

INFORMATION FOR AUTHORS

Research Notes: These should be concerned with a summary of research on a particular subject or geographical area; the results of recent research; a review of the literature; analyses of the state of research; and so forth. Research Notes differ from other contributions in that the material covered should be based on original research or the use of judgment, experience and personal knowledge on the part of the author in the preparation of the material so that an original conclusion is reached.

Brief Communications: These differ from the foregoing in that no original conclusions are drawn nor any data included based on original research. They also differ in consisting primarily of a statement of research intentions or a summary of news, either derived from private sources or summarized from items appearing in other places that may not be readily accessible to the readers of the Bulletin but which have an interest and relevance for them. They will be included with the contributor's name in parentheses following the item to indicate the source. Summaries of news longer than one or two paragraphs will appear with the contributor's name under the title and prefaced by "From".

Bibliographic Section: A Bibliography of recent publications will appear in each issue of the Bulletin, and, consequently, reprints or other notices of recent publications would be gratefully received by the Editor.

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

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

STYLE FOR CONTRIBUTIONS

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

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

BORNEO RESEARCH BULLETIN

Vol. 13, No. 2

September 1981

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NOTES FROM THE EDITOR

"Feast and famine" well describes the Editor's situation. Submission of reports on recent fieldwork has provided rich fare for readers of the Bulletin. These reports are encouraging, they clearly justify and enhance the Bulletin, and we continue to urge readers to submit information for the appropriate sections.

We have not fared as well, however, in financial support. Contributions have remained stable, but we have not been able to keep pace with rising costs of printing and postage. Moreover, we now are mailing almost 600 copies of each issue, but only 156 individuals and institutions paid subscription fees and made contributions during the past year.

We are including the Financial Report for the past 11 months here, rather than on a separate sheet which is too easily read and discarded. We believe the Bulletin provides an important forum for the exchange of information of interest to Borneanists. Lacking institutional support, it is dependent upon our common support. Thus, if you have contributed in the past, we encourage you to continue to do so. If you have not, please consider beginning now.

After much consideration, we have decided not to publish the "List of Fellows" as part of the Bulletin, but rather to make it available upon request. This decision will save us almost \$400. The List is already prepared, and will be mailed to anyone requesting it from the Editor.

Our sincere appreciation to the following persons for their contributions to the work of the Council: Dr. & Mrs. George N. Appell, Helen Appell, J. B. Ave, Richard B. Baldauf, Jr., Ian Black, Mr. & Mrs. Peter Burrough, Jonathan D. Cole, William L. Collier, Colin N. Crisswell, Wayne T. Frank, Jack Colson, A. John Hepburn, John M. Hobday, Erik Jensen, Victor T. King, Michael Leigh, A. R. G. Morrison, J. R. Palmer, Anthony J. N. Richards, Werner F. and Elsa Schneeberger, C. H. Wake, Joseph A. Weinstock, Herbert and Patricia Whittier, Leigh Wright, and Inger Wulff.

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Financial Report, December 1, 1980 to November 1, 1981

Beginning Balance	\$433.37	
Income	2,588.05	
Fees and contributions	1,428.05	
Interest on Endowment	360.00	
Transfer from Midland Bank	800.00	
	<u>\$3,021.42</u>	
Expenses (typing, art work, printing, postage)		\$3,169.75
Deficit	\$148.33	

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RESEARCH NOTES

SOME NOTES ON THE ORIGINS OF
THE "PUNAN" OF BORNEO

Carl L. Hoffman
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Since August 1980 I have been conducting an ethnographic survey on groups of present or former nomadic hunters-and-gatherers known generally as "Punan." My work thus far has taken me to Kecamatan Tanjung Palas, Peso, Kayan Hulu, and Malinau in Kabupaten Bulungan; and to Kecamatan Gunung Tabur in Kabupaten Berau, East Kalimantan.

Anthropologists working in Kalimantan and Sarawak have had difficulty making sense of the Punan for one fundamental reason: They have insisted upon seeing the Punan as somehow outside and apart from the general pattern of Borneo's traditional life--"strange, unknown, wanderers of the deep forest, etc." Yet, closer and more detailed examination of the problem reveals that the Punan are "strange" and "unknown" far more to anthropologists than to the numerous settled groups who have, to a great extent, depended upon the scattered and diverse groups of forest specialists known generally as "Punan." Thus, I propose that the Punan can indeed be "explained" and that the key to the problem may be found in an inspection of the economic framework of traditional Borneo life.

Upon considering the distribution of groups known as "Punan," one is immediately struck by the fact that Punan groups appear to crop up almost everywhere. One is moreover intrigued by the fact that these groups do not wander across the length and breadth of Borneo. Rather, each group stays within a fairly circumscribed area--always within reasonable distance of one or more (usually several) settled village groups, to whom the local "Punan" group is well known. The local Punan group is never a mystery to its settled neighbors. Individual members of the Punan group are known to the settled villagers by name, and the latter often refer to their local Punan as *saudara kami*, "our brothers." Moreover, any one "Punan" group is almost always closer in language and customs to its neighboring settled groups than it is to other "Punan" groups living some distance away.

Thus, in the Peso District of the Lower Kayan River, I heard Kayans refer to the Punan Berun as "our younger brothers;" in the Apo Kayan I was told by Kenyahs that the Punan Oho descend from the same ancestor that they are descendants of; while in the Malinau District I was informed by both Tebiluns and Meraps that the local "Punan" are "the same as we, same people," a judgment with which every Punan group I visited there concurred.

Compare various "Punan" groups across different regions, however, and one is struck immediately by the wide and considerable differences in language, as well as customs relating to virtually everything, including methods of hunting and patterns of movement.

Finally, I would like to note that "Punan" in any one district almost never know or have contact with the "Punan" of other regions, and they are often ignorant of the very existence of "Punan" groups in adjacent districts. I will never forget the look of total amazement on the face of a Punan Berun of the Pesu District when I told him I had just been with the Punan Sajau in neighboring Kecamatan Tanjung Palas. "Are there Punan over there?" he asked me, quite bewildered. And the Punan Oho of the Apo Kayan insisted that I describe the customs and way of life of the Punan Berun, shaking their heads in astonishment as I did so. In Malinau, a densely populated area (for Kalimantan) where Punan groups are correspondingly numerous, the Punan expressed an almost arrogant disinterest in the "Punan" groups I had seen in other areas, feeling no sense of kinship with them whatsoever.

The question that thus emerges--one that is beginning to seem more and more to me as a central issue in the ethnography of Borneo as a whole--is, "Just who are these people and what are they doing here?" The best way to deal with the question, I think, is to ignore the Punan for just a bit and concentrate momentarily upon the various groups of village-dwelling swidden horticulturists.

Down to the present day, wherever one goes throughout the "Dayak" areas of Borneo, one invariably notices the many heirloom gongs and large porcelain jars. One sees these in profusion particularly in the dwelling places of village headmen and other individuals of rank. Whether in the huge central longhouse apartments of headmen in the Apo Kayan, or in the large ornate single family residences of headmen farther downriver, gongs and jars are prominently displayed.

Aside from numerous practical uses, these famous heirloom items are symbols of wealth and prestige, are the preferred goods for bridewealth and indemnity payments, and formerly in many areas, the jars served as the final resting place for the dead.

I think it is fair to suggest that these gongs and jars are to Dayaks what cattle are to East African Nilotes, what shells are to New Guinea highlanders, what horses were to Plains Indians, what arm and ankle bracelets were to Naga hillmen, etc., etc. Settled village groups throughout Borneo saw, and, to a great extent, still see gongs and jars as being of utmost importance. But, where do these items come from?

"Since the time of our ancestors, long, long ago . . ." the Dayaks say, (and I myself think perhaps since the Ming Dynasty) Chinese traders and their Malay and Buginese surrogates have sailed up and down the long, winding rivers of Borneo to trade with the Dayaks of the settled villages. Since time immemorial the Chinese have come to Borneo in search of certain items found in the deep forest. These are:

- Batu munyit, stones from the internal organs of various species of monkeys.
- Batu landak, stones from the internal organs of porcupines.
- Gaharu, a fragrant wood.
- Rotan, rattan.
- Damar, resin.
- Mas, gold.
- Sarang burung, birds' nests (in scattered areas).

The Chinese have gotten these items from the settled Dayaks of the long-houses and the *kampung*, in exchange, primarily, for gongs and jars, along with salt, tobacco, cloth, and miscellaneous items at hand. This trade persists to the present day, although cash has long since taken the place of gongs and jars in most transactions.

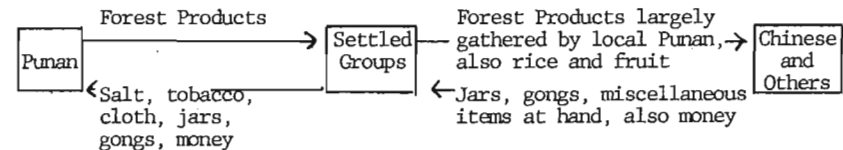
I wonder, however, just how many of these Chinese traders down through the centuries have known that these forest products gotten from the settled groups are not gathered by the sedentary people themselves. I think very few Chinese traders have known that these items are brought to settled groups by local nomadic groups of forest specialists known to the settled villagers as "Punan".

While settled villagers can and do seek such things as gold and rattan themselves, the other items are found only deep in the jungle, requiring the expert skill and knowledge of forest specialists. The porcupine, for example, is a nocturnal animal whose "stones" can be sought only at night.

The scattered "Punan" groups trade these forest products with their "brothers"--neighboring settled groups with whom they share similar dialects and customs. In exchange for the forest items, the local "Punan" group receives from its settled neighbors salt, tobacco, cloth and clothing, machetes, and occasionally gongs and jars.

This trade is conducted among individuals, not between whole groups as such. A Punan Oho, for example, may visit a Kenyah friend at the latter's longhouse at Mahak Baru. He may bring a quantity of *gaharu* wood and receive a few shirts and some tobacco in exchange. And some weeks later, when the Kenyah of Mahak Baru visits a market downriver, he will take along the *gaharu* wood, and whatever else he obtained from the Punan, and sell it to a Chinese trader, most likely now for cash, but formerly for gongs and jars.

We may thus see the outlines of numerous ancient trade networks--widely scattered but similar in form--involving Punan groups, settled villages, and Chinese as well as Malay and Buginese traders.



Until quite recently the various settled groups have acted as shrewd middlemen in keeping the Punan and Chinese from each other, to prevent the direct trade which is beginning to occur throughout the island. While no one has as yet said anything to me in this regard, I gather that settled groups have always known that direct trade between Punan and Chinese would make their own mediating position redundant. Even now, for example, the Meraps of Kampung Langap in the Malinau District refuse to tell their settled Punan neighbors at Long Ran just how much money they have been getting from the sale of birds' nests to the Chinese.

Interestingly enough, however, I have found that the settled groups have scarcely greater knowledge than their Punan neighbors concerning just what it is the Chinese do with most of the forest products. Until I told them, none of the various peoples I have met thus far had any idea, for example, that the monkeys' and porcupines' stones are made into Chinese medicines, that the *gaharu* wood is used as incense, and that the birds' nests are used to make soup. Neither did anyone know that rattan is exported to foreign countries in the form of expensive furniture. Less obscure, however, have been the traders' motives in wanting gold.

Aside from its participation in a far-reaching trade network, each "Punan" group is also involved in a close symbiotic relationship with neighboring settled villagers which does not extend to any sort of trade with outsiders. Much of the rattan gathered by a "Punan" group, for example, often goes no farther than to the neighboring settled group or groups, where it is used for an endless variety of purposes, ranging from baskets to sleeping mats. Indeed, certain types of finely woven rattan baskets, seen in use virtually everywhere, are often made by "Punan" groups themselves and in some areas are made only by Punan groups.

Likewise, I have found that the famous Dayak *sumpit* or blowpipe is most often made by Punan groups, at least in the areas I have visited thus far. In the Apo Kayan they are made only by Punan. I was told in each and every longhouse I visited in that area that Kenyahs there have yet to make one. Members of Punan groups give these blowpipes in trade with settled villagers in exchange for trade items; or they sometimes just give them as gifts to their village friends.

Finally, I would like to note that the symbiotic relationship between a settled village--or cluster of villages--and its local Punan group formerly went beyond purely economic aspects. Everywhere I have been thus far, I have found that individual Punan formerly joined settled villagers when the latter embarked upon war against other, more distant groups. As in the case of trade, this was conducted largely on a personal basis, as opposed to an outright alliance between groups. Thus, in the Malinau District, a Tebilun from the Tubu River preparing to join his fellows in a war against distant Kenyahs often sought and received assistance from one of two friends from an associated Punan group.

I think now we are finally able to tackle the original question of just who these Punan are and what they mean in terms of Borneo as an ethnographic whole. There is at this point no question in my mind that the Punan of Borneo derive from settled groups and that they are simply the descendants of people who, at different times and in different places, opted to specialize in the exploitation of deep-forest resources. I feel also that deep-forest exploitation has been an alternative adaptive niche that people have opted into, and perhaps out of as well, throughout the long course of Borneo history. A particularly intriguing question here is to what extent this process was accelerated--or created--by the initial establishment in Borneo of organized trade with Chinese.

Thus, the "Punan" of the ethnographic present are nothing more or less than *ahli hutan*, "forest specialists." As such, they descend from groups who

chose to concentrate upon what after all comprises most of Borneo's land area--the tropical rain forest, unencumbered by *ladang*, gardens, longhouses, or fixed territories to defend against enemies.

WOMEN, MEN, AND TIME
IN THE FORESTS OF EAST KALIMANTAN

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INTRODUCTION

The Uma' Jalan Kenyah of East Kalimantan inhabit an environment or context with two very desirable features that I would like to address in this paper. First, they live in a beautiful and lush tropical rainforest; and second, they provide the closest approximation to equality between the sexes that I have encountered (see Ward 1963 and Fortes 1969 for similar assessments of other Bornean groups).

The first portion of this paper will be the presentation of results (specifically related to forest use and the sexual division of labor) of a time allocation study conducted in Long Segar, East Kalimantan between November 1979 and August 1980. Descriptive data of this kind are sadly lacking on most Bornean groups (Appell 1976 and King 1974); and are important both for further academic investigations and theory building, and for the more pragmatic concerns of effective and beneficial decisions about human and natural resources in the area.

The second portion of the paper will provide some observations on the directions that change appears to be taking among the Uma' Jalan, with special reference to the impacts on the forests and on the position of women. The issue of human impacts on the forests of East Kalimantan is already well established as an important policy concern of the Indonesian Government (especially with reference to shifting cultivators such as the Uma' Jalan Kenyah and to timber companies). The question of the status of women is not one that is of primary importance at this time to policymakers in Jakarta, but it is of concern in the village. The people, both male and female, are concerned about the implications of Kenyah female interaction with the male members of other ethnic groups with less egalitarian attitudes about women; they are concerned about the absence of men on moneymaking expeditions and the resultant hardships that fall to the women in these new conditions where a regular cash income is increasingly important and where other factors, discussed below, reduce women's relative autonomy and self-sufficiency.

THEORETICAL ORIENTATION

The time allocation study reported in this paper was undertaken as part of an ethnographic and ecological investigation of interactions between people and forests in East Kalimantan.¹ Our approach in this MAB project involved

a significant shift in the usual anthropological orientation. We decided that rather than concentrating on a community or a "culture" as our unit of analysis, we would focus on a specific human action that was recognized in policymaking and academic circles as a "problem".

The specific human action---in this case, cutting down the forests---served as a reference point, from which the complex of relevant influences and impacts could be traced and described. We were striving for a full understanding of the context, of the situation (following Popper 1972, or Moore 1975), in which that human action was regularly performed; and we were not limiting ourselves to investigation within any one village or community. The locus of my research was a Resettlement village, called Long Segar, located on the Telen River, about 142 km from Samarinda, and populated by Uma' Jalan Kenyah Dayaks who had begun migrating from Long Ampung (in the Apo Kayan) in 1963. But our research orientation dictated that I investigate the situation at the nearby Georgia Pacific timber camp in whose concession Long Segar was located; that I keep apprised of the current international timber prices; that I interview employees of the National Resettlement Program in Samarinda and Jakarta; in short, that I look into any topics that directly related to people's forest-harvesting and forest-clearing activities.

Because of our concern that our research results be directly useful to policymakers, as well as contributing to the more general creation of knowledge in the academic sense, we kept in mind the current policy issues in East Kalimantan. And important among them were the following questions: 1) the appropriate role of the timber companies, 2) the impacts of shifting cultivation on the forest, and 3) the advisability of Resettlement and Transmigration programs in the area.² But before we would adequately address such policy issues we needed to gain an understanding of the status quo. What do the people do, now? How involved are they in forest-related activities? And so on.

Since the Uma' Jalan Kenyah of Long Segar have traditionally made their living by shifting cultivation, and since they are now also involved in a wide range of forest-harvesting activities for monetary gain, it seemed worthwhile to systematically collect some information on how indeed these people were spending their time. I also considered it important to document the agroforestry involvement of women, since women are habitually ignored in Third World development efforts, and there is a paucity of data on female productive activity in general (see, e.g., Boserup 1970; a 1977 Signs issue on Women and National Development; or Tinker and Bransen 1976).

METHODS: TIME ALLOCATION STUDY

A slightly modified version of the method for studying time allocation outlined by Johnson (1975) was used in this study. The method is simple enough. A schedule for observations is drawn up prior to the onset of the study. That schedule is designed such that visits to particular households are randomized, as are times of visit during the day, and date of visit during the year. I constructed my random sample from a register of 129 household heads provided to me by the Secretary of the Resettlement Project. In

order to maximize my freedom to pursue other research activities as they emerged in the course of fieldwork, I only entered even dates (e.g., 2, 4, 6, etc.) onto the schedule, and then I allowed myself the option of visiting household X at time X on either the even date (2nd) or the odd date following it (3rd) of that month. Visits were made between 7 a.m. and 8 p.m.

Most visits can be accomplished in a very short time, once the members of the household and their ages are known. And visits to random households provides access to people, patterns of behavior, and viewpoints that might otherwise be missed. During a visit, the ideal is to observe what each household member is doing prior to her or his awareness that you are observing.³ A total of 171 visits were made, between 4 November 1979 and 20 August 1980, with a total of 1,593 cases (or individuals). The average household size of 9.3 is slightly larger than my other data would suggest for Long Segar, partially because I maximized observations, including all marginal cases and households which were already well on their way to splitting in two.

I encountered at least one constraint comparable to one mentioned by Johnson. Uma' Jalan Kenyah periodically reside at their ricefields, far from the village; and they also make regular trips into the forests for collecting, hunting, and harvesting. At these times, of course, some household members are unavailable for direct observation. This problem is minimized somewhat by the fact that Kenyah tend to keep family members informed of their general whereabouts and activities, so at least a general idea of their activities can be gleaned fairly easily.

Another problem for which I found no really satisfactory solution was that of children's activities. Children over the age of about 8 are observably active in a productive sense (see White 1975 for similar observations); yet, since they are free to run about the village unsupervised, their parents or others at home typically do not know exactly what they are doing and report them to be tuya (playing around). Combining work with play is also more common among the children, so I am confident that that productive activity of children is underdocumented in this study. I have made some efforts to correct this by making systematic observations at the bathing rafts where much children's labor is performed; but it is difficult to compare data collected in that way with the kinds of data from this study.

Overall, however, I am pleased with the data and the method. I consider this method more reliable than asking people to remember what they have been doing; and it provides a good bit of information for a relatively small investment of time. Although I did most of the data collection myself, toward the end of the study I relied on research assistants while I was out of the village or occupied with other things, and found that training people to make this kind of observation is fairly easy and clearcut.

Preliminary coding of the data was done in the field, and only my own time constraints precluded my doing all the coding in the field. In order to have data comparable with Johnson's I followed his coding system insofar as possible. The analyses I'm reporting here are of the superordinate

categories. More refined analyses present no difficulty (using SPCC Crosstabs), except insofar as diminishing numbers of cases reduces the statistical significance of one's findings.

THE ALLOCATION OF TIME

If we turn, at this point to the actual allocation of time, we can make some interesting comparisons with Johnson's data. The Kenyah, like the Machiguenga, are shifting cultivators, who supplement their diet by harvesting the tropical rainforests and rivers that surround them. Until their move to Long Segar, the Kenyah were as self-sufficient as the Machiguenga; and rice cultivation, small garden plots, and forest harvesting still supply the vast majority of their needs.

Unlike the Machiguenga, households are all clustered in a village setting (pop. 1000). Indeed, traditionally, the Kenyah have lived in longhouses, with some reputedly housing as many as 90 households (Whittier 1973). In Long Segar, due to governmental pressures to switch to single family dwellings, modifications of this traditional pattern are obvious; but some households still house up to five nuclear families.

Another important divergence from the Machiguenga is the loose division of labor by sex among the Kenyah. Both sexes at least occasionally perform all kinds of tasks. Women tend to be more involved in children and food preparation, and men do most wage labor and large tree felling. But there is no rigidity about who does what among the Kenyah.

If we look at the figures of time allocation (Table I and II), there are many important similarities between the two groups. Notable differences can be seen in the sphere of female involvement in garden/agricultural labour. In Long Segar, females perform 53.5 percent of the garden/agricultural labour in comparison to 46.5 percent performed by males.

The importance of wage labour in Long Segar is another important divergence. In this category "adult male," 28.3 percent of their time is spent in money-making. This is in sharp contrast to the 2.0 percent of adult female time spent in the same activity.

If we look at these kinds of figures from the perspective of the forest, as was our intent in this study (see Table III), we can extract those activities that impinge in any significant way on the forest. "Food preparation" is included as a forest-related activity because firewood collection, the use of banana and other forest leaves, and bamboo are all integral to the food preparation process. "Manufacture" in almost every case, involves the use of minor forest products. And "Money-making" likewise almost always involves participation in one manner or another, with the timber industry. As shown in Table III, human involvement in the forest in a fairly direct way is obvious, with women 15 years of age and older spending 57 percent of their time in forest-related activities, and men in that age range spending 69 percent of their time in those same activities.

Table I
Female Activity - 7 a.m - 8 p.m.

	INFANT (Age 0-1) n=40	TODDLER (Age 2-4) n=112	CHILD (Age 5-14) n=208	YOUTH (Age 15-19) n=101	ADULT (Age 20-49) n=274	OLD PERSON (Age 50+) n=90
Eating	10.0	11.6	2.4	.0	2.0	4.4
Food Preparation	.0	.9	2.9	8.9	8.1	3.3
Childrearing	.0	.0	5.3	5.9	11.3	13.3
Manufacture	.0	.0	1.0	7.9	11.3	23.3
Wild Foods	.0	.9	3.4	5.9	2.0	2.2
Garden Labor/Agric.	.0	.9	9.1	15.8	38.9	23.3
Idleness	75.0	75.0	51.4	9.9	8.5	21.1
Hygiene	2.5	2.7	3.8	7.9	4.5	2.2
Visiting	12.5	5.4	4.8	15.8	8.5	2.2
Studying	.0	2.7	12.5	14.9	.0	.0
"Culture"	.0	.0	.5	1.0	.0	.0
Money-making	.0	.0	1.5	5.0	2.0	.0
Forest Prod. Coll.	.0	.0	1.4	1.0	2.0	4.4

n = number of observations

Table II
Male Activity - 7 a.m. - 8 p.m.

	INFANT (Age 0-1) n=54	TODDLER (Age 2-4) n=87	CHILD (Age 5-14) n=202	YOUTH (Age 15-19) n=91	ADULT (Age 20-49) n=286	OLD PERSON (Age 50+) n=63
Eating	9.3	4.6	4.5	.0	2.1	.0
Food Preparation	.0	2.3	1.5	3.3	2.4	6.3
Childrearing	.0	.0	3.5	1.1	2.4	6.3
Manufacture	.0	1.1	.5	.0	9.1	14.3
Wild Foods	.0	.0	3.0	4.4	2.8	4.8
Garden Labor/Agric.	1.9	1.1	5.4	14.3	28.0	38.1
Idleness	79.6	82.8	62.4	25.3	9.1	14.3
Hygiene	.0	1.1	5.4	.0	1.7	.0
Visiting	9.3	5.7	1.5	4.4	7.0	7.9
Studying	.0	1.1	8.4	12.1	3.1	.0
"Culture"	.0	.0	.0	.0	.3	1.6
Moneymaking	.0	.0	1.5	31.9	28.3	4.8
Forest Prod. Coll.	.0	.0	1.5	2.2	3.5	1.6

n = number of observations

-80-

-81-

Table III

Forest-related Activity:
7:00 a.m. to 8:00 p.m.

	Female (Age 15+)	Male (Age 15+)
Food Preparation	7% (.91 hrs.)	3% (.39 hrs.)
Manufacture	13% (1.69 hrs.)	8% (1.04 hrs.)
Wild Foods	3% (.39 hrs.)	3% (.39 hrs.)
Garden/Agriculture	30% (3.9 hrs.)	26% (3.38 hrs.)
Moneymaking	2% (.26 hrs.)	26% (3.38 hrs.)
Forest Prod. Coll.	2% (.26 hrs.)	3% (.39 hrs.)
TOTAL	57% (7.41 hrs.) (of total activity for each sex, age 15+)	60% (8.97 hrs.)

If we approach this same question from a slightly different perspective, looking at location of activity, rather than nature of activity, we get Table IV. We can see from this table that women spend a disproportionate amount of time in the village (56 percent) and in the ricefield (29 percent); whereas men divide their time between village (37 percent), ricefield (26 percent), and working outside the village (23 percent). It is fairly safe to assume that the 37 percent of the females 15 and over and 56 percent of the males 15 and over are in the forest, ricefield, garden, or away working. All human activity in the forest has the potential of being harmful, and should therefore be evaluated accordingly.

WOMEN AND FORESTS

Putting these data into the changing context of Long Segar life, what can we say about likely impacts on forests and women in the area? We can say that the Uma' Jalan Kenyah are pretty involved in activities that require forest clearing, as things now stand. Both their traditional swiddens and their wage labor activities impinge in a negative way on the forest. A factor that is not evident from these data, but is clear from others, is that the Uma' Jalan Kenyah clear bigger ricefields in Long Segar than they did traditionally--in Long Segar they have access to chainsaws, outboard motors, ricehulling machines, and perhaps most importantly, markets for their rice. And most kinds of wage labor are directly related to the timber industry.

Table IV

Locations of Activity:
7 a.m. to 8 p.m.

	Females Aged 15+	Males Aged 15+
Village	56%	37%
Forest	4%	6%
Ricefield	29%	26%
Garden	2%	1%
Away at School	2%	4%
Away Working	2%	23%
Away	4%	2%
River	1%	1%
	100%	100%

We can also say that women are very active in productive activity among the Kenyah. Although they perform only slightly more than half of the agricultural labor, women are considered by the Kenyah to be the backbone of agricultural activity. Where men are symbolically identified sexually by their propensity to go on expeditions (historically headhunting, later trading expeditions, and now wage earning trips⁴), women's sexual identity is closely tied in with the making of ricefields. Participant observations data and preliminary analysis of complete household surveys in two Kenyah villages (Long Ampung and Long Segar) indicate that women are actively involved in decision making with regard to agroforestry. Indeed, with the long tradition of male absence, they had to be.

An interesting, and potentially, disturbing question arises from looking at the kinds of changes going on in Long Segar. It is clear at this point in time that women have active productive roles in the community; and they command the respect that in many cases goes along with such economic productivity (cf. Sanday 1974). But the marketing of rice, wage labor opportunities, and various kinds of dealings with other ethnic groups are all falling increasingly to the men. With the flexible attitudes about sex roles among the Kenyah, the fact that these activities have traditionally been performed more regularly by males need not determine future roles; but the fact that the other ethnic groups with whom the Kenyah must interact to sell their rice and their labor have more exploitative attitudes toward women as well as negative stereotypes of Dayak women in general reinforce the traditional male predominance in this sphere (which until recently was of marginal importance in daily life).

Additionally, even in the traditional sphere of rice cultivation where women have had an important role, the Government is encouraging a shift toward male decision making and power. Agricultural inputs like seeds, pesticides, fertilizers are distributed to male heads of households; training in agriculture and related economic activities is provided to males, money, housebuilding equipment, and other economic contributions from the Resettlement Project (called "droppings" locally) are divided by male head of household. Local adoption of chainsaws and outboard motors is further decreasing female autonomy and importance in the economic affairs of a family---because most women literally cannot use chainsaws and they have difficulty carrying outboard motors. Until the adoption of these technological innovations, men and women could both use all tools available to the Kenyah.

These technological innovations are likewise responsible to a considerable degree for an increase in destructive human impact on the forests. Larger ricefields can be cleared with a chainsaw; more human energy is available for agricultural labor with access to rice hullers and outboard motors; and the availability of a market for the rice provides a powerful incentive to allocate more time to rice cultivation (See Golfer 1980, for a more detailed discussion of these changes). Azier (1980), using data from my land use histories in Long Segar, estimates that 11,600 ha. of primary forest have been cleared in the 17 years since settlement of Long Segar. Analysis of the previously mentioned complete household survey in Long Ampung and land use history data from Long Segar show that the average number of *belek* (a tin containing 11 kilos of unhulled rice) of rice sown in ricefields in Long Ampung in 1979 was 4.90, whereas in Long Segar the comparable figure was 6.26.⁵

But to return to the time allocation study results reported here, Kenyah involvement in the forest---both dependence on it and impacts on it---is clear. That much of the human impact on the forest is negative can be inferred from the clearcutting necessary for ricefields as traditionally made, by the documented destruction of lumbering activity in which Kenyah males participate, and by increasing population pressure (natural and, more significantly, planned in the Government's Transmigration schemes) on none-too-fertile land. Possibly beneficial impacts on the forest of traditional Kenyah land use practices in the Apo Kayan are currently being investigated by Tim Jessup, another MAB researcher; and a proposal for intensive study of the subject has been funded (Vayda with Jessup 1980). There may indeed be some ecological advantage to the kind of patchwork or mosaic effect that derives from ricefields and their "fallow"⁶ (or more precisely, the varying successional stages of) secondary forest.

Ironically, the governmental programs encouraging interior plateau people to resettle in the lowlands were at least partially designed to discourage shifting cultivation and its perceived negative impacts on the environment. The actual impact seems to have been the reverse: The comparatively non-destructive form of shifting cultivation practiced by the Kenyah of the Apo Kayan (see e.g., Jessup 1981) has evolved into a considerably more forest-destroying form, as practiced in the Long Segar context.

Notes

1. This project was a joint Indonesian-U.S. Man and Biosphere project (financed from U.S. Forest Service funds), administered by the East-West Environment and Policy Institute in Honolulu, and sponsored in Indonesia by Mulawarman University (Samarinda), Lembaga Biologi Nasional (Bogor), and Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia (Jakarta). See Vayda, Colfer, and Brotokusumo 1980, for a detailed discussion of research methods and goals of the overall MAB project.
2. Resettlement refers to the movement of population from more remote to less remote areas within one province; Transmigration refers to the movement of populations from Java and Bali which are densely populated into the Outer Islands which are sparsely populated.
3. Among some groups this kind of activity would be problematic and perhaps unethical, being viewed as unwelcome spying. However, among the Kenyah this was not the case. Members of the community were aware and generally accepting of my activities, though perhaps considering them a trifle bizarre.
4. Significantly, we can see in Table IV that 23% of the adult males are "away working."
5. Measurement of 15 randomly selected ricefields in Long Segar in February 1980 yielded an average size of 2.2 ha. Unfortunately comparable measurements could not be undertaken in Long Ampung.
6. "Fallow" is a misleading descriptor for ex-ricefields, because, at least in Kalimantan, other non-rice products are grown and/or collected from these areas. I am considering the patchwork of ricefields, ex-ricefields, secondary forest, and primary forests, as a total agroforestry system. (See Kunstadter 1978)

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THE JOURNEY TO PARADISE:
FUNERARY RITES OF THE BENUAQ DAYAK OF EAST KALIMANTAN

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The Benuaq are hardly even mentioned in the literature on the Dayak populations of Borneo and therefore remain almost unknown. From Mallinckrodt¹ it is known that they belong to the larger *wangan* group, and Schwaner (1854:122) considered them as descendants of the 'orang Lahei' who were reduced by the Siang-Murung from the Pari river. However, the Benuaq are not only the largest Dayak group in the Kutai regency of East Kalimantan (the former Kutai Sultanate) but also have preserved more of their adat than any other Dayak group. Their habitats are the southern tributaries of the Mahakam, namely the Bongan, Chong, Jelau, Kelawit, Tuang, Lawa, Pahu and Nyawatan (see map 1) as well as the upper Teweh in Central Kalimantan. A few of the Dutch administrators mention them in passing, and Weddik (1849: 132-133) counts them among the true aborigines of the sultanate of Kutai. Knappert (1905:592) informs us that the Benua and Bentian have lived in Kutai as long as they can remember and belong to one ethnic group with a common language. He also states that their customs are similar to those of the Lawangan groups he encountered on the Aju river in Tabalong district, and that some Lawangan from Tabalong were actually living on the Bongan river (ibid. 619-624).

The Benuaq informants of ours count themselves as part of the Lawangan group but disclaim any origin from South or Central Kalimantan but point towards the interior of Kabupaten Pasir as their possible region of origin

(the headwaters of river Telakai). On a purely geographical basis, the Benuaq themselves distinguish the following groups, a distinction I will follow here (cf. map 1 and 2):

1. Benuaq of the Bongan, kecamatan Bongan
2. Benuaq of the Ohong river and lake Jempang, kecamatan Jempang
3. Benuaq of the Kelawit, Tuang and Jelau river, kecamatan Muara Pahu
4. Benuaq of the upper Tuang and Lawa rivers, kecamatan Bentian Besar
5. Benuaq Lawa of the lower Lawa, kecamatan Muara Lawa
6. Benuaq of the upper Pahu and Nyawatan rivers, kecamatan Damai
7. Benuaq of the Idan river, kecamatan Barong Tongkok and Damai

The population of these regions is shown in Table 1

Kecamatan	Benuaq Population
Bongan	1,500
Jempang	3,600
Muara Pahu	4,800
Bentian	2,300
Muara Lawa	2,600
Damai	4,600
Barong Tongkok	4,000
TOTAL	23,400

Table 1. Population of Benuaq Areas

Source: Compiled from Hasil Registrasi Penduduk 1979, Kantor Sensus dan Statistik Kalimantan Timur, Samarinda, 1980

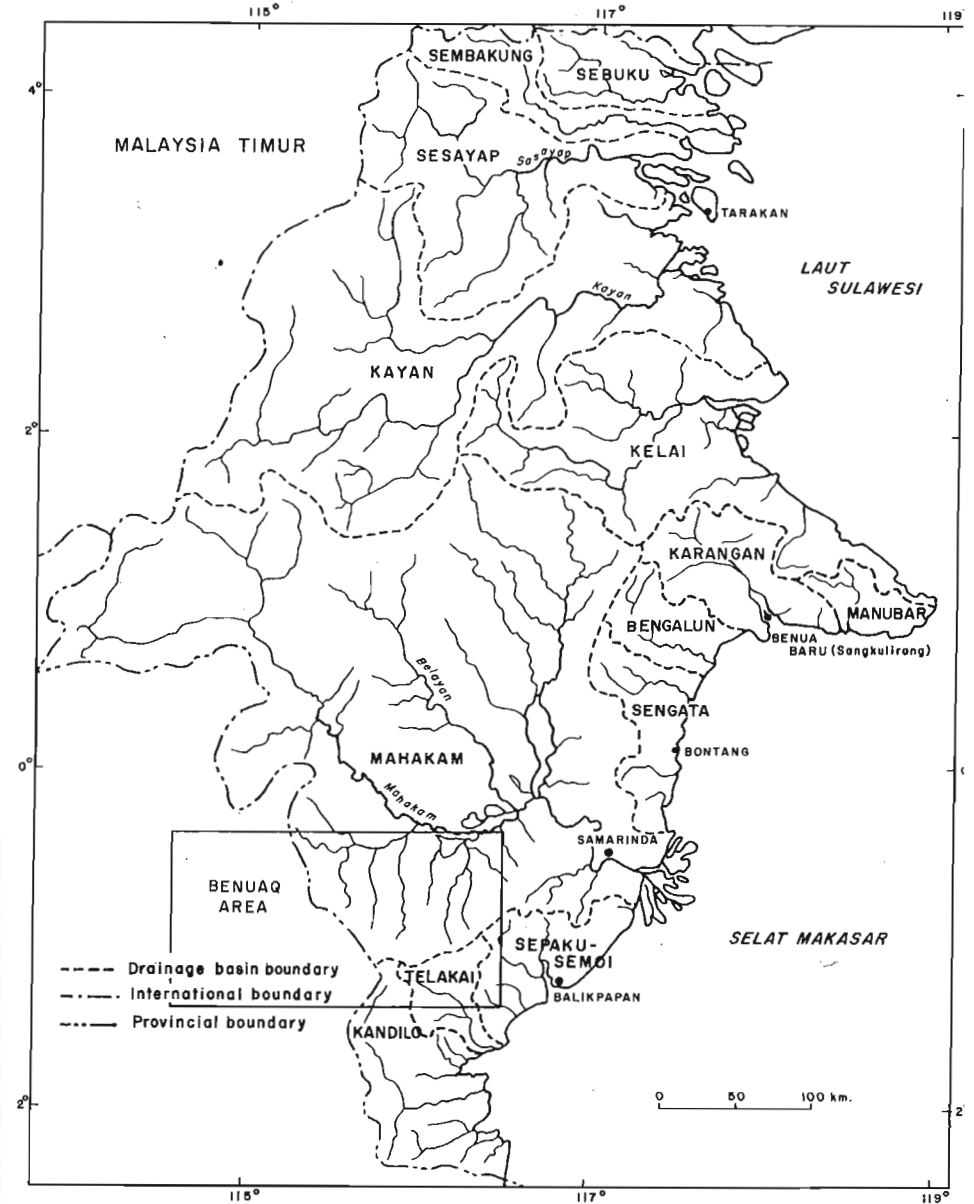
Living in the southern upland fringe of the Mahakam basin, the Benuaq are mainly shifting cultivators and collectors of forest products. A more detailed description of the economy of the Benuaq area can be found elsewhere.² Here it is important to know only that few of the Benuaq subsist alone on agriculture but, due to the relatively poor soils of their region, have to rely on off-farm work such as rotan cutting, logging, fishing and gold washing in order to earn cash for their daily consumption requirements e.g. salt, sugar, tea, kerosene and even rice. Much of the Benuaq area has not yet entered the mainstream of economic development in Kaltim, incomes are low, infrastructure and facilities few, literacy and nutrition levels inadequate, and living standards below those of the Kutainese, Banjarese or even other Dayak groups.

BENUAQ SOCIETY

Benuaq villages and families are characterized by only minor differences in wealth or living standards but divided by invisible distinctions of status based on membership in certain families or lineages (*katurunan*). The old Benuaq society distinguished several classes which have gradually lost their significance:

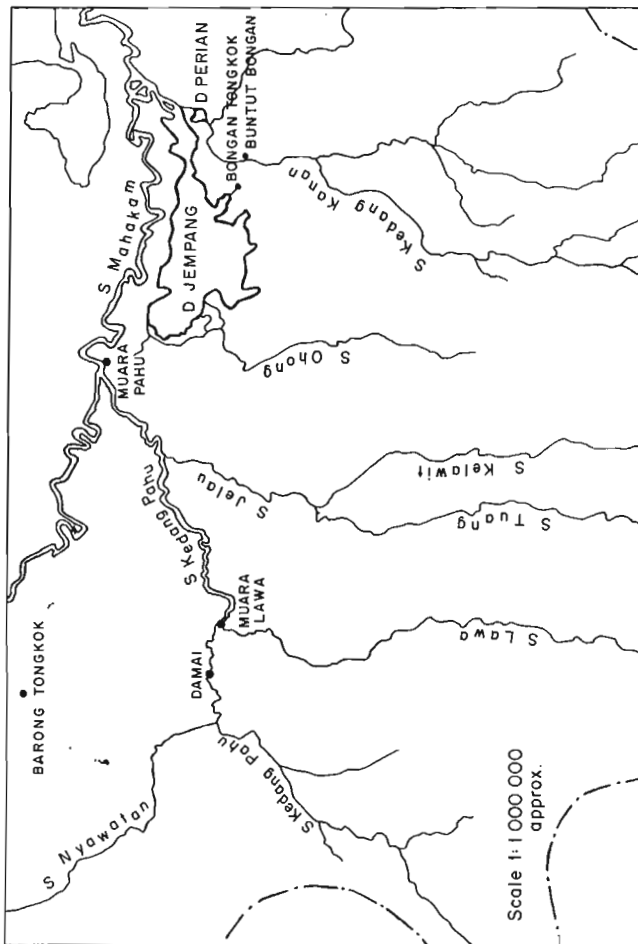
the noble and royal, *manti* (or *orang mulia*)

Main Drainage Basins of KALIMANTAN TIMUR



Map 1

PAHU and TEWEH
Catchment Basins



Map 2

those of lineages related with the royal ones, *pengawa*, the ordinary, free-born farmers, *merendika*, persons in bondage or debt-slavery, *ripan*, slaves mostly captured in wars, *batag* (or *batang ulun*).

Formerly, the *rajas* and nowadays the *kapala adats* and other important office holders are of *manti* class and descended from the first immigrants who had settled and ruled the Benuaq lands in the long forgotten past. The members of the *pengawa* class were appointed by the royal *manti* as assistant office holders and similarly have old lineages, even though they are said to have entered the Benuaq area somewhat after the *manti*. Members of those two classes have a rank sufficiently high to command respect and honor from society during their life and after their death. While it is the duty of every individual and family to honor its deceased members, it is a community duty to publicly honor such distinguished public figures after their death. The funeral ceremonies which are the subject of this paper are mainly held for members of these two noble classes. For them, a public display of mourning and joy is made which generates extraordinary artistic creations and consumes considerable outlays of money and food items in order to allow the spirits of the deceased to enter the realm beyond death in a worthy fashion. Death in Benuaq society becomes a dynamic force stimulating the economic and social activities of the living and establishing continuous emotional relationships between the living and the dead.

THE FIRST STAGE

Three major stages of burial can be distinguished among the Benuaq to each of which correspond respective ceremonies. These stages correspond to the inhumation immediately after death, the separation of flesh and bones, and the final deposition of the bones and repatriation of the deceased's spirit to the land of the ancestral spirits (*negeri arwah* or *lewu liau*).

It is Benuaq belief that at death, the vital force (*merue'* or *semangat*) leaves a person's body and becomes a spirit of similar physiological constitution (*liau*) which, for example, requires food, drink and entertainment and can feel pain and emotions. On the other hand, a person's intellect believed to be located in the head, becomes *kelelungan*, a shapeless spell which leaves the body freely, can enter other human beings and can be reincarnated in newborn children. While the *liau* is believed to roam about the neighborhood of the grave and the house of the dead person's family, the *kelelungan* proceeds at once to a place in heaven called *Tenankai*.³

At a person's death, the corpse is taken outside the house, bathed in water and cleaned with coconut milk and afterwards wrapped in a blanket and batik. The family sends word to the relatives in other villages and orders a coffin (*lungun*) to be made by a carpenter. After seven days - 7 is the number representing death and multiples of seven symbolize many aspects of funeral ceremonies - the corpse is placed in the *lungun*. Formerly kept in the house, the *lungun* is nowadays put up in the village cemetery and covered with a small roof. If the deceased was of outstanding rank, his family will order the *lungun* to be carved, and to be placed in a carved *slong*.

At this first burial, a priest (*wara*) calls the *liau* of the deceased and presents him with food and drink while the members of his family hold a ceremony in commemoration of their relative (*to'ok*). Another ceremony (*ngulang-natang*) may follow three days later, and hundred days after death another ceremony (*ngelangkan*) takes place. At these ceremonies, chickens or pigs are slaughtered and food offerings made to the deceased's *liau*.

Bock (1881:141-143) describes the lungun/along of a Bentian chief of Long Putih (Dilang Putih) which is worth quoting.

It so chanced that the first house I entered was that of a chief just deceased whose remains were lying in state in the large room of the place. In the centre of one side of the room, which was no less than 120 feet in length, stood, raised on four posts, a coffin in the shape of a *prau* with the sides painted in red, black and white scrolls. On the lid of the coffin was spread the *tjawat* or waist garment which had been worn daily by the deceased chief. Above the coffin was an *attap*-roof from which hung a cup formed of part of a coconut shell filled with water, while food was also daily placed on the coffin...in case the dead warrior should feel hungry or thirsty in his long journey to heaven. His best clothes and weapons were deposited inside the coffin.

From one end of the coffin was suspended a wooden model of an animal supposed to be a bear which was expected to act as a charm to protect the dead from all possible dangers on his last journey; and at either extremity hung a bamboo candlestick holding damar torches. These were renewed from day to day and always kept burning...At the time I was examining and sketching the coffin, they (the widow and child of the chief) stood at the entrance of the bedroom which led out of the principal room. They were in deep mourning - not clothed in black as in Europe or white as in China, but with the hair closely shaven off the head, presenting a most ghastly sight. Although the body had been dead fifteen days there was not the slightest smell in the room, the coffin being hermetically closed with a sort of putty made of *gutta percha* mixed with fine fibres from the bark or leaves of a tree. I asked when the burial was likely to take place but the attendants answered that they did not know; the time was uncertain; they first must have luck in some way or other, either a good rice harvest or, what was most probable, a successful head-hunting expedition. A head or two must be secured somehow since it was a chief who was dead.

THE SECOND STAGE

The *lungun* remains in the graveyard for several years, some informants say for at least three years. While the flesh of the corpse decomposes, the *liau* is believed to return to the grave regularly. Therefore, food offerings are prepared by the relatives and suspended under the roof over the *slong*.

After this period, a ceremony is held, called *kenyau* or *nulang*, at which the spirit (*roh*)⁴ of the deceased is called again and offered food from a pig which has been sacrificed for the occasion. Then the coffin is opened, the skeleton removed and broken up, the skull separated from the bones, and

the remaining flesh removed from the bones by washing with coconut water by persons specially designated for the task (*penulang*). Both bones and head are then wrapped in cloth and stored in one of the funerary urns (*antang* or *guci*). For the ordinary dead, the latter are then buried in the ground or placed in one of the mortuary chambers (*rinak*) which belong to the family in the cemetery. The bones of *manti* or *pengawa* members are stored in more valuable *antangs* and kept in the house of the family or with the *kepala adat* until the *kwangkei* ceremony.

KWANGKEI, THE THIRD STAGE

Ideally, after seven years, the final ceremony is held at which the *roh* of the deceased is taken to join the ancestral spirits in heaven; but in practice, it may take several years more before the family has gotten enough money and food together to shoulder such a large feast. Sacrificial animals such as chickens, pigs and at least one buffalo have to be raised or bought; specialists have to be hired to carve *blontang*, *selimat* and *tepla*⁵; a ritual specialist, *wara*, has to be hired to perform the necessary ritual and incantations and gifts bought for him; additional gifts have to be made to the ancestral spirits; and large amount of rice needs to be collected to feed spirits, guests, family and performers for a prolonged period of time which may last anything from 7 to 56 days. Even while the ceremony is on, the priest may decide that offerings are insufficient and additional contributions required whereupon the period is extended.

Kwangkei is divided into a number of phases all of which will culminate in the final journey of the spirits (*roh*) to heaven accompanied and guided by the *wara*. These phases include recurrent and unique elements. The first phase consists of the *wara* trying to call the spirits of the deceased, and may take several days or weeks. The second phase consists of recurrent presentations of food offerings and dance performances to the spirits. The final phase consists of animal sacrifices, feeding and merriment for the spirits, the symbolic representation of a journey to heaven and the final burial of the mortal remains of the ancestors.

On the following pages, the elements of the *kuangkeit* ritual, ritual objects, ritual actions and ritual incantations, will be described and their meaning explored⁶ so that the reader may get an understanding of the Benuaq concept of life, a life which retains a continuity before and after death.

Preparations for the Ceremony

Before *kwangkai* can begin certain preparations have to be completed lest the priest (*wara*) cannot contact the spirits.

Decorations and ritual objects have to be in place, and the participants needed must be ready.

The longhouse (*lamin*), according to adat the appropriate place for the *kuangkai* ceremony, will be prepared to accommodate family and guest during the following weeks. The central wall separating the porch from the individual living quarters (*bilik*) has been decorated with a large multi-colored patchwork cloth (*taber telisir*) which expresses joy and merriment at the occasion of welcoming the ancestral spirits. The Benuaq distinguish ceremonies of merriment and gayness (*suka ria*) and ceremonies of mourning and sadness (*duka cita*) and indicate each with respective decorations (*perhiasan*), the *taber telisir* symbolizing the former type of ceremony.

Below, the *taber telisir*, the urns with the bones of those ancestors for whom the *kuangkai* is held, are placed in a row and covered with white and red cloth, representing both *liau* and *kelelungan*. The skulls of the ancestors have been placed in the *selimat*, a painted box which is suspended on rotan vine from the ceiling near the end of the longhouse opposite the main entrance.

Above the *selimat* the dresses and wreaths used by the dancers of the *ngerankau* dance are tied to the rotan rope, and a number of plates are suspended beneath the ceiling. Opposite the *selimat*, a bamboo rack or platform is erected where the dresses and utensils of dancers and priests are kept. At the foot of this platform are placed numerous ritual objects which serve the purpose of receiving the ancestral spirits and are collectively referred to as *penduduk* i.e. the place for the spirits to sit down.

These *penduduk* consist of:

- orin penam*, a blowpipe (*sumpit*) marked with 7 marks of chalk as steps for the *kelelungan* to descend from heaven. A cloth of red color tied to this symbolic stairway symbolizes *kelelungan*;
- dian*, two coconut shells containing two rotan sticks covered with wax which are lit to show the spirits the way during their descent;
- two baskets (*bakul*) one covered with red cloth for *kelelungan*, the other with white cloth for *liau* to sit down and rest;
- tong*, two small porcelain bowls used for burning incense whenever the spirits are called; usually one is placed on each *bakul*;
- tempokang*, a brass vessel for cleaning the hands before meals;
- telangkang*, a rack with little trays made from bamboo where the food offerings - rice, meat, sweet rice cakes - are placed for the spirits.
- finally, an entire set of tools for betel (*tempat sirih*), consisting of a brass goblet in which are placed small containers for *pinang*, or betel nuts, *sirih*, or betel leaves, *gambir* leaves, *kapur*, or ground chalk, and sometimes spices such as clove, cardamon, tumeric and tobacco⁸; betel is served as a refreshment and stimulant after the spirits have been fed and, like coffee, helps to overcome sleepiness and change taste in the mouth.

Other preparations include the placement of the instruments near the longhouse wall; *kelentangan*, a set of six gongs; *gendong* a large gong, and *gimer*, tubular drums, both of the latter suspended from the wall.

Food Offerings to the Spirits

During the first days of the ceremony the priest, *wara* or *sentangi*⁹, attempts to call the spirits to come and descend into the longhouse and partake in the offerings presented there for them. He is assisted in this by female assistants (*ajuh turu*) who prepare food, and see that all utensils of the *penduduk* are properly arranged and clean for the spirits to take their meal.

Food is offered to the spirits three times a day: in the morning, in the evening and at night following the *ngerankau* dance. Each time, the *wara* burns incense and lights the candles in the coconut shells to show the spirits their way in the dark. He places a rotan rod topped with a *pinang* nut among the *penduduk* as a sign of addressing the spirits and begins with his incantations: "I call on you, spirit brothers, and here you see the sign for you." When after several days, the spirits finally respond to his call they descend, *kelelungan* via the *orin penam* and *liau* via the main stairway of the *lamin*; at this moment, the *tempokang* is filled with water to rinse the hands before and after the meal, and the *wara* points with his staff (*bulu*) at the food placed on the *telangkang* with the words: "spirits of our family and our ancestors! Here is your food, we hope that you partake of it and are satisfied with what we have to offer." After eating, the spirits are presented with drinks, in many Benuaq villages still *tuak* - wine from the sugar palm - served in a buffalo horn by the *ajuh turu*, but sometimes only tea or sugar water. Again the *wara* addresses the spirits: "here are the drinks we offer; may you partake of them and be satisfied!"

Tobacco and cigarettes are then presented to those spirits who, during their life in this world, enjoyed smoking, and the full set of betel tools ingredients is placed before them to refresh themselves and overcome the fatigue of a full stomach.

Ngerankau

Ngerankau is the cultural show (*kesenian*) or play (*permainan*) performed by the family for the entertainment of their ancestral spirits. After the evening meal, when the *kuangkai* ceremony is in full swing and the spirits come regularly to the longhouse, the *wara* announces the dance: "Watch now, spirits, the play which I have organized in your honor and for your enjoyment; if the occasion comes, I hope that you will in return reward me for my efforts on behalf of you; we hope that these *ngerankau* dances will be enjoyed by you as a sign of our, the living relatives, appreciation for you, our deceased ancestors."

The gong is sounded twice to call the dancers and visitors and the *kelentangan* begins the characteristic syncopated *ngerankau* rhythm. The basic rhythmical patters is modified slightly by different individual players.

Visitors and family members who have rested or taken a nap after supper roll up their mats against the longhouse wall and clear the middle space for the dancers, and gradually the room is filled with spectators. The

wara gathers with the dancers at the *selimat*. They take the clothes - the *tjawat*, the traditional loincloth from bark fiber, and strips of *batik* - from the hooks above the *selimat* and place the headbands, *laung*, made of rotan and coconut leaf around their heads. The wara opens the *selimat* and removes the skulls of the ancestors which have been tied into batik cloth which is now tied around the neck and shoulders of the dancers. Sometimes and in some places, the dancers also hold decorative tassels, *ibus* of *daun biru*, in their hands which they swing to the rhythm of the *kelentangan*.

The wara leads the dancers down the longhouse in single file and back to the *selimat*, each time varying the steps and increasing the pace. This is done seven times and the wara may change with another man as *garong*, or leader of the *ngerankau*, by handing over his staff. After the seventh time, all dancers gather again at the *selimat* and with the exclamation 'ho, ha, he' i.e. 'finished' end their dance, redeposit skulls, dresses, headbands, and *ibus* decorations and sit down again handing the floor over to the women.

Whereas it is the intention of the men to display variation of movement from easy to more difficult and of pace from slow to fast, and express boldness and exuberance, sometimes resulting in comic and grotesque steps which make the audience jolt with laughter, the women's *ngerankau* is an expression of slow and solemn grace, intended to impress the ancestors with the beauty and kindness found among their female descendants. At first led by the *ajuh turu*, the women more frequently change their leader in order to give each of them a chance at displaying her beauty, skills and dress. After seven times, however, the women, too, end their part of the dance and the *ajuh turu* returns to look after the preparations for the late night food offerings. While most of the spectators leave, a few men and women stay awake with the wara and his assistant to participate in the incantations intended to call the spirits to their late supper. The *penduduk* which during the dance was covered with a red and white cloth is uncovered and food placed on the *telangkang*. The wara and those remaining sit around the *selimat* and begin to address the skulls inside in order to call the *kelelungan*; thereafter, they also call the *liau* who after seating themselves on the white and red seats are presented with the food. It goes without mentioning that each time the spirits are given food and drinks, the dancers and wara share in it and take their meal at the same time.

Food giving and *ngerankau* take place every day and night throughout the duration of the *kwangkei* ceremony. On certain days, however, special food is served: thus, 7 days before the final day, a number of chickens are slaughtered, and 3 days before, several pigs are killed and presented to the spirits.

Also, on certain days the wara accompanies the members of the family to the cemetery and the grave where the ancestors have been lying in state until the present ceremony. There, they sit on the grave and converse with the *liau* preparing him for his final journey. Meanwhile, the sculptor is completing the carving of the *blontang* for the buffalo sacrifice, as well

as the *teplaq* (sarcophagus) if the deceased was a *manti* or *penggawa*.

Finally, the wara sets the date for the final day of the ceremony after considering whether the goods accumulated by the family are sufficient to satisfy the spirits. The final day (*penghabisan*) is characterized by the sacrifice of a buffalo, a particularly large number of guests and visitors who come to attend the sacrifice and the last *ngerankau* performance, and the final journey of the spirits to heaven.

The Buffalo Sacrifice

Before the feast, the family has purchased one or several buffalos and transported to the village where it is kept in the surrounding meadows. A strong pole is carved, usually in the shape of a human figure, painted and erected on the wide open field below the longhouse. This *blontang* is used to tie the buffalo to by means of a long, strong rotan vine. In some villages, the buffalo is penned in a bamboo cage on the last morning. After the morning food offerings and morning meal, the wara, followed by family members and the crowd of villagers and spectators, goes towards the buffalo and explains to it the reason for its fate. He sits on the pen and in his incantations tells the buffalo: "you will be slaughtered by man for the benefit of mankind, but don't be sad but remember that you are the one who brings wellbeing to us and our ancestors, and it is for this reason that we have raised you." These incantations go on for an hour or so, while the buffalo is marked with white circles on the shoulders and decorated with red ribbons at the horns and a candle at its tail. Finally, this candle is lit, the pen opened, and the buffalo let free only restricted by the rope which attaches it to the *blontang*. Eventually, the burning candle will infuriate the animal and it will stampede out of the pen and circle around the *blontang*. At this point, the young men will pursue it and try to stab it with their lances (*tombak*) aiming at the circle marks which indicate the seat of liver, lung and heart and are said to be difficult to hit with a running animal. Needless to say, the buffalo, while a plump animal, is swift and dangerous when in pain, and perceiving danger, will attack violently anybody approaching him, and the struggle lasts from one to two hours, until the buffalo finally succumbs to the many wounds and the loss of blood. At this point, a young man representing the *liau* with a white flag tied to his *tombak* stabs the animal from the left, while another one with a red flag representing *kelelungan* stabs it from the right. Eventually, the wara severs the head with his *mandau*, takes the red ribbons from the horns and attaches them to the *blontang*. Some of the buffalo's blood is smeared over the *blontang*, and the wara divides the meat: for himself, heart, lung, liver and the right breast and right fore and hind leg; for the community the right side of the animal. This latter half is divided into smaller pieces which are roasted over a large open fire where also sticky rice (*suman*) is cooked in bamboo tubes. Both meat and *suman* are served for the evening meal to the large number of guests and the spirits. The head of the buffalo is taken by the wara up into the longhouse and placed near the *selimat*. Some of the meat will be cooked the next morning while the skull will be fixed to one of the poles of the *lamin* in commemoration of the event.

The buffalo sacrifice at funerals has replaced human sacrifices which the Benuaq had to make in earlier times in order to appease their ancestors.

Not always were the victims procured in headhunting excursions but often were slaves purchased from a neighboring group. Weddik (1849:153-56) reports the same sacrifice for the neighboring Bahau and Tunjung:

The Bahau do not always go for a headhunting expedition at the death of persons of noble status or other important events; but they sometimes ask in some neighboring villages for a living slave. This is never refused. Each inhabitant contributes some of his money for the purpose. The victim is returned in triumph to the village where he is killed at his arrival under the savage clamor of all bystanders.

The Tunjung differ somewhat. Upon returning to their village they prepare a feast. The slave is tied to a pole upon which a wild dance of men and women around the victim begins. After some time, the women approach the victim dancing, and each one takes her turn in stabbing the poor slave in various parts of his body. In order to prevent the desecration of the ceremony by the wailing of the unfortunate victim his mouth is tied with a piece of cloth. After the women have tortured him long enough, the men appear with their mandaus and not long afterwards is he relieved from his suffering by death.

Thus, the origin of the *blontang* probably is in the pole to which the slaves were formerly tied. Unlike the Bahau and Kenyah, the Benuaq and Tunjung staged fewer headhunting expeditions as they required less heads - or rather the spirits of those human beings killed, the head being only the seat of the *kelelungan* spirit - to serve their great dead in the nether world. The buffalo represents wealth and power for the Benuaq and Tunjung, but unlike for the Toraja who sacrifice dozens of buffalos at the funerals of high ranking persons, it does not serve to establish large herds and wealth for the spirits of the deceased but to provide the spirit with a slave servant. However, the abolition of slavery in Dayak society has even taken away much of the significance of this sacrifice, which today only symbolizes great honor and effort on behalf of the descendants.

The Journey to Paradise

The final night of the ceremony, in which the *wara* will take the spirits on their journey to heaven, also begins with the feeding of the spirits followed by a final, spectacular performance of the *ngerankau* dance which is attended by a large audience. This time, the dance is interrupted several times by the *wara* for a number of ritual gestures which are to indicate the first stages in the final journey. The order of these stages seems to vary from village to village and the following description represents a compromise between the different variants.

At a certain point in the dance, the *ajuh tãru* and some of the other women get up and throw little pieces of rotan covered with burning wax over the heads of the audience. This ceremony is called *sensiwo* after the fruit *siwo* which causes burns on the skin like the fire. It is a sign of welcome for the spirits but also represents the passage of the spirits of the *siwo* tree, whose fruit they taste.

The next ceremony, performed during a short break in the dance, is called *selantuk* (or *sengeramuk*) and represents the spirits' passage at the *keramuk* tree, a tree with black fruit. To symbolize this, the *wara* takes little pieces of charcoal powder mixed with coconut oil with which he draws black lines on the cheeks of the audience. This is said to be a sign of receiving the spirits in the midst of their family.

Following this, the dancers continue. At a certain moment they stop and throw white rice over the heads of the audience. This ceremony referred to as *selisat* represents the spirits' passage under a *langsat* tree whose white fruit, falling from the tree as it is shaken by the spirits, are represented by the falling grains of rice.

Another little ceremony, called *selayuk*, consists in members of the audience giving each other little blows on shoulder and neck. This is to symbolize the fall of the *layung* fruit, a durian-like red fruit with sour taste, as the spirits pass under the *layung* tree. According to others, tasting from the sour fruit the spirit suddenly shudders as it is reminded that, despite all the merriment in the midst of his family, he is dead and actually far away from his beloved relatives, whereupon he beats his forehead in a gesture of sadness and despair.

Finally, another ceremony consisting of the sprinkling of water over the audience, marks the arrival of the spirits at the *Danum Raya* (big water), a lake at the foot of Gunung Lumut. Resting from the journey, the spirits bathe in the water and try to catch some of the small fish jumping in the lake. This splashing is symbolized by the water thrown by the *wara* over the heads of the participants with the words: "as this water is sprinkled on you, may the life of you and your children be as cool as water!" Cool here refers to a relaxed and balanced character free of tenseness and rash (hot) emotions and aggressions.

With this ceremony, called *sensebui* (or *mentota*) the dance and the public part of the ceremony comes to an end. By now, about 1 or 2 o'clock in the morning, most of the audience leave, weary of the past nights and weeks of daily participation in the ceremony, and only the *wara* and the family members organizing the ceremony remain. Food is again given to the spirits, and thereafter the clothes and other presents by the family are presented to the *liau* and *kelelungan* (*nguai* or *ngorak owa* i.e. getting new clothes).

The *kelelungan* asks, via the *wara*, what he has been called for. Some representative of the family answers: to give the spirits who have lived in destitution now for many years and whose dress has been torn to rags, a set of new clothes which they must wear on their journey. The representative of the family then asks whether the goods which the spirits have received are sufficient and please them, and the men, on behalf of the ancestral *liau*, answer that they are glad to receive the food and clothes given to them. This dialogue continues for a couple of hours.

Finally, the *wara* climbs on his vehicle, a board suspended on two ropes under the roof of the longhouse called *seleung*, and begins the final part of the journey with the *liau*. If the priest is a *setangis*, he uses a boat

As the journey continues, the number of spirits to accompany the traveller increases until the Jurai Empa rock. Here, the saliva of the arriving spirit is examined by the older spirits who cheer him if its saliva is dark red (from betel) rather than dull, because this is again a sign of honesty and goodness in his former life.

The journey continues until the south of the Mea which the prau enters. Here, the spirit of the deceased meets with the members of his family who have died before him. He shares with them the clothes which are in his coffin as well as the china dishes. In return, his ancestral spirits offer him delicious food and for dessert rambutan.

From the place Kakah Hokang, the spirit is left to travel alone without the *wara* who gives him a lamp to help him through the coming part of the road which is going to get dark. He passes through a place called Puntung Krendum which is said to be very dark.

From there he continues until Puntung Laung and offers the spirits on the road food, berries of grapes, and face powder. When he reaches Puntung Laung, he is no longer allowed to smoke. From there he passes Lampur Batuan, then Gomie Ajau. Here is again served food by the older spirits which consists of meat from pig, deer and buffalo.

From here on, apparently he does no longer use the prau but has to walk until lake Baya. Here, together with the other spirits he chases *saluang*, a local type of fish.

On his further journey, the spirit is served *tuak* (rice brandy) which he drinks together with the other spirits until they are all elated. According to the song of the *wara*, the vessel in which this *tuak* is served consists of buffalo horns some 80 cm. long. At Nungker Nakkan drinking stops. At Batan Katui, the spirit is received with the sound of large gongs (*ketambung*) and at arrival, he himself is given a gong to beat.

The journey continues and more and more spirits join the traveller who has now entered the border (Baun Patengnyau) of the town of the deceased. The shouting and cheering gets louder, and the earth reverberates with the noise of the drums and gongs and the feet of those dancing in his welcome, until he finally reaches Lumbut, the town of the souls.

Here, he stays for a certain time until he can continue his journey to the Lewu Liau." (Larwoto, 1963:40-41)

It is likely that this account makes reference to actual place names on the upper Mea river, and in some way reflects the journey between Gunung Lumut and the village in Central Kalimantan, where the author of the

account originated. For villages in East Kalimantan this journey will include different places: for example, from the villages on the upper Tuang, the stations mentioned to us were: Sungai Soya (a tributary of the upper Tuang), Siwo Soyau (on the upper Lawa), Danom Raya, Sungai Mea, Gunung Piyoyang, Kaka Hokang or Gunung Ayos, Gunung Lumut. Thus, it appears that the traditions preserve the memory of the actual geographic locations situated between the present village and the Gunung Lumut in Central Kalimantan, and it is possible that these traditions - which are learnt by each *wara/setangi* during his training - are a guide to the actual migrations of the Benuaq groups in East and Central Kalimantan and that Gunung Lumut represents their place of origin. This fact would explain the variations in the accounts which differ from village to village but have certain basic elements in common and represent a cultural complex shared by all Lawangan groups.

Regardless of which journey they take, all spirits (*liau*) which arrive at Gunung Lumut are believed to be weighed there for their sins with a balance (*terajuk*) and only those free of sin are allowed to continue to Lewu Liau, the land of the spirits.

THE ECONOMICS OF KWANGKEI

It is useful to consider for a moment the expenditures for the ceremony, keeping in mind that most of the Benuaq families are poor and lack the means for basic food, clothing and health care. Where are the benefits then of the spectacular funeral ceremonies such as *kwangkei*?

Table 2 represents the outlays made during a typical feast converted into approximate Rupiah and Dollar prices

Item	Total Cost in Rupiah	in US\$ (1:630)
1 buffalo	300,000	476
5 pigs @ 50 kg	200,000	317
12 chickens	24,000	38
2.5 t rice @ 250/kg	625,000	992
100 kg sugar	45,000	71
100 coconuts	25,000	40
4 tins of oil	80,000	127
<i>wara's</i> wages	100,000	159
<u>Carver of selimat</u>		
1 antang	20,000	32
1 shirt	2,000	3.2
1 trouser	4,500	7.1
1 batik cloth	4,000	6.3
1 plate	500	.3
1 tong	2,500	4.0

Item	Total Cost in Rupiah	in US\$ (1:630)
<u>gifts/utensils</u>		
4 antang	80,000	128
1 tombak	15,000	24
1 par (small jar)	12,000	19
14 plates	42,000	66
1 set men's clothes	8,000	12.7
1 set women's clothes	10,000	15.9
2 mandau	8,000	12.7
1 kapak	2,500	4.0
1 large tikar	5,000	8.0
12 white plates	6,000	9.5
TOTAL	1,647,500	2,615

Table 2. Expenditures for Funeral Ceremony

This is considerable if compared with the average annual family income which amounts to about Rp. 700,000 (appr. Rp. 375,000 value of subsistence food production and Rp. 325,000 cash income from off-farm activities), especially if one considers that most of these items have to be purchased and therefore require cash income. Thus, it is not surprising if an average family takes about five years to accumulate the funds for the ceremony under normal circumstances. In practice, however, various means of fund raising are employed which give the funeral feast the character of a fair and attract even more people to the village than would otherwise be the case, and convert it for several weeks into lively place. First, the members of the family themselves and other villagers set up tents and stalls where they sell drinks and food, from which a percentage is used for financing the costs of the ceremony. Second, the organizer of the ceremony - usually the head of the household - invites numerous traders who set up booths selling cloth, clothing items and household wares. They also give a certain amount of their profits to the family. Finally and financially most importantly, tests are set up at some distance from the village where gambling goes on during the nights of the ceremony and where, until late night, quite a crowd of people can still be found. The usual games are card games with bets made on a red-white dice which is spun around under a metal cover until it is uncovered at the end of the game giving the take to the players sitting on the side facing the red side of the dice. The holder of the bank, who has usually been asked by the organizer of the funeral to organize the game, turns over thirty per cent of his profits for the financing of the ceremony.

In this way, funds are raised even while the ceremony is already going on, and the *wara* is told every evening about the take of the bank on which he bases, to a certain extent, his decision when to set the date for the final day of the ceremony. The pending decision of the Indonesian president to forbid all forms of gambling as of April 1, 1981 will have a considerable impact on the financing of the Benuaq funerary ceremonies and perhaps reduce them in frequency and expenditures made, as it will take the family a longer time to accumulate or recover the expenses.

The income from these various forms of fund raising - which at times may actually exceed the costs and yield a profit - belongs among the more tangible benefits of the ceremony. The intangible benefits can be summed up under the label 'insurance against an uncertain future': by procuring for their ancestors the living hope to avoid the wrath and revenge of angry ancestral spirits which may send evil and misfortune on their descendants if not properly cared for. On the other hand, they are reassured by the communion with the spirits of their deceased family members and the promise that death is only a step towards another life where they can continue to share the company and joys of friends, family and community members while preparing for the distant journey to the land of their ancestors. Thus, for the Benuaq life has no end but is a sequence of phases and different stages of consciousness. Those who have lived before them and those who will be born after them are all contemporaries in a wider social community whose members live free of disease, pain and fear. The *kwangkai* ceremony, then, is the renewed promise that one day those who now live in misery and illness will enter this community which has the pleasures of life without its pains and anxieties.

NOTES

1. Mallinckrodt, *Het Adatrecht van Borneo*, Leiden, 1928, 2 vols.
2. Andreas Messing, *Base Line Surveys Damai, Muara Lawa, Barong Tongkok*, TAD, 1981.
3. According to other informants, the *kelelungan* proceeds to a mountain whose location varies according to the different Benuaq areas. Thus, for the Pahu Benuaq it is Mount Renajas on the upper Tuang.
4. *Roh* is the generic term for a death spirit covering both *liau* and *kelelungan*.
5. *Blontang* is the carved sculpture to which the sacrificial buffalo is tied; *selimat* contains the skulls of the deceased ancestors during the ceremony; *tepla'* is the carved sarcophagus where the bones of the dead will be laid to rest at the end of the ceremony.
6. I have used photography as an explorative tool taking photos of objects and action which were represented to participants in the ceremonies with requests to explain the contents of the photo. Interviews were conducted to get additional information on the meaning of actions and incantations, as well as to elucidate certain concepts which were mentioned in the photo explanations. Here, photos will be used for demonstrating objects and actions and illustrating the interpretations given by informants. It was attempted to obtain photos illustrating specifically objects or actions mentioned in the interpretations of the informants, but this still remains an incomplete attempt as no photos could be obtained of the many small ritual performances during the last night when the spirits are taken to heaven.
7. It is only during the later part of the *kwangkai* ceremony that these marks are made on the blowpipe since during the first days and weeks, *kelelungan* cannot yet be reached and does not come down this way.

Soils

Burrough is correct in advising caution in the use of soil data, especially when used by the social scientist to attempt to explain social behavior such as the development of land rights.¹ It was for this reason that I provided the scale for every soil map consulted so that the reader would be aware of the relative accuracy of each and the limitability of any conclusions that were drawn. Even so, enough soil data was available to show the unwarrantable of Appell's hypothesis that "poor soil" was a causal factor in the development of a very different system of land tenure (that of tenure of limited duration) among the Rungus than that which developed among other Dayak groups (that of permanent tenure). This became clearly apparent when the Rungus area was compared to the Maanyan area, where the soil data to which I referred were actual soil profiles and not soil maps.

According to the soil profiles taken in Temianglayang, a village located in the heart of the Maanyan area and very close to the village of Telang (where Hudson's study took place-Hudson, 1967), Driessen et al (1976) reported a quartz sand content of 95 to 99 percent. These soil profiles can be considered fairly representative of the greater Maanyan area as this region's soils are quite uniform, unlike the other Dayak areas which have been considered in these discussions on land tenure.² Thus, Appell's hypothesis that "poor soils" lead to the development of tenure of limited duration rather than permanent tenure doesn't appear to hold true.³ The Maanyan maintain a system of permanent tenure and yet they reside in a region which would fit Appell's definition of land with "poor soils".⁴

Precipitation

The belief that precipitation data is a critical environmental determinate has been the most serious error in this debate. Rather sadly, Dove failed to understand this point. The differences in precipitation among the various areas under consideration is indeed sizeable, but in terms of regrowth⁵ this variance is insignificant. It is obvious that Dove does not understand the term "udic moisture regime" as he questioned my statement that all five areas under consideration were of the same moisture regime. Unlike social science terminology, "udic moisture regime" is a technical agronomic term which is mathematically defined. It is not based solely upon total precipitation in a given region but also upon its distribution throughout the year.⁶ The type of moisture regime present in an area affects the growth of plants, such as whether or not they are likely to suffer water stress and wilt. Since in all areas under consideration here we find an udic moisture regime plant growth should be equal provided other environmental factors are also equal (type of soil, temperature, topography, etc.). This disproves Appell's belief that "...the increased rainfall in Sarawak areas...tends to encourage the regeneration of tree species in a swidden and discourage the growth of weeds in comparison to the Rungus area" (1971:19).

Distribution of precipitation during the year is a much more critical concern for swidden cultivators. Dove brings out this point but adds some rather questionable points regarding primary verses secondary forest.

1) In comparing the problems of burning between a primary and secondary forest swidden he states that remedial measures are possible in secondary forest farming (i.e. additional weeding) but are not possible in primary forest (i.e. secondary burning). One certainly doesn't move around large unburnt logs in a swidden to achieve a second burn, but many Dayaks accomplish a second burn of primary forest by collecting brush, piling it around larger logs and stumps and then starting a series of small fires. Thus, a poor first burn of primary forest can be partially offset.

2) Dove's figures of dramatically lower yields for swidden made in primary forest, over those of swidden made in secondary forest are rather surprising. While this may have been the case during the year or two he was in his village I question whether this is an accurate portrayal of the situation. In my fieldwork among the greater Luangan (Lawangan) Dayak group most individuals stated that they got higher yields in primary forest swidden than they did in secondary forest swidden. Even in areas where people claimed to get lower first year yields on "old" forest than they did on first year yields on "young" forest⁷ they always got better second year yields on the "old", or primary, forest swidden. Thus this increased the incentive to clear "old", or primary, forest.

3) The division of land used for swidden into secondary and primary forest, and then stating that people prefer one over the other is rather simplistic. The actual situation is far more complex. In the area where I worked⁸ I saw what could best be described as a sixfold division of land types: 1. Primary forest, 2. Old secondary forest (that is land which hasn't been used for swidden for 50 or more years), 3. Young secondary forest (that is land which has been used in recent memory -probably 7 to 20 years ago), 4. Scrub land, 5. *Alang-alang* (*imperata cylindrica*) grass, and 6. Bamboo forest. Individuals chose different types of land to make swiddens for different reasons.

One of the first considerations in choosing the site for a new swidden is its location. Is it close to the village, does it have access to the river or a good walking path so that it can be easily reached, is there a source of fresh water for drinking and cooking, etc. A second consideration revolves around the long term plans for the piece of land. *Rotan* (rattan) is an important traditional crop in much of Borneo, both for home use and more recently for sale. A *rotan* garden planted after a swidden made from primary forest grows faster than one planted after a swidden made from any other type of land. Young men may opt for primary forest land in choosing a swidden site so that they can plant *rotan*, as well as establish land rights. Other individuals may choose old secondary forest in an area which hasn't been used since the time of their grandparents. Even though this land may be far from the present village center, some individuals will opt for such land since it will be richer than young secondary forest and good for making permanent gardens of coffee or coconut after it has been used for a year as a swidden. Such land, being away from the village, is also a good place to raise livestock, especially carbau, without having to worry about theft or your animals ruining a neighbor's garden.

Those individuals interested in only this year's swidden usually look for young secondary forest which is conveniently located. This will be a

piece of land which is close to their house or to the village, and one which has good access to a spring or river for drinking and cooking water. During the 1980/81 agricultural year I witnessed a number of people in the upper Tewel River choose their sites based upon another consideration. Since the prices paid for *rotan* during the past year have risen dramatically many villages spent large amounts of time during the dry season cutting *rotan* for sale. Subsequently, they were late in preparing a swidden site. Many of these individuals decided to make their swiddens in bamboo forest not far from the village proper. This choice was made since bamboo forest, while taking considerable time to slash, dries quickly. A good burn was thus possible in less than a week after slashing. Even though bamboo forest couldn't be used for a second year due to the rapid regrowth of the bamboo, yields were very high due to the high lime content of the bamboo ash.

In the Tunjung Plateau of the upper Mahakam River much of the land falls into the categories of young secondary forest, scrub or *alang-alang* grass land. The choice becomes one of cutting forest or slashing grass and scrub. Since the grass and scrub lands are easily cut and burn well the first year yield of such swidden is generally higher than that made on young secondary forest. Still, many people will choose young secondary forest even though it is located further from the village and the first year's yield is less than the grass and scrub land swiddens. They do so since second and third year swidden yields are far better on such land.⁹

Weighing Ecological Factors

Dove misstates my^a position as being rather absolute with such statements as, "Weinstock (says)...that land tenure practices in Borneo do not co-vary with ecological factors..." and "Weinstock (concludes)...that ecological factors are not determinate at all". While it is unfortunate that Dove has misunderstood my position, it should suffice to note that I am not so naive as to believe that ecological factors are not determinate at all.

Dove complains that I did not fairly judge the environmental factors since I took them singly while trying to maintain (but not necessarily assuming) other factors constant. Yet, if one is to prove a certain environmental factor determinate, as Dove claims is the case for precipitation, then scientific method demands that all other factors remain constant. Hence, Dove contradicts himself by at one point stating that total precipitation determines the development of land rights, and then at another point suggesting that land rights develop as the consequence of historical, social, political and economic factors in conjunction with environmental factors. In the former he states that a single environmental factor, rainfall, is determinate while in the latter he sees the unique set of social and cultural factors determining the manner in which environmental factors play a role (i.e., the social and cultural factors as the real determinates). Certainly environmental factors are important considerations in understanding the development of land rights but they have not proven to be the sole determinates, not particularly critical determinates, in explaining differences in patterns of land tenure across the island of Borneo.

The Evolution of Land Tenure

A final comment regarding Dove's article pertains to the changing patterns of land tenure. It is rather mystifying that he cites me as one of the scholars who views the evolutionary process of changing land rights without full consideration of the social, political and economic determinates. This is particularly strange since he only cites my article in the BRB and not my larger manuscript (1979a), which is based upon a detailed historical account of the development of land laws and traditional land tenure among the swidden cultivators of Borneo. Far from suggesting a lineal development of land rights as a simple function of increasing population/land pressure, I argue that there has been a fluid response by Bayak communities based upon the combination of historical, social and economic factors which have impinged upon these communities and their land tenure systems. There is no one single pattern of changing land tenure practices in Borneo. In some communities household rights have waned while in others they have strengthened. Likewise, in some communities village land rights¹⁰ have lessened and in others they have become more important.

Summary and Conclusions

It can be plainly seen that Appell (1971) in formulating his hypothesis, and Dove (1980) in supporting it, have overestimated the influence that environmental factors have had upon the development of land rights in Borneo. Certain ecological features, such as the distribution of rainfall, play a critical role in successful swidden farming, but none that have been proffered in this ongoing debate have proven to be key determinates in the development of land rights. This has been shown here and in my earlier article in the BRB (Weinstock, 1979) through the comparison of the Rungus area to the Maanyan area, both of which have similar environmental conditions and yet have very different patterns of land tenure. This is even more clearly visible through comparison of the Kayan and the Kenyah Dayaks who have different land tenure patterns and yet they live in the same environment (Whittier, 1973 and Rousseau, 1974)¹¹.

According to all of the data currently available, the development and evolution of land tenure practices among the swidden cultivators of Borneo appears to be primarily a combined function of political, social, economic and historical factors rather than environmental factors. Where environmental factors are important their role has been determined by the aforementioned factors. In understanding land tenure we must carefully assess and weigh the relative value of all of the factors of the natural and social spheres. It is highly unlikely that any one factor will prove to be determinate of itself, rather the unique interaction of a number of factors or varying weight and influence will most likely be the key to understanding each case individually.

NOTES

1. I am indebted to Dr. Armand Van Wambeke, tropical soils specialist in the Department of Agronomy at Cornell University, and Dr. Hari Eswaran, tropical soils specialist in the Agronomy Department at the University of Gent (Belgium), for their assistance.

2. During my current research of the Luangan (Lawangan) Dayaks, whose area lies to the north of that inhabited by the Maanyan Dayaks, I have had occasion to visit the Maanyan region. The homogeneity of the soils of the greater Maanyan region, which exhibits a high level of quartz sand, is plainly visible to the naked eye. In fact, the Luangan Dayaks refer to their neighbors, the Maanyan, as the "people of the sand land".

3. The amount and distribution of rainfall in these two areas are also similar, but the fallacy of using precipitation data will be discussed elsewhere in this article.

4. Again referring to my earlier article (1979:12), the Kenyah and the Kayan Dayaks reportedly have different forms of land tenure and yet they live in the same regions of Borneo and thus are dealing with the same environment.

5. The point of whether or not a good burn is achieved is another issue which will be discussed later in this article.

6. Precise calculation of the moisture regime of an area requires daily records of precipitation. While the data with which I had to work only gave monthly totals, the fact that there was no true "dry" period in any of these areas indicated an extreme unlikelihood that any moisture regime other than an udic one would occur.

7. I use the terms "old" and "young" forest here since the comparison in some areas is not between true virgin forest and secondary forest, rather it is between forest that may be 50 to 100 years old versus 10 to 15 year old forest.

8. I covered a major portion of the greater Luangan (Lawangan) Dayak area which stretches from the Barito River in Central Kalimantan to the Mahakam River in East Kalimantan. This research was sponsored by a Fulbright-Hays research grant and a grant from the International Agriculture Program at Cornell University.

9. Population pressure on the Tunjung Plateau has created ecological degradation, with most people planting three or four years in a row with a fallow of only a few years.

10. I would suggest that Dove use the term "village" rather than "long-house" when referring to such land rights since not all Dayaks live in longhouses, either presently or even historically. It is a common myth that all Dayaks live in longhouses and hunted heads. It should be mentioned that the Luangan (Lawangan) Dayaks, like many of the Dayaks of southern Borneo did little, if any, headhunting and never lived in longhouses. In fact, the Luangan still tend to live in dispersed settlements with one or two large family houses in a clearing located anywhere from five minutes to several hours travel from a village proper. These are permanent homes and not field houses.

11. As noted earlier (Weinstock, 1979:12), even historically the Kayan and the Kenyah Dayaks inhabited the same environment as they both claim the Apo Kayan region as their ancestral homeland

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NEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

Borneo Research Council Meeting

There will be a meeting of the Borneo Research Council during the Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association in Los Angeles, California. The meeting will be held in the Detroit Room of the Los Angeles Hilton from 5:30 - 7:00 p.m., Saturday, December 5. All Fellows and persons interested in Borneo are cordially invited, and are encouraged to submit items for the agenda as soon as possible.

Loan for Hydroelectric Project in Malaysia
Approved by Asian Development Bank

An estimated 14,000 households will receive electricity for the first time, and 30,000 existing consumers will benefit from a least-cost and reliable supply of energy, with the aid of a US\$40.4 million loan approved by the Asian Development Bank today for the Batang Ai Hydropower Project in the East Malaysian state of Sarawak.

The harnessing of the power of the Batang Ai River will develop an indigenous and renewable energy resource in a state where only 38 per cent of the population of 1.3 million now has access to electricity, but where the demand for electrical service is rapidly growing.

Burgeoning industrialization and fast-rising population have increased energy sales by the government-owned Sarawak Electricity Supply Corporation (SESCO)

at an annual rate of 16.1 per cent since 1970. Sales are forecast to continue to grow at a pace of 12.8 per cent a year for the next 14 years.

Besides meeting this future demand for power, the Project will induce further industrial and commercial diversification of the agriculture-based economy; reduce heavy dependence on oil imports for the largely diesel-fired present generation system; and lessen air pollution caused by burning fossil fuels.

The Project is designed to generate and transmit 92 megawatts of hydroelectric power through the construction of four rockfill dams, a power station, a 275-kilowatt transmission line to the state capital of Kuching about 215 kilometers away, and consulting services for the construction. The Project is scheduled to be completed in 1986.

The creation of an 84-square-kilometers reservoir will necessitate resettling 26 Iban communities comprising about 2,600 people. Under a program developed after more than three years of planning and close consultation with the affected communities, the families will be resettled nearby where they can retain their traditional pattern of life but will be given the opportunity to improve their standard of living by changing from subsistence-level shifting cultivation to more permanent cash-crop agriculture. (News Release, Asian Development Bank, 17 September 1981)

Proboscis Need Sanctuaries

The future of the proboscis monkey is "grim", writes Sonia Jeffrey, who is studying the species in Kalimantan. . . Logging is rapidly destroying their habitat, and there is some danger of their being in demand for zoos and laboratories. Endemic to Borneo, and classified in the Red Data Book as a threatened species, proboscis are only to be found close (less than one km) to large rivers and estuaries, which, because the rivers are the main means of communication, is precisely where human settlement occurs, and also where the timber companies have their base camps and sawmills. In the IPPL Newsletter she describes how proboscis, which on some rivers have been hunted right out, are easy to capture as they sleep in trees overhanging the rivers; if they are frightened by men on the bank they drop into the water, where they are easily picked up by men in boats and tied up. Although they are protected by law, so that it is an offence to possess one, enforcement is not effective, even in the ports where they are sold for high prices to the crews of the ships exporting the logs. Research is now aimed at determining the requirements of the proboscis so that adequate sanctuaries can be set up. (Oryx, Vol. XV, No. 5, December 1980, p. 432)

Indonesia Bans Primate Exports

Indonesia, which had originally planned to allow 25,000 monkeys to be exported in 1980 - mainly for medical research - banned exports entirely in February, after reports of high mortality in transport. Malaysia and the Philippines are now the largest Asian suppliers. In 1979 Japan imported 8136 monkeys, mainly from Indonesia, which sent 3428, followed by Bolivia (2436) and Malaysia (1164). Nineteen other countries were involved, including seven without native monkey populations. (Oryx, Vol. XV, No. 5, December 1980, p. 444)

Asia Foundation Grants

The Asia Foundation made the following grants from the Indonesia Program during October, 1979 to September, 1980:

- \$8,658 to enable INDRRA (Indonesian Secretariate for the Development of Human Resources in Rural Areas) to convene a seminar in South Kalimantan on problems in implementing transmigration programs.
- \$9,255 to enable PERWARI (Women's Association of the Republic of Indonesia) to establish a Vocational Training and Service Center to increase the income of rural women in South Kalimantan.
- \$9,707 to enable the Center for the Study of Land Law at Lambung Mangkurat University to publish and distribute the Journal for the Study of Land Law.
- \$172 to enable a staff member of the Lambung Mangkurat University Central Library to attend a librarian training program in Yogyakarta.
- \$1,376 to enable Lambung Mangkurat University to use the services of a visiting professor to develop skills and research methodologies in the law, education, economics, and socio-political faculties.

Statement on Missionary and Church Archives

The International Association for Mission Studies Working Party on Mission Studies and Information Management, meeting in Rome in 1980, drafted a statement emphasizing the need for developing church/mission archives, particularly in societies among whose members oral records have been predominant. The following are excerpts from the Statement:

- 1.3. The IAMS is concerned to promote the creation, preservation, and use of archives connected on the one hand with the history of western missionary movements, and on the other with the history of the Churches of Africa, Asia, Latin America, and Oceania.
 - 3.2. We emphasize, in particular, the importance of oral records. It is a problem in many Christian communities that the literate culture . . . does not correspond well with what people communicate in the oral culture. . . To neglect one of the other record is to truncate Christian witness, to distort - through neglect - inspiration from and knowledge of the past, and so to make it difficult for a Church to explain what she is, and how she came to be.
 - 4.1. We ask the IAMS, through its Standing Committee on Archives, Bibliography and Documentation, to co-ordinate surveys in Third World countries in order to determine the location and extent of present Mission or Church archival collections.
 - 4.3. We recommend that the IAMS undertake the preparation of a handbook on appropriate technology and procedures for local Church Archives in the 3rd World.
- For more information about such projects, readers are encouraged to write Mr. Paul Jenkins, Basler Mission, CH-4000 Basel 3, Postfach, Switzerland.

Mrs. Kathleen Brooke, 1907-1981

Mrs. Kathleen Brooke, former wife of Anthony Brooke and sometime Raneë Muda of Sarawak, died in London on April 24, 1981. Born into a family from the West Country, where so many members of the Sarawak Service were recruited, she met Anthony Brooke through her brother, Donald Hudden, who served for many years as District Officer for the Baram. One of the most popular of all the Brooke officials, he was killed in early 1942 in Dutch Borneo by Iban ex-prisoners who had been released for this purpose by the Japanese.

Marrying Anthony at Rangoon in September, 1939, Kathleen was soon to know of the sometimes difficult relationship between him and his uncle, Sir Charles Vyner Brooke. A major cause of this difficulty was that the Rajah had three beautiful daughters but no sons. An effort appears to have been made by Raneë Sylvia, through the instrumentality of Gerard MacBryan, the Rajah's remarkable Private Secretary, to alter the succession in favour of their eldest daughter, Leonora, and her children. This was thwarted in 1930 when the then Datu Shahbandar, Abang Haji Abdullah, expressed his strong opposition, but the Raneë's hopes were rekindled when Leonora married the Earl of Inchcape and had a son by him.

Under the terms of Charles Brooke's political will, Anthony's father, Bertram, was the heir apparent to the Raj. However, he was only slightly younger than the Rajah and by 1936 his health prevented him from retaining any role in the governing of Sarawak. In preparation for a career in Sarawak which seemed likely to culminate in his becoming the fourth Rajah, Anthony studied Malay language and Islamic law at the School of Oriental and African Studies before being seconded to the Malayan Civil Service in 1934 for two years.

By early 1939, Anthony was posted at Mukah in the Third Division as a District Officer and shortly afterwards became involved in a virtual rebellion by the outstation administrative officers against the power-accumulating bureaucrats of the Kuching Government Secretariat who were bent on centralizing administration. By means of an inquiry into the dismissal of a junior officer from his district, and with the tacit support of the Rajah who authorized the inquiry and sympathized with the administrative officers, Anthony succeeded in obtaining the resignations of the Chief Secretary, the Financial Secretary, and the Chief Justice. In the process he had been given the title of Rajah Muda by the Rajah who shortly afterwards departed for England leaving Anthony in charge as Officer Administering the Government.

Although Anthony did not initiate any important changes during his six months as Rajah Muda, he aroused the antagonism of some veteran officials whose reports to the Rajah resulted in the stripping of his title and the advice that he should return to England to enlist. Through the intervention of Bertram, the difference was patched up and Anthony returned to Sarawak with Kathleen in 1940. Posted first to Simanggang and then to Bintulu, Anthony inevitably became involved in the discussions over the constitution which the Rajah foreshadowed in a proclamation of 31 March, 1941. At one level, the constitution with its limits on the royal prerogative was the means by which the senior bureaucrats could limit what they saw as the Rajah's irresponsibility in financial matters. At the same time, the Rajah seemed to be only too willing to rid himself of these powers

in order to tie the hands of his successor who still looked like being Anthony. When Anthony announced finally that he was going to Singapore to interview the Governor on the issue, he was dismissed from the Sarawak Service and made a hazardous return to England with Kathleen via Athens.

In early 1945, Anthony had again returned to favour. His title of Rajah Muda was restored by the Rajah who also appointed him head of the Sarawak Provisional Government whose principal responsibility, apart from financial matters, was to conduct negotiations with the Colonial Office about the State's future. When these negotiations broke down over Anthony's refusal to accept the application of the Foreign Jurisdiction Act (which really meant the abandonment of internal sovereignty to the British Crown), the Rajah dismissed him and speedily negotiated an agreement providing for the cession of Sarawak to the Crown, subject to the approval of the Malay and Chinese leadership.

The announcement of the cession in the House of Commons on 6 February, 1946, produced strong responses not only from Anthony and his father who insisted that they had not been consulted, but from the Sarawak Malays. When the cession was formalized in July, opposition continued and in November, Anthony attempted to visit Sarawak. When he was refused entry, it was decided that Kathleen should go in his place and rally anti-cession support. Although the stated reason for her visit was to tend the grave of her baby niece at Marudi, her eight-month tour was in fact an extension of the anti-cession campaign. Anthony and his legal adviser, W. C. Crocker, were keen that she should remain there as long as possible in order to mobilize support.

It was clear from the outset that the Singapore and Kuching authorities were at pains to minimize the impact of her visit. A demonstration planned for her arrival in Singapore by the United Sarawak Nationalist Association was banned by the police, but there were 200 gaily decorated sampans waiting to greet her as she stepped off the ship at Pending, shaded by the yellow umbrella traditionally used by the Brookes. Welcoming arches had been banned by the police, but she received extraordinary welcome in the kampong area of Kuching and was showered with *bras kuning*, another mark of royalty. Although Anthony had been officially stripped of his title of Rajah Muda by Vyner Brooke, who retained the title of Rajah under the terms of the cession agreement, he was now regarded by the Sarawak Malays as their legitimate ruler in all but name.

Subsequently, Kathleen travelled the length and breadth of Sarawak under the auspices of the anti-cession Malay National Union and its *Kaum Ibu* (women's branch), her closest companions being Haji Su'at Tahir and the late "Chegu" Lily Eberwein. Enduring considerable physical discomfort during her travels and the non-cooperation of some colonial government officials, Mrs. Brooke provided inspiration for the anti-cession movement. In fact, however, a section of the Malay National Union leadership was probably using her to obtain grass-roots support for a movement which they saw as ultimately pan-Indonesian. She at times expressed alarm at the left-wing ideas of some of her travelling companions, including Abang Han who was carrying with him some of the writings of Karl Marx. (Abang Han was later involved in the conspiracy to assassinate Governor Duncan Stewart at Sibul in December 1949, and was sentenced to 15 years imprisonment.)

Returning to Singapore in February 1948, she told the press of the " . . . iron curtain with regard to news of conditions in Sarawak." In a later statement she gave a more detailed account of her impressions:

. . . I have come away with a most disquieting impression of the totalitarian atmosphere which pervades the entire country. The Governor is vested with far greater authority than the Rajah ever exercised except on the occasion of his questionable offer to Britain of Sarawak . . . and the Colonial Office appear to have given the Governor a free hand to see that the annexation policy works by any methods he deems suitable. There is evidence of intimidation of Government officials, both European and Asian, who have now been told that they are no longer merely administrative officers, but also political agents. Colonial Office experts visiting Sarawak are advocating that European officers with long distinguished service among the people of Sarawak . . . should be transferred to other British territories, and some officials are being warned in unequivocal terms that any question in Parliament affecting their jurisdiction will unfavorably affect their prospects . . . If any disturbances arise they will, in my view, have been caused by the radical changes which are now advocated without adequate compensation and agreement among the people.

The apparent quiet in Sarawak is due to two causes - the anxiety of the anti-cessionists to re-gain their independence by lawful and peaceful means, and the tremendous influence of the former Sarawak officials, who are conscientiously doing their best to carry out the annexation policy and at the same time to keep the confidence of the people who have always trusted them.

A talented speaker and campaigner in her own right, she impressed the Singapore newspaper reporters as " . . . fair-headed and fragile in appearance but with an amazing capacity for getting things done . . . "

On the face of things, it seems extraordinary that the Colonial Office should have allowed Mrs. Brooke to make her visit, which was bound to be good political capital for the anti-cessionists. Its policy, however, was to represent the anti-cessionists as self-interested individuals whose purpose in restoring the Brookes was personal advancement. The loyalist emphasis also enabled Whitehall to represent the movement as a primarily Malay phenomenon. More importantly, perhaps, there was serious concern about events in Indonesia and Brooke loyalism was seen as something which could be coped with more easily than pan-Indonesianism. Indeed, serious consideration was later given to the idea that Anthony Brooke should be appointed as Governor.

Mrs. Brooke's letters to Anthony from Sarawak during 1947-48 provide a detailed and perceptive account of her extraordinary visit and her meetings with anti-cessionists and government officials. Indeed, her first-hand experience of the anti-cession movement enabled her to make a more realistic assessment than was possible for Anthony in his enforced exile in Singapore. At the same time, this long separation from her three young children was a considerable personal sacrifice which was not without its ill effects.

It is hoped that Mrs. Brooke's letters will be deposited at Rhodes House Library, Oxford, which already is the repository for a vast archive of Brooke family and other Sarawak material. A published selection of the letters would be of interest both to veterans of the anti-cessionist movement (which has now achieved the stature of a nationalist struggle in the political ideology) and to students of Sarawak's recent history.

An unexpected tribute to Mrs. Brooke's efforts later came from the Governor of Sarawak, Sir Charles Arden-Clarke, whose uncompromising attitude to the anti-cession agitation and the banning of Anthony Brooke probably set the stage for the Sibu affair. "Please convey my kind regards to your wife," Arden-Clarke wrote to Anthony Brooke in June 1949, "whose courage, energy, and pertinacity on your behalf in Sarawak, though I deplored the cause for which she worked, evoked my respect and admiration." He was not prepared to provide an assurance that she could return to Sarawak. (R. H. W. Reece, St. Antony's College, Oxford, May, 1981)

BORNEO NEWS

Borneo News

The Sabah Society, in collaboration with the Malayan Nature Society, is pleased to announce that arrangements have been made to reprint Smythies' *The Birds of Borneo*. The second edition of this classic work was published in 1968, and has long been unavailable. Indeed, it has become a collector's item.

The new edition has been prepared by the Earl of Cranbrook, a distinguished authority on the birds of the region. The intention is that this edition should be widely available as a handbook to the birds occurring in Borneo. In this new edition the introductory section has been abbreviated by the exclusion of Chapters 1-6, replaced by a brief introduction. The main text has been annotated by the Earl of Cranbrook to include new records and material since 1968, with an additional bibliography. Prepublication price including postage within Malaysia, Singapore and Brunei to members of The Sabah Society and The Malayan Nature Society is M\$40 per copy payable in advance. To non-members of the societies, the price is M\$55 per copy. Orders should be addressed to The Sales Manager, Sabah Society, P.O. Box 547, Kota Kinabalu, Sabah, Malaysia.

Kalimantan News

The International Rice Research Institute and the Agency for Agricultural Research and Development of Indonesia sponsored the "First International Workshop in Research Priorities in Tidal Swamp Rice in Indonesia" on June 22-25, in Banjarmasin, South Kalimantan. Papers in which readers might be interested are: H. Anwarhan and H. Noorsjamsi, "Tidal Swamp Rice Culture in Kalimantan;" Greta A. Watson, "Tidal Swamp Rice Cultivation: The Utility of Rice Cropping Strategies in Samuda Kecil Village, Central Kalimantan;" Tairan Saremin and R. H. Bernsten, "An Agro-Economic Profile of an Old Transmigration Area in the Tidal Swamp Environment;" William L. Collier, Bochari Rachman, Supardi, Bakir Ali and Rahmadi, "Social and Economic Aspects of Rice Based

Cropping Systems in the Coastal Wetlands of Indonesia," 71 pp. The International Rice Research Institute will publish the proceedings which should be available in early 1982.

The paper by Collier et al. includes the following case studies:

1. Purwosari (South Kalimantan): The First Government Sponsored Transmigration Project in the Tidal Swamps, pp. 45-52;
2. Tamban Lupak: New Method of Rice Cultivation in a Government Sponsored Transmigration Project (1976-1978), pp. 52-55;
3. Besarang (1963): Problems Encountered by Javanese Transmigrants in Central Kalimantan, pp. 55-58;
4. The Mendawai of Tanjung Puteri: Deep Water Rice Cultivation in the Nipa Swamps in Central Kalimantan, pp. 58-63;
- and 5. Banjarese Rice and Coconut Farmers in Lupak Dalam, Central Kalimantan, pp. 63-69.

Regarding information reported in the *Bulletin* 13(1):57, Dr. Collier writes: "The study of 14 villages in South and Central Kalimantan is being carried out by staff and students from Lambung Mangkurat University in Banjarbaru, South Kalimantan with support from myself and the Agricultural Development Council, Inc. My above paper is based on this work in Kalimantan and a similar effort in Sumatra in cooperation with Sriwijaya University in Palembang." (July 9, 1981)

ANTONIO J. GUERREIRO, CeDRASEMI, Paris, is conducting fieldwork under sponsorship of the Universitas Mulawaman, Samarinda, in the Upper Mahakam area, *kecamatan* Long Bagun, Long Pahangai among the Busang (Una' Tepai, Una' Palo, Una' Lekue), and Long Glat ethnic groups. His main topic will be the study of the Busang and Glat languages, especially the dialectal variations and ethnolinguistic relations between these peoples. Special attention will be given to ethnotechnological and economic processes actually functioning in this area.

VICTOR T. KING has received his Ph.D. degree from the University of Hull, following examination on his thesis. The title of his thesis is The Maloh of West Kalimantan: Social Inequality and Social Change in an Indonesian Borneo Society.

Sabah News

The Sabah Foundation and the Malaysian Historical Society organized a conference on Sabah History and Society, held in Kota Kinabalu from August 12 - 16. Topics, persons presenting papers, and chairmen were: (1) Sabah Historiography and the Role of Oral History - Professor Sharon Amat and Dr. J. S. Sidhu, and Professor Nicholas Tarling; (2) Trade and Early History of Sabah - Jan Wissemann, and Professor C. R. de Silva; (3) The Structure of the Indigenous Economy of Sabah in the 1860s and 1870s - D.S. Ranjit Singh, and Dr. Cheah Boon Kheng; (4) Perjuangan Peribumi Menentang Penjajahan di Sabah: Protes Terhadap Nilai Barat - Jamin Buyong, and Dr. Shahril Talib; (5) The Rindum Rebellion of 1915 in Sabah: Millenarianism and Social Protest - Dr. Ian Black, and Dr. J. S. Sidhu; (6) Stone and Megalithic Associated Phenomena in Sabah's Cultural Heritage - David McCredie and Professor J. Chandran, and Professor Sharon Amat; (7) Sejarah Perundangan di Sabah - Professor Madya Nik Abdul Rashid Majid, and Professor Datuk Zainal Abidin Abdul Wahid; and (8) The Development of Native Education in Sabah 1881-1941- Sabibah Osman, Tuan Haji Mohd. Hussein Ahmad, and Encik Omar Mohd. Hashim.

About 500 people attended the seminar, many of them school teachers from peninsular Malaysia and Sarawak, as well as from Sabah.

Sarawak News

DEREK FREEMAN has published Some Reflections on the Nature of Iban Society, An Occasional Paper of the Department of Anthropology, Research School of Pacific Studies, The Australian National University. In this work, with illustrations by MONICA FREEMAN, Professor Freeman critically surveys recent developments in Iban studies, including the views of Benedict Sandin and Jérôme Rousseau. He then presents an analysis of Iban society based on hitherto unpublished materials from his researches in Borneo of 1949-1951, 1957-1958 and 1976, giving particular attention to leadership, the *penghulu* system, and the significance of choice in the egalitarian society of the Iban.

JAMES JEMUT MASING, an Iban from the Baleh river region of Sarawak, completed his Ph.D. in the Department of Anthropology, Institute of Advanced Studies, The Australian National University, Canberra, in May 1981. His thesis, entitled The Coming of the Gods, is a study of an invocatory chant (*timang gawai amat*) of the Iban of the Baleh region in the context of traditional Iban culture, and includes a translation of the *timang* text of about 45,000 words in English.

This invocatory chant (*timang gawai amat*) depicts the gods on their journey to the world of men, and their subsequent participation in a ritual feast and other activities at the end of which the Iban high god of war, Lang Singalang Burong, bestows charms and blessings on the man who has performed the ritual feast. In the days when Iban were involved in periodic migration in search of new territory, they came into conflict with other tribes of Borneo who, like themselves, depended upon the forest for their livelihood. To be a successful warrior, it was necessary, according to Iban belief, to have the assistance of their high god of war, Singalang Burong. Dr. Masing suggests that it was in this historical context that this particular version of the *timang* came into prominence.

After submitting his thesis, James Masing was appointed a Research Assistant in the Department of Anthropology of the Australian National University for three months. During this time he translated (i) the text of *Taku Antu pala* (the nursing of trophy head); (ii) a complete text of a death dirge (*Sabak*); and (iii) numerous *timang* episodes collected in Sarawak in 1949-51. His position as a Research Assistant was suspended for two months while he was working in Sarawak as a consultant to Time-Life Books, London, on an Iban project. Dr. Masing is leaving Canberra to take up a position in the newly-formed Sarawak Literary Society which, among its other purposes, has been established to create a place where local academics and others may exercise their literary skills. (Derek Freeman, 9 September, 1981)

BENEDICT SANDIN and CLIFFORD SATHER have published Iban Adat and Augury. This important work is another in the series co-authored by Sandin and Sather providing an unusually insightful study of the independent yet interrelated Iban systems of law and divination. It may be ordered at

a price of M\$20 from the Co-operative Bookshop Ltd., Universiti Sains Malaysia, Minden, Penang, Malaysia, or, from the University of Malaya Co-operative Bookshop Ltd., P. O. Box 1127, Jalan Pantai Baru, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.

BOOK REVIEWS, ABSTRACTS
& BIBLIOGRAPHY

Urang Darat, An Ethnographic Study of the Kadayan of Labu Valley, Brunei

Allen Richard Maxwell, Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1980

In northwest Borneo interlaced social and cultural relationships reflect a complex series of historical and political processes. Settlement structure and economic patterns in this tropical riverine environment contribute to the continuation of a traditional way of life among the Malay-speaking Kadayan of Brunei. Village and household organization, in conjunction with local marriage customs, facilitates the incorporation of non-Malays into the Kadayan Malay population. Environmental conditions permit the continued maintenance of traditional subsistence activities.

The sociological principles and semantic features embodied in traditional Kadayan Malay modes of ethnic classification are examined in the light of the purposes, uses, and contexts of singular, multiple, simultaneous, and overlapping labeling. Religion, social structure, and ideology are important components of the definition of the Malay ethnic category. Local ethnohistorical interpretations conceptually link Malays with non-Malays. No single factor suffices ethnographically for analyzing Malay cultural identification in Brunei. An adequate account must consider the nature of social groupings; linguistic, cultural, and historical differences; and relationships with the superordinate Brunei polity.

R. H. W. Reece, "Preface," *Lawyer in the Wilderness*, K. H. Digby, Data Paper Number 114, Southeast Asia Program, Department of Asian Studies, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, October 1980 (reprinted with permission of Cornell University).

One of the ironies of Brooke history is that a great deal more is known about the first two "White Rajahs" and their rule than about the last. Vyner Brooke was an enigmatic figure who left little in the way of letters or journals to reflect his thinking. (Furthermore, most of the official records of the interwar period were destroyed during the Japanese occupation when an acute shortage of paper led to their use as wrappings in the Kuching bazaar.) Displaying little interest in the day-to-day business of government, Vyner allowed his senior officers to assume his powers. Thus it was that his Private Secretary, G. T. M. MacBryan, and his nephew, Anthony Brooke, ruled Sarawak for brief periods in the late 1920s and late 1930s respectively. And under the written constitution enacted on the centenary of Brooke rule in 1941, the Rajah virtually abdicated his authority in favour of a bureaucratic cabal known as the Committee on Administration.

Vyner must have been aware that his silence compared oddly with the prolific outpourings of James Brooke and the more sober and businesslike records of his own father, Charles Brooke. In his Foreword to Raneé Sylvia's *The Three White Rajahs* in 1939, he referred to his "hitherto unbroken rule not to appear in print":

I might be tempted to avail myself of this opportunity to give a dissertation on what I consider the proper method of 'Governing Natives', had I any settled convictions on the subject, but if forty years of administration have taught me anything, it is the danger of assuming that any hard-and-fast rules can be laid down and followed in this connection.

Brooke rule was essentially pragmatic and Vyner Brooke was the ultimate pragmatist, eschewing convictions of any kind beyond a belief in "live and let live."

The problem for the historian is that the reign of the third Rajah is poorly documented and only partly within the province of living testimony. And yet the period of 1917-1941 was one of marked change for most of Sarawak's different ethnic communities. Largely due to the growth in rubber and pepper production by small-holders, Sarawak became increasingly involved in the world market and subject to its vagaries. It also came under increasing pressure from the Colonial Office to conform to "proper standards of administration."

This lacuna in the record of Brooke rule has been alleviated to some extent by the publication first of A. B. Ward's *Rajah's Servant* (Cornell Southeast Asia Program Data Paper Number 61, November 1966) and K. H. Digby's *Lawyer in the Wilderness*. Ward had served under Charles Brooke and was appointed by him as the senior administrative officer. His resignation from the Sarawak Service in 1923 seems to have had something to do with his judgment of Vyner whom Charles had always regarded as irresponsible and superficial. Digby may have had his reservations about the third Rajah, but he was impressed by the genuine affection Vyner inspired among his subjects and officers--an attitude which contrasted with the awe in which Charles had been held. Detached from the issues of the day, Vyner could be seen, not as an irresponsible ruler but as one who had perfected the art of ruling by delegating most of his responsibilities.

Recruited in 1934 when conditions in Britain were forcing bright young men to look further afield for employment, Digby represented a new breed of university educated officers who brought a level of professionalism to a service which had previously been the province of talented amateurs. And he arrived in Sarawak at a time when Brooke administration was undergoing a thorough re-examination by Cyril Le Gros Clark, the exceptionally able Secretary for Chinese Affairs who later became Chief Secretary. During the following years there was to be a bitter struggle between the bureaucratic centralizers of the Kuching Secretariat and the conservative Establishment of the Administrative Service--District Officers and Residents who believed that they were the custodians of Brooke rule.

Unlike Ward, Digby had a limited experience of "out-station" life, although his account of postings to Miri, Simanggang, and Serian provinces provide some good insights into up-country conditions. His legal skills were soon appreciated by the Rajah and in 1940 he became Acting Legal Adviser to the government. This led to his being heavily involved in drafting the 1941 constitution, together with a supplementary treaty with the British government. Consequently, he was well placed later to discuss such questions as the legal basis of the Raj and Sarawak's relations with Britain.

After his internment by the Japanese during the war and a brief recuperation in England, Digby returned to Sarawak to work for the new colonial administration. These were the years of the anti-cession campaign waged by the Sarawak Malay National Union, supported by Anthony Brooke who was refused permission to enter Sarawak in December 1946. Basing himself in Singapore, Anthony conducted a vigorous press campaign to repeal the cession, and Digby (who at that time was editing the government-controlled *Sarawak Gazette*) was given the task of preparing counter-blasts. At this stage Digby seems to have accepted the Rajah's view that Sarawak was "better off" under the Colonial Office, but by 1951 he had serious doubts. The organs of government had proliferated, "experts" flourished, and taxes increased without any notable advantages to the governed. Finally, the dispatch of Dayaks to Malaya to act as trackers and scouts against the Communist guerillas brought him into conflict with the governor and no doubt resulted in the abolition of his post as puisne judge.

Although the autobiography was commenced on the home voyage, it bears few signs of bitterness or rancor. Digby's liberal-left views had made him a dangerous radical in the conservative hot-house of the Colonial Administrative Service and he must have found his position increasingly untenable.

Apart from its amusing and enlightening vignettes of Brooke rule and of life in the Batu Lintang internment camp, *Lawyer in the Wilderness* offers a valuable commentary on the problems of applying European legal principles and forms in traditional Southeast Asian societies. Brooke rule had always taken the line of least resistance to indigenous custom, except for such dangerous habits as head-hunting. Indeed, the Raj may well have owed its continuous existence to the role of the Rajah and his officers as arbiters in disputes which had gone beyond the bounds of mutual settlement. Appeal to the arbitrary authority of a European official provided a safety valve, an opportunity to air grievances which was valued as much as the judgment itself. It may well be significant that the term for Brooke government in Sarawak was *perintah* (law and order) rather than *kerajaan* (the formal hierarchy of government).

This system, if it can be thus termed, was first challenged in 1928 with the appointment of Thomas Stirling Boyd, a crusty Scots barrister, as Judicial Commissioner--a move which was designed to placate a British government anxious to regularize the administration of justice in Sarawak.

Boyd's work in codifying existing Sarawak law and adapting the Indian Penal Code and British law was appreciated by the officers of the Administrative Service, but they were infuriated by his determination to strengthen what he saw as the rule of law. This threatened the traditional informality of the

District Officers' and Residents' Courts whose proceedings were seldom recorded in detail and whose decisions were seldom appealed to the Supreme Court. Lawyers had been effectively barred from practising in Sarawak and there was a strong distrust of legal forms. What Boyd saw as the "rule of caprice" was regarded by the out-station officers as a tried and tested method of preserving good order.

The increasing tension between the Kuching bureaucrats and the out-station officers over legal and other matters came to a head in early 1939 when Anthony Brooke, acting on his uncle's authority, forced the resignation of Boyd and other members of the Committee on Administration which had acted as the executive arm of government since 1934. And it was at this point that Anthony Brooke asserted what he regarded as traditional Brooke policy:

I should like to say that so long as I have any influence over the way the laws of Sarawak are to be applied I shall never recommend the application of those laws literally where I consider my own good judgment fits the circumstances better . . .

Ultimately the question of legal administration could be reduced to the conflict between the "rule of man" and the "rule of law." Digby does not seem to have adopted a hard-and-fast position here. On the one hand he felt that British law was often absurdly inappropriate. On the other, he was not altogether happy about the discretion which the old system gave to individual officers. But he had no doubts about the status of the Sarawak judiciary under Colonial Office rule. From his own experience, he could confidently conclude that the much-vaunted "independence" of judges and civil servants only existed as long as their opinions conformed with "the broad outlines of foreign and imperial policy."

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This bibliography lists 192 items according to subject, viz. agriculture, education, fauna, flora, statistics, geology, and especially forestry. It contains an alphabetical author index and a key word index.

Blust, Robert, "Notes on Proto-Malayo-Polynesian Phratry Dualism," Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde, afl. 2/3, 1980, pp. 215-247.

Following the tradition of the Leiden school of ethnology, the term "phratry" is used to designate a dual division that--due to the operation of double descent--cannot independently define a descent group. The term "proto-Malayo-Polynesian" is applied to the hypothetical ancestor of all extra-Formosan Austronesian languages. Reflexes of a FMP root **baliw*-(an) are examined in a number of languages spoken in the Philippines, Indonesia and Madagascar, and are found to be most simply explained as continuation of a term meaning "dual division". A basic secondary sense of this term appears to have been "to equalize a loss or debt." The widespread Austronesian belief that equilibrium is a necessary precondition to well-being is explored and a tentative causal link is suggested between the demand for ultimate balance in reciprocal prestations and the institutionalization of equilibrium as a social value in other cultural domains.

Blust, Robert, "Early Austronesian Social Organization: The Evidence of Language," Current Anthropology vol. 21, no. 2, April 1980, pp. 205-247.

On the basis of comparative linguistic evidence certain key kinship terms are reconstructed for early Austronesian society. It is argued that the reconstructed sibling terminology carries a strong statistical implication that descent groups were present in a prehistoric society ancestral to many modern societies that lack them. Linguistic comparison is further taken to indicate an ancient rule of matrilineal cousin marriage, and a quadripartite social organization. These conclusions contrast with the dominant American view of the evolution of social organization in the Austronesian world, but agree closely with results obtained in the 1930s by Professors J.P.B. Josselin de Jong and F.A.E. van Wouden of the University of Leiden.

Ross, M. S., "The Role of Land Clearing in Indonesia's Transmigration Programme," Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies, vol. 16, no. 1, March 1980, pp. 75-85.

Half a million families from Java and Madura are planned to be resettled according to the transmigration program in Repelita III (1979-84). Since the middle of 1978 the Agency for Technical Cooperation of the German Federal Republic, has tried to find practical answers to the problem of efficient land clearing and utilization of the forest waste as part of its aid project in integrated rural development in East Kalimantan. From a Pilot Project in Muara Marah it was learnt that a combined manual and mechanical method would be most suitable. The export of logs and the charcoal production could pay for the whole province's transmigration program.

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