayan District has given rise to a number of problems beyond the ability of village institutions to resolve. This will be covered in greater detail later in this paper. During our first field visit to Ba Kelalan and the Bawan Valley in 2001 on a separate research project, we observed a thriving business atmosphere in Ba Kelalan. People from different parts of the Kerayan District came to Ba Kelalan to sell rice and other agricultural products and

bought building materials (zinc roofing, nails), cooking utensils, fuel, and sundries, which they carried on their backs when they returned across the border.

When the footpath between Long Midang and Ba Kelalan was converted into a dirt road, buffaloes and motorcycles were used to transport goods across the border. This gave rise to a new problem: taking buffaloes across without quarantine passes and clearance (there is a quarantine station at Punang Kelalan). The veterinary officer and policeman at Ba Kelalan gave a number of warnings, but these were ignored. In retaliation, the people of Punang Kelalan built a tollgate and charged each buffalo and motorcycle passing by RM5. Because of the dirt road, it is now possible to drive four-wheel drive vehicles from Lawas Town all the way to Long Bawan. As a result, Kerayan traders are now trading directly with Chinese businessmen in Lawas, and so bypassing the local Ba Kelalan traders. As will be discussed later, this has soured relations between some Ba Kelalan traders and their Kerayan counterparts. The matter has been brought to the attention of the District Officer in Lawas and the *Camat* in Long Bawan, but these officials have been unable to resolve it and have instead advised those involved to settle the matter at the village level, but to no avail. In this case, village institutions appear unable to cope with trade issues, and the border is clearly becoming a point of contention.

4) Kinship

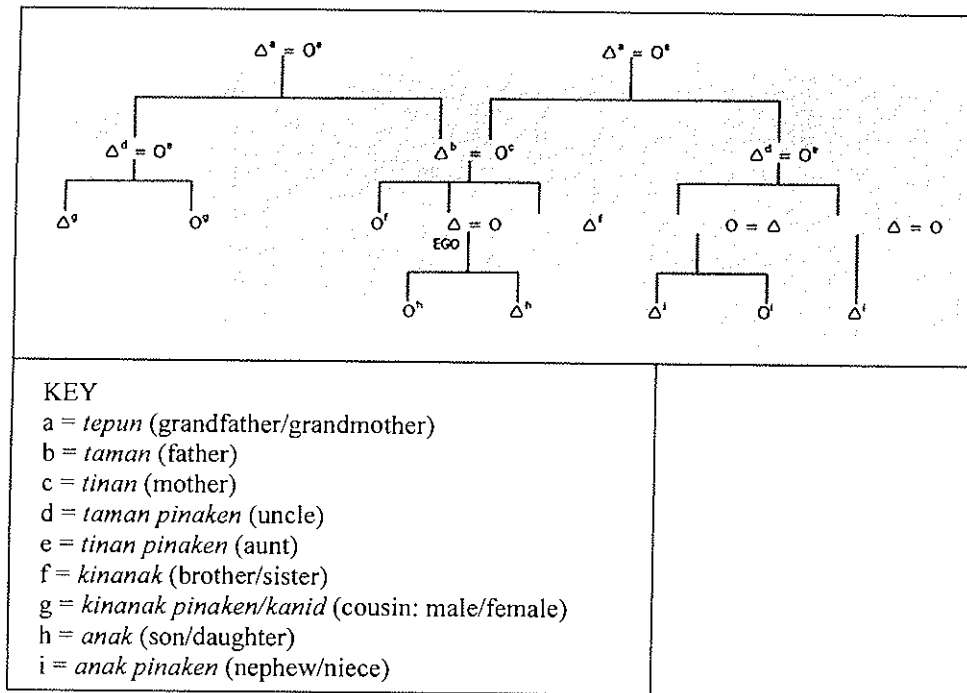
At the community level in both the valleys, village leaders and the church help to maintain intra- and inter-community relationships. At the level of interpersonal relations, however, it is kinship that connects families in times of crisis or for work.

The Lun Bawang and Lun Dayeh trace kinship bilaterally (see Crain 1970: 77-112). There are six principal consanguineal kin terms:

- 1) *tepun* refers to a grandfather or grandmother; a great-grandfather or great-grandmother.
- 2) *mupun* refers to a grandson or granddaughter; a great-grandson or great-granddaughter.
- 3) *taman* refers to a father.
- 4) *tinan* refers to a mother.
- 5) *anak* refers to a son or a daughter.
- 6) *kinanak* refers to a brother or sister.

Collaterals, i.e., uncles, aunts, cousins, nephews and nieces, are referred to as *pinaken*, with additional terms to indicate generation. For example: *tepun pinaken* is used for granduncle/grandaunt; *mupun pinaken* for grandnephew and grandniece; *tamen pinaken* for uncle, *tinan pinaken* for aunt, *anak pinaken* for nephew and niece, and *kinanak pinaken* for cousin. An additional term, *kanid*, is also used for a cousin. The villagers use these terms not only to indicate particular social relationships, but also to show endearment, concern, and loyalty. When visiting other villages, kin terms are used to stress one's association to the village through genealogical ties. Consanguineal kin terms are shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1
Kinship Terminology: Reference System

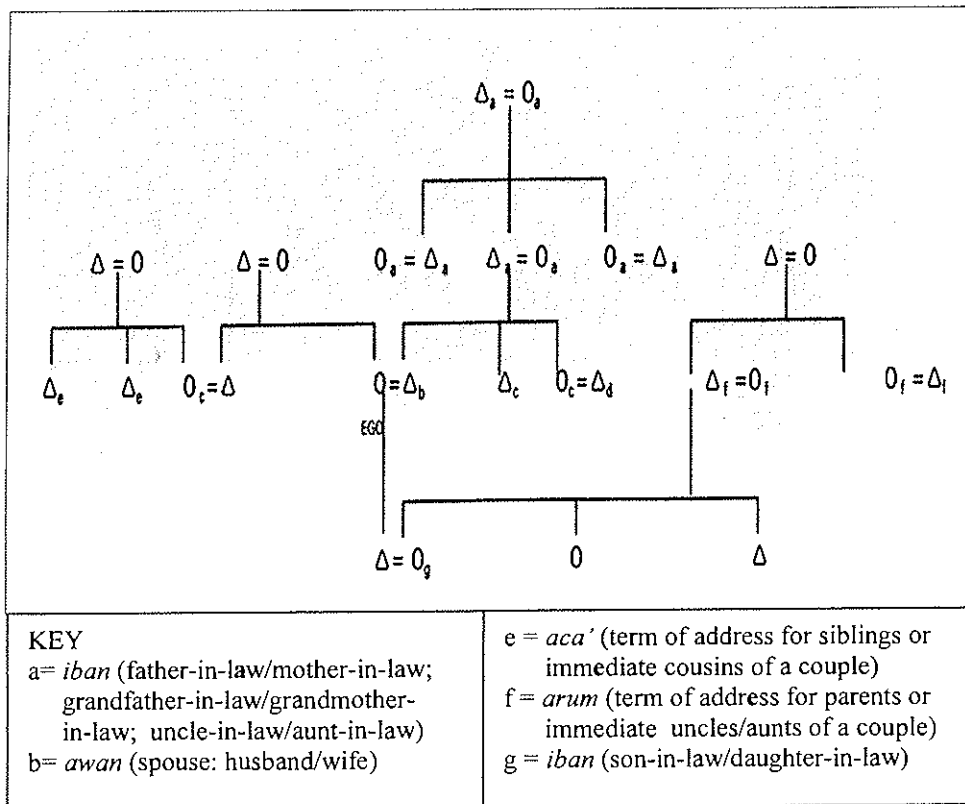


Referring to Sabah, Crain (1970: 110) says that “[t]he range of the kindred among the Lun Dayeh varies from individual to individual, but exact genealogical relationships are not commonly known beyond third cousin.” The same applies to the Lun Bawang and Lun Dayeh. There are, however, specialists who know genealogical relationships (*lun mileh nginan pupuh*) beyond the third cousin range, but their number is growing fewer as older people die. Traditionally a knowledge of genealogical relationships was important, particularly when traveling to distant villages.

The affinal terms used by the Lun Bawang and Lun Dayeh are shown in Figure 2.

The terms *iban* and *langu* are of special significance in marriage transactions. When a man marries a woman, he is expected to pay a brideprice (*purut*) to the parents and siblings of the woman, whom, upon marriage, he calls *iban* and *langu* respectively. Cousins, uncles, or aunts, up to two or three times removed, may also ask for, or receive a brideprice (*purut*) from the man but, if so, they must reciprocate with a gift (*purut sulang*), the value of which is about two thirds of the brideprice they received. This exchange of gifts is an indication of precise genealogical relationships.

Figure 2
Kinship Terminology: Affinal System



Both consanguineal and affinal kin are socially important and are looked to for help with farm work and for support in times of crises. The term *pupuh* has a variety of meanings, e.g., race, nation, or relative, but most often it refers to a relative beyond the range of third cousin. To keep track of distant kin, relatives visit one another regularly (*ngikak pupuh*) and so establish mutual bonds (*pesiar pupuh*). Of concern to both the Lun Bawang and Lun Dayeh is a knowledge of distant relatives living in villages far away. To identify such relatives requires an in-depth knowledge of genealogy. Among both groups there is a tradition of reciting genealogies (*nginan inul*). This has two main purposes: first, to identify descent (*inul*); and second, to identify relatives (*pupuh*). In the past, genealogical knowledge was important in enabling individuals to establish descent from apical ancestors whose descendants were entitled to use tracts of land for cultivation. Today, this knowledge is still important for tracing ancestral origins and migrations and for identifying relatives living in distant villages.

Virtually all Lun Bawang in Ba Kelalan say that they have Lun Dayeh relatives in the

Virtually all Lun Bawang in Ba Kelalan say that they have Lun Dayeh relatives in the Kerayan. Our survey of Ba Kelalan identified 45 marriages across the international border between the Kelalan Valley and Kerayan. Of these marriages, 35 men from Ba Kelalan married Kerayan women, and 10 Ba Kelalan women married Kerayan men. All 35 men have brought their Kerayan wives to live in Ba Kelalan. Nine of the women have brought their Kerayan husbands to Ba Kelalan, and only one woman has followed her Kerayan husband to the Kerayan. Table 4 shows these cross-border marriages.

Table 4
Marriages across the International Border

Village	M	F	Post-marital residence	
			KELALAN	KERAYAN
Punang Kelalan*	3	-	3	-
Long Muda*	6	2	7	1
Long Kumap*	3	-	3	-
Long Langai	8	4	12	-
Long Lemutut	3	-	3	-
Long Ritan	3	-	3	-
Long Rusu	5	1	6	-
Buduk Bui	2	2	3	1
Pa Tawing	2	1	3	-
Total	35	10	43	2

*Also collectively known as Buduk Nur. Source: Researchers' Household Survey in Ba Kelalan, May 2003

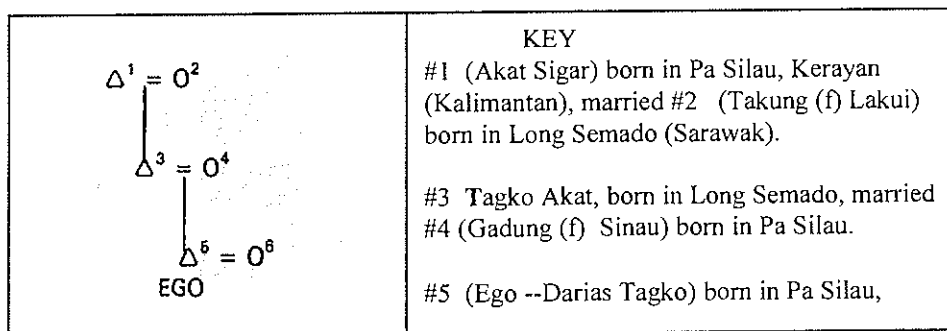
Profiles of Marriages Across the Border

Data compiled on cross-border marriages reveal several interesting facts. Parents or grandparents of some of the couples have moved back and forth across the border as shown in the following examples.

Darias Tagko, Long Lemutut: Darias Tagko was born at Pa Silau (long abandoned) in *Wilayah Adat* Kerayan Hilir. He is married to Dayang Padan of Long Kiwan, W.A. Kerayan Darat. Darias's genealogy reveals an interesting personal history. His grandmother, Takung Lakui, was born in Sarawak in the village of Long Semado. Takung Lakui married Akat Sigar of Pa Silau in W.A. Kerayan Hilir. Their first son, Tagko (Darias's father), was born in Long Semado. When Tagko was a very young boy, Akat (Darias's grandfather) brought the family back to Pa Silau in the Kerayan. However after Akat's death, the people of Pa Silau decided to migrate to Ba Kelalan in the early 1950s. At the time they comprised 8 households. At Ba Kelalan, they negotiated for a place to stay and were given the Langai Valley where they established a village at Long Lemutut. By birth, Darias's grandmother, Takung Lakui, and his father, Tagko Akat, were thus Sarawakians. Their migration to Ba Kelalan in the early 1950s was a return to the country of their birth.

Darias and three of his siblings were born in Pa Silau but today they are Malaysian citizens. Darias is now the headman of Long Lemutut. He is married to Dayang Padan of Long Kiwan, W. A. Kerayan Darat. His Indonesian in-laws and relatives in Long Kiwan visit Ba Kelalan regularly to trade or to look for temporary employment. During such visits they sometimes stay with Darias's family. However, Darias and his wife seldom visit the Kerayan, and then only to attend important functions such as the weddings or funerals of close relatives.

Figure 3
Genealogy of Darias Tagko

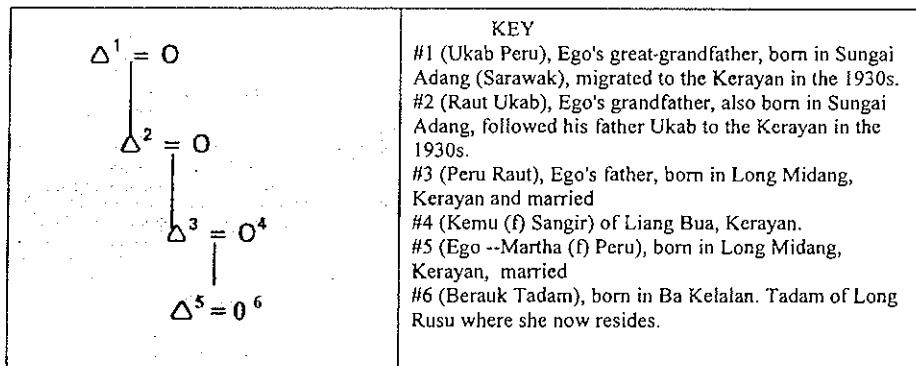


Martha Peru, Long Rusu: Martha Peru was born in Long Midang. Martha's paternal great-grandfather, Ukab, was born in Sungai Adang in the Limbang District of Sarawak. In the 1930s he migrated to the Kerayan with several of his kinsmen and stayed with Kerayan relatives at Liang Tuer, in the Long Midang area of W.A. Kerayan Darat. From Liang Tuer they moved to Pa Nado, also in Long Midang. Two of his sons, Raut and Sigar, were born in the Adang and accompanied him to the Kerayan. Raut had only one child, a son named Peru. Peru married a woman of standing, Kemu Sangir, from the village of Liang Bua, W.A. Kerayan Darat. Peru and Kemu had four children: Paul, Martha, Son, and Iman. Ukab and

his two sons, Raut and Sigar, were Sarawakians and their offspring, Indonesians. When Martha married Berauk Tadam of Long Rusu she was, in fact, returning to the country of birth of her grandfather and great-grandfather.

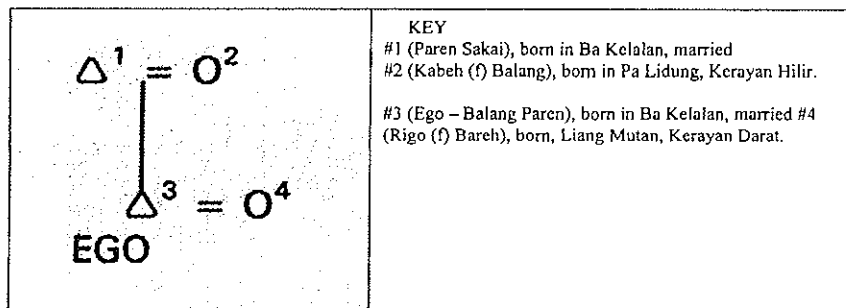
Martha and her husband Beruak maintain close ties with the villages of Long Midang and Liang Bua (Martha's mother's village of origin). They have one wet-rice field (about one acre) in Long Midang and ten acres of land in Long Bawan, all of which are Martha's share of her family property. They visit Long Midang and Liang Bua at least once every two months. These visits are reciprocated by Martha's Indonesian family and relatives.

Figure 4
Genealogy of Martha Peru



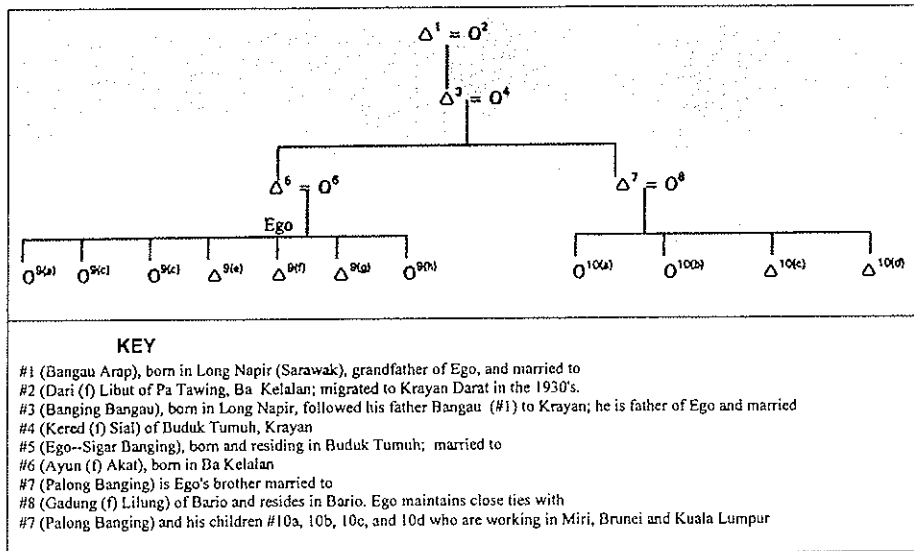
Balang Paren, Long Muda: Balang Paren's mother, Kabeh Balang, was born and raised in Pa Lidung (long abandoned) in W.A. Kerayan Hilir. Kabeh married Paren Sakai of Long Muda and bore four children, one daughter and three sons. The younger son, Balang, married Rigo Barih of Liang Mutan in Pa Brian, W.A. Kerayan Darat. Through his mother and wife, Balang has many cousins, nephews, nieces, and in-laws in the Kerayan. Although Balang and his wife Rigo have no property in Liang Mutan, they maintain links with their Indonesian relatives through regular visits.

Figure 5
Genealogy of Balang Paren



Sigar Banging, Buduk Tumuh. Sigar Banging was born in Buduk Tumuh, W.A. Kerayan Darat. He married Ayun Akat of Buduk Bui, Ba Kelalan, and they have seven children: four daughters and three sons. Unlike the other marriages across the Kelalan-Bawan border, Sigar brought his wife to the Kerayan, rather than following her to Ba Kelalan. Sigar's father, Banging, was born in Long Napir, in the Limbang District of Sarawak. In the 1930s Banging followed his father Bangau who migrated to the Kerayan, staying with relatives at Liang Tuer. Banging married Kered Sial of Buduk Tumuh and took up residence there. Sigar and a younger brother, Palong (who married Gadung Lilung of Pa Ukat, Bario), were born in Buduk Tumuh. Sigar's wife Ayun died, but he and his children maintain links with relatives in Buduk Bui, Ba Kelalan. He and his children also maintain links with his brother Palong at Pa Ukat, Bario. Like most Lun Bawang and Lun Dayeh along the border, Sigar does not feel like a stranger when he visits Ba Kelalan, Bario, or Miri in Sarawak. Sigar has nephews, nieces, and other relatives in these places. His Malaysian relatives also visit him in Buduk Tumuh.

Figure 6
Genealogy of Sigar Banging



People along the Malaysian-Indonesian border move back and forth across the border daily. The most frequent reason mentioned by the Lun Dayeh for crossing the border is "to visit relatives" (table 6). "Visiting relatives" may, apart from really visiting relatives, mean looking for short-term employment, trading or attending weddings or festivals. Sometimes children accompany adults on these visits so that they can get to know their relatives. Children maintain continuity, hence the value of taking them on cross-border visits.

Table 5
Lun Dayeh Visitors to Ba Kelalan and beyond

Date	Visitor/Village	Purpose of Visit
03.04.1968	Dawat Riung of Liang Bua	To visit relative Lalang Padan of Long Kerabangan
03.04.1968	Paren Semayung of Basuik	To visit relative Ruran Paran of Long Semado Naseb
03.04.1968	Dayang Mo of Long Peliwan	To visit relative Ruran Tanid of Long Tanid
06.04.1968	Balang Rapu of Long Peliwan	To visit relative Padan Lakai of Long Telingan
09.04.1968	Bulan Kaya of Pa Nado	To visit relative Ruth Ukab of Long Telingan

Source: Cross-border record book kept at Office of Upriver Agent (URA), Ba Kelalan.

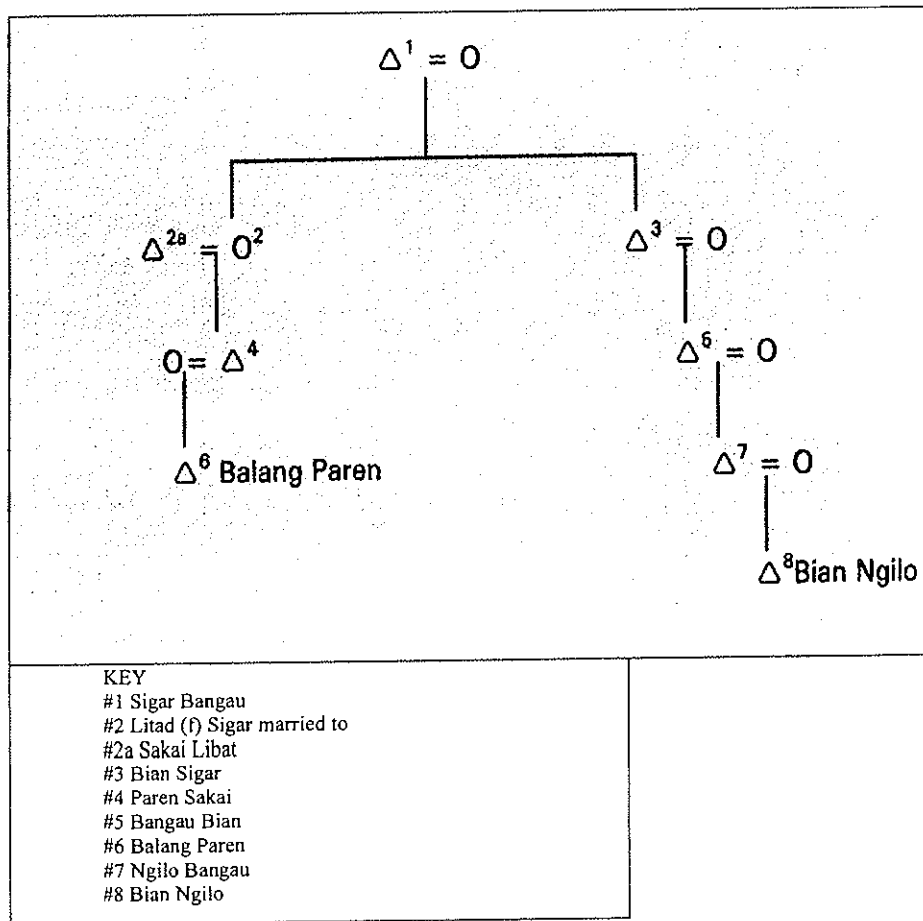
Table 6
Lun Bawang Visitors to Kerayan

Date	Visitor/Village	Purpose of Visit
02.06.1969	Darias Tagko of Long Lemutut	To settle the brideprice at Long Kiwan
17.10.1969	Sigar Tawi of Long Talal Buda	To fetch buffalo at Long Bawan
20.10.1969	Tua Labung of Long Kumap	To collect debts at Pa Putok
20.10.1969	Darung Murang of Pa Tawing	To buy chickens at Long Bawan
15.09.1970	Musa Sigar of Long Kumap	To fetch dogs at Basuik

Source: Cross-border record book kept at office of URA, Ba Kelalan.

As an example of the intensity of kinship interaction across the border, we take the case of two distant relatives, Balang Paren and Bian Ngilo (see Figure 7). Through Balang's maternal grandmother Litad (f) Sigar (#2 in Fig. 7) and Bian's paternal great-grandfather Bian Sigar (#3), they are, by Lun Dayeh and Lun Bawang reckoning, uncle and nephew to each other. Litad (f) Sigar moved to Ba Kelalan upon her marriage to Sakai Libat, while her brother Bian Sigar remained at Pa Padi, Kerayan.

Figure 7
Relationship between Balang Paren and Bian Ngilo



When Bian's father Ngilo (#7) was still alive, he used to visit Ba Kelalan and stayed with Balang's family. Today, Bian himself maintains this tradition of visiting Balang's family in Ba Kelalan. On these trips he is sometimes accompanied by one of his children. Bian's regular visits to Ba Kelalan may not be entirely for the purpose of visiting Balang's family and maintaining kinship ties, although kinship ties are important. Indeed, the visits may more likely involve other activities, such as buying and selling goods at the village shops in Ba Kelalan. However, when Bian applies for a visit permit at the border post at Long Midang, he usually writes in the "Purpose of Visit" column, "to visit my uncle, Balang Paren."

Balang seldom visits the Kerayan; he only visits the Kerayan on occasions such as the weddings or funerals of relatives. The fact that Balang seldom visits his relatives in the Kerayan does not mean that he is not interested in maintaining ties with them. Balang, who recently retired as a medical assistant with the Malaysian Medical Department, has not been able to find time to visit the Kerayan often. Now that he is retired, he still does not visit,

largely because age is catching up with him, and he does not have the energy to walk on foot to the Kerayan. He maintains kinship ties by receiving visits. All of Balang's children, except for one daughter, Julia, work and live in Miri and Labuan. Julia lives in Ba Kelalan as a housewife. She does not visit the Kerayan as often as her Kerayan relatives do, but she is the point of reference for the next generation.

Cross-Border Economic Relations

Economic relations have long linked border communities. The establishment of coastal trading centers in Sarawak at the end of the nineteenth century was a boon to border villages, including those in the Kerayan. In this section, we will examine briefly present-day economic ties, how these are sustained, and their social implications. The border has experienced rapid change over the last few years, including the study period of 2003-2004. During this time, four-wheel drive vehicles from coastal Lawas reached Long Bawan and are now profoundly affecting social relations between border communities.

The most visible manifestation of change at the border is in the mode of transportation. From time immemorial, people have walked for long distances, with journeys taking days to accomplish. As previously mentioned, it formerly took about a week to walk from Ba Kelalan to Lawas, and from the Kerayan to Lawas, it took from 8 to 10 days. When we began our fieldwork in 2003, people still walked from the Bawan to the Kelalan valley. Buffaloes were used to transport fuel drums or to carry trade goods. From Long Midang to Long Bawan, wheelbarrows were used. Then came the motorcycles going back and forth between Long Midang and Ba Kelalan. When a Brunei contractor constructed a rudimentary mud trail between Long Bawan and Ba Kelalan, it allowed vehicles to go all the way from Lawas right up to Long Bawan. These four-wheel drive vehicles became a conduit for change and altered social relations, as, arguably, for the first time those outside the border could participate directly in border trade. Today, trade is no longer confined to border traders.

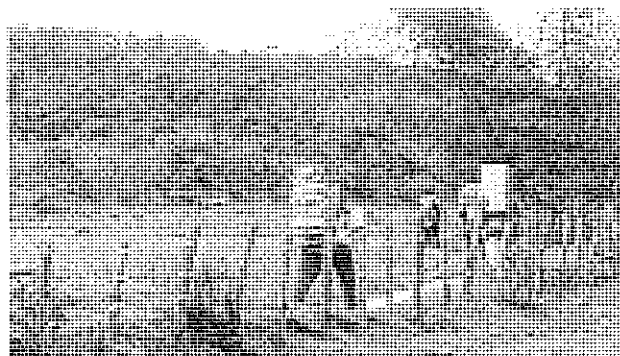


Photo 3: Lun Dayeh Returning to Bawan Valley After Selling Rice and Buying Manufactured Foodstuffs in Ba Kelalan.

Air links, although expensive, also connect the two valleys to the outside world. Although the Ba Kelalan airfield was temporarily closed for repairs, the airfield across the border at Long Bawan has frequent daily flights to the coastal towns of Nunukan and Tarakan. Airfares are subsidized at 150,000 to 200,000 rupiah for DAS (Digantara Air

Service), but each passenger is allowed to take no more than ten kilos of luggage and sugar is not allowed. Whatever is flown into Long Bawan is expensive even for necessities such as instant noodles which cost about 2500 rupiah per packet. Not surprisingly, it is estimated that 90 per cent of the trade goods at Long Bawan come from across the border. Transportation is easier for residents of Ba Kelalan as goods can be transported by four-wheel drive vehicles along the timber road from Lawas. Consequently, Ba Kelalan has become the supplier for the Bawan Valley of essential goods such as manufactured food, building materials, and fuel.

Daily border crossings are monitored at army camps in Ba Kelalan and Long Midang in the Kerayan. Border passes or *pas lintas* are needed to cross the border. While individuals may cross over for social or cultural reasons, the major reasons are to trade or work. The flow of people and goods is more from the Kerayan to Ba Kelalan than the reverse. According to the military personnel at the Ba Kelalan army camp whom the researchers met in May 2003, there was a daily crossing at that time of 70-80 Indonesians into Ba Kelalan. The Indonesians bring *adan* rice to sell and in exchange buy goods like sugar, cooking oil, diesel, biscuits, milk powder and building materials (zinc roofing). Where before one had to walk, it is possible now to use four-wheel drive vehicles or motorcycles for most of the way. Many youngsters have motorcycles which they use to carry rice from Long Bawang to Ba Kelalan, and they can make several round trips daily. The tally of daily crossings would be more if multiple daily crossings of the motorcyclists are taken into account.



Photo 4: Army Checkpoint at Long Midang in the Bawan Valley

From the daily estimated head count of 70 to 80 persons crossing into Ba Kelalan in May 2003, it is possible to estimate the volume of trade. We estimate that each Indonesian brings over 6 gantangs or 21 kilos of rice (1 gantang = 3.5 kilos) on one trip. For 80 persons this would work out to be 1680 kilos (1.68 tons) of rice that is brought over daily, excluding Sundays. Of course some people may be carrying less or no rice if their trips are for other purposes such as looking for work. On the other hand, motorcycles carry easily twice (12 gantangs) or even four times (24 gantangs) that quantity.

Although two-way trade can be seen to be beneficial to the border communities, there are two issues that have affected social relationships. From our conversations with the Lun

Dayeh, a fundamental issue was the price of rice. The Lun Dayeh felt that they were not getting a fair price for the rice they sold. According to the Indonesians, Ba Kelalan traders set the price of rice, as well as of the goods they sell. One Lun Dayeh we met at Ba Kelalan said the selling price of rice in Ba Kelalan was RM6-6.50 per gantang, while in Bario it was RM15 per gantang. On the Bario price he was correct, but the Lun Dayeh do not bring rice over to sell in Bario. Even those we talked to in Long Bawan seemed unhappy with the current situation in Ba Kelalan. Some people wanted to sell their rice in Lawas but do not take into consideration the additional transportation costs and the fact that free trading (free of customs duties and other regulations) is only allowed at the border, for the benefit of the border communities. These were the prices of rice which we have calculated after talking to various people:

Long Bawan	RM1.25 a kilo
Ba Kelalan	RM1.85 a kilo
Lawas	RM2.50 a kilo
Bario	RM4.20 a kilo
Miri	RM5.10 a kilo
Kuching	RM6.50 a kilo
K. Lumpur	RM9 a kilo

Border communities trading in rice are very much a part of the market economy, with prices determined by market forces and by transportation and other costs. The level of trading in 2003, much more than in the past, illustrates the high degree of interdependence of border communities. As the level of trading has increased, misunderstandings and misperceptions occur, especially when the Kerayan people feel they are in the grip of the Ba Kelalan traders, subject to rice prices set by the latter. The other complaint is that the Ba Kelalan traders set the price of goods which the Kerayan Lun Dayeh come to buy.

Such feelings on the part of the Lun Dayeh are understandable when they are highly dependent on Ba Kelalan for rice sales. In the Kerayan the cost of shipping rice to the towns of Tarakan (5,000 rupiahs a kilo – 2,300 RP = 1RM) and Samarinda (7,000 rupiahs a kilo) is prohibitive, which forces the Lun Dayeh to sell rice in Ba Kelalan. Another historical factor to consider that may be responsible for misperceptions and ill feeling is the fact that before, the orientation of Ba Kelalan was in some way towards the Bawan Valley. In the past, people from Ba Kelalan used to go to Long Bawan “to *mule*” (obtain supplies in times of shortage), i.e., to buy rice, pigs and buffaloes. Now the orientation has reversed, as the Kerayan Lun Dayeh make more journeys to Ba Kelalan. The Kerayan Lun Dayeh have become dependent on Ba Kelalan in particular as a source of cash income.

Toyota-ization of the Border

Our fieldwork began in May 2003. When we returned to do the last part of our research in September 2004, we found, much to our surprise, that the situation was transformed. We had been informed that in July 2004, four-wheel drive vehicles were now able to drive all the way from Lawas to Long Bawan. The immediate result was to make trading much easier. The four-wheel drive vehicles were almost invariably the reliable Hilux Toyota trucks, leading the researchers to coin the term “toyota-ization” to describe the dominant role these trucks played in transforming the economic and social dynamics of the border. How did the Toyota trucks do this?

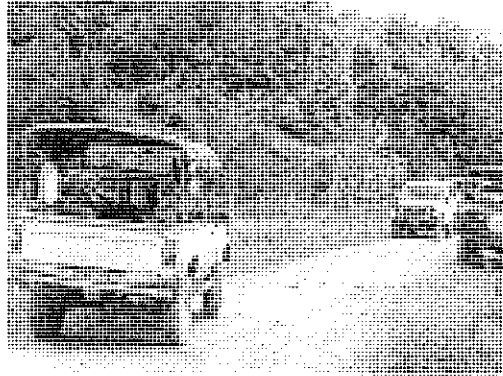


Photo 5: Four-Wheel Drive Trucks at Punan Kelalan

Where one had to walk, use a buffalo or a motorcycle in the past, it was now possible to depend on the trucks to do the job much more easily and quickly. The trucks carry goods from Lawas right across the border to Long Midang and Long Bawan. The truck drivers buy the much sought-after *adan* or Bario rice and enterprising drivers, whom we believe may be acting on behalf of the Chinese traders in Lawas, go to individual houses in the Kerayan villages to buy the commodity. As a result of this development, it is no longer necessary to go across the border on foot as was done in the past. It is estimated that daily walks across the border have been reduced to about 10 per cent, and from our observations we did not see many Indonesians coming across to Ba Kelalan on foot.

The reduced border trade caused the Ba Kelalan traders to suffer a loss of business as they are now being bypassed and one trader told us that he is considering closing his shop and moving to one of the bigger towns in Sarawak. The trucks have also made nonsense out of the 1967 Cross Border Agreement that allowed only limited trading at the border for border residents. There is no agency that makes sure that the Border Agreement is not violated. Malaysian and Indonesian army posts monitor and record details of individuals crossing the border by issuing border passes. The soldiers do not monitor the movement of goods and, faced with goods-laden trucks moving across the border freely, they are unable to do anything about it.

The trucks are a conduit not only for legitimate trade commodities but also for other goods which may bring about undesirable social consequences. Alcohol was described by missionaries as a social malaise in the region in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and was banned by the Christian churches. Now, with trucks going up and down the border, alcohol has made a reappearance, much to the consternation of community elders. In September the researchers saw empty beer cans discarded along the way and in rubbish dumps. One trader in Ba Kelalan now sells beer discreetly to customers. The four-wheel drive vehicles may be unwittingly undoing the past work of the churches in keeping alcohol out of the community.

If the past is any guide, the present border trade does not begin and end at the border, but reaches far beyond it. Thus, trucks are bringing back past patterns of trade, but in a more rapid and effective manner.

Labor Dependency

Although there are differences that can drive a wedge between border communities and in the process cause misunderstanding and tension, the Lun Bawang and Lun Dayeh say they are still one people, speaking the same language and sharing a common culture. Moreover, individuals and families are linked by kinship across the border.

In addition, there is interdependency in rice planting and harvesting, as Ba Kelalan farmers are dependent on labor from across the border. Since the 1950s, Ba Kelalan and Long Semado have had high out-migration due to youths and adults leaving to work in the major towns of Sarawak. The present population of Ba Kelalan and Long Semado is less than 3,000. As a result, the labor force needed for farming is much depleted and extra workers are required, especially during land preparation and rice harvesting. There is a much larger population in the Kerayan, which can supply the needed labor.

Kinship, as we noted, connects people on both sides of the border. Among other things, kin ties are relied upon to recruit farm labor. We administered about 30 questionnaires in the villages of Ba Kelalan and found that almost all households utilize kinship links across the border to recruit laborers to work their fields. Without this labor, most Ba Kelalan farms could not be harvested. For Kerayan youths and adults, such work brings in income. From our discussions on both sides of the border there is much talk about how this perceived unbalanced relationship can be redressed.

Tollgate

As the volume of trade increased between our visits, a tollgate, as noted, was constructed by Ba Kelalan traders and others at Punang Kelalan to take advantage of the situation. Gates on village roads are normally put up to claim land ownership and to prevent wandering buffaloes from going into padi fields where they can cause damage. Individuals passing through a gate are expected to close it after they have passed through. This was the ostensible reason given by the Punang Kelalan villagers for their setting up the tollgate. But what made matters worse was that they levied a charge of RM5 on each motorcycle and buffalo and the communities most affected were those across the border in the Kerayan. Motor vehicles were later asked to pay about RM100-150 per entry. Naturally, these tolls are resented by traders and individuals in the Kerayan.



Photo 6: Tollgate at Punang Kelalan

This matter has been discussed by village headmen on both sides of the border. As the Kerayan community, especially traders, depend heavily on this crossing, the toll collection has been agreed upon at meetings among the village headmen. But in private, the Kerayan traders are unhappy and have voiced their dissatisfaction to the *Pak Camat* and with the researchers. The Sarawak authorities are aware of this problem, but the official stand, including that of the Indonesians, is to resolve the issue through local mediation without official intervention.

What this particular tollgate episode illustrates is the autonomy of individual actors at the border, who act in response to the border in terms of perceived benefits of border trading. Being at the periphery of state control, individual actors have more autonomy, with government institutions being impotent or unwilling to act. It also appears that normal community channels for mediating conflict may not work in this case. At stake here are economic issues. While social or cultural issues may be easier for community leaders to resolve, with the increasing volume of trade, individuals now have a direct stake in how much they can gain from it and are prepared to ignore ethnicity or even kinship.

Some Kerayan people feel they are at the mercy of Ba Kelalan traders and would like to break their dependence by proposing to bypass Ba Kelalan and go all the way to Lawas to trade. Ba Kelalan traders are opposed to this and have the Border Agreements on their side. The Border Agreements allow for only limited trading at the border and, having been drawn up almost four decades ago, are now outdated. A review of this legislation has to be undertaken by the national governments of both Malaysia and Indonesia to take into account the changed circumstances in which trade is no longer localized, but has expanded well beyond the border.

Within the context of Regional Autonomy in Indonesia there are proposals in the Kerayan on strengthening its governance and infrastructure by having road links from Long Bawan to Melinau; Pa Rayeh to Long Pa'Sia in Sabah; Long Bawan to Ba Kelalan in Sarawak; and Lembubud to Bario in Sarawak. For the proposed link to Melinau, distance is a factor, while the intended link to Long Pasia is more contentious as the road would go through the Kerayan Mentarang National Park. Some politicians from Nunukan have been trying to persuade the Sabah Forest Industries in Sipitang to build a road through the reserve linking the Kerayan to Long Pasia and other coastal towns in Sabah. Going through the national park is an environmental issue that would need the approval of the central government in Jakarta. Individuals in Ba Kelalan, whom the researchers talked to in May 2003, felt that some influential individuals in the Kerayan have been raising the issue of the unfair trading advantage of Ba Kelalan traders so that it would be easier for the Kerayan to lobby to have roads built through the Kerayan Mentarang National Park and to Sipitang, thus bypassing Ba Kelalan.

What these local discussions show is that cross-border issues are becoming more complex and may have to be resolved at higher levels than by the communities themselves. But there is also a likelihood that national and even state governments, far removed from the periphery, may not understand nor appreciate the local issues involved. One common issue that has concerned border communities for many decades is road communications. Without good road communications it is difficult to export and import goods and for people to travel with ease. The subject of road communications in Ba Kelalan has been the topic of policy papers and discussions from the colonial era of the early 1950s right up to the present. At the local level,

this is a subject that crops up very often. In Long Bawan, especially with Regional Autonomy, there is a feeling of being neglected by the central government in Jakarta, and that the fruits of development have been denied the highlands. This has led to local resentment, so much so that it was alleged that Kerayan residents sent a petition to Jakarta during the tenure of President Gus Dur requesting that the district secede from Indonesia and join Malaysia!

While the absence of good roads is regarded as a hindrance to development, and to obtaining modern amenities and a higher standard of living, on the other hand, the absence has insulated the highland communities from ill consequences, such as environmental degradation and the “social ills” that plague urban areas. However, the arrival of four-wheel drive vehicles right up to Long Bawan has brought about social change. The question is now how sustainable development can be brought to the highlands, while, at the same time, mitigating the negative consequences of development. These are serious issues that have to be considered on both sides of the border, and getting local views and participation is necessary. NGO initiated activities by the Sarawak Development Institute in Ba Kelalan and by the World Wildlife Fund in Long Bawan are helping the communities to examine these issues and to look at the region as a connected entity, instead of as two sovereign states.

Demographic and Environmental Issues

Over time, two issues which have affected the highlands are migration and the environment. The lack of economic opportunities has resulted in population loss from the highlands and correspondingly, the vacuum, especially in the Kelalan Valley, has been filled by labor from across the border, though not necessarily from the Lun Dayeh. The Bawan Valley in the Kerayan, which also suffers population loss through out-migration, by the same token, attracts immigrants from elsewhere, notably from Java and Flores.

1) Migration

Two types of migration will be discussed here, out- and in-migration. Each has had a different impact on border communities.

Both the Kelalan and Bawan valleys face a common problem of out-migration, especially of youth who do not want to work on the land. Ba Kelalan’s population is about 1030, with as many as 400 adults working outside the highlands. The total population of the Kerayan is estimated at 11,000. Outside the Kerayan, the Lun Dayeh are most numerous in Melinau where their numbers are estimated at 30,000. The Lun Dayeh of Melinau include many who have moved from the Kerayan. According to *Pak Camat* Serphanus in Long Bawan, Lun Dayeh from the Kerayan have also moved to Samarinda, Tarakan, Nunukan, and Tanjung Selor in Kalimantan, to major cities in Java such as Jakarta and Yogyakarta and to Bali. Out-migration from the highlands means a depleting labor force for the rice fields. The problem is especially acute in Ba Kelalan.

While the Lun Bawang and Lun Dayeh population is experiencing net migration losses, some outsiders from beyond the border have moved in. This is apparent in the Bawan Valley, with civil servants and army personnel, traders and persons seeking employment coming from elsewhere such as Java and the outer islands. In Long Bawan there are civil servants and army personnel from Java and coastal traders from Samarinda, Tarakan, and Makassar. In Long Bawan, which has a population of 1200, it was estimated in 2003 that there were about

124 outsiders, 78 of them married to local Lun Dayeh. Most civil servants return home after their working stints, but those who have married local women usually stay back. There is a small community from Flores in Long Bawan. The men have built a small Catholic church and are married to local women. Some work in timber camps in Sarawak and remit money to their families in Long Bawan, or after stopping work in Sarawak, return to Long Bawan. While there is a small non-Lun Dayeh presence in Long Bawan, the dominant ethnic group is still Lun Dayeh.

With lax immigration controls at the border, Long Bawan has become a gateway for Indonesians from outside the Kerayan to enter Ba Kelalan and other places in Sarawak to work. The army personnel on both sides of the border only record personal particulars of persons who are supposed to cross over into the vicinity of the border as stipulated by the Cross Border Agreement and have no means of monitoring the movements or motives of people crossing the border for other purposes. Once over the Sarawak border, there is nothing to stop the Indonesians from going further to timber camps or to Lawas to work or to visit relatives (which is the commonly cited reason for crossing). On our overland trips from Ba Kelalan to Lawas, Indonesian passengers regularly traveled with us.

In the villages from Long Api to Long Midang, there is a sprinkling of individuals from Flores, Java, Bali, Madura, and even neighboring Sarawak, who have settled there. They have no significant impact on Lun Dayeh-Lun Bawang social relations. Some of them stay on in these villages after working in Ba Kelalan. In Ba Kelalan there are a small number of Javanese workers, estimated at 20 to 30 at any one time, sought after for their skills in working in an apple orchard, in carpentry and house building, and for general farm work. Tagal Paran, who has an apple orchard, depends on Javanese workers for pruning and spraying. He regards the Javanese as diligent and reliable. The late Mika Sigar from Buduk Nur village in Ba Kelalan, who planted cabbages, remarked how he had learned planting skills and pest control from his Javanese workers. Schoolteacher Sang Sigar engaged Javanese carpenters to construct his Swiss-inspired house with steep roofs. Non-border workers from Java and elsewhere are seen as desirable workers in Ba Kelalan because they are more likely to stay for longer periods of time rather than return home after short working spells, as they come from afar. In contrast, Lun Dayeh from across the border do not stay long and can return home more easily.

While citizenship and the notion of statehood may have imposed the idea of permanent domicile, in the past people moved freely and owned land in different areas. There are individuals in Ba Kelalan who own land in Long Midang, and individuals in the Kerayan who also own land in Ba Kelalan and Bario. Citizenship has affected relationships and perceptions, in that Malaysian citizenship is seen as desirable by Malaysians and some Indonesians because of a perceived better standard of life and access to amenities in Malaysia. Marriage between Indonesians and Malaysians does not automatically confer citizenship on the former, and there may be a long waiting period for the spouses. Balang Paren's wife from the Kerayan only obtained Malaysian citizenship after he had retired from government service.

There is the phenomenon of dual citizenship especially among families who moved freely across the border before sovereignty became an issue. At Pa Rupa in the Kerayan near the border, there are individuals who originally came from Pa Lungan in Sarawak and who hold dual citizenship.

2) Environment

Another cross-border issue is the environment. The highlands are fragile and can be adversely affected by development. As noted earlier, wet rice cultivation supports life in the highlands, and indiscriminate clearing of hill slopes and pollution of water sources will have a negative impact on *lati' ba*, if left unchecked. As *lati' ba* is an organic farming practice, relying on organic inputs, the introduction of inorganic fertilizers may adversely affect crop production and the quality of rice for which the highlands are well known.

In September 2003, the Sarawak Development Institute organized a workshop on sustainable development for highland communities in Ba Kelalan, which was attended by key individuals, farmers and officials from both sides of the border. This brought to the fore environmental issues. The demand for highland rice, while beneficial to border communities, can lead to environmental problems if traditional farming practices which give the rice its unique taste and texture are abandoned. Advice on the application of inorganic chemical inputs and the introduction of double cropping by well-meaning officials can put the rice crop in jeopardy as has happened in Sarawak. Double cropping has been experimented with in the Sarawak highlands, but failed because the rice stalks grew enormously instead of the grain. While chemical spraying for rice pests like the golden snail has occurred on highland farms in Sarawak, in the Kerayan, traditional but effective methods are used instead. In the Kerayan, sticks are stuck in the rice fields and when the snails cling to the sticks, they are easily removed. Ducks are used as well to eat the snails. The issue of pest control illustrates the ongoing debate about traditional and "scientific" knowledge.

As critical as pest control is the protection of hill slopes in this mountainous environment. At the workshop, two researchers, Hood Salleh and Ibrahim Komoo from the Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia described geological and socio-economic research on the Kundasang foothills of Mount Kinabalu in Sabah which pointed up the dangers of indiscriminate building projects on hill slopes leading to soil erosion. Tourism, with its hotels, chalets and visitor facilities, has yet to arrive in the Sarawak-Kerayan highlands, but such environmental issues will need to be dealt with if the beauty of the mountains is to be preserved. Visitors' comments on the highlands at the Apple Lodge Chalet at Buduk Nur, in Ba Kelalan, are full of superlative remarks. One typical entry read: "A truly wonderful place, beautiful scenery, peace, tranquillity, the spirituality of nature," Janet and John Le Brun, Ottawa, Canada, 14 August 2002. In fact, the highlands should promote eco-tourism instead of mass tourism, as it would help minimize environmental damage and bring about benefits to the local communities.

Researchers of the SEASREP project observed at first hand environmental damage to rice fields caused by muddied water and by water courses being blocked as a result of wanton hill slope clearing on the road between Long Bawan and Long Midang. In the push towards development there is a likelihood that environmental stewardship may take a backseat. Interestingly, at the workshop, local participants agreed they could play the part of local stewards in thwarting environmentally damaging activities. They are beginning to see the usefulness of environmental stewardship in safeguarding the environment. The issue is not something new. The hill slopes and mountains are a source of sustenance as a watershed for supplying water for human consumption and to the rice fields. In the early 1990s, the people of Ba Kelalan complained against a logging company that was logging in the catchment area of the Kelalan River. A government investigation adjudicated in favor of the community and

recommended that “all water catchment areas in the Ba Kelalan area should be conserved and safeguarded against any logging activity” (Jabatan Kerja Raya, Kuching 1993: 6). Indeed, what is of concern to the border communities is the recognition of their customary rights to land and their access to natural resources.

Local communities need capacity building to help face these challenges that may overwhelm them if they are not prepared. Commercial development and interests may otherwise just ride roughshod over the border communities. In the Kerayan, an international NGO, the World Wildlife Fund (WWF), has been doing capacity building work at the village level to help the villagers understand environmental issues and engage in sustainable livelihoods. In October 2004, as a follow-up to the earlier workshop at Ba Kelalan, a forum was organized to continue the momentum by deliberating on the issue of sustainable development and by setting up action groups on both sides of the border.

A partnership is needed between policy makers, commercial interests, and local communities if the issues of sustainable development are to be adequately addressed. Development in the highlands is inevitable and the challenge for the border communities is how they can cope with the physical and social changes. The Sarawak state government is seriously considering the building of a road from Lawas to Bario and to Ba Kelalan. In the Kerayan where local government at the sub-district and district level has limited power, unanswered questions are how officials will work with the private sector without damaging community interests.

Very much related to the issues of sustainable development and stewardship of the environment is road communications for improving accessibility and communication. The impact of a road link between Lawas and Long Bawan has already been discussed. With improved communications, border interaction will increase and will not be confined only to border communities. Individuals, traders, migrants, outsiders, and officials will converge at the border and interact for a variety of purposes. The ethnic mix is likely to become more complex and the Lun Bawang and Lun Dayeh will have to interact with “others” to a greater degree than now.

Conclusion

This study examined two inter-related themes, first, the borderland as a region in which ethnic, kinship, and economic ties transcend the national border. Second, the border is examined as a zone where diverse actors and institutions interact.

The notion of fixed boundary lines delineating nation states emerged in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as a result of colonial rivalries. These arbitrary lines often divided related communities that had freely interacted with one another. In this study, the meaningful unit of research is not the nation state, but the borderland itself with its criss-crossing linkages of kinship, culture and trade.

In Ba Kelalan and the Kerayan, ethnicity and kinship are still important features of cross-border relations. Despite the presence of some outsiders in the area, the population is still largely Lun Bawang or Lun Dayeh. People speak the same language and families and individuals are related. Social organization is similar, as is community leadership, and the church plays a leading role in community life on both sides of the border. While people used to cross the border freely in the past, today special passes must be obtained from army authorities. In the past, people living along the border freely visited their cross-border

relatives to maintain kin ties and to keep up with news of births, marriages, and other happenings. Today, visits are made for many reasons; to attend weddings, funerals and church gatherings, to help with farm work (although wages are involved), and to trade. *Pelawe* ('to visit relatives') is often used as the stated reason to get official permission to cross the border for purposes of employment or trade.

With increasing trade, friction arises, as individuals seek to maximize gains as seen, for example, in the setting up of the tollgate by the Punang Kelalan villagers on the Sarawak border. Despite these problems, the Lun Bawang and Lun Dayeh say they are the same people. In other words, there is a fall back to ethnicity when difficult issues threaten the community. Existing social organizations and village institutions appear competent to handle disputes within the village and those involving individuals from either side of the border. However, mechanisms for resolving more complex problems, such as the tollgate, may be ineffective in the face of the increasing cross-border movement of people and goods.

The border communities have been requesting state intervention and as the border is an international issue it will require the governments of Malaysia and Indonesia to step in. There are plans for immigration, customs, and quarantine facilities to be built at Ba Kelalan to monitor trade and the movement of people, and also at Long Pa Sia at the border with Sabah as an additional border crossing point. But as the experience of such government facilities along the long and porous border between Sarawak and Kalimantan has shown, unofficial channels, or *jalan tikus* ('mouse trails'), where government checkpoints are lacking, will continue to exist. This could well be the case, too, for the Kelalan and Bawan Valleys.

Beyond ethnicity and kinship, common issues that affect communities on both sides of the border are migration, which represents a loss in human resources, and degradation of the environment, which affects the traditional system of farming. Although the borderland communities are still largely Lun Bawang and Lun Dayeh, with anticipated road accessibility, more outsiders can be expected to migrate to the region to trade, work, and live, and this will complicate the dynamics of present-day relations.

In this study of a borderland community, a paradoxical situation was found to exist. First is the phenomenon of borderlessness as ethnicity, kinship, trade, the environment, and labor dependency bring together the borderland community of Lun Bawang in Sarawak and Lun Dayeh in Kalimantan Timur. Second, precisely because there is a political border, it becomes a point of reference for people to lead and order their lives around.

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REVIEW ARTICLE

PROTAGONIST OF PARADISE:
THE LIFE, DEATH, AND LEGACY OF BRUNO MANSER

Bruno Manser, *Stimmen aus dem Regenwald. Zeugnisse eines bedrohten Volkes* (Voices from the Rainforest. Testimonies of a Threatened People). Bern: Zytglogge Verlag, with World Wildlife Fund, 1992. 304 pp. ISBN 3-7296-0386-8.

Bruno Manser, *Tagebücher aus dem Regenwald* (Diaries from the Rainforest). Basel: Christoph Merian Verlag, for Bruno-Manser-Fonds, 2004. Vol. 1, comprising an introductory essay by Ruedi Suter and Diaries 1-6, 153 pp; Vol. 2, Diaries 7-9, 173 pp; Vol. 3, Diaries 10-12, 205 pp; Vol. 4, Diaries 13-16, 170 pp. ISBN 3-85616-214-3.

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Bruno Manser was born in Basel, 1954; disappeared about 17 km NW of Bario, 2000. In the absence of evidence, speculation may never be laid to rest whether his re-entry into Sarawak from Kalimantan was spotted or betrayed, and that a police marksman or timber-company guard terminated one of the most celebrated of environmentalist careers. Certainly, by late 1987 the rage of the Sarawak State Government had reached a point where the State Minister for Development could brand Manser a “security risk,” who would be dealt with toughly under the Internal Security Act — not just as an illegal immigrant or overstayer as previously intended — if ever he was caught in Sarawak (*Borneo Bulletin*, 28 November 1987). Not much later, according to Ruedi Suter in his introduction to Manser’s diaries, a price was put on his head by the Malaysian Government.

Manser had come to Sarawak in 1984 as a tourist — yet perhaps no ordinary tourist, given his previous embrace of the solitary life of a sheep and cowherder in Switzerland, propelled by a mixture of powerful artistic inclination and deepest spiritual impulses. After attaching himself briefly to a British scientific expedition in the Mulu area, he made off into the jungle. His conscious purpose at first was to test the possibilities of human survival close to nature. Against the initial odds for one so totally uninformed and ill-prepared, he did survive, and in due course stumbled across nomadic Penan somewhere around the headwaters of Sungai Tutoh or Sungai Limbang. He now added a new dimension to his quest: to catch a glimpse of emergent man in a condition optimally close to our uncorrupted historical origins (or to “get to know about the development of the human spirit,” as a sympathetic journalist quoted him in English: George Kanavathi, “Manser — The man behind the myth,” *Borneo Bulletin*, 6 June 1987). Altogether an uncanny affinity with his cantonal compatriot Karl Jung!

However, at the very point of discovering the nearest imaginable approximation to the Garden of Eden on the contemporary planet, Manser could not ignore the looming

extinction of this precious cultural asset as Penan food sources were being eclipsed by the relentless inroads of logging interests, backed by the Sarawak State Government and Federal Government of Malaysia. Nor could he fail to have thoughts about the impact of Sarawak's deforestation on global warming. Having left Sarawak at the expiry of his first visa, and being offered thereafter nothing better than one-month entry-permits, he resolved to re-enter and stay illegally. His determination to study and learn was now combined with an unquenchable militancy for the nomads' survival.

It was a vital principle of Manser's only to place his literacy at the disposal of the Penans if they were genuinely enthusiastic for the struggle (Diary 7: 12); although he deplored the lack of a natural leader among the Penan, he was highly reluctant to push any individual forward against his inclination (Diary 11: 136). Native blockades as such dated from the late 1970s, and the police were involved in 20-30 preventive actions per year between 1982-84 (*Stimmen*: 78). The Malaysian environmentalist group Sahabat Alam Malaysia (Malaysian Friends of the Earth, SAM), with the Kayan activist Harrison Ngau always in a prominent role, had produced a significant research report with proposals for the attention of the Sarawak Government by late 1986 ("SAM campaigns against loggers," *Borneo Bulletin*, 29 November 1986). By contrast, it was only in the previous September that Manser had organized his first gathering of Penan and helped draw up the Declaration of Long Seridan (*Stimmen*: 61). Obviously the Penan were already aware of the blockade weapon being used by other ethnic groups, and Manser explicitly denied being the author of their blockading in 1987 ("The man and the myth"). Nevertheless, once he had begun to act as a "strategist of passive resistance" (Ruedi Suter, "Zurück zur Einfachheit," in *Tagebücher*, Vol. 1: 12) — as when proposing minimum conditions of solidarity and blockading techniques without which any struggle would be futile (Diary 11: 100), with the reassurance that he would balance the pathetic weakness of their resistance by exposing the logging interests to the outside world — it seems difficult not to see a certain "dynamism" in his role. Although the efforts of the Malaysian authorities to discredit him, whether by mockery (a "white Tarzan" in the jungle); contempt (a "misguided European idealist," preferring to preserve something quaint for anthropologists to study rather than support official policies for the Penans' "betterment" through development); or character assassination (a "sex tourist" who left a Penan wife and two children behind in the jungle), seem to bespeak a strain of bureaucratic paranoia, it remains that in ways oblique or direct the power of the State Government and Malaysian state stood to be eroded in some degree. Manser's capacity to escape from arrest and evade pursuing bullets was particularly taunting to the men in uniform.

At all events, he did eventually feel that he had reached the limit of his usefulness, and probably his luck, inside Sarawak. After leaking a probably false exit route and date ("Manser plans freedom dash," *Borneo Bulletin*, 7 May 1988), he resurfaced in Switzerland nearly two years later ("Manser makes dash for freedom," *Borneo Bulletin*, 21 April 1990). Once home, he threw himself into a frenetic campaign to alert the world to the ecological and human disaster of Sarawak. This not only raised funds but engendered a group of loyal admirers. Among these were a core with academic and publishing skills who were able within two years to pull Manser's diverse experience and knowledge together, setting it in a context of global economic forces and Malaysian geography plus statistics, to produce a manageable and indeed inspiring handbook of the

struggle, full of individual Penan reflections on their fate, and appealing partly to a younger European audience: *Stimmen aus dem Regenwald*.

During the decade after his return to Europe, Manser's restless, not to say fearless, nature led him into a succession of publicity gimmicks and escapades, not excluding at least one attempt at surreptitious return and a stunt with a hang-glider in the heart of Kuching. Finally, in May 2000, he re-entered the Sarawak jungle on foot from Kalimantan, never to be seen again. To their everlasting credit, his friends in the Bruno Manser Foundation have now published the *Tagebücher* in a reproduction of outstanding beauty. Some of Manser's drawings, notably portraits of Penan individuals, had already appeared in *Stimmen*, but now we are treated to a magical feast of medico-botanical, zoological, ethno-musicological, sartorial and primitive-technology drawings, as well as all the written observations and reflections that Manser was able to smuggle out during his sojourn or carry with him at its conclusion.

Would-be readers need to be reminded that Manser did not enter the jungle with any academic purpose, and even in the course of time did not begin to focus on any particular subject, whether in the field of natural science, anthropology, or linguistics. He himself denies aiming further than "an outline" of Penan life (Diary 1: 51). Thus there is a huge amount of fascinating data for anyone with a specialist's knowledge of Borneo, but it is presented purely in the order in which particular items struck Manser's attention, generally without methodical follow-up. Sometimes events are not even presented in their order of occurrence, but retrospectively, as well as undated; thus it is difficult to reconstruct, for instance, his movements, length of stay at any given settlement, or the development of the Penan blockades and Manser's role in the campaign. For the most part, he lets the Penans bear witness to the destruction, the blockades, and native encounters with officials or company personnel. Fortunately, he was still able to devote precious writing and drawing time to the cultural scene and sights of nature. But from one source or another there is recurrent commentary of political significance which would have proved compromising if falling into the hands of the police — as one set of papers actually did — albeit the investigators would have had to arrange for translation from German, not to mention the occasional example of Manser's native dialect. Meanwhile, one is never entirely sure how fluent Manser himself became in Penan; how far he always correctly distinguishes its vocabulary from Kelabit and Malay; to what extent personal Penan testimonies (amazingly eloquent as they are) were written down, or liberally transcribed from tapes. Puzzlingly, Manser calls all the Penan "Punan" during his early acquaintance, and applies the term to the sedentary ones later. For their part (though the choice is not without merit) the editors have not attempted to integrate the materials into any kind of structure. Nor is there an Index.

Such caveats having been mooted, it remains to praise this inspirational work on its own terms. By virtue of its diversity it offers something for almost every specialist. Anyone who knows a post-traditional group of Borneo — as, in the primary reviewer's case, the Dusuns of Brunei — will be thrilled to meet descriptions and explanations of practices or skills which linger in folk memory in the plains and foothills but can no longer be observed: the obtaining of wild sago and extraction of camphor; hunting with blowpipes or dogs (including the use of special herbs and charms to put fire into a lazy cur); knowing the non-spluttering resins suitable for firebrands, and how to make forest soap; the knack of tying a loin cloth; the conduct of birthing (both Penan and Kelabit custom, compared). The folktales noted by Manser are familiar from the corpus of many

another ethnic group. Asking forgiveness from the spirits of trees which Penans cut or fell, and believing that to make fun of certain animals will conjure up a devastating thunderstorm, also have a very familiar ring.

On the other hand, there are features of nomadic culture which are necessarily foreign to settled communities at any time: an extremely marked equality of the sexes; a striking paucity of ceremonies (evidently because the daytime is taken up with the search for food or the making of implements, baskets or mats by the whole family, the evening with cooking and eating); little consultation of omens (nomads being unable to afford to postpone daily hunting and gathering); absence of domestic animals and fowls for food, and an absolute taboo on ever killing the hunting dogs or pet gibbons which share the family's life; the custom of wrapping the corpse of a deceased family member in a mat, to be placed above the hearth before the family abandons the hut forever (Manser did not witness this himself, however, as under Christian influence, burial had already become the norm); and last but not least, a social "structure" that is not characterized by leadership or power over and above the small, peripatetic kin-groups organized for hunting and gathering, each of which "owns" a section of forest whose produce is not shared with neighboring groups except in time of plenty. Only as Penans abandon the jungle and become sedentary in a longhouse is there a need for a headman, to regulate inter-family relations and (as Manser saw it) preside over the degeneration of community.

In light of pre-sedentary structure, it is scarcely surprising that Manser found the nomads difficult to galvanize for self-defense. Such an enterprise was also hindered by their typical taciturnity, and the once highly functional cultural values of non-aggression and trust, which now leave the Penans easy prey to logging-company intimidation, intellectual deception about the world beyond Penan experience, and downright trickery. Coincidentally and compatibly, Manser's own Christian ethics disposed him towards non-violence. At first, he also thought it a correct pragmatic judgement that blowpipes and shotguns were no match for the automatic weapons of the police, and also that the outside world would condemn the Penans if they did resort to violence! With hindsight he did favor striking at the logging companies by blowing up bridges, but showed no sign of grasping the notion that violence — not least, violence against hopeless odds — was a precondition for stirring and sustaining international media interest in the cause.

Tragically, these Diaries seem destined to stand as a memorial to a man already dead. But they make a highly fitting memorial to a person of no little genius and greatness. He may have failed to divert either Sarawak or the planet from the diverse types of destruction which, in the first instance, are now more or less fulfilled, in the second, still pending but increasingly predicted. But at least he tried, which very few of the rest of us can say on our behalf: ours merely the questionable satisfaction of knowing that we never disagreed with Bruno Manser, as did, in the strongest terms, his adversaries Datuk Seri Dr. Mahathir bin Mohamad (Prime Minister of Malaysia, 1981-2003), Datuk Patinggi Amar Abdul Taib bin Mahmud (Chief Minister of Sarawak during Manser's time), and Datuk Amar James Wong (top timber tycoon and State Minister for Environment and Tourism at that period)! By the criterion of power successfully wielded, they are the "great men" of Malaysia's era of development. The importance of titles and state propaganda for the projection of their virtues does not contradict, but confirms, the reality of that power.

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

A Letter from Lundu

10 February 2005

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Rain. Wisdom has it that Chinese New Year is always wet. Yesterday when the new moon rose with the sun we enjoyed surprise dry weather, a cool, breezy day with decorative baroque-dessert clouds. This second day tradition holds and with the *anak bulan* the sky lowers and drops showers at random.

During last year's holidays the rain came down without stop for ten days. Sarawak was flooded and Lundu was cut off from Kuching. The Batang Kayan swelled; the ferries could not make way against the current, and the bridge at Kampong Bukah lay covered by rushing water. The river must have risen 30 feet.

December 2004 soaked us through and through. Landas came early this year, and wouldn't let up. We celebrated two weddings here in Stunggang and the guests huddled under temporary zinc-roofed sheds and picked — or squelched — their way to the food. Life disappeared into houses. It was a great time to set traps for *ikan keli*, and the people going fishing were the only folks you saw outside. People had already set out their rice plants, and were willing to let them grow by themselves until the sun came out again. The *towkays* of Lundu bazaar had stacked all their stock on pallets and boxes, and were happy that the Christmas inundation missed them this year.

At Christmas, for whatever reason, the clouds clumped thicker, lower, and darker. The rain and the gloom were not unwelcome; Biak Mail said to me that he guessed that this was what snow-season felt like. Christmas in Lundu is innocent of the hype and commercialism that spoils it in cities. We don't give presents or send cards. We *berami makai* with the family. On Christmas eve the market is full of people, and they are all buying food. Dinner follows the service, and the church is packed. The scene is more Dickensian than one could hope to find in England. Dayaks don't understand religion without a party attached, and so they know exactly what to do with Christmas. It is the time for the women to show off their skills in baking cakes, and this year I sampled many good durian cakes from November's bumper crop.

The weather has been turning stranger and stranger with each year. Wet and dry alternate erratically, the climate is perceptibly hotter. The pattern that old people are used to is becoming less clear. My late mother-in-law noted this ten years ago and said "That's what you get when you cut down the trees." H'bi didn't know letters. She was an artist with mats, and she was nobody's fool.

Then, the day after Christmas, the tsunami. If this can come under a broad heading of "weather." Not a ripple reached Borneo. I was going through the Malay kampong to town, right by the river at high tide, and I would have seen something. My wife Nusi had some visitors in the afternoon and one spoke of a tsunami; we learned of the true appalling horror only on the 8 o'clock news. By now we know that 300,000 people were

killed. We know who they were; they were just like us. At the time, nobody in Lundu had anything to say about the devastation and death — it was too big for words. I, too, couldn't say anything to anybody then, and I can't say anything now.

DISSERTATIONS ON BORNEO

<<http://www2.library.unr.edu.dataworks/Borneo.edu>>

Robert L. Winzeler and Duncan Aldrich
University of Nevada, Reno

For the past several years we have been developing an online bibliography of doctoral dissertations on Borneo. The project was initiated on behalf of the Borneo Research Council following discussions about how to make information contained in doctoral dissertations more widely available. While there was some initial interest in distributing digital versions of dissertations, this was abandoned in favor of developing an online bibliography. The intent was to collect and include basic bibliographic information, including author, title, year of acceptance, topic or field of study, and an abstract of contents and availability for as many dissertations involving Borneo as possible. The intent was also to provide information on an ongoing basis on dissertations in all fields of research and study accepted for doctoral degrees throughout the world that appeared to make substantial reference to Borneo as well as those that concerned the island exclusively. The bibliography currently contains more than 460 entries, most of which seem to be largely or wholly about Borneo in one way or another. The dissertation records can be listed in their entirety in alphabetical order by author or in order of their assigned numbers, or searched by using key words of an author's name, a dissertation title or an abstract. However, the databases from which most of our entries are drawn usually do not include an abstract for older dissertations — those completed before around 1980.

This article has two purposes. One is to publicize the website and database as a bibliographic resource for research and scholarship in all fields of knowledge concerning Borneo and to help to improve it by encouraging authors of dissertations (or anyone with knowledge about them) to submit bibliographic information concerning dissertations not yet listed, as well as corrections to existing records. The other purpose is to note patterns and trends in doctoral research in Borneo, including the numbers of completed dissertations submitted by decade through 2004, the universities at which dissertations have been completed, the topics or disciplines involved and the Western or Asian status of the authors of the dissertations. This information is presented in a series of tables and discussed in some detail. Since, as will be noted more fully below, the database of dissertations is hardly complete, the patterns and trends discussed are somewhat provisional. Nonetheless, they seem worth reporting at this point.

Dissertations on Borneo Over Time

It is clear from the overall number of dissertations that Borneo is a major geographical region for doctoral research and scholarship. However, this is a fairly recent development. While information about Borneo began to be reported in a substantial way toward the end

of the first half of the 19th century, the early accounts were written by colonial scholars, travelers or early scientists who generally lacked graduate (or sometimes any) degrees. Many of these early scholars were either Dutch men with colonial or mission ties to the southern part of the island that formed part of the Netherlands Indies or British men with similar ties to Sarawak, Brunei or Sabah in the north. While the shift from the older forms of research to the newer may reflect the general increase in graduate (also referred to as postgraduate) research and education in Western countries (and then elsewhere) it also reflects the end of colonial rule in Borneo, though this did not bring an abrupt end to colonial research and scholarship, let alone to that linked to Christian mission activities.

Table 1
NUMBERS OF DISSERTATIONS ON
BORNEO BY DECADE
N=464

2000–2004	75
1990–1999	194
1980–1989	89
1970–1979	59
1960–1969	23
1950–1959	8
1940–1949	3
1930–1939	5
1920–1929	3
1910–1919	3
1900–1910	1
Unknown	1

The earliest dissertation record in the database dates to the first decade of the 20th century (although it cannot always be determined for certain that the early records are in fact of doctoral dissertations rather than master's theses), followed by a few entries each for the next several decades. Dissertations on Borneo do not begin to be common until the 1950s.

Since this time they have increased rapidly. The number of dissertation records in the bibliography for the 1960s is nearly three times the number for the 1950s, and this number more than doubles in the 1970s to a total of 59. In the 1980s the number increases at a more modest rate to 89 but the latter more than doubles in the 1990s to 194 records. The total of dissertation records currently available from 2000 to 2004 is 75, a number that will certainly increase as all dissertations for 2004 become available.

Dissertations on Borneo by Country

The dissertations now listed in the bibliography were submitted to schools, colleges and universities in seventeen countries. Here the record of information is probably very incomplete, not only in absolute terms but in proportional ones as well. The record of dissertations completed in the United States, the United Kingdom (and perhaps Canada) is probably complete, or nearly so, until 2004, but those for other countries are certainly not. While some dissertations records are listed for continental European countries, especially the Netherlands and Germany, many records are undoubtedly missing. Outside of the US and the UK, the largest number of doctoral dissertations are listed for Australia,

where research interest in Southeast Asia has been very strong (and more concentrated than elsewhere) for several or more decades, but even the relatively large number listed here is probably well below the actual number. We could speculate at greater length about the many countries for which there are no records of dissertations on Borneo but will refer only to Japan as a major omission. While some dissertations on Borneo do have Japanese authors all of these involve dissertations completed at universities in countries other than Japan. Time and resources allowing, we hope to develop strategies for adding dissertations from Japan and other countries not yet examined.

Table 2
DISSERTATIONS ON BORNEO
CURRENTLY IN THE DATABASE BY COUNTRY OF COMPLETION
N=464

United States	214
United Kingdom	147
Australia	26
Netherlands	21
Germany	16
Canada	11
China (Hong Kong)	6
France	6
Sweden	5
Indonesia	4
Switzerland	2
Austria	1
Denmark	1
Finland	1
Malaysia	1
Thailand	1
Vatican	1

As shown in Table 2, the largest number of doctoral dissertations on Borneo in the bibliography have been completed at US institutions, followed by ones in the UK. While the large numbers of dissertations listed for these two countries are in part a reflection of the fuller bibliographic information noted above, it also reflects the overall number of doctoral programs in these two countries. In the case of the UK, the number of doctoral dissertations concerning Borneo may also to some extent reflect the former status of the northern Borneo countries of Sarawak, Sabah and Brunei as British colonies and their continuing educational ties that derive from this status. In the case of the US (which would probably continue to account for the largest number of doctoral dissertations involving Borneo even if fuller information on dissertations completed in other countries were included), there have been no such colonial or post-colonial ties with the island.

In some fields the number of dissertations on Borneo might reflect the economic value of various natural resources on or around the island, but such resources have probably not attracted greater research interest in the US than in other developed industrial countries. Although a tabulation of dissertation topics (presented and discussed below) by country has not been done (and would not be reliable beyond the US and UK at this point) it would probably not show a greater concentration of US dissertation research in topics of

economic interest than in ones of little or no economic significance. Perhaps, as might be expected for research and scholarship in a very rich country, it might show the opposite.

Doctoral Dissertations at US and UK Universities, Colleges, and Schools

The information available concerning doctoral dissertations on Borneo completed in the US and UK is complete enough to warrant attention. This information is given in numerical terms in Tables 3 and 4 for each country respectively.

Table 3
DISSERTATIONS ON BORNEO COMPLETED
AT AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES
N=214

Cornell	18	Brandeis	1
Columbia	13	California, Riverside	1
Southern Illinois	12	Chicago	1
Hawaii	11	Colorado	1
Yale	11	Colorado State	1
Harvard	9	Columbia Pacific	1
Michigan State	7	Concordia Theological Seminary	1
Washington	7	East Texas State	1
Pennsylvania	6	Florida	1
California, Davis	5	Fordham	1
Duke	5	Fuller Theological Seminary	1
Louisiana State	5	George Peabody College	1
Rutgers	5	Georgetown	1
South Carolina	5	Georgia State	1
California, Los Angeles	4	Houston	1
Michigan	4	Idaho	1
Pittsburgh	4	Iowa State	1
St. Johns	4	Kansas State	1
Stanford	4	Minnesota	1
Wisconsin	4	Montana	1
Illinois, Chicago	3	Nevada, Reno	1
Kentucky	3	New School	1
New York U.	3	New York, Buffalo	1
Northern Illinois	3	North Carolina	1
Arizona State	2	North Carolina State	1
California, Berkeley	2	Northern Colorado	1
California, Santa Barbara	2	Northwestern	1
City University New York	2	Oklahoma	1
Dartmouth	2	Oklahoma State	1
Florida	2	Pennsylvania State	1
Ohio State	2	St. Louis	1
Oregon	2	Southern Methodist	1
Princeton	2	Temple	1
Tufts	2	Texas, Austin	1
Andrews	1	Texas A & M	1
Argosy	1	Trinity Evangelical Divinity School	1
Arizona	1	Utah	1
Biola	1	W. Conservative Baptist Seminary	1
Boston	1	Westminster Theological Seminary	1

In the US, the 214 doctoral dissertations involving Borneo have been completed at 78 different degree-granting institutions including theological schools and seminaries as well as research universities. Five universities — led by Cornell which has given eighteen doctorates concerning Borneo — each account for eleven or more of the dissertations totaling sixty-five or thirty percent of all of the American dissertations. Most of these are schools that might have been expected to be leaders, either because they are universities that have long had doctoral programs in most fields or because they are universities that have had particular programs in Southeast Asia. Most Borneanist scholars, however, will be surprised to learn that twelve dissertations on Borneo have been completed at Southern Illinois University, although it probably won't surprise Borneanist researchers of education, for ten of these are in education. At the other extreme are the forty-four institutions at which only a single dissertation involving Borneo has been completed. These solo-dissertation places represent the broadest range of institutions, including five theology schools and seminaries.

Table 4
DISSERTATIONS ON BORNEO
AT UNITED KINGDOM UNIVERSITIES
N = 147

London	31	Exeter	2
Hull	15	Lancaster	2
Aberdeen	12	Wales, Aberystwyth	2
Edinburgh	12	Anglia	1
Cambridge	10	Bradford	1
Oxford	8	Brunel	1
Birmingham	6	Coventry	1
Manchester	5	Herfordshire	1
Durham	4	London Wye College	1
Newcastle upon Tyne	4	Loughborough	1
Reading	4	Nottingham	1
Wales, Bangor	4	Sheffield	1
Kent	3	Southampton	1
Leeds	3	Wales, Swansea	1
Strathclyde	3	Warwick	1
Bristol	2	Wolverhampton	1
CNAA Polytech	2		

The 147 UK dissertations involving Borneo were completed at thirty-three institutions, a proportionally smaller number (and range) than in the US. Most notably, there are not as many universities that have awarded only a single doctorate involving Borneo as in the US.

Eighty dissertations on Borneo were completed at 5 universities, with the various colleges and schools of the University of London accounting for the largest number, followed by Hull, Aberdeen, Edinburgh and Cambridge.

Dissertations on Borneo by Topic

Information on what has been studied in the dissertations on Borneo included in the bibliography is listed according to thirty topics or fields of study in Table 5. The general intent here has been to follow the topics or disciplines given in the various dissertation entries. However, it is not always easy to do this since some dissertation entries refer to specific topics while others to academic disciplines or general fields of study. Further, there is no standard organization of academic departments or topics or fields of study for all of the countries that have produced dissertations involving Borneo. This is true especially, for example, for the field of anthropology which accounts for the largest number of dissertations in the bibliography. In the US, the larger anthropology departments and graduate degree programs generally include cultural anthropology, archaeology, linguistics and physical anthropology but in other countries these fields are often separated in one way or another. Even if included in a single department and degree program, the lines of research followed by cultural anthropologists, linguists, archaeologists and physical or biological anthropology are generally quite different although they all involve, as it used to be put, "the study of man." For this reason anthropology as such, especially at the level of doctoral research, is not really a single topic or a set of closely related ones. We have therefore listed dissertations in terms of cultural anthropology (or ethnology), archaeology, linguistics, even though all may involve (at least in the US) a single degree in anthropology.

A similar procedure might have been followed in the case of biology but was not. However, in this case we have placed all of the dissertations involving research on trees, tree products, or forest ecology that might have been identified as studies in botany or biology in the various entries, along with those listed as forestry, in the category of forestry and forest studies. This tends to show how important the general topic of forests has been in terms of dissertation research in Borneo although it also tends to diminish the apparent importance of biology or botany. So identified, forests and forestry form the second most numerous topic in doctoral dissertation research on Borneo.

Although far less numerous than those involving forests, dissertations involving research on various non-human primates have also been lumped together as primate studies. Such dissertations are sometimes listed in relation to programs or departments in zoology (including several completed at Cambridge University), sometimes in physical anthropology (including several completed at US universities) and sometimes in relation to yet other or unidentified disciplines.

The motives or interests involved in the choices of the various topics studied by researchers who have been attracted to do doctoral research concerning Borneo are not indicated in the entries, except perhaps sometimes in the abstracts, although in some instances general lines of interest can be inferred. In the case of the five most commonly studied topics, the interest in education and geology seem most distinctly practical, that involved in anthropology the least so while the concerns reflected in forestry and forest studies and biology seem mixed.

Table 5
DISSERTATIONS ON BORNEO
BY TOPIC OR DISCIPLINE
N=464

Anthropology ¹	93
Forestry and Forest Studies ²	58
Biology ³	53
Education	46
Geology ⁴	37
Political Science, Government and Law	29
Economics	22
Geography	21
Primate Studies	18
History of Missions and Christian Religious Studies	11
Linguistics and Language Studies	12
History	9
Demography	7
Management	6
Agricultural Studies	5
Art and Material Culture	5
Archaeology and Prehistory	4
Public Health	4
Communications, Journalism and Information Systems	3
Sociology	3
Tourism	3
Library Science	2
Adat Law Studies	1
Architecture	1
Development	1
English Literature	1
Ethnomusicology	1
Genetics	1
Islamic Studies	1
Social Services	1
Uncertain or unknown	5

The large number of dissertations in (cultural or social) anthropology (most of which concern the Dayaks and other interior peoples) must reflect to some extent at least the general reputation of Borneo as an ethnological paradise of interesting peoples and exotic customs — a land of headhunting, secondary burial, penis pins and great longhouses built along swiftly flowing rivers. The ethnological reputation of Borneo was established in the middle of the 19th century through the accounts of colonial adventurers, travelers, and missionaries and has continued — helped perhaps by the studies and reputation achieved

¹ Cultural and social anthropology, including ethnology and ethnography.

² Includes forestry, forest ecology, and botany of forest plants.

³ Includes botany, ethnobotany and zoology and excludes forest studies and primate studies.

⁴ Includes hydrology.

by some of the scholars (Edmund Leach, Derek Freeman, Rodney Needham and others) who were involved in the early phase of professional anthropological studies of Borneo that began in the late 1940s and early 1950s in the British-controlled northern countries. And while some of the early professional anthropological work done in Borneo (the studies initiated by Leach [1950] on behalf of the Colonial Research Council and carried out by Freeman, William Geddes, Stephen Morris and T'ien Ju-K'ang) was intended to contribute to the practical development of the country, it seems safe to assume that most of the dissertation studies in cultural or social anthropology that were subsequently done have been based upon more purely scholarly or scientific concerns combined, perhaps, with the sort of exotic and romantic interests noted above.

The also-numerous studies of forestry and forest-related biology probably reflect practical or applied concerns to a greater extent than do those in anthropology. Following the Amazon basin and central Africa, Borneo contains one of largest expanses of equatorial rainforest in the world. In addition to its vast — if rapidly diminishing — timber resources, the tropical hardwood forests of Borneo are well-known for other commercially valuable botanical products, including rattan, nuts and various precious woods. The practical ecological or environmental problems stemming from logging and other exploitation of Bornean forests — deforestation, erosion and forest fires have also become well-known in recent decades.

Yet it would be wrong to underestimate the more purely scholarly or scientific, even romantic, appeal of Bornean forests that can also be traced to earlier writers and naturalists. While the interior of Borneo was sometimes presented by travelers as an endless, dark, monotonously green, trackless land of forests, swamps, mountains and rivers, it was described by naturalists including Alfred Wallace (*The Malay Archipelago the Land of the Orang-Utan and the Bird of Paradise*), Odorado Becarri (*Wanderings in the Great Forests of Borneo: Travels and Researches of a Naturalist in Sarawak*), F. W. Burbidge (*The Gardens of the Sun: A Naturalist's Journal of Borneo and the Sulu Archipelago*) and others as a naturalist's paradise, filled with huge trees and a vast array of exotic plants, insects, birds and primates. Wallace's *The Malay Archipelago*, which contains a long section on Sarawak where he spent more than a year exploring and collecting, has continued to be republished since its original appearance in 1871 and remains in print in several editions today.

Dissertations on Borneo by Western or Asian Authors

The last matter to be noted involves the extent to which doctoral research has remained a Western enterprise. We were inspired here by the issue of Orientalism that was raised and made famous by the publication of *Orientalism* by Edward Said. Aside from the issue of the extent to which the study of Middle Eastern and Asian history and culture has been defined by Western prejudices and stereotypes, the matter of Orientalism raises the question of who is carrying out dissertation research. In the case of Borneo there are several issues here, one is where dissertations on Borneo are completed and another is the proportion of dissertations written by Asians rather than Westerners. In regard to the first, as already noted, the overwhelming majority of dissertations now in the bibliography were completed at US, UK or other Western universities, including those written by Asians. To this extent it can be said that doctoral research on Borneo remains a largely Western scholarly or scientific enterprise. As for the second issue of

whether authors of dissertations are themselves Western or Asian, the results are much more mixed.

Table 6
NUMBERS OF DISSERTATIONS ON BORNEO BY
DECADE AND WESTERN OR ASIAN NAME OF AUTHOR

	Western	Asian	Uncertain	Total
2000–2004	39 (52)	34 (45)	2 (3)	75
1990–1999	98 (50.5)	93 (48)	3 (1.5)	194
1980–1989	46 (52)	43 (48)		89
1970–1979	45 (76)	14 (24)		59
1960–1969	18 (78)	5 (22)		23
1950–1959	6 (75)	2 (25)		8
1940–1949	3 (100)			3
1930–1939	5 (100)			5
1920–1929	3 (100)			3
1910–1919	3 (100)			3
1900–1910	1 (100)			1
Unknown	1 (100)			1
Total	274 (58)	196 (42)	5 (1)	464

All numbers in parenthesis are percentages.

(1) Assumes authors with Arabic names are of Asian (mainly Southeast Asian) origin.

Table 6 presents information on the presumed ethnic status of authors of dissertations on Borneo. Since records in the bibliography do not include the nationality or other explicit information on ethnic status, this can only be inferred from names. This procedure makes several assumptions, one of which is that it is possible to distinguish between Western and Asian names in the first place. This seemed easy to do. Of the 460-odd dissertation authors in the bibliography only a few names appeared difficult to identify as either Western or Asian. (Many Asians now have Western first names but seldom Western family names.) Of course, in addition to the small number of uncertain names some mistakes have probably been made but the number of these is assumed to be low. Next there is the assumption that Asian and Western names are a reasonably good proxy for Asian or Western origins and identity. This cannot be known for certain in that it can not be known how many authors with Asian names were actually born and raised in Asian countries as opposed to Western ones, but it seems reasonable to assume that most were. There is a further assumption that the authors with names many might take to be Muslim or Arabic indicate Asian rather than Middle Eastern origins or ethnic status. Again, it seems reasonable to suppose that while a few of those authors with Arabic-Muslim names may be of Middle Eastern origin, the vast majority are Asian Muslims, specifically mainly Malaysian or Indonesian Muslims.

Whatever the names may exactly indicate, it is clear that many authors of dissertations on Borneo are Asians. While Bornean research and scholarship at the level of dissertations is still dominated by Westerners in terms of the number of dissertations written, the difference is not overwhelming. Specifically, about fifty-eight percent of the

dissertations have authors with Western names while about forty-two percent have Asian ones. As noted above, this may not mean a great deal in some respects. The vast majority of Asian authors of dissertations on Borneo have studied and submitted their dissertations at American, Canadian, British, Australian or other Western universities using theories and methods that are of Western origin — but that are now global in scope and use. At the same time it would be difficult to deny that Bornean research has to some considerable extent been Asianized. This seems to be especially so in terms of the difference between the situation under colonial rule and that of the later decades of the twentieth century and of the opening years of the twenty-first. Over time, the portion of dissertations in the bibliography with apparent Asian authors has risen steadily from none before 1950 to about a quarter in the next several decades to nearly half from 1980 to the present. Although the number of authors who are not simply Asian but actually from Borneo cannot be known for certain except for a few individuals, the number is probably substantial and increasing. Most of the individuals who are from Borneo are probably Chinese or Muslim Malays from down-river and coastal areas but they also include Dayaks or other interior peoples as well. Everyone in Bornean studies should feel good about this.

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ANNOUNCEMENTS

REVIVAL OF BORNEO DISCUSSION LIST

At the conference on West Borneo Languages, held from 31 January to 2 February 2005 at Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia in Bangi, I accepted responsibility for reconstituting the internet Borneo Discussion List, which in its earlier incarnation "evaporated" (so one commented) about two years ago.

The address will be: borneo-l@ikanlundu.com

Right now (11 February 2005) this list is a bare address. I will be working to establish all necessary features of a full list, including archives, digest delivery, etc., over the next few weeks. Please bear with me while I first coarse, and then fine-tune this resource.

Everyone is welcome to join, and to post on any topic at all concerning Borneo, and in any language. And if anyone feels an enthusiasm to act as my assistant or backup (for I am working with a dialup connection to a RILL — "Radio In-Line Link" — phone and with dodgy equipment), I would be delighted to hear from you. I would greatly value any test posts, and comment on what is available and what is missing, as this is my maiden attempt at setting up a list.

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CONFERENCE ANNOUNCEMENT

The 1st International Harvest Conference & Festival (IHCF), 16th -19th August 2005, is a coming together of countries represented by experts and interested parties in cultural anthropology and its related fields to present conference papers and perform rituals and cultural practices that are carried out during harvest festivals celebrated in their countries.

The CONFERENCE is open to all individuals and the festival performance is solely meant for university students of 15-20 on a team.

Since it is an event organized by the MARA University of Technology (UiTM) Sabah, the focus of the festival performance is to reach out to universities around the world. They will represent their countries in showcasing the significance of their harvest rituals. Besides, it is also a platform for experts in the field to share, learn and enhance knowledge for the benefits of global understanding, world peace and unity.

For further details, please visit our website at: <http://www3.uitm.edu.my/sabah/ihfc/>

BORNEO NEWS

REGIONAL NEWS

Dr. P.C. van Welzen (Nationaal Herbarium Nederland, Leiden) has prepared sites on the internet: www.nationaalherbarium.nl/macmalborneo/index.htm — with descriptions of all Bornean species of *Macaranga* and *Mallotus*, a very user-friendly key to the species, and an ecological method to establish the (possible) disturbance of a forest with the aid of *Macaranga* and *Mallotus* species.

Dr. Elizabeth Lesley Bennett was appointed MBE in the UK New Year Honours 2005 “for services to wildlife conservation in Malaysia” (*Daily Telegraph*, London, Friday 31 December 2004:33).

ESSEAN — European Students’ Southeast Asia Network — wants to connect European students with an academic interest in Southeast Asia. As a web-based community, ESSEAN intends to encourage students to discuss, exchange ideas and support each other in their respective studies. The goal is to link up committed students with Europe for mutual benefit. Website: www.essean.net

Since its formation in 2001, the **HGA — Hamburger Gesellschaft für Austronesistik** or Hamburg Society for Austronesian Studies — has been actively supporting the studies on the Austronesian areas. HGA aims to establish a forum for those engaged with Austronesia (i.e., Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines and Oceania) in the Hamburg area, scholars and students as well as trade and industry, or the interested public. Hamburger Society for Austronesian Studies, c/o Asia-Africa-Institute, University of Hamburg, Department of Indonesian and Oceanic Studies, Edmund-Siemers-Allee 1 (Ostflügel), 20146 Hamburg, Germany. Phone: 49 (0) 40-42535 2696; Fax 49 (0) 40-42535 6417. E-mail: indons@uni-hamburg.de

The ESSEAN (European Students' Southeast Asia Network) in cooperation with HGA (Hamburg Society for Austronesian Studies) and the Asia-Africa-Institute of the University of Hamburg presented its initial Indonesia Forum in the ESSEAN's Pan-European Lecture Series. The forum entitled "New Perspectives for Research on Violence in Indonesia" took place on December 16, 2004, at the Asia-Africa-Institute, University of Hamburg.

KALIMANTAN NEWS

In Indonesia, botanical explorations by the Herbarium Bogoriense are underway in various areas. These include Kalimantan, where exploration has been focused primarily on the Muller Nature Reserve (Bukit Batikap, Sapat Hawung, Mt. Lumut). The Muller Range is proposed as a Natural World Heritage site.

Ms. T. Handayani and **I. P. Astuti** (Kebun Raya, Bogor) went to the Kutai National Park between 24 May-8 June for an ecological study. **Ms. Yuzammi**, **T. N. Praptosuwiryo** (Kebun Raya, Bogor), **Mr. T. Rartomihardjo** and **Mr. H. Wiriadinata** (BO) went to the Muller Range between 30-29 June 2004 for general exploration. **Mr. Dodo** and **Ms. T. Handayani** (Kebun Raya, Bogor) went to the Tanjung Puting National Park between 26 July-10 August 2004 for an ecological study. **Mr. Hendrian** (Kebun Raya, Bogor), **Y. Purwanto** and **Wardah** (BO) went to the Muller Range between 22 September-22 October 2004 for general exploration. **Ms. D. M. Puspitaungtyas** and **Mr. S. Budi Susetyo** (Kebun Raya, Bogor) went to the Busang River and Batikap between 22 September-22 October 2004.

Dr. P. J. A. Keßler (L, Wan) and **J. W. F. Slik** (L) continued their inventories and plot studies. The latter's analysis of the impact of large-scale fires on forest diversity and regeneration revealed interesting results pointing at networks of patches in which a good deal of the species diversity may survive.

Christian Oesterheld presented a paper entitled "Case Study III — Narratives In-between Riots: Mapping the 'Emics' of Ethnic Conflict in Kalimantan" at the Indonesia Forum "New Perspectives for Research on Violence in Indonesia" in the ESSEAN's Pan-European Lecture Series on December 16, 2004, at the Asia-Africa-Institute, University of Hamburg.

Dr. Jani Kuhnt-Saptodewo has taken up a new appointment in Vienna as curator of the Indonesian, Malaysian, and the Philippines collections at the Museum of Ethnology. Her new address is:

Museum für Völkerkunde
A-1010 Wien - Neue Burg
Tel. + 43 1 534 30 - 240
Fax + 43 1 534 30 - 230
www.ethno-museum.ac.at

SABAH NEWS

Fausto Barlocco, a graduate student in the Social Sciences Department, University of Loughborough, UK, is planning to carry out Ph.D. research aimed at studying the impact of media on the Kadazan/Dusun population of Sabah, particularly focusing on an area, probably around Penampang, in order to assess the results of the Malaysian nation-building project put into effect by the central government through the media and to highlight its successes and failures, as well as its more or less unexpected side-effects and forms of resistance. He intends to base his research on a period of 12, or possibly 18 months, starting in July 2005, about 3 of which will be spent in Kota Kinabalu and the rest in rural areas. At the moment he is carrying out bibliographic research, looking at the ethnographic, political and historical sources, as well as the general literature on media anthropology and nation-building.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON BAJAU/SAMA COMMUNITIES 2004 (ICBC)

21-23 July, 2004, Kota Kinabalu, Sabah, Malaysia

An International Conference on Bajau/Sama Communities was held on the Universiti Malaysia Sabah (UMS) campus, in Kota Kinabalu, Sabah, Malaysia, on 21-23 July 2004. The conference was part of a program of special events held to celebrate the 10th Anniversary of UMS (1994-2004).

The conference theme: Bajau/Sama in the Changing World.

Conference Program:

Wednesday, 21 July

9:45-11 am Welcoming speeches by Associate Professor Hasan Mat Nor, Chairman of the Main Organizing Committee, and by Tan Sri Professor Datuk Seri Panglima

Dr. Abu Hassan Othman, Vice Chancellor, Universiti Malaysia Sabah.

Opening speech by Tun Datuk Seri Panglima Haji Ahmadshah bin Abdullah, Chancellor, Universiti Malaysia Sabah.

11:30-12:30 Keynote address by Professor Clifford Sather, University of Helsinki, "Some Reflections on Forty Years of Sama/Bajau Studies."

Sessions:

Wednesday, 21 July, afternoon

IA: Natural Resource Management

"*Kalluman ma tahik*: Household Strategies, Gender, and Sea Tenure in a Sama Dilaut Community in Kabuukan Island, Sulu" – Wilfredo Magno Torres III.

"Awareness and Attitude of the Community Towards Seaweed Farming Project in Banggi Island, Kudat" – Rosnah Ismail.

"Ethnobotany of the Bajaus of Semporna and Kota Belud" – Joseph Pounis Guntavid and Janis Galaip.

IB: Aging and Economy

"The Role of the Elderly in the Sama-Bajau Contemporary Society" – Mori Kogid, James M. Alin, Susan Andin and Roslinah Mahmud.

"The Individual Labor Supply of the Bajau-Sama Elderly in Selected Areas of Sabah" – James M. Alin, Susan Andin, Mori Kogid and Roslina Mahum.

Thursday, 22 July, morning

IIA: Negotiating Identities

"Negotiating a World Without Borders: Narratives of Powerlessness and Resistance of Filipino Migrants in Malaysia" – Linda A. Lumayag-Too.

"Indigeneity and the Mainstream: The Politics of Museum Display" – Olivia Guntarik.

"Evolving a Development Framework for the Sama Dilaut in an Urban Center in southern Philippines" – Nimfa L. Bracamonte.

IIB: Language and Literature

"Considerations for a West Coast Bajau Orthography" – Mark T. Miller.

"Sair: Tafsiran dari Gatra Sosio-linguistik terhadap genre Bajau Kota Belud" – Saidataul Nornis Hji. Mahali.

"Location of Bajau Communities in Sulawesi" – David Mead.

Thursday, 22 July, afternoon

IIIA: Material Culture

"Masyarakat 'Bajau' dan penyelidikan arkeologi di Sabah" – Yunus bin Sauman @ Sabin.

"Motif ukiran Bajau" – Ismail Hj. Ibrahim.

"Art and Identity in the Bajau Material Culture of Sabah" – Patricia Regis, Hanafi Hussin and Judeth John Baptist.

IIIB: Economics of Transition

"The Bajau Economy in Transition" – Gusni Saat and Kassim Mansor.

"Persepsi komuniti Bajau terhadap perubahan sosioekonomi dan politik" – Fazli Abd. Hamid and Rizal Zamani Idris.

"Marriage According to the Tradition of Bajau Laut of Semporna, Sabah" – James M. Alin, Roslinah Mahmud, Mori Kogid and Susan Andin.

IV: Culture and Film

"Nationalism, Memory and Film: The Significance of the Film *Badjao* in Philippine Cinema" – Aileen Toohey.

Friday, 23 July, morning

VA: Music and the Spiritual World

"Acculturation at Kota Belud Revisited: Iranun and Bajau Influences on the Gong Ensemble Music of the Tindal Dusun" – Jacqueline Pugh-Kitingan, Hanafi Hussin and Judeth John Baptist.

"Two *tagunggu*' Repertoires from the Bajau Communities of Kampung Bangau-Bangau, Semporna" – Jacqueline Pugh-Kitigan, Hanafi Hussin and Judeth John Baptist.

VB: Colonialism and Its Effects

"Masyarakat Bajau dari perspektif para pentadbir barat" – Mat Zin Mat Kib.

"Malay Periodicals in North Borneo as the Ideological Background to the Emergence of Bajau Identity" – Yamamoto Hiroyuki.

10:30 am Closing Ceremony

The conference was followed by a special exhibition at the Sabah Museum on Bajau-Sama cultures, launched on Saturday, 24 July at 9:30 am. The following day, Sunday, a day trip was arranged for participants wishing to attend the Tamu Besar at Kota Belud.

The principal sponsoring organizers of the Conference were the School of Social Sciences, Universiti Malaysia Sabah, and the Persatuan Seni Budaya Bajau Sabah. Further information on the Conference may be obtained by writing to:

School of Social Sciences
Universiti Malaysia Sabah
Locked Bag 2073
88999 Kota Kinabalu
Sabah, MALAYSIA

e-mail contacts:

Dean of Social Sciences, Assoc. Prof. Hasan Mat Nor (hasanmn@ums.edu.my) or
Kadazan Dusun Chair, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Jacqueline Pugh-Kitingan (jacquie@ums.edu.my)
(Clifford Sather, University of Helsinki)

SARAWAK NEWS

Professor Dimbab Ngidang has been appointed to the Dayak Chair at the Universiti Malaysia Sarawak (UNIMAS), Kota Samarahan, while **Dr. James Chin** has been appointed as Director of the Institute of East Asian Studies. **Jayl Langub** has retired from the Majlis Adat Istiadat Sarawak and is now serving as Senior Research Fellow in the Institute of East Asian Studies, UNIMAS.

BOOK REVIEWS, ABSTRACTS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

BOOK REVIEWS

Gönner, Christian 2002. *A Forest Tribe of Borneo: Resource Use among the Dayak Benuaq*. New Delhi: D.K. Printworld (P) Ltd. ISBN: 81-246-0193-3. 366 pages, including index and appendices.

A Forest Tribe of Borneo is the third volume in a series called "Man and Forest" whose objective is "to highlight the relevance of 'indigenous knowledge' of various tribal communities for sustainable forest management." This series is a joint research venture of several European and Asian agencies including the Chair of Forest Policy and Forest Economics of the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology (ETH) and the Tropical Ecology Support Program (TOEB) of the German Agency for Technical Cooperation (GTZ). The latter has also published several other publications on forestry and ecology in East Kalimantan and thus continued the tradition of German research in the province established by the TAD (Transmigration Area Development, later, Technical Cooperation for Area Development) project. A German version of the present book was also presented as a doctoral dissertation in Germany in 2000.

Christian Gönner's book is a detailed study of forest resource use in a particular Benuaq Dayak community on the Ohong tributary of the lower Mahakam close to the so-called Mahakam Lakes in the Indonesian province of East Kalimantan. Covering practically all varieties of resource use in the community studied, it forms an in-depth case study of human-environment interaction. The study is carefully conducted and based on extensive research encompassing participant observation and numerous technical surveys carried out during a total period of about four years between 1988 and 2000.

Most of the families in the community studied by Gönner are swidden cultivators. In addition, they maintain and sell the produce from rattan, rubber and mixed forest gardens (*simpukng*) which are developed on former swidden sites, and many also engage in cash income-generating non-farming activities. Sources of cash income include hunting (game is sold), forest product collection (e.g., of *gaharu*, *kayu lem*), manufacture of ironwood shingles, weaving of *ulap doyo* fabrics from vegetable fibers (a tradition presently unique to this area in Borneo), manufacture of tourist souvenirs such as blowpipes, motorcycle transportation services, and wage labor for different companies operating in the area. Most households in the community investigated rely on two or more occupations in addition to swidden work. The area investigated by Gönner is one that has been connected with the external world through trade contacts for a long time, and after Indonesian independence it has been much influenced by government politics, missionary work, transmigration, and the activities of timber and oil palm companies in the surrounding forest (including devastating forest fires that destroyed much of the local forest in 1997-1998).

The economy of the society studied is thus not isolated or independent, but integrated into a larger economic context. The fact that its members engage in cash income-generating activities and consume some amount of market-produced goods, while they at the same time maintain swiddens and a general subsistence orientation makes this economy, to use Gönner's term, an "extended subsistence economy." As such, it may not

represent the best example of a strictly self-sustainable economy, and it is, as Gönner notes, not “explicitly sustainable” (i.e., purposively constructed with the goal of sustainability). However, a special benefit of Gönner’s study lies precisely in the fact that it is about forest resource use in a community complexly affected by external forces, and this community can, in fact, be regarded as “genuinely sustainable” despite, and in part even because of, these forces.

Gönner identifies a “combination of a rather conservative, safety-oriented agriculture and an extraordinarily dynamic and flexible use of additional resources as the key to securing a livelihood in Lempunah.” Survival thus seems to be achieved through a peculiar blend of conservatism and opportunism which some readers may be familiar with from other Borneo contexts. “Resource diversification” is an important element of this double “strategy,” and this in its turn requires a high degree of biodiversity, something which the population studied has succeeded in maintaining despite a long tradition of manipulation of its environment (which is in itself rather diverse, encompassing alluvial freshwater swamp forest and patches of primary lowland rainforest, in addition to variously managed secondary forest in a wide range of stages of regeneration). However, there are certain limitations to how much disturbance in the local environment, social system and subsistence practices can be tolerated for the described approach to resource use to be successful. In the conclusion of the book, Gönner identifies the following conditions as vital for sustainable resource use: “decision autonomy,” “security of land rights and usufruct,” “individual flexibility to respond to fluctuations,” “maintenance of a high level of biodiversity,” and “reliability of the social and religious frame.” In the current situation and under the ongoing transformations of the Indonesian economy and political system it remains unclear, Gönner concludes, if these conditions will continue to be fulfilled.

Gönner’s book opens with an introductory theoretical and methodological chapter which describes his objectives and research methods in detail. In this chapter, Gönner criticizes and demonstrates the limitations of the ecosystem concept (and associated notions of self-regulation, stability and units). Instead of such an approach, he adopts a “multicausal analysis of causal chains” based on A. P. Vayda’s method of “progressive contextualization.” The end result of this analysis of Benuaq resource use is presented in the conclusion of the book in the form of a rather complex diagram of causal chains between various active and reactive variables. Gönner notes that no clear conclusion can be made from this diagram. However, he points out that, among the variables that make up this diagram, some are more active, and others more reactive. The two most active variables are “conflicts” and “rituals,” the former referring both to conflicts with outsiders, such as oil palm companies, and internal conflicts, and the latter particularly to costly Kaharingan rituals (the members of the investigated community are Christian, but do nevertheless still perform many non-Christian rituals). Out of necessity, the degree of specificity of the factors is somewhat arbitrary: everything cannot be taken into account and every variable cannot be subdivided into its constituent components. Other similar diagrams illustrate factors influencing the decision to make a swidden, the choice of swidden sites, and the size of the rice yield. Here, the impact of almost everything of potential relevance is reviewed including star constellations, dreams, omens based on bird and mammal observations, previous rice supply, alternative occupations, availability of land, age of swidden and swiddener, etc. A problem here that Gönner notes, is that the factors he investigates are not really rationales but “plausibilities,” as they are in large

part based not on observations of how they affect decisions of resource use in practice, but on informed assumptions about how they might do so.

The book includes a fair number of extensive appendices, including lists of collected and cultivated plants (including trees and palms), mammals, birds, reptiles, and fish. Most of these lists feature both vernacular and scientific terms, a feature making them very valuable for other Benuaq and related Luangan group scholars such as myself. A Benuaq word list (Swadesh), a glossary, and an index are also provided, as well as 40 large-sized color photographs. In the second chapter of the book, entitled "Research Area and Ethnography," an overview of Benuaq social organization, land tenure, and religion (Kaharingan beliefs and rituals) is provided.

A further aspect of Gönner's research was its practical significance. An important research activity of Gönner consisted of the mapping of all local swiddens using GPS technology combined with community "cognitive mapping" of all rattan, rubber, and mixed forest (*simpukng*) gardens in the area. As Gönner observes, community mapping of this kind is now conducted by local NGOs all over East Kalimantan in order to document and protect the land use of indigenous communities and individuals. A central event during Gönner's fieldwork was a prolonged conflict between the community and a neighboring, illegally operating oil palm company. The community's land rights were thus under direct threat.

The heart of *A Forest Tribe of Borneo* consists of Gönner's description of resource use. Here the reader is presented with detailed accounts of swidden cultivation, and the management of rattan, rubber and mixed forest gardens (old swiddens with a high rate of cultivated or tended fruit trees and so-called honey trees which attract colonies of wild bees). Particular attention is given to the cultivation and trade in rattan (particularly *Calamus caesius* but also *Daemonorops crinita*) which is of central importance in the local economy.

The book is richly illustrated by tables, diagrams, and maps. The economic activities of the inhabitants are well-described, especially in quantitative terms. Basically, everything that can be quantified has been quantified. Indeed, it is questionable whether all examples of quantification are really meaningful and contribute to a deeper understanding of the processes described. But for the reader looking for detailed descriptions of various specific types of resource use based on strict systematic observations or tests, Gönner's book has a lot to offer. Indeed, it seems to me, the greatest value of the book lies in its details and in the rich empirical material, rather than in its more general conclusions. (Kenneth Sillander, Swedish School of Social Science, University of Helsinki, Finland)

***Oxford Dictionary of National Biography: From the Earliest Times to the Year 2000.* Oxford: Oxford University Press in association with the British Academy. Edited by H. C. G. Matthew (1992-1999) and Brian Harrison (2000-2004). Sixty volumes. 61,792pp. £7,500.00/US\$13,000.00 per set. ISBN 0-19-861413-6.**

A review with special reference to Borneo

The *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (hereafter *ODNB*), published in the United Kingdom on *Hari Guru* (23 September) 2004, prompts the kind of "gee-whizzery"

denounced by Lord Chalfont in connection with reports about the Istana Nurul Iman in Bandar Seri Begawan. Whereas the “biggest palace in the world” has 1,800 rooms (give or take a few), 51,490 light bulbs, forty-four staircases, and much else besides, so the “greatest book ever” comprises sixty-two million words, fifty thousand entries, and ten thousand images. It took ten thousand contributors from home and abroad (who require an additional volume costing £60.00 just to be listed) twelve years to produce at a cost of £25 million. The first editor, H. C. G. Matthew (1992-1999) died in harness and, alas, became an entry in his own dictionary (37: 337-341); his successor, Brian Harrison (2000-2004), was knighted in the New Year 2005 honours list. Matthew (1941-1999) is best known as a biographer of Gladstone. Harrison (b. 1937) is, among other things, author of *Drink and the Victorians*, a 1971 study of the temperance movement, and *Prudent Revolutionaries* (1987); he is not to be confused with the eponymous author of *South-East Asia: A Short History* (1954).

The original *Dictionary of National Biography* (1885-1900) dates back to the late Victorian era. Supplements were published every decade or so (1901-1996) to keep the story ticking over. A *Missing Persons* volume appeared in 1993; this one gave recognition, for example, to Raja Sir Vyner Brooke, who had been omitted first time around. The new version re-starts the whole venture from scratch and includes characters from the earliest times down to the last day of the twentieth century (31 December 2000, of course, *not* 31 December 1999). Only dead people are admitted. Some articles are revised versions of existing biographies, whilst others are completely new.

The printing of the *ODNB*, which started on 8 January 2004, was done by Butler and Tanner of Frome, Somerset, a company “with an outstanding record of high-quality printing”; it was founded in 1835 by a pharmacist who required labels for his patent medicines and currently employs about 360 people (*ODNB Project Update*, Spring 2004, page 2). Besides the printed version, there is also an online edition; its search facilities are reported to boost accessibility and usefulness. Lord Briggs, an eminent British historian, describes the dictionary as “probably the biggest contribution to the history of scholarship in the humanities, certainly in my lifetime” and, since he was born in 1921, that is saying something.

The great virtue of a dictionary of this sort is that it gives quick access to all the essential data about any particular person. Conversely, entries tend to be so compressed that they would not satisfy in themselves the needs of the serious researcher. Anyone wanting to know about Tom Harrison for the first time, for example, would no doubt welcome Judith Heimann’s summary of his career here; but sooner or later they would have to read her full-length biography, *The Most Offending Soul Alive* (1997). Or, to put the matter the other way round, if the summary in the *ODNB* suffices, why bother writing the full length biography? In general, it is likely that the *ODNB* will be useful in inverse proportion to the preliminary knowledge of the reader: in other words, whereas a person new to a subject might well be fascinated by the data provided, the informed reader might go away disappointed.

Persons with Borneo links who appear in this dictionary include, amongst others, Tunku Abdul Rahman (by Professor A. J. Stockwell), the three Raja Brookes (by Professor R. H. W. Reece), Angela Burdett-Coutts (by Lady Healey), Alexander Dalrymple (by Andrew S. Cook), General A. E. Percival (by Roger T. Stearn), Sir Spenser St John (original by G. le G. Norgate, revised by H. C. G. Matthew), and Sir Richard Winstedt (by E. C. G. Barrett, himself a pre-war Assistant Resident in Brunei,

revised by an unnamed hand). We are well-served with Foreign Office and Colonial Office mandarins who figure so prominently in academic theses about Borneo, although one or two mightily important personages (in their own estimation) are *not* included.

Borneo has never been very high on British national priorities. As Dr. Brian Durrans has remarked: "For British servants of the Empire, if Malaya was a backwater, Borneo was truly *ultima Thule*; the best-connected preferred India."¹ This fact is reflected in this dictionary. If, for example, space could not have been found for Sir Hugh Low and Sir William Treacher, who were amongst the most important figures in the history of British involvement in Borneo and Malaya, what chance would there be for lesser dignitaries? Hence there is no space for the likes of, to name a few at random, C. A. Bampfylde, S. Baring-Gould, Sir George Cator, the various Everetts, E. P. Gueritz, Godfrey Hewett, Peter Leys, Sir Patrick McKerron, A. C. Pearson, E. E. F. Pretty, D. G. Stewart, Sir Roland Turnbull, and Datuk R. N. Turner. To put the question round the other way, if these people are not good enough to appear in the *ODNB*, why were some of them good enough to be knighted? Most shameful of all, there is no recognition of M. S. H. McArthur (1872-1934), founder of modern Brunei. Even the best-known, if not the greatest, of British historians of Southeast Asia, Professor D. G. E. Hall, is omitted.

There are some curious inconsistencies: hence we have an entry for Sir Frank Swettenham, but not one for Sir Alexander; we have Sir George Abell, but not Sir Anthony. Furthermore, some persons who are included in the dictionary are there for reasons other than their Bornean connections. This would apply particularly to A. R. Wallace, whose biography is by Charles H. Smith (56: 920-927). Each person's "wealth at death" is given; in Wallace's case it was £5,823 0s 6d, a figure which would need to be multiplied many times over to give its current value.

In conclusion, then, although quite a few persons with Bornean connections have been included in the *ODNB*, there ought to be a lot more. From the perspective of a Borneo specialist, the dictionary leaves something to be desired. (A.V.M. Horton, 180 Hither Green Lane, Bordesley, Worcestershire B98 9AZ, England)

Monica Janowski. *The Forest, Source of Life: The Kelabit of Sarawak*. London: British Museum Occasional Paper No 143, November 2003; hbk; 154pp; £25.00.

The Forest, Source of Life is a beautiful book that deserves a place on the coffee table where it can be appreciated for its exquisite photographs, fine line drawings, and informative text. The author states that the main aim of this book is to "contextualize and provide an exegesis for the items in two collections of artifacts" (p. 1), assembled by the author in 1986-1988 and now located in the British Museum and the Sarawak Museum. However the book accomplishes much more than providing a catalogue, offering rich documentation on an entire way of life in a remote longhouse community.

The text of this book is composed of ten short chapters that provide, in sixty pages, a concise, yet comprehensive, overview of the Kelabit people — mainly focused on the

¹ Durrans, "Introduction", in I. H. N. Evans, *Among Primitive Peoples in Borneo* (Oxford University Press; Singapore, Oxford, New York; 1990; originally published in 1922), page viii.

people of Pa' Dalih in the southern Kelabit Highlands. The opening chapter provides a general overview of the Kelabit, including a discussion of their close relationships to people from across the frontier in Indonesia and highlighting the significance of the local SIB church today. The main focus of the book, however, is the relationship between the Kelabit and the natural environment.

The text documents the details of many aspects of Kelabit life, covering objects of material culture, the social life of the longhouse, farming practices, and religion. It begins with descriptions of many of the objects and stylistic features of Kelabit culture, covering everything from clothing, hair styles, beadwork and earrings, to tools, knives and cooking pots, throughout offering details about construction, use, and ornamentation. The text also describes the layout and structure of the longhouse, the important social features that characterize Kelabit life, and details of rice farming. All of these aspects of Kelabit life are illustrated with drawings and cross-referenced with the photographs — presented in a separate section of the book. Considerable attention is also devoted throughout to the use of wild foods and materials from the forest — including plants, animals and items used in craft production — and the techniques and beliefs associated with gathering, hunting, fishing, and collecting items in the forest. There is also some discussion of religious rituals and beliefs, including contemporary practices that have emerged with conversion to Christianity, as well as former practices of headhunting and beliefs relating to bird omens.

In the most theoretically provocative part of the book, Janowski offers an analysis of the gendered dimensions of Kelabit life and discussion of local notions of status and prestige. She describes, in rather structuralist terms, how women are associated with the cultivation of rice and the hearth, whereas men are associated with the provisioning of meat, hunting, the forest, and the “wild.” In support of her argument, Janowski provides details from traditional epic tales illustrating these particular aspects of Kelabit life. She also posits that some deeply held beliefs, particularly those relating to the Kelabit conceptions of *lahud* (‘wild life force’) and *ulun* (‘proper human life’), have been incorporated into the contemporary Christian beliefs of the Kelabit (p. 56).

While the text does an excellent job of contextualizing Kelabit life, ultimately, the numerous black and white photographs, as well as line drawing by Claire Thorne, make this book well worth owning. The book also has a high quality fold-out map of the Kelabit Highlands — one of the most useful maps I have seen — showing the main settlements on both sides of the international border, the approximate areas of wet-rice cultivation, and the location of footpaths and passes. The photographic plates comprise forty-eight pages, approximately a third of the book, and cover the breadth of Kelabit culture — including examples of basketwork, woven mats, knives, fishnets, pottery, boats, tools, clothing, megaliths, and decorative items. The photographs are organized in a very informative manner that, essentially, paints a picture of life in Pa' Dalih in the late 1980s. The author and her husband took most of these photographs, and there are other photographs of historical interest included as well, mainly from the collection of the Sarawak Museum.

Finally — and probably of minimal interest to most readers — a significant portion of the book is devoted to cataloging the collections of Kelabit items that Janowski assembled for the British Museum and the Sarawak Museum — who collaborated in publishing this book. The catalogue itself, one of five appendices, offers descriptions and curatorial information on 161 items in the British Museum and 104 items in the Sarawak

Museum. The remaining appendices include a glossary of Kelabit words, an overview of techniques and raw materials used in the production of Kelabit craftwork, a summary of the botanical names of plants used by the Kelabit, and a brief list of items of possible Kelabit origin that are in other museums throughout the UK.

While the main focus of this work is to document aspects of traditional culture, as well as showing how these “artifacts reflect the relationship which the makers have with the raw materials they use as well as the use to which they are put” (p. 1), there is also commentary throughout the book on social change among the Kelabit. Janowski is careful to include discussion of the many new objects that have come into the longhouse community from town areas, such as building materials, chainsaws, rice mills, clocks and watches, cooking pots, containers and utensils, and many cheap and lightweight items made of plastic and nylon. Although such aspects of material culture are not visually documented in the book, it is unlikely that the reader will fail to note the numerous and significant changes that have impacted this seemingly remote part of Borneo.

In sum, this book introduces non-specialists to the intimate details of rural Kelabit life, as well as contextualizing and cataloguing the two museum collections. While there are a number of analytical discussions throughout the text that may be of interest and, perhaps, lead to debate among anthropologists, the book will also appeal to virtually anyone interested in the finer details of life in the forests of Borneo. (Matthew H. Amster, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Gettysburg College, Gettysburg, PA, USA)

Peter Metcalf, *They Lie, We Lie: Getting on With Anthropology*, London and New York: Routledge, 2002, 155 p.

The title of this elegantly written book about Peter Metcalf's fieldwork among the longhouse-dwelling Berawan of northern central Borneo has a double meaning. In literal terms the phrase “they lie, we lie” is a translation of a formulaic opening used by a Berawan elder to begin her narration of a sacred epic. The author regards the statement as profound and therefore offers no exact interpretation of its meaning except to say that it is definitely not intended to imply that the narrator is about to tell fairy stories that no one should take seriously as occurs, for example, with “once upon a time.” He suggests that what is essentially being conveyed is the proposition that the narrator is about to repeat what has been passed down to her from the ancestors, and that if she is lying it is because they lied — the converse presumably being that if they spoke the truth so does she.

The second meaning of the title is intended to be an ironic proposition about anthropology at the opening of the 21st century. Metcalf begins with the sly observation that since the truth of anthropological accounts has been called into question by postmodern criticism, perhaps it is better to write about lies — both the ones that informants tell anthropologists and those that are told in anthropological accounts. He promises to reveal “white lies and ones black as night, evasions, exaggerations, delusions, half truths, and credible denials,” but the reader will find outright lies either black or white in short supply. What the book is mostly about is conflicting interests, complexities and ambiguities and the difficulties of getting to the bottom of things. And while all of this may sound like a postmodern view of fieldwork and anthropological accounts, the book in actuality is written against postmodernist epistemology, as indeed a book about lies would seem to have to be, because of course you cannot have lies without also having

some contrasting notion of truth. Beyond noting that postmodernism is nihilistic (and therefore self-negating), Metcalf says that its effects have been especially pernicious in anthropology, in particular for beginning anthropologists trying to get through fieldwork and then on with the always difficult (and frequently unsuccessful) process of making something of it in terms of published ethnography. Hence, one of the main purposes of the book is revealed by the subtitle, “getting on with anthropology” and providing the knowledge that the broader intellectual and ordinary public wants and needs from it — and that it will otherwise get mainly from sensationalist hacks in the form of distorted accounts of the exotic. As for the often noted issue of whether the anthropologist has the right to represent to the world a society of which he is not a member and with which he or she will usually have a very limited firsthand relationship, Metcalf’s claim is that he was given a mandate to do so by the Berawan. During his first period of fieldwork they told him to “make the name Berawan big” — the Berawan being a small ethnic group consisting of only four villages, and very aware of being surrounded by much larger populations of Kayan, Kenyah, Malay and Iban.

This he did, at least in the anthropology of Borneo and in the literature on death rituals and secondary mortuary practices in particular. And in this book he does so again, but he also makes the name of one particular Berawan big. This is Bilo Kasi, a small but formidable and influential older aristocratic woman, whose picture appears on the cover as a younger woman, standing in front of the Union Jack that went with British colonial rule in Sarawak until the formation of Malaysia in 1963. It was Kasi who began her renditions of the death chants and epic stories with the phrase “they lie, we lie” and who served as Metcalf’s chief source of information but who also, he claims, did as much to hinder as to help him and who figures prominently in his discussions of the difficulties he had.

Part of the book is devoted to sorting out lies and truth in two particular realms — the Berawan death songs and Berawan ethnicity. But what standard of truth should be applied to what he was told or not told, and to what he has told us in his publications on the Berawan? At an early point he compares the Berawan notions of veracity with those of the Mopan Maya (and it is the latter who seem more exotic to the westerner) but maybe he should have chosen an example much closer to Borneo, that is the Javanese as described by Clifford Geertz, whose name is very big in anthropology. In one of the (to me) more memorable passages in *The Religion of Java* (1960: 246), Geertz states that in contrast to those who normally need a reason to lie, with the Javanese it seems it is more the other way around. Geertz might or might not be willing to say such a thing today, and in any case is talking about white lies, and qualifies his assertions and explains that the purpose of Javanese dissimulation is not really to manipulate or take advantage of others but to protect the self and to avoid conflict or unpleasantness if at all possible.

By this standard of needing a reason to lie, the Berawan do not appear to be any more deceitful than anyone else, and perhaps less so than some. In the matter of Kasi and the death songs, if she lied (and it seems to have been more a matter of refusals and evasions rather than lies) it was not without reason — the reason being that reciting or discussing the songs would bring new death to the longhouse, a rather impressive reason in my view. Metcalf evidently did not believe this, though I would think that even a complete skeptic would worry about being blamed if people died after he had gotten someone to recite or discuss the songs outside of their appropriate mortuary ritual context. He did his best to learn about the songs and in doing so played his own little games of deception (such as

pretending that he already knew things that he did not). As far as I can tell, he does not exactly say that he believes that Kasi herself did not really believe that reciting or talking about the death songs would bring death. He does believe that she, in particular, had other reasons for keeping them from him and discusses these in the final chapter. However, we also learn that she was hardly the only one in the longhouse to believe that the death songs were very dangerous. All in all, the Berawan seem to have had a better reason to fib about the death songs than the author did in trying to learn about them, as he would probably be happy to concede.

As for Berawan ethnicity, Metcalf presents the matter as not so much a tissue of lies black, white or grey as a sort of black hole of bottomless ambiguity and change. In brief, Berawan is an exonym (a term used by outsiders to refer to a group) rather than an endonym (a term used by the members of a group to refer to themselves). The Berawan actually refer to themselves as Melawan, except when talking to outsiders, because, he explains, *melawan* in Malay, which is the lingua franca, means 'to oppose.' Further, each of the four Berawan (or Melawan) villages is either dubiously Berawan or ethnically composite. All of the Berawan moved from somewhere else into the lower Baram area, in some instances into empty places and in some places to where other small, waning or vulnerable groups were already located. The latter were willing to accept them as a way of surviving. Ancestors and rituals as well as longhouses were combined, but eventually the smaller, more indigenous groups were absorbed by the newcomers, socially and linguistically, although with different outcomes in different places. Yet other complications to Berawan ethnicity result from the frequent tendencies for place names or toponyms to get mixed up with ethnonyms and for both to get garbled when translated into Malay. Metcalf recounts all of this with much enthusiasm and wit.

The problem with ethnicity, if there is one at all, is mainly oversimplification. But even here the Berawan themselves do not appear to have been the least bit evasive or difficult about revealing or discussing anything. He notes that they were willing to tell him as much about their complex ethnic background as they thought he was capable of understanding. For his own part, Metcalf did oversimplify Berawan ethnicity in his previous books. In these the Berawan are simply Berawan, not even Melawan, let alone partly Lelak, Tring, Pelutan and so on. But he had a reason to simplify, which was that he wanted to keep the discussion focused on the main topics and not get into a side show on ethnicity. Well, perhaps the readers of these books could have handled the full truth about Berawan ethnic complexity without becoming bewildered, but if so it is hard to find much fault here.

I am happy to be able to recommend this book to a wide range of readers, especially to ones who are willing to give an author some slack and don't mind having the truth or lies of anthropological fieldwork and analysis recounted in thirty-six-bit color rather than grayscale. Anthropologists and others interested in Borneo will appreciate the new information and the criticisms of earlier work. But the book also has much to offer those who will not care whether the setting is Borneo, New Guinea, South America, Cairo or Los Angeles. (Robert L. Winzeler, Department of Anthropology, University of Nevada, Reno, USA. This review originally appeared in *Moussons* and is reprinted here with permission.)

Bob Reece, *The White Rajahs of Sarawak, a Borneo Dynasty*. Archipelago Press: Singapore, 2004, 144 pages.

“What good is a book without pictures?” complained Alice. There are plenty of pictures in Bob Reece’s new history of the three Rajah Brookes, enough to satisfy a child of any age. Many are rare, and they are splendidly chosen and arranged, and handsomely reproduced in large format.

In an age where the visual is coming to supplant the written word altogether, we ought to turn the Alice Principle around and remember that to understand and enjoy the pictures we need a text. Reece’s words do more than justice to the graphic element and themselves are a great pleasure and instruction.

As anybody who cooks knows, the way to perfect a dish is to make it many times. Reece is a scholar who does not cultivate novelty for its own sake. Since he debuted with *The Name of Brooke* nearly twenty-five years ago, Reece has specialized in the history of the Brooke Raj and the lives of the Rajahs. Over the years, in his analytical introductions to the primary works of Keppel, Charles Brooke, and St. John, in articles and books dealing with specific segments of Sarawak history, Reece has patiently been digging up facts and fitting them into their place in the larger picture. Effectively, Reece has told the story of the Brookes many times, and at each repetition, as he has re-evaluated events and personalities, this story becomes clearer and more cohesive, until I think we can say that Reece’s view of Brooke Sarawak has now become the *communis opinio*.

The White Rajahs is intended to be a popular, not a scholarly book. No footnotes nor fulsome bibliography burden it. *Rajahs* is all the better for being popular: Reece’s prose is always elegant, clear, well-paced, his narrative entertaining. The book flows so well that one has to force oneself to scrutinize the text pedantically to understand the astonishing erudition that went into it, the density of information, and how well it is all arranged. I do not hesitate to call *The White Rajahs* the very best general introduction to Sarawak history. One high merit of Reece’s history is that he gives people eager to learn about Sarawak a place to start, and directs them to where they can find out more. The pictures give great help to the enquiring reader. Sarawak history played itself out with a large cast of characters, and if historical persons have faces as well as names, they are easier to keep straight. Also helpful is a timeline of important dates and incidents, and a full genealogy of the Brooke and Johnson families.

Sarawak’s history was voluminously being written even as the state first came into being, and it continued being added to and revised up to the end of the Raj. (Revisionism frisks now also under Malaysia.) It is hard to get a clear impression of where Sarawak was moving from these early documents; they give the impression that nearly up to the end of Rajah Charles’s reign Sarawak was struggling for mere survival. Now, sixty years after Rajah Vyner gave his country to the British, forty years after the formation of Malaysia, what is the broad view of Sarawak’s 100 years under the Brookes that Reece has done so much to bring into focus? His introduction to *Rajahs* gives the main points.

The overarching pattern to Reece’s *Rajahs* is displayed in the contrasting characters of the three Rajahs: “charismatic” James, who fulfilled a cherished fantasy and created his state, Charles the “bureaucratic builder,” and the dynasty coming to an end in Vyner the “feckless hedonist.” It is, as Reece says, a tropical *Forsythe Saga*. Reece is at his best when he essays psychological portraits of the Rajahs, the Ranees, and the many lesser actors, such as MacBryan, all of them eccentrics. Character shows up still sharply in the

small world that is Sarawak.

It is remarkable that alone of all the attempts at “freelance imperialism” in Southeast Asia, only the Brookes succeeded and indeed, thrived. Imperialists the Brookes may indeed have been; they were certainly a peculiar breed of imperialists. They and their officers did not distance themselves from the people they ruled — “the relationship between governors and governed was a highly personal one” — and while both James and Charles did not scruple to use violence and the statecraft of “divide and rule” to establish their government, on the whole they ruled through influence and with respect for the natives and their customs. While every other colonizing power in SE Asia worked to develop plantations and turn their subjects into plantation-workers, the Brookes moved in the exact opposite direction and jealously protected their people from foreign exploitation. Sarawak itself is the Brookes’ creation. Despite attempts to interpret it differently, Brooke rule emerges for the most part as beneficent. The benign influence of the Brookes still lives on in Sarawak’s racial tolerance, broad outlook, and freedom from anti-colonial cant and resentments that have caused so much deplorable havoc elsewhere. (Otto Steinmayer, P.O. Box 13, 94500 Lundu, Sarawak, Malaysia)

Vernon L. Porritt, *The Rise and Fall of Communism in Sarawak, 1940-1990*. Melbourne: Monash University Press, 2004. ISBN 876924276. 361 pp. Map, illustrations, appendices, bibliography, index.

Dr. Porritt has done a distinct service to Bornean history by expertly and clearly chronicling the Sarawak Communists’ prolonged mini-insurgency. Be advised, however, that this is a precise, academic study, not designed to be entertaining.

The author reminds the reader that he is writing about the days when the Cold War raged: impolite invective saturated the ether; the Sarawak authorities vilified their belligerent opponents, while they in turn demonized “The Imperialists.”

Leaving the author to itemize the several names and acronyms adopted by the Sarawak Communist Organization from time to time, I have chosen to link them together under one *nom-de-guerre*: O (for “Organization”), the symbol it adopted in its early years when reproaching itself for being “Unworthy of assuming the glorious title of a Communist Party without first having been steeled in armed Struggle.”

O was a secret fraternity, made up of young, spirited, passionate, visionary Sarawak Chinese who, studying Marx/Lenin/Mao with fervent intensity, achieved a high level of, albeit biased, political maturity. Indeed it can be said that O reached a pinnacle of learning too high for its own good, because the very dynamism its disciples applied to their clandestine studies left them neither the time nor the energy to search for life beyond revolutionary dogma.

O might well have chosen the White Rajahs’ motto, “Dum Spiro Spero,” as its own. Bowdlerized by the Rajahs’ savants to mean “While we sweat we hope,” the epigraph fits O perfectly. Its guerillas sweated in the jungle, where they lived in hope for some relief from their wretched situation.

The Sarawak Government was well informed about O and, for the most part, handled its intelligence wisely, with forbearance even. The main source of its information, and, indirectly, of some of Dr. Porritt’s also, sprang from O’s genius for secretly publishing, as a type of crude but effective reprographics, a profusion of handwritten material: advice to

followers, directives, samizdats, test papers, propaganda guides, and even whole books. Lenin's *What Is To Be Done?*, for example, was translated, cyclostyled, copied and circulated a page at a time; a laborious procedure which meant that a candidate member in, say, Kanowit, might have waited months before he or she received the last page. On top of all this O successfully placed slanted articles in the public press.

Had their intellectual talents extended beyond Marx/Lenin/Mao, O's controllers could well have emerged from their studies as professors of political philosophy. But for all their collective expertise they failed woefully to match the practical proficiency of other Communist insurrectionists, the Vietnamese for example. Vietnam, ablaze at the time, was the crucial laboratory for the study of "People's War" — the means by which weak, oppressed societies could overcome their oppressors. Politically aware as it was, O could do little more than conjure up visions of emulating the triumphs of the Viet Cong: it could fantasize (vide Mao) about "Swimming like fish in the sea of the masses." Whatever its scholarship and whatever its mental imagery, it still could not change the cold fact that, so long as its own masses were limited to a small segment of the Chinese population, it could only bath in a stream, not in an ocean.

Similarly, from the same Mao hymn book, O learned and then preached the strategy of "Besieging the cities from the countryside," without ever facing up to the stubborn reality that there were no cities in Sarawak, and no urban proletariat, and that the Chinese populated countryside formed only thin strips of rubber and pepper on the forest fringes.

Nevertheless, for all their failings and no matter what the (few) hawks in the Sarawak security forces and the Secretariat had to say, the Chinese boys and girls within O were *not* "bandits." In the early years at any rate they were idealists, sincerely aiming to improve the lot of the masses. Be that as it may, they were nonetheless fired by Mao's incendiary testament, "Power grows out of the barrel of a gun." The question this call to arms raised was, "Where's the gun?" to which Mao responded, "Seize it from the enemy." Which was all very well except that, before December 1962, the enemy ("The Running Dogs of Imperialism," i.e., The Sarawak Constabulary) was virtually unarmed.

The solution lay in *Konfrontasi*. This, and Dr. Porritt is at his best when writing of it, was the Indonesian catchword exemplifying President Sukarno's aim of destroying the newborn Malaysian Federation by force of arms. Sukarno's objective thus mirrored that of O. *Konfrontasi* gave O the opportunity to "Steel itself in armed struggle." Hence O's fledgling fighters crossed into West Kalimantan intent on soliciting weapons from their new, untried, Indonesian allies. Sadly for O, *Konfrontasi's* promise of action rather than words proved to be illusory. Given its Indonesian host's besetting antipathy towards its own ethnic Chinese, O's Chinese dreams of becoming the Indonesian's comrades-in-arms withered away in the nihilism of West Kalimantan.

At long last O's guerillas abandoned Indonesia, its *raison d'être* having to all intents and purposes been nullified when Jakarta, together with Beijing and Moscow, recognized the Malaysian Federation. The overseer of the retreat, no matter that it may have been disguised as an advance, was Bong Kee Chok who, way back in 1962, had opted for a passage to Beijing rather than restricted residence in Sarawak. The homeland to which O clandestinely returned hardly made its warriors welcome. Its "Fish" found even the stream to be toxic.

And so it came to pass that, just as the punctured balloon leaks air, so did the revolutionary spirit drain from O. Its guerillas shed some blood locally, and managed to sweat it out until, in 1973, Bong finally abandoned hope and negotiated an honorable way

out. The great majority of O's army laid down their arms — it had steeled itself only for the steel to become, irretrievably, corroded — though a few zealots soldiered on for a further seventeen years. It was greatly to the credit of the Malaysian authorities that an accord was reached with Bong allowing O to disengage, while exchanging expressions of mutual regard.

This book is not an easy read, but it is not intended to be. With *The Rise and Fall of Communism in Sarawak*, Dr. Porritt has adroitly filled a gap in the annals of South East Asian history. (Tim Hardy, Hove, East Sussex, England).

Otto Steinmayer. *Jalai Jako' Iban. A Basic Grammar of the Iban Language of Sarawak*, 1999. Kuching, Sarawak: Klasik Publishing House. 138pp, Appendices, Index. Illustrations by Augustine Anggat Ganjing.

Iban is lexically the best documented language in Borneo. It has an enormously rich oral literature, a good part of which has been recorded. It also has a modern literature consisting of poetry and novels. There are at least six existing Iban dictionaries as well as two dictionaries in preparation, and a summary of much anthropological and other information on Iban society has been brought together in a monumental four-volume encyclopaedia. Unfortunately, Iban is not so well provided when it comes to grammars and language manuals. Until recently, the only serious language description was Asmah Haji Omar's *The Iban Language of Sarawak: A Grammatical Description* (1975). This study probably remains the primary source on Iban grammar, but like most linguistic descriptions, it is accessible only to the most determined and persevering lay people who want to know more about the language in question. Otto Steinmayer has tried to change this situation by writing a grammatical introduction to the Iban language which is much more user friendly and targeted at a general readership. He does so by avoiding abbreviations and (wherever possible) obscure linguistic jargon. He is also quite successful in explaining how the Ibans are able to express themselves as accurately as English speakers do wherever their language differs fundamentally from English. This is important to point out because, whereas he presents us with a popularized grammar, his information is erudite and faithful to the structure of Iban, in contrast to many of the simplified grammars, course books for travelers and "Russian without moans" type course books that are on the market for various languages.

After an inventory of the sound system, Steinmayer's book basically proceeds with an overview of the parts of speech dealing with nouns, adjectives, adverbs, pronouns, verbs, negatives, (questions and) question words, prepositions, conjunctions, particles and interjections. Some other topics such as word order, clause formation, ellipsis and how to express commands are also treated in this main section. It is followed by notes on politeness and on literature, a short bibliography, and an appendix with various tables listing numerals, vocabulary related to time, vocabulary related to weights and measurements, vocabulary related to things to eat, and so on.

The grammar is very interesting, easy to read, and surprisingly complete for its 138 pages, which include cultural notes, strategies to address people and how to be polite, and tips for what topics can be discussed in a straightforward manner (without using the euphemisms that Westerners make use of) and what sort of language usage should be

avoided (such as negative overstatements). In fact, linguists can learn a lot from this “genre” of grammar, which manages to combine solid linguistic information with optimal readability.

This is not to say that there are no areas for improvement in Steinmayer’s approach. In some cases he seems to be trying to do too much, for instance, when he goes to great length trying to explain the meaning and origins of the fossilized prefix *ke-*, or elsewhere where he gives historical explanations, which are of course not strictly necessary in a short linguistic introduction. It is not entirely clear whether in the section on tense and aspect the reader should be reminded of distinctions between simple past, perfect, imperfect and pluperfect. These notions belong to English grammar and have little diagnostic value in the much simpler Iban tense-aspect system, where, if necessary at all, tense and aspect are usually expressed adverbially. While it is good to see a systematic account of the various applications of *bisi*’ (as an existential marker ‘there is’, a possessive verb ‘to have’, a copula, a modal marker or an aspect marker) there is little point in trying to explain how they are semantically related; such explanations tend to be speculative and remain vague. In a few cases, the enumeration of meanings of an element tends to obscure its overall function. For instance, Steinmayer describes the prefix *peN-* as a formant for (1) an agent, (2) the name of a thing that does something, and (3) an abstract noun. Basically, however, it seems that we have here a general nominalizing prefix (the only nominalizing prefix in Iban). Whether it forms an agent noun, an instrument noun or an abstract noun, depends on the meaning of the following root and on linguistic usage. Describing *peN-* in this way brings out more clearly its basic meaning, and it also accounts for the meaning of the many *peN-* derivations that are neither agents nor instruments or abstract nouns such as *pengerami* ‘gathering’ (from *rami* ‘crowded’), *penyengok* ‘window’ (from *jengok*, ‘to peek’) or *pengelama*, ‘period of time’ (from *lama*, ‘old, long’).

However, these are matters of descriptive strategy and are probably of minor importance to the general reader. I highly recommend this very affordable little book to anyone who is looking for some easily accessible and at the same time reliable information on the Iban language. (Alexander Adelaar, The University of Melbourne, Melbourne, Australia)

Roger Lewis, *Anthony Burgess*. London: Faber and Faber, 2002.

Anthony Burgess (1917-1993) is probably best-known for *A Clockwork Orange* (1962), subsequently made into a film directed by Stanley Kubrik (1971). An Education Officer in Malaya and Brunei between 1954 and 1959, Burgess’s prodigious writings include *Devil of a State* (a novel about Brunei published in 1961) and two memoirs, *Little Wilson and Big God* (1987) and *You’ve Had Your Time* (1990). He also gave a talk on the “Rebellion in Brunei,” broadcast by BBC radio on 14 December 1962.

Burgess was accompanied in Brunei by his first wife, Llewela (1920-1968), known as “Lynne.” Her “delinquency” culminated at an ambassadorial reception, Mr. Lewis relates (p. 231), when she managed both to throw a punch at one of the Sultan of Brunei’s cousins and to swear at the Duke of Edinburgh. Lewis surmises (p. 148) that Anthony and Lynne were lumbered with each other because nobody else would tolerate either of them; which, if true, would rather beg the question as to how Burgess was able to re-marry

within a few months of his first wife's demise.

John Anthony Burgess Wilson, to give him his proper name, was a man of many and enviable talents. A prolific novelist, he was also a literary critic, autobiographer, essayist, and reviewer; a broadcaster and lecturer; a composer and lyricist; not to mention a sometime sergeant-major and school-teacher. Born at Manchester on 25 February 1917, he hardly knew his mother and sister, who both died in November 1918, whilst his father followed in April 1937. After a secondary education at Xaverian College in his home city, he proceeded to the University of Manchester, taking a Bachelor of Arts degree (Hii) in English Language and Literature (1940); honorary doctorates followed from Manchester in 1982, Birmingham in 1986, and St. Andrews in 1991. His literary talents were recognized in his Fellowship of the Royal Society of Literature (FRSL); and he was entered in *Who's Who* as early as 1964. Twice married, he died on 22 November 1993, to be survived by his widow, Liliana, Contessa Pasi Piani della Pergola.

In an attempt at a debunking biography, Roger Lewis portrays Dr. Burgess as a Bulwer Lytton-type figure, i.e., revered as a leading man of letters in his own day, but likely to be largely forgotten by posterity (p. 115n). Mr. Lewis knew the elderly Burgess personally and offers a smirking acknowledgement to him (p. 417). Originally a great admirer of the Lancastrian, Mr. Lewis now judges him to have been a charlatan (so how do we know that in due course Mr. Lewis will not decide that he was right first time round after all?). He does not appear to have received any assistance from the widow, nor (so far as one can tell) to have had access to Burgess's personal papers. The bibliography includes only one secondary work on Brunei (by James Bartholomew) and nothing at all with "Malaya" or "Malaysia" in the title. Hence we learn, for example, that Malaya was an "unhandy federation of British colonies" (*sic*); and that the FMS came into being in "1876" (*sic*) (p. 202). Mr. Lewis wonders "how tenable" Dr. Burgess's characterization of Malays might have been (p. 111); it might be advanced that, had Mr. Lewis known or read more about Malaya himself, he might have been in a position to offer an answer of his own. Burgess's success "came from impressing people who didn't quite know better" (p. 29). This remark might have a wider application than Mr. Lewis appears to suppose; and it is unlikely that his venomous book will provide the last word on the subject.

Born on 26 February 1962, Roger Lewis was formerly a Fellow of Wolfson College, Oxford. He has written "numerous acclaimed biographies" and is "a prolific literary journalist" (blurb); on the latter point, the same might have been said about Dr. Burgess. (A. V. M. Horton)

Ada Pryer, *A Decade in Borneo*. Susan Morgan, editor. The Literature of Travel, Exploration and Empire Series. London and New York: Leicester University Press, 2001. ISBN 0-7185-0197-7, pp. viii + 183.

A Decade in Borneo was first published in an East Asian edition in 1893, and in London in 1894. It is clear from her letters to friends that Ada Pryer was far from pleased with the first edition and even before the London printing appeared had started to work on an enlarged second edition. Although this second edition never materialized, her corrections and additions did survive and the latter were published separately, with parts

of her diaries, in 1989.¹ The present volume is a reprint of the London first edition, and while certainly welcomed, does not contain these later additions, regrettably so, as they add much of interest, including a substantial chapter on the “Dusuns or Ida’ans” and a good deal more on William Pryer’s first five years in Sabah, before his marriage to Ada. Once again, Ada Pryer, it seems, has been ill-served by her publishers.

Remembered today as the founder of modern Sandakan, William Pryer was a significant figure in the colonial history of Sabah. He accompanied Baron Overbeck when the latter negotiated leases to what is now Sabah from the sultans of Sulu and Brunei and was immediately afterwards put ashore in Sandakan Bay, on 11 February 1878, at the site of what was then a small gun-running settlement known as Kampung German, named for the nationality of at least some of its transient traders. Given the title of “Resident of the East Coast,” he was provided with an “administrative staff” of two Eurasian assistants and a West Indian servant. That he survived his first years in Borneo at all is something of a miracle.

Unfortunately, the editor of this reprint, an American Professor of English, has little apparent knowledge of Sabah or its history. Even the cover illustration, a painting of riverside vegetation in Sarawak, has nothing in particular to do with Sabah, nor do most of the other illustrations in the book. Seemingly, any scene of colonial Borneo would have sufficed. In the same vein, the editor begins her introduction with a chronologically mismatched comparison of William Pryer and James Brooke. As she sees it, in the “mythologized public rhetoric” that she asserts drove British popular acceptance of imperialistic policy, William Pryer supplied “an appealing alternative of colonial enterprise to the aggressive adventure image” offered by James Brooke, particularly when presented, as here, in the form of a “feminized narrative.” That Ada Pryer’s slender volume should figure in grand rhetorical projects to promote imperialism and undermine the “mythic” appeal of the first “White Rajah” seems hardly credible given the book’s late publication date and its modest nature. Worse still, this view distracts from what are the volume’s genuine virtues. By the time William Pryer arrived in Sabah, James Brooke’s long reign was already over. His nephew Charles had been Rajah of Sarawak for a full ten years, and, by the time *A Decade in Borneo* appeared, fifteen years later, Charles was deeply engaged in the prosaic task of creating a recognizable administrative system that, whatever its limitations, would prove far more effective than anything that the British North Borneo Chartered Company would ever succeed in establishing in Sabah. Indeed, it is not clear that the editor herself is entirely aware of the difference between James and Charles Brooke. Thus, rather off-handedly, she writes, “James himself never married, though he appears to have had sexual relationships with Malay and tribal women” (p. 5). While the former may be true of James, the latter applies certainly, not to James, but to Charles.

The editor, in this connection, makes gender the principle lens through which she assesses the significance of *A Decade in Borneo*. Without doubt, considerations of gender have added a wealth of insight to historical studies, including, notably, those of recent Southeast Asian colonial history. Here, however, the editor’s treatment of the subject resembles caricature more than analysis. Thus, she tells us that, as a “feminine narrator,”

¹ In Nicholas Tarling, ed., *Mrs Pryer in Sabah*, University of Auckland, Centre for Asian Studies, Resource Paper, No. 1.

Ada Pryer “radically modifie[d] the masculinized iconography familiar to her imperial readers” (p. 20). Dominating this iconography was the first White Rajah of Sarawak, James Brooke, who, she tells us, achieved “mythic significance in Victorian imperial discourse” as a romantic and “aggressively masculine hero,” an archetypal fantasy of an isolated white man ruling over savages. This fantasy, she continues, was “at its best in boy’s adventure stories” (p. 19). In these tales, meant to “fulfill the dreams of English schoolboys,” Sarawak was “masculinized.” “[T]here was no place for women,” but, instead, the hero’s masculinity was “demonstrated by dashing through the jungle with weapons and waging battles.” Inconveniently for this line of argument, the first author to express in print an idea of James Brooke as a “romantic model” for English school children was, in fact, another “feminine narrator,” Harriette McDougall, whose book, *Letter from Sarawak, Addressed to a Child*, was, in many ways, the Sarawak precursor of Ada’s own book. Moreover, McDougall’s James Brooke bore little resemblance to the much later adventure-story heroes described by the editor. Nor, for that matter, did James Brooke, in life, much resemble the editor’s portrayal of him. In this connection, she seems totally unaware of the controversy that surrounds the question of James Brooke’s sexuality. Despite a veritable publishing industry devoted to dissecting his character, James Brooke remains in many ways an enigmatic figure. Whatever the ambiguities, however, it is clear, as John Walker has noted, that James’s most intense emotional ties were with young men, officers in his service, midshipmen, and, in the final years of his life, English colliery lads.² His masculinity, in short, was far more complex than anything the editor imagines.

The editor, nonetheless, argues that in *A Decade in Borneo*, by contrast, William Pryer is “portrayed,” by his wife, “as an amicable arranger...more feminine than masculine.” His Malay allies are full of “feminized sensitivity and charm,” and his colonizing project aimed at nothing less than banishing a violent “masculine past” and replacing it with “a new feminized present” (p. 20). That William skillfully managed to gain the grudging support of contending local leaders, many of them at serious odds with one another, hardly diminishes his masculinity. In any event, he had little choice given the scant support provided by the Company. Moreover, one can only imagine how scandalized Ada would have been by the suggestion that her husband was anything but a paragon of Victorian manliness. Ada plainly adored William, and one of the great charms of her memoir is the loving portrait she presents of her husband and her own keen championing of his projects.

Finally, the editor makes much of the different *raison d’être* advanced by the British North Borneo Chartered Company and the Brookes to justify their respective rule. Whereas the Brookes claimed for themselves the role of protecting native interests against European capital, and also, of course, against possible challenge to their rule from European investors and planters, the Company advocated open access by foreign capital to local markets, resources and labor, a position very much like that advanced today by proponents of “globalization.” Like the latter, promised benefits proved largely illusory, and neither regime was particularly successful in financial terms. But, in Sarawak at least some heed was paid to indigenous sentiments. In Sabah, this was not so, and the

² J. H. Walker, “‘This peculiar acuteness of feeling’: James Brooke and the Enactment of Desire.” *Borneo Research Bulletin*, 29, 1998, pp. 148-189.

Company's insensitivity soon opened a rift between William and the Company directors.

William Pryer, it should be noted, was not the first Englishman on the scene in Sabah. By the end of the 1870s, Britain already had had a long, if dissolute, history of engagement in northern Borneo. Starting with the Balambangan debacle in 1773, there followed a century of gun-running and private contraband trade. William Crocker, the Governor of North Borneo in Pryer's time, had himself been actively involved in this trade, most of it with the nearby Sulu Sultanate. Aside from cloth, the principal items traded were opium, guns and munitions. The latter fed directly into what was then, and had been for over a century, a flourishing regional commerce in slaves, coastal raiding and piracy. Private British traders were deeply implicated and played no small part in the corresponding rise of the Sulu Sultanate to a position of regional dominance. However, on the delicate issue of piracy, from at least Raffles' time onward, the principal British argument had been that it was not "free trade," but rather restrictions on trade imposed by Britain's European rivals that had caused the power of indigenous states to decline, and hence allowed for the rise of piracy.

Ada Pryer opens *A Decade in Borneo* with a fanciful version of this argument applied to nineteenth century Sabah. Thus, she writes, a bountiful era preceded the first appearance of Europeans. The countryside was tranquil and well-populated, and agriculture and trade flourished under a strong, but "passable order" imposed by native sultans and rajas. All of this abruptly changed with the coming of Europeans — not British, of course — but Portuguese, Spanish and Dutch. Due to European meddling in neighboring waters, local authority gave way to misrule and chaos. "All the powers of evil seemed let loose to do their worst" (p. 38), and while pirates swept the Borneo coast, inland, "Dayaks, now unrestrained, indulged their passion for head-hunting" (p. 39). Nothing remained but for the Company to arrive, subdue the pirates and re-impose harmony and order. Here is clearly a case of mythologizing. It is not one, however, of which the editor takes much notice, due no doubt to the fact that her principal sources are Anglo-centric historians, who, in one way or another, largely embrace this argument, although in more sophisticated forms.

William Pryer was virtually alone among Company officers to have lived in the Philippines before coming to Sabah. This seems to have served him well, and in his own sparse writings, he showed genuine insight into the complex, factious politics characteristic of the polyglot population he encountered on the East Coast of Sabah. He also displayed rare sympathy for Tausug, Bugis, Malay, Arab and Bajau leaders, counting the latter, in particular, among his earliest allies. While advocating "modern commerce," it was, in fact, old-fashioned indigenous trade that paid the bills, and *A Decade in Borneo* is a useful source of information on the latter, including rattan and birds' nest collection. Ada describes nest collecting at Segalung and Madai Caves and writes of journeys upriver to visit trading stations in the company of William, including a trip up the Kinabatangan River. Here, there is little "femininity" on display, but rather incessant shooting of wild game — deer, boars and even rhinoceroses. There are also the familiar stereotypes of the times, of "slothful" natives (p. 98), for example, but, by and large, Ada, like William, is a sympathetic observer.

The editor is correct in stressing the Pryers' enthusiasm for what they saw as the commercial prospects of Sabah. Quite clearly, the aim of Ada's little book was to make North Borneo better known to a metropolitan public and to attract investors. What the editor misses is the undercurrent of criticism Ada directs in the book towards the

Company government for its short-sightedness and inability to respond to local events short of rebellions. Troubles were already afoot in Sabah and growing local bitterness could not have escaped the Pryers' notice. By this time, William's own career had been sidetracked and well before Ada's book was completed, he had resigned from the Company's service. It is important in reading *A Decade in Borneo* to bear in mind that the largest and most damaging rebellion, the "Mat Salleh Uprising," as it came to be known, was on the verge of breaking out when Ada Pryer's book first appeared.

By the time *A Decade in Borneo* was published, William Pryer was no longer a Company officer, but was managing, as Ada relates, several commercial plantations in the vicinity of Sandakan. Undercapitalized, these soon failed and, in declining health, William, accompanied by Ada, left Sabah in October 1898, less than five years after the publication of *A Decade in Borneo*. Neither would ever see Borneo again. William died and was buried at sea near Port Said, while Ada continued on to England. Here, as a widow, she lived out the final years of her life near her parents' home at Newport. Later, the Company rule that William Pryer had helped to establish would come to an end with the Japanese Occupation of Sabah, and the Pryers' beloved Sandakan would achieve tragic notoriety, and be remembered thereafter as the site of perhaps the most infamous of all Japanese POW camps. The plantation agriculture they had championed would come into its own with a vengeance in post-colonial Sabah, with social and environmental consequences they would, in their innocence, never have imagined. (Clifford Sather, University of Helsinki. This review was originally published in the *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, Vol. 35, No. 3. (2004) and is reprinted here with permission of the editor.)

ABSTRACTS

Appleton, Ann, 2004, Acts of Integration, Expressions of Faith: Madness, Death and Ritual in Melanau Ontology, Ph.D. thesis in Social Anthropology, Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand.

Longitudinal medical research studies undertaken on an international scale by the World Health Organisation continue to confirm a better prognosis for mental illness in traditional societies than in more technologically developed societies. While various associations have been drawn or hypothesized between specific cultural factors and a more favorable outcome, attention has also frequently been drawn to the methodological, analytic and diagnostic inadequacies of these studies.

The work for this thesis was undertaken with these criticisms in mind and also in part as a counter to the perceived inadequacies of a solely bio-medical approach to psychopathology. The specific purpose of the research was to assess the role that culture plays in the construction and experience of both psychological well-being and psychopathology in a "traditional" society in Sarawak, Malaysia. There was an equal concern to ascertain and examine the ways in which explanations and understandings about identity, illness and wellness differ from current western models and approaches, and how they are realized and lived out in the experience of individuals.

The ethnographic data were collected during intensive participant-observation conducted over two years in the Mukah District of Sarawak, Malaysia, a region which has

a long association with the Melanau ethnic group.

Drawing on the ethnographic evidence, this thesis argues that psychopathological experiences (as psychological phenomena) embody characteristics that make it possible to identify them as culturally constructed artifacts. A theory is advanced which locates the source of psychopathology within the context of human being-in-the-world and which suggests that features of the mental illness experience such as chronicity and stigma are historically and culturally constructed within the illness concept itself.

The argument draws on the theory and insights of existentialism, phenomenology, Turner's ritual theory, and Jung's concept of the shadow, extended to include a concept of the cultural shadow. It concludes that a failure to take account of the cultural dimensions of mental illness may also result in a failure to perceive not only the source of our psychopathologies but also a solution (author).

Clarke, M. A., 2003, Soil Erosion and Slope in Primary and Selectivity Logged Rain Forest in Danum Valley, Malaysia. Ph.D. thesis (Forestry). University of Wales at Swansea.

Slopewash, a combination of rainsplash and overland flow erosion, is one of the principal soil erosion processes in rainforest areas. Conventional theory suggests that slopewash in rain-forest environments should increase systematically with increasing slope angle. If soil and ground cover variables themselves change with slope angle, however, relationships between erosion and slope angle may be more complex. When rain forest is logged, whether and for how long rills and gullies initiated on heavily distributed and compacted terrain components continue to enlarge is critical. This thesis examines these issues on slopes of 0-40° in primary and selectively logged (in 1988-1989) rain forest at Danum Valley, Sabah (Malaysian Borneo). Measurements were made of: (a) actual erosions, deposition and changes in surface roughness at over 100 pre-existing and new sites over periods of 1-9 years using the erosion bridge (microprofiler) technique; (b) infiltration capacity, overland flow, splash detachment and overland flow erosion at small (30 x 30 cm.) plots at key sites using a rainfall simulation program; (c) ground cover and soil properties; and (d) overland flow occurrence at free-standing slope sites under natural rainfall conditions. Overland flow on primary forest slopes was found to be more widespread and frequent than previously thought. Tentative relationships between overland flow, erosion and slope angle, to higher angles than previous studies and theory have proposed, are presented. The dominance of extreme rainstorms in the temporal pattern of both primary forest and post-logging erosion is demonstrated. Eight to twelve years after logging, landslides along logging roads in higher slope areas and roads (particularly when unsurfaced) are the main sediment sources to the stream network. Erosion rates at skid trails and logged slopes, however, are now close to those in primary forest. Results highlight the importance of organic carbon within the soil to maintain structure and aggregate stability, and, therefore, to increase soil resistance to erosion (Winzler database online (www2.library.unr.edu)).

Connolly, Jennifer, 2004, *Becoming Christian and Dayak: A Study of Christian Conversion among Dayaks in East Kalimantan, Indonesia*. Ph.D. thesis (Cultural Anthropology). New School University.

This dissertation explores the social impact and cultural meaning of Christian conversion among Dayaks, the indigenous people of East Kalimantan, Indonesia. The findings are based on eighteen months of fieldwork in Samarinda, East Kalimantan, as well as archival research conducted at the Christian Missionary Alliance's National Archives in Colorado Springs, Colorado. A variety of methods were used to collect data, including surveys, participant observation, interviews, the collection of life histories and conversion narratives, and documentary research.

The research revealed that conversion is a complex process motivated not only by social and political expediency, but also by the desire to gain access to a new supernatural realm; by some groups' cultural receptivity to Christian messages; and by personal ties and circumstances. As Dayaks have converted, they have learned new religious practices and discourses which have gradually re-shaped their consciousness and religious identity.

This new Christian identity, as well as East Kalimantan's changing social terrain, have aided in the formation of a pan-Dayak ethnic identity. Given the Indonesian state's requirement that citizens belong to one of five state-sanctioned religions, conversion also helps Dayaks claim a place in the nation. In addition, Christian conversion has emerged as a way for the politically and economically marginal Dayaks to maintain their ethnic boundaries and re-negotiate their social status vis-à-vis Malay Muslims. In particular, Dayaks argue that, as adherents to a religion of love and truth, they are morally superior to Muslims. However, by contributing to the maintenance of an oppositional ethnic and religious identity, Christianity perpetuates Dayak subordination.

Furthermore, Christian conversion strengthens the boundaries between Muslims and Dayaks. Dayaks particularly fear intermarriage between Muslim men and Christian women which they believe threatens the integrity of the Christian community. Muslim-Christian relations become a gendered hierarchy in which Muslims are potent male predators and Dayaks are their docile female prey (Winzeler database online).

Delgado, Roberto Antonio, Jr., 2003, *The Function of Adult Male Long Calls in Wild Orangutans (*Pongo pygmaeus*) (Indonesia)*. Ph.D. thesis (Primatology), Duke University.

This study investigated the signal content and function of adult male long calls in wild orangutans (*Pongo pygmaeus*). In addition to using existing long term comparative data, orangutans were studied for a combined 18 months at several field sites throughout Indonesia. Over 3,000 hours of observational data were collected from the two primary study populations at the Ketambe Research Station in northern Sumatra and the Cabang Panti Research Station in West Kalimantan. In all, the study populations comprised 31 habituated animals. Long calls produced by males were recorded in the field and later analyzed for their degree of variance in selected acoustic features using a digital signal-processing program designed for the study of animal vocalizations. Field playback experiments were conducted with adult subjects to test hypotheses regarding the possible signal content and function of adult male long calls. Immediate and delayed responses

including ranging data were examined in relation to the listener's familiarity with the signaler, the speed and duration of the call, and, for females, their inferred reproductive status based on relative infant size and the behavior of associated males.

Acoustic analyses of adult male orangutan long calls revealed sufficient variation in signal properties to allow for individual discrimination. Differential behavioral responses to the playbacks of long calls indicated that experimental subjects distinguished between classes of familiar and unfamiliar flanged males. Moreover, it appears that long calls can act as a coordinating signal between dispersed parties. Signaling males effectively indicate their direction of subsequent travel and females in the vicinity may seek, if necessary, vocalizing males for reproductive benefits including preferred mating access or protection against sexual coercion such as harassment.

Orangutan long calls are a good means of distinguishing among individual males. While structural acoustic features may not necessarily reveal the inherent quality of a signaling male, the speed and duration of long calls could still reflect a vocalizer's current condition or motivational state. The functions of adult male long calls in wild orangutans are largely receiver-dependent and the adaptive value of these long distance vocalizations is probably maintained by sexual selection (Winzeler database online).

Gausset, Quentin, 2004, Chronicle of a Foreseeable Tragedy: Birds' Nests Management in the Niah Caves (Sarawak), *Human Ecology*, Vol. 32, (4): 487-507.

The number of birds' nests harvested in the Niah caves today is only a fraction of what it used to be. This article focuses on the socioeconomic causes of the decline. It argues that the present situation is not directly linked to the tragedy of the commons, since the ownership of cave and nests is private. The tragic aspect is, rather, linked to an attitude of free riding which was threatening the private system of ownership in the 1980s, and which forced Penan owners to lease their caves to the former "free riders" (thereby diluting management responsibility), and to harvest nests as soon as possible (before the birds can lay eggs and reproduce). It is therefore the tragedy of a management system whose rules, intended to avoid open access and free riding, lead to unsustainable behavior. Since the birds cannot be privatized, it is also the tragedy of a system in which actors are unable to reach a consensus on how to manage sustainably a de facto common property resource (author).

Lumban-Tobing, Pago Leonardo, 2004, The Effects of Land Use Changes on Forest Fires in Major Islands of Indonesia. Ph.D. thesis (Forest Ecology). Corvallis: Oregon State University.

The study examines the effect of forest clearance on fire occurrences on major islands of Indonesia, namely: Borneo, Sumatra, Sulawesi, and Irian Jaya. The working hypothesis of the study is that forest clearing is a necessary predecessor for extensive fires to occur. The study is designed to test the idea that an increase in fire frequency occurs only after the site has experienced a forest degradation process. Testing the hypothesis requires mapping fire occurrences and forest cover degradation. The analysis relies on remotely-sensed data using the NOAA (National Oceanic Atmospheric Administration) AVHRR (Advanced Very High

Resolution Radiometer). The AVHRR thermal channels provide a means to detect the occurrences of hot objects over remote areas. The visible and infra-red channels can be utilized to quantify vegetation coverage. The first part of the study maps the occurrences of active fires over the study area during a 20-year period. Monitoring over a long period of time reveals spatial and temporal patterns of active fires. The second part of the study maps changes in land cover types. The third part of the study correlates the spatial and temporal patterns of fires with the pattern of forest cover changes.

Correlating land use changes with wildland fires shows that extensive wildland fires occur mostly within degraded forest cover types. Fires also vary among islands and by latitude. Sumatra has the largest fire events and fire occurs less frequently further away from the equator.

Further study to test the results on the ground is necessary. The study also shows the difficulties in utilizing remote sensing data for monitoring long-term land cover changes. In addition, the AVHRR PathFinder data are more sensitive towards large, extensive fires (Winzeler database online).

Wadley, Reed L., and Carol J. Pierce Colfer, 2004, Sacred Forest, Hunting, and Conservation in West Kalimantan, Indonesia. *Human Ecology* 32 (3): 313-338.

In a number of places, sacred forest sites play an important role in conservation and local livelihoods. Here we examine how Iban hunters and animals alike use sacred forest in West Kalimantan, Indonesia. To determine the relative importance of different sites in hunting, we compare hunting effort, animal species and their numbers encountered by hunters, and encounters and captures in a variety of forest sites including sacred groves. We relate the results to the role of such sites in the overall Iban agroforestry system and in the conservation of forest habitat that professional conservationists deem precious. Such land use practices, while having social and religious origins, may be important for local economic purposes, but they may also be valuable in promoting and enhancing the more global goals of biodiversity conservation (author).

Wadley, Reed L., 2004, Punitive Expeditions and Divine Revenge: Oral and Colonial Histories of Rebellion and Pacification in Western Borneo, 1886-1902. *Ethnohistory* 51 (3): 609-636.

Different accounts are presented of two events in the efforts of Dutch and British colonial authorities to pacify the Iban within their respective territories on the island of Borneo; namely, the Dutch and British reports of the punitive expeditions in 1886 and 1902 against rebellious Iban headhunters, and oral historical narratives of the Iban today. In addition to providing historical and cultural background to Iban resistance to pacification, the Iban conception of the past and fragmentation of related narratives is spelled out. The weight that the oral accounts place on these two events is discussed in that light, with the Iban viewing their colonial experience as the struggle of spiritual forces allied with both the Iban and the European (author).

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quality research and technically sound presentations (*BBO* Tu.19.10.2004:h22.htm).

Zelzy Shahar Al-Johary, Awang

2004 *Kaedah Pengajaran Dan Pembelajaran Sejarah* [Methods in Teaching and Studying History]; 114pp; available from the Literature and Social Science Department, Sultan Hassanal Bolkiah Institute of Education, University Brunei Darussalam.. The author is currently a doctoral student at the Institute of Education, University of London (*Government of Brunei Darussalam Official Website*, online news, Thursday 15 January 2004).

ENDNOTES

In February 2004 the *Pusat Dakwah Islamiah* in Bandar Seri Begawan published a collection of sermons by Yang Dimuliakan Pehin Siraja Khatib Dato Paduka Seri Setia Ustaz Haji Awang Yahya. The homilies were delivered on *Hari Raya Aidil Fitri* between 1405 and 1424 Hijrah. The title of the book is not given (*Government of Brunei Darussalam Official Website*, online news, Saturday 21 February 2004).

In late February 2004, coinciding with the Brunei Book Fair 2004, Pehin Dato Seri Paduka Doctor Haji Awang Hussein (Minister of Culture, Youth, and Sports, NBD) launched ten books by local writers, including Pehin Badaruddin, published by the *Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka* in Bandar Seri Begawan. The titles of the books are not recorded (*Government of Brunei Darussalam Official Website*, Thursday 26 February 2004).

A bibliography entitled *K@Borneo*, a collaborative project between Indonesia, Malaysia and NBD, was initiated on Friday 27 February 2004 at Kuching. According to the *Borneo Bulletin* online (Monday 1 March 2004:h9:htm) the bibliography “contains valuable information on the rich resources of Borneo and is the first of its kind in this region.”

On 5 April 2004 by Dr. Haji Ismail bin Haji Duraman, Vice-Chancellor, launched two new titles of the UBD Library, namely *Bibliography on Social Issues in Brunei Darussalam* by Dayang Merhane and *Index to UBD Periodicals* by Awang Mohammad (*Borneo Bulletin* online, Tuesday 6 April 2004:h5.htm).

Under an MOU between Memorable Impressions Sdn Bhd and the Brunei Museums Department signed on Monday 19 April 2004 thousands of photographs in the National Archives are to be restored and digitalized (*Borneo Bulletin* online, Tuesday 20 April 2004:h10.htm).

On Wednesday 14 July 2004 a “Malay Islamic Monarchy resource book” entitled *Brunei Heritage* was published by the Curriculum Development Department, Ministry of Education, NBD. The name of the author is not provided (*Borneo Bulletin* online, Thursday 15 July 2004:h8htm).

On Thursday 2 September 2004 the NBD Museums Department launched a book entitled, *Adat Perkahwinan Etnik-Etnik di Negara Brunei Darussalam* [Wedding Customs of Brunei Darussalam’s Ethnic Groups]. The book is on sale at the Malay Technology Museum for

NBD\$7.00 (*Borneo Bulletin* online, Friday 3 September 2004:h7.htm). Once again, the name of the author is not given.

On Tuesday 7 September 2004 the *Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka* signed contracts with twenty-three local Malay writers for the publication of their work with the aim of promoting Malay language, literature, and culture (*Borneo Bulletin* online, Wednesday 8 September 2004:h8.htm).

The authors and their forthcoming books are as follows: Dr. Ampuan Haji Ibrahim bin Ampuan Haji Tengah (*Syair Rajang*); Dayang Hajjah Sariani binti Haji Ishak (*Puncak Pertama: Suatu Persoalan Bangsa Brunei*); Awang Haji Mahadi bin Haji Matarsad (*Dari Bintang Ke Bintang*); Awang Haji Tapir bin Lambong (*Simfoni Batang Buruk*); Awang Masri bin Osman (*Telah Lama Aku Di Sini*); Awang Haji Ahmad bin Arshad (*Atu? Ah! Sagainya; Biar Tia*); Awang Haji Magon bin Haji Ghafar (*Sawah Warisan*); Awang Haji Mohsin bin Abu Bakar (*Taris Merah Membelah Kabus*); Pengiran Haji Tajuddin bin Pengiran Haji Bustaman (*Bilan Tanpa Madu*); Awang Haji Saidi bin Haji Ahmad (*Fajar Kian Hampir*); Awang Haji Sulaiman Bin Haji Duraman (*Sultan Hashim Jalilul Alam Aqamaddin*); Dayang Noraslinawati Binti Haji Magon (*Kura Kura Sakti*); Awang Abdula Gani bin Haji Daud (*Bergotong Royong*); Awang Azlan Bin Haji Adam (*Anak Arnab Yang Degil*); Awang Haji Abu Bakar bin Haji Madin (*Irwan Budak Sabar*); Dayang Radiani binti Haji Gani (*Nasib Dua Beradik*); Dayang Raidah binti Juni (*Sang Arnab Dan Sang Monyet*); Dayang Masni binti Mohd Noor (*Semut Merah Yang Angkuh*); Awang Suhaimi bin Haji Ladis (*Zaiton Dan Perempuan Tua*); Awang Rostini binti Haji Suhaili (*Dukun Kecil*); Awang Abdul Ajihis bin Haji Terawih (*Wira Pulau ASYURA*); Awang Zulkifli bin Haji Tabib (*Kuching Berjasa*) and Dayang Noor Aida binti Mohd Hassan (*Penggembaraan Tiga Budak Hitam*).

On Thursday 21 October 2004 *Jambatan Ke Akhirat* [Bridge to the Next World] written by Pehin Dato Paduka Seri Setia Ustaz Haji Awang Abdul Aziz, NBD State Mufti, was launched at the State Mufti building in Bandar Seri Begawan. Name of publisher not given. Price NBD\$6.00. "The book looks at death from various angles — the meaning of death, remembering death, rights of the dead, and the relationship between the living and the dead" (*Borneo Bulletin* online, Friday 22 October 2004:h15.htm).

On Saturday 11 December 2004 the *Borneo Bulletin* (h5.htm) that "Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia and Brunei are participating in the production of a book showing Islam's progressive side and changing misconceptions about the faith, organisers said on Friday. The Islamic Religious Council of Singapore, which is spearheading the project, expects the publication to be completed in two years and published in English, Malay and Arabic."

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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