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NOTES FROM THE EDITOR

The present issue, once again, reflects the wide-ranging interests of our readers. It also marks the first appearance of several new contributors to the *BRB* and gives welcomed prominence to Kalimantan. Included in this volume is also a report on the BRC's Fifth Biennial Conference, which took place last year in Palangka Raya, Kalimantan Tengah, and information concerning our next conference, which will be held in Kuching, Sarawak, 10th-14th July, 2000.

Opening this volume, Jani Sri Kuhnt-Saptodewo writes on some features of a ritual language known as *basa sangiang* and its use in Ngaju death observances in Central Kalimantan. Particularly fascinating is her account of the use of ritual language formulae, called *tandak*, to construct "bridges" connecting otherwise separate regions of the unseen world. Michael Hooker responds to two papers that appeared in a previous volume of the *BRB*, thereby joining the continuing discussion of Borneo land tenure systems pursued over a number of years in the pages of the *Bulletin*. Reed Wadley, the author of one of these papers, briefly replies. Both of these research notes take up the important question of governmental legislation and direct state involvement in matters of land use, as well as issues pertaining to the recognition (or non-recognition) of indigenous land-use rights by the state. Lye Tuck-Poo and Grace Wong report the results of a biodiversity conservation survey they conducted in two Orang Sungai villages in the lower Sugut region of Sabah. Lye and Wong's important study was funded by DANCED (the Danish Cooperation for Environment and Development program, Ministry of Environment and Energy). The next note by Ole Mertz et al. describes another program funded by DANCED, involving an educational and research collaboration between the Universiti Malaysia Sarawak and a consortium of three Danish universities concerned with natural resource management and sustainable land use.

Moving next to East Kalimantan, Mika Okushima writes on rice agriculture among Kayanic speaking groups, discussing in particular the existence of long-established forms of wet rice cultivation and the historical, and persisting, preference of these groups for dry rice farming. Her paper also includes important new material on past Kayanic migrations and cultural history. Stephanus Djuweng contributes a provocative paper discussing oral narratives relating to Dayak "kingship" in West Kalimantan. Bernard Sellato, in a companion note, sets Djuweng's material in a historical context and makes a persuasive case for the past existence of an Indianized, but non-Islamic, Dayak polity in West Kalimantan, which exercised, at one time, strategic control over interior commerce and routes of trade. Dr. Sellato concludes with a call for further archival and ethnohistorical research on the topic of pre-colonial Indianized state development among West Kalimantan Dayaks.

Finally, I wish to thank Bob Reece, Patience Empson, and the National Manuscript Commission, UK, for permission to reprint Ms. Empson's serial introduction to the Brooke Papers held in the Rhodes House Library, Oxford. Professor Bob Reece, who made this reprinting possible, provides a valuable introduction to this material, describing the Rhodes House collection and its origins as he came to know of it through his own research. I would like to add here that Professor Reece has himself made important

contributions to this superb collection, and, as an anthropologist, I would note that the Rhodes House library also contains A.C. Haddon's papers relating to Sarawak and is in the process of receiving those of the late Stephen Morris.

Once again, I would like to thank all of those who assisted me during the year with review and editorial advice, including Sander Adelaar, George Appell, Dee Baer, Louise Boer, Vernon Porritt, Bob Reece, Bernard Sellato, Vinson Sutlive, John Walker, and Reed Wadley. Phillip Thomas (National Library of Medicine) performed the indispensable task of computer-processing the textual materials and photographs contained in this volume. To all, again, my thanks.

The Borneo Research Council on the Web

On behalf of the BRC, I would like again to thank Dr. James Chin for continuing to develop our BRC website. Among the useful additions that Dr. Chin has made to the site is a complete index to past volumes of the *Borneo Research Bulletin*. As in the past, the site also contains the table of contents of the most recent volume of the *BRB*. For those who are still unfamiliar with our website, I encourage you all to visit it at: www.sarawak.com.my/org/BRC/

In addition, membership information is now available directly on our website (besides appearing at the end of each volume of the *BRB*). James continues to compile a directory of Borneo scholars and those who wish to add their names and record their research interests are invited to contact Dr. James Chin directly at <james.chin@mailcity.com>. James also invites your suggestions as to what further additions we might make to our site.

The Sixth Biennial BRC Conference

The Sixth Biennial Conference of the Borneo Research Council, "Borneo 2000", will be held in Kuching, Sarawak, Malaysia, July 10-14th, 2000. The host organizers are the Institute of East Asian Studies, Universiti Malaysia Sarawak (UNIMAS), and the Sarawak Development Institute (SDI). Information on registration, relevant themes, papers, roundtable and panel proposals may be found below. Further information may also be obtained by email or by writing directly to "Borneo 2000", Conference Secretariat, c/o Prof. Michael Leigh, Director, IEAS, UNIMAS, 94300 Kota Samarahan, Sarawak, MALAYSIA. A conference registration form is available online at:

<http://www.unimas.my/ieas/html/borneo_research_conference_200.htm>

BORNEO 2000

Borneo, with an area of 287,000 square miles, is the third largest island in the world. It comprises a variety of different peoples, each distinguishable by distinct culture and language.

The Sixth Biennial Conference of the Borneo Research Council, **Borneo 2000**, aims to bring together researchers from throughout the world. Organized by the Institute of East Asian Studies, UNIMAS and Sarawak Development Institute, the conference will be

held on **10-14 July 2000 at Crowne Plaza Riverside Hotel, Kuching, Sarawak**. The conference will run from Monday 10 July to Friday 14 July. Registration will commence on the evening of Sunday 9 July.

CALL FOR PAPERS

Borneo 2000 will be a multi-disciplinary conference including the social sciences, the biological sciences and the medical sciences. These include linguistics, socio-economic change, education, biodiversity, traditional knowledge, regional links, history, land use, population, music and art, literature and oral traditions, conservation, law and custom, public policy and rural development. Papers on these and other subjects are invited, and may be submitted in English, Indonesian or Malay.

The conference committee thus welcomes proposals for panels, roundtables and individual papers in all disciplines, drawing on the wealth that is Borneo/Kalimantan.

- We especially encourage participants to organize panel presentations around a common theme or subject. A typical panel consists of a chair, 3-4 paper presenters, and a discussant.
- A roundtable is one in which no formal papers are presented. It is an opportunity for 4-5 participants to discuss specific issues or themes.
- Individual paper proposals will be organized around common themes, wherever possible.

Those interested in coordinating a panel or roundtable should contact:

Professor Michael Leigh
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 94300 Kota Samarahan
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 Tel: +60 82 671000/672191
 Fax: +60 82 672095
 Email: michael@ieas.unimas.my

ABSTRACT

Whether you are proposing a full panel, individual paper or roundtable, please submit an abstract **NOT exceeding five (5) sentences**. For full panels, we will also need an abstract from each participant.

Please submit your proposal, abstract and bio-data to the Conference Secretariat by **February 29, 2000**.

DATE OF SUBMISSION

All papers will be published in the Conference Proceedings, and are thus protected by Borneo Research Council copyright. A full set will be available to all registered participants upon arrival. Thus it is a condition of acceptance of your participation as a presenter that your full paper be received by the Conference Secretariat, in Microsoft Word or RTF format, by **May 31, 2000**, at the latest. If you wish your paper to be refereed, prior to publication, it must be received by March 31. Due to publication constraints the length of each paper cannot exceed 7,500 words.

The conference fees have been kept as low as possible. Foundation funding is being sought to assist promising young Asian scholars to present papers at **Borneo 2000**. Let

the Secretariat know if you fall into that category. Any available assistance will be disbursed on the basis of need and promise. Early bird discount fees are available to those who register before **May 1**.

REGISTRATION

Conference fees must be paid by all participants: paper presenters, chairs, discussants and organizers. The fee includes five lunches, ten refreshment breaks and a copy of the conference proceedings. Registration forms are available through the Conference Secretariat:

email: Borneo2000@unimas.my or URL: www.unimas.my/ieas.

Some Errata from Volume 29

Regrettably, due to a series of untimely delays with our previous printers, and my own departure for Sarawak on research leave, I was unable to do a final proofreading of Volume 29 before it went for final printing, binding, and mailing. Consequently, an unusual number of typographical errors appear in the volume, most of which are indicated below, in the order of their occurrence:

John Landgraf, North Borneo over Seventy Years:

p. 17, caption for Photo 3 belongs to Photo 4, Mera is Usang's daughter (not former wife), and the next woman (to the right) is Usang's former wife.

Roger Kershaw, Brunei-Dusun Omen Birds:

p. 39, lines 2-3. Delete "located in the three Appendices".

p. 39. The parenthesis next to the name of species no. 3 should contain the biological symbol for male.

p. 40. The word "Woodpeckers" should be removed from the box for birds no. 11, and placed as a heading for the next three species.

p. 53, fourth reference. Italicize full title.

p. 53, twelfth reference. Italicize title.

p. 54, second reference. Italicize title.

p. 55, Appendix 1, line 18. Read, "based on Clive F. Mann's first four and a half years of birdwatching in Brunei".

Reed Wadley, The Road to Change in the Kapuas Hulu Borderlands

p. 88, footnote 15. The Kapuas Hulu borderlanders were effectively cut off from contact with their children attending school in Pontianak and Singkawang, and after things had calmed down, a number of children transferred to schools in Sintang, Putussibau, and other upriver locations.

p. 90, footnote 17. The condition of the road itself and that of its immediate environment are also likely to suffer as the regency government must allocate less money to a growing number of problems.

Finally, in the Abstracts section (p. 276), our colleague Lesley Potter is, of course, "she", rather than "he".

Member Support

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

ENDOWMENT FUND

Allen R. Maxwell, John D. Pearson, Patrick Cassels, W. D. Wilder, Clare Boulanger, Anne Schiller, Phillip Thomas, Leigh Wright, Donald Brown, Reed Wadley, Michael R. Dove, Laura Appell-Warren, Robert Winzeler, Dr. and Mrs. Otto Steinmayer, Ralph Arbus, Carol J. P. Colfer.

GENERAL FUND

G.N. Appell, A.V.M. Horton, Ann Appleton, Judith Heimann, Martin Baier, Kazunori Oshima, Robert Cramb, H. Arlo Nimmo, W.D. Wilder, Clare Boulanger, I.M. Scott, Phillip Thomas, E. Kim Adams, Rodney Needham, Donald Brown, Robert Reece, Jack Stuster, Gale Dixon, Christine Helliwell, Michael R. Dove, Laura P. Appell-Warren, Mr. A.J. Bacon, Robert Winzeler, Michael B. Leigh, Virginia Hooker, Carlton Niemitz, Graham Saunders, Dr. & Mrs. Allen Drake, Dr. & Mrs. Otto Steinmayer, A.J.N. Richards, V.K. Gorlinski, Vicki Pearson-Rounds, Stuart T. Lyman, Jay B. Crain, Peter Metcalf, Mr. Ralph Arbus, Otto Doering, Carol J.P. Colfer, Clive W. Marsh, Jim Welsh, Antiquarian Booksellers Gemling.

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

MEMORIALS

ROLAND (RO) BEWSHER, O.B.E.

1910-1998

The death of Ro Bewsher in Pialba, Queensland, Australia on 15 November 1998 severed one of the few remaining pre-World War Two links between Sarawak and the Borneo Evangelical Mission (BEM), his service with the BEM having begun in 1932. Ro was born in Burnie, Tasmania of deeply religious parents, both of whom were milliners. He enrolled in the Melbourne Bible Institute at the age of nineteen and subsequently was sent to Limpasong in the mid-Limbang area of northern Sarawak. Working amongst the Bisaya, an ethnic group settled along the Limbang and Trusan rivers, Ro quickly learnt their language by living as a working member of a Bisaya family. This enabled him to translate the Gospel of Mark into Bisaya, followed by spreading what he defined as 'Christian enlightenment and benefits'. This included training Bisaya teachers, not only in literacy, as at that time there were no schools in the area, but also in hygiene and simple medical treatment. He also studied Bisaya farming methods, suggesting means of improving crop yields. In 1939, Ro married a fellow missionary, Mary, a nurse and midwife, making an ideal team for their work.

With a number of other Caucasians, the Bewshers retreated into the interior when the Japanese overran Sarawak in late 1941. However, they were finally arrested in July 1942 and sent to the Batu Lintang Internment Camp in Kuching, together with their adopted Bisaya twins. Named Dandi and Danis, the Bewshers adopted the boys in early 1940 to ensure their survival when the twin's natural mother died during their birth. The deprivations of internment and separation from his wife, coupled with atheistic arguments of other internees, which Ro found difficult to counter, led to his resignation from the BEM in late 1944. Having served in the Council Negri (legislature) in 1941 when Sarawak was given its first written constitution, he decided that a post-war role in government service would be the best way of caring for his family and improving the lot of the rural dweller in Sarawak.

Thus, after recovery in Australia from the hardships of internment, Ro was accepted in the Sarawak Civil Service (SCS), serving in various roles usually associated with his two main interests, education and agriculture. His most notable assignment was that of Principal at the Kanowit Rural Improvement School, where Native couples were taught the rudiments of literacy, hygiene, medicine, and agriculture to impart to their communities after graduation. Another important role was that of Secretary and Executive Officer of the Community Development Committee, with responsibility for communal projects that aimed to improve the standard of living in specific impoverished areas. By 1962, the health of his wife Mary was deteriorating due to a weakened heart from malnutrition during internment and his fifteen-year-old son Ross was having difficulty with his studies in Australia. With Sarawak about to become part of Malaysia and no

long-term role for expatriate officers in the SCS, Ro decided to start a new life in Australia. For his services with the SCS, he was awarded an O.B.E.

Although Ro experienced the same difficulties of re-integration as many who have served overseas, he had a series of work roles until 1986, when he finally retired. In retirement, he lost his natural son Ross in 1989, followed by his wife in 1990. Ro then sold his house in Australia and asked the Sarawak Government for an extended visa to stay in Sarawak to record the oral history of the Bisaya at his own expense. An extended visa was not granted, the government expressing a preference for such work to be carried out by local graduates. Thereafter, Ro's health gradually deteriorated and he died of pulmonary embolism at the age of 88.

Ro was a self-effacing, modest, and somewhat taciturn man, with a minimal sense of his own self-worth. He retained strong religious beliefs throughout his life and never quite lost a sense of guilt over resigning from the BEM in 1944, or of his own human weaknesses. His aim in life was to help others, and in one form or another, he followed this throughout his life. In his various roles, Ro invariably sought not to command but to plant ideas and generate discussion; not to direct but to give support; not to take but to give. On many occasions when in charge of community development schemes, he argued that the role of the government officer was to encourage the people involved to undertake the schemes, to secure their enthusiasm and involvement, and to give them all the support they needed. Not to direct and do. His part in setting up the first education facilities in the mid-Limbang amongst the Bisaya people was finally recognized in 1992, when the Bisaya Association presented him with a handsome wall plaque bearing the inscription 'Bapa Guru Orang Bisaya' or in English 'The Teacher of the Bisaya'. Ro would not have wished for a better epitaph. (Vernon L. Porritt, Murdoch University, Perth, Western Australia)

BILL SMYTHIES*

1912-1999

On 27th June, 1999, the death of Bill Smythies robbed the small and rapidly diminishing band of ex-colonial foresters of one of its outstanding members. Bertram Evelyn (Bill) Smythies was born in 1912 in India, to E.A. Smythies, silviculturalist of Uttar Pradesh and in the 1940s, Chief Conservator of Forest of Nepal, and his wife, Olive, well-known author of *The Tiger Lady*. After school at "home" in U.K., Bill read botany and forestry at Balliol, Oxford.

He joined the Colonial Forest Service and took up duties with the Burma Forest Service from 1934 to 1948. Here, as a keen amateur ornithologist, in 1940 he was drawn into the task of writing the text for *Birds of Burma*. After the independence of Burma, Bill was transferred to Sarawak in 1949 and posted in Sibu as Section Forest Officer. At that time the spectacular rise of ramin (*Gonystylus bancanus*) as an export timber, the ensuing

*This memorial owes much to information supplied by the Earl of Cranbrook, I.A.N. Urquhart, J. Wyatt-Smith and Dr. H.J. Morni bin Othman, Director of Forestry, Brunei Darussalam at the time of the 60th Anniversary of Forestry in Brunei, 1993.

scramble for concessions and the burst of almost uncontrollable logging in the peatswamp forest of the Rejang Delta overshadowed all other forestry development. It was a respite for him when he was seconded for a brief period to the Sarawak Museum to sort, catalogue, and collate the bird skin collection. The project was encouraged by the Governor, the late Sir Anthony Abell, and given financial backing by the late Dato' Lok Wan Tho, who sponsored the ornithological work of the Sarawak Museum and supported an expedition by the British Museum (Natural History) in 1956 to Sabah (then British North Borneo). The result was a 300-page *Annotated Checklist of the Birds of Borneo*, printed in 1957 and the beautifully illustrated *Birds of Borneo*, first published in 1960, followed by updated editions in 1968, 1981, and 1996.

The years 1952 to 1959 were professionally, his most satisfying period as State Forest Officer, Brunei, and concurrently, Section Forest Officer, Limbang-Lawas (northeastern Sarawak). Forestry activities in Limbang-Lawas were mainly concerned with the routine of sustainable management under a working plan of the unique deltaic coniferous peatswamp forest in Kayangeran Forest Reserve, Lawas, producing sempilor (*Dacrydium pectinatum*, Podocarpaceae) timber, controlling and guiding the pioneering steps into commercial logging of Mixed Dipterocarp forests in the hills of the Limbang valley by James Wong, and exploring forest potentials mainly for conservation but also for possible later treatment, protection, and forest production, collecting botanical specimens by the way. In Brunei, Bill enjoyed full political backing by the conservation minded government. Based on the results of the excellent work by foresters seconded from Malaya in the 1930s, Bill was able to initiate a heavy but well-balanced program of soil, site, and forest resource assessment, forest mapping and demarcation, botanical, ecological and sociological exploration, taxonomy, silvicultural trials and silvicultural and management routines. These activities were integrated in 1955 in a 10-year forestry development plan.

The conceptual features of Bill's approach to forestry in the tropical rainforest were the traditional principles of multi-purpose social forestry and the combination of basic natural science and practical silviculture, utilization, management and conservation which is crucial for achieving sustainability. His aim was the prudent use and sustainable development of human and natural resources by integrating prudent conservation, rational management, and social development. Closest to his heart were botanical exploration, autecological observation of plant and animal species, and taxonomy of trees and non-tree plant species. Bill recognized the immense importance of scientific research for forest management, conservation, and development. He cooperated closely with the forest research in Kepong (now FRIM) and Sandakan, in addition to Kuching, and enlisted the help of I.A.N. Hutchinson as silviculturist and P.S. Ashton as forest botanist. He himself engaged actively in field botany, concentrating on collecting dipterocarps but not neglecting other interesting floral components such as the pitcher plants (*Nepenthes*). The experimental plots and data sets of silvicultural research in the 1930s were continued, evaluated, and supplemented by new experiments, especially in Andulau and Anduki Forest Reserves. The formerly tried shelterwood, regeneration improvement and uniform systems were gradually replaced by selection and group selection systems, except in the single-species (*Shorea albida*) dominated communities of the peatswamp forests.

Bill transferred to Kuching in 1959 to take over as head of the Sarawak Forest Department from F.G. Browne, a similarly traditional "multi-use" and science-minded forester renowned for his achievements as entomologist, dendrologist, conservationist and all-around "dirt" forester with a strong sense of social responsibility. However, in the early 1960s the political, social, and economic climates in the environment of forestry began to change and affected forestry practice drastically even before the great rush for hill timber of the 1970s swept traditional forestry and social constraints away. In 1963, Bill wrote in No. 15 of the *Borneo Territories Forest Bulletin* "There has been much discussion during the quarter on native participation in the timber industry. As the problem appeared insoluble, the Government [of Sarawak] following the accepted democratic method of dealing with insoluble problems, referred it to a committee consisting of a nice blend of civil servants, native chiefs and leading timber men." The problem to find an equitable solution remained and still remains unsolved.

When Bill retired and left Sarawak with his wife, Florence Mary (Jill) on 15th May, 1964, first to Spain and then to England, planning and utilization of all Ramin Mixed Peatswamp forests, whether permanent or conversion forests, met the principles and criteria of sustainable conservation and management. Regional management plans regulated the integration of forestry with sustainable industrial and general socio-economic development. Local working (management) plans prescribed yield, operations of harvesting and silviculture, and conservation measures for individual forest management units in the permanent forest estate. Felling plans synchronized the rate of liquidation of the timber growing stock with the expected demands of the developing economy. Planning during Bill's tenure was based on the results of research in the 1950s into the ecology and silviculture of the peatswamp phasic communities and their main tree species and was designed to be continuously adapted to new knowledge from research and monitoring. The prudently phased opening of the Mixed Dipterocarp forests to sustainable utilization, conservation and management was in the making. The main features of the regional pattern of units of protection and production forests in the hilly to mountainous interior were decided according to tentatively assessed resource potential and foreseeable demands and mapped by the Working Plans Branch which Bill had established in 1960. In spite of the popular opinion at that time, shared by Bill, that timbers outside the peatswamp forests have little prospects for export, but may be quite serviceable for the local market, discussions were initiated with FAO in 1962 for a national forest resource assessment.

However, subsequent development turned in another direction. Bill wrote to me in 1997, "I long ago came to the conclusion that in the struggle between conservation versus human greed and superstition, conservation will always lose out, so I no longer take any interest in TRF (tropical rainforest) or its silviculture/management, apart from the historical aspect". He added that contemporary, prevailing production-oriented forestry research "with mysterious machines and computers humming and ticking in all corners [has] little to do with forestry as I remember it." Bill's legacy to us tropical foresters are his landmark books on the birds of Burma (1941) and Borneo (1960), the practical field-guide to non-dipterocarp trees of Sarawak (1965), his many always pertinent, substantial and useful contributions on matters of biodiversity of tree and non-tree flora and birds, and on forestry and conservation generally in the *Borneo Territories Forestry Bulletin*

(1959-63), and to have shown that science-based traditional multi-functional forestry is feasible and can work well in the rainforests and landscapes of Borneo if the political and social environments are favorable.

In retirement, Bill continued his botanical interest with fieldwork in southwest Europe which led to the publication of *Flowers of South-West Europe: a field guide* (1973) in collaboration with his wife and Oleg Polunin. He was elected a Fellow of the Linnean Society of London in 1969 and an Honorary Fellow in 1985. (Eberhard F. Bruenig, Professor Em., Assoc. Member, Oxford Forestry Institute, Oxford University, 114 Oxlease, Cogges, Witney, Oxfordshire, OX8 6QU, UK)

TUTON KABOY

1940-1997

Tuton Kaboy, the former Assistant Curator of the Sarawak Museum, Ethnology Section, passed away in Kuching on 3 October, 1997, at the age of 58. A funeral mass was held at St. Joseph Cathedral, Kuching, on 6 October, followed by burial at the Tenth Mile Catholic Cemetery. Tuton is survived by a wife, Theresa anak Kundi, and by seven children, two daughters and five sons.



Tuton Kaboy (Photo courtesy of the Sarawak Museum)

Tuton was born in Kanowit on 24 June, 1940, the son of Kaboy Udang and Sani anak Seriang. He received his early education at St. Francis Xavier's School, Kanowit; the Methodist School, Kapit; and Abun Matu School, Belaga. Changes of school were caused by the fact that his father, Kaboy, who worked for the Agriculture Department, was transferred frequently during Tuton's childhood. From 1961 to 1962, Tuton worked as a research assistant for the anthropologist Brian de Martinoir, then doing research among the Kajang people of the Belaga district. In 1963 through 1964, he assisted Professor Stephen Morris in his study of the Oya Melanau.

In 1965, in recognition of his linguistic gifts and skills as a field researcher, Tuton was awarded a scholarship by the Asia Foundation for a course in anthropology at the English Language Training Institute, Hawaii, where he studied from 10 June, 1965, until 8 June, 1966. Immediately afterwards, on 1 July, 1966, he began a one-year course in Southeast Asian anthropology at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, upon the completion of which he was awarded a certificate in Asian Anthropology. Near the end of his studies, he was officially appointed a technical officer with the Sarawak Museum, beginning 12 October 1966. Following his return to Sarawak, on 3 August, 1967, Tuton was promoted to Assistant Research Officer at the Museum, a post he held for a number of years. On 26 June 1992, he was named Assistant Curator in the Museum's Ethnology Section, a post he held until his retirement on 24 June, 1996. After his retirement, he was recalled to serve for a short period, from 1 July through December, 1996.

In addition to working with Professor Morris and Dr. de Martinoir, Tuton Kaboy assisted many other foreign scholars, as well as local researchers from Peninsular Malaysia in carrying out studies of the Melanau, Iban, Kayan, Kenyah, Bukat, and Kajang. He was famously friendly. An extremely sociable man, his easy-going manner never failed to put informants at ease. Seemingly having a "cousin" or "nephew", by blood or marriage, in every conceivable government office, his knack for overcoming bureaucratic obstacles and protocol earned him the gratitude, at one time or another, of virtually every researcher to work in Sarawak. Tuton was fluent in several Melanau dialects, as well as Iban and several Orang Ulu languages. He also had a working knowledge of Penan. During his long service with the Sarawak Museum, Tuton traveled widely throughout the state, collecting folktales, myths, oral history, and other forms of oral tradition. Unfortunately, only a small amount of this material ever saw its way into print. Late in life, Tuton expressed justifiable regret that the extensive collection of oral materials that he recorded, much of it now irretrievably lost, and virtually all of it impossible any longer to record, was never published or permanently archived during his active years in the Museum. Fortunately, however, during the period in which Tuton worked with Stephen Morris in the Oya, the materials he recorded were transcribed in duplicate, and while those deposited by Tuton at the time in the Sarawak Museum were apparently lost, those which Professor Morris retained have been preserved and have since been deposited by his executor, together with other papers of Professor Morris relating to Sarawak, in the Rhodes House Library, Oxford. It is hoped, eventually, that photocopies of these materials can be deposited in Sarawak.

Tuton was actively involved in many of the major research projects undertaken by the Sarawak Museum over the last two decades. These included a study of the Penan of Mulu National Park in 1978-79; a socio-economic study of the Iban of the Batang Ai in 1979-82; a survey of the effects of tourism on Iban longhouses in the Skrang, Sri Aman Division, in 1980; and the Bakun Hydro-electric resettlement study in 1994-95. He also assisted the former Director of the Sarawak Museum, Datuk Lucas Chin, in compiling materials for his books, *Cultural Heritage of Sarawak* (1980) and *Ceramics in the Sarawak Museum* (1988). Tuton also assisted Professor Othman Mohd. Yatim with materials for his book *Penggunaan Tempayan Tembikar di Sabah dan Sarawak*, and also Mohd. Kassim Haji Ali with his monograph *Masks of Sarawak*. Tuton was a participant

in the first Biennial Meetings of the Borneo Research Council held in Kuching in 1990 and also attended the same year a workshop on 'Malay Traditional Costumes and Textiles' held in Kuala Trengganu. He received the Pingat Perkhidmatan Terpuji (Meritorious Service Award) in 1987, the Pingat Perkhidmatan Cemerlang (Distinguished Service Award) in 1989, the Pingat Perkhidmatan Lama (Long Service Award) in 1993, and the Anugerah Pegawai Contoh Perkhidmatan Awan Negeri Sarawak (Sarawak Civil Service Model Officer Award) in 1994. [Jayl Langub, Majlis Adat Istiadat; Ipoi Daton, Sarawak Museum; and Clifford Sather, University of Helsinki; with the assistance of Mrs. Khoo, Sarawak Museum Library]

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Tuton Kaboy

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RESEARCH NOTES

A BRIDGE TO THE UPPER WORLD: SACRED LANGUAGE OF THE NGAJU

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General Remarks

The Ngajus are a major population of Borneo. They live in the Indonesian Province of Central Kalimantan along the Barito, Kahayan, Kapuas, Katingan, and Mentaya rivers and their tributaries. The word Ngaju means "upper-river"; the *uluh Ngaju* are thus people from upriver, in contrast to the *uluh Ngawa*, downriver people. They do not call themselves Ngaju, but identify with the particular river along which they live, such as *uluh Kahayan*, or *uluh Rungan*. While anthropologists describe the Ngaju as one ethnic group this should not obscure the fact that there are marked regional differences in speech and in rituals. Thus the death ceremonies along the Rungan and Kahayan rivers appear similar, but they are unlike those practiced along the Katingan. It is likely that what is conveniently lumped together under the word Ngaju combines quite separate and varying groups.

Research on the Ngaju Dayak has a long history in Germany. Around 1830 Christian missionary work was begun among the Ngaju by the "Rheinische Missionsgesellschaft Wuppertal". These missionaries, and later on, after World War I, missionaries of the "Basler Mission" were among the chief researchers to study the Ngaju. These missionaries devoted most of their attention to religious practices and concepts rather than other cultural fields.² Their aim of attempting to understand and describe Ngaju religion was primarily to improve their knowledge so as to be in a better position to deal with their "adversary" (heathen beliefs and practices). The missionaries' ultimate aim of language learning was also to prepare themselves for proselytization. Their activity resulted in the publication of some dictionaries that contain the rudiments of a Eurocentric grammar.³ On the other hand the documentation about the Ngaju brought together by these missionaries provides a never-ending source of data that can be used for comparisons with the present situation. The famous work of Schärer (1946) was a major influence on the Leiden School

¹I would like to thank B.J. Terwiel for editing the English.

²e.g. Grabowsky (e.g. 1882/1889/1895), Zimmermann (1902, published in 1968), Schärer (e.g. 1946).

³e.g. Hardeland (1858), Epple (1933).

and also on the work of Mircea Eliade. After its translation into English (1966), interest in Ngaju culture rose among English speaking experts.⁴

In this paper I describe the rhetorical structure of the sacred language of the Ngaju, called *basa sangiang*. Although *basa sangiang* contains dyadic aspects, this does not necessarily mean that the whole worldview of the Ngaju is dualistic. Hardeland already discovered that the priests' chants contain stanzas that consist of two parallel, synonymous parts in 1858. He also noted that the first part of each stanza contained words that were usually taken from everyday speech, while the second part was made up of words that were more often derived from *basa sangiang*.⁵ Neither Hardeland nor Schärer, however, progressed very far in their analysis of the rhetorical structure of these parallel, synonymous sets. An analysis of this rhetorical structure shows that the Ngaju also use codified phrases called *tandak* to designate places, objects, persons, and ritual activities during ritual. The most sacred *tandak* are powerful tools which the priest needs in order to accompany the souls of the dead to the upper world. The final stage of Ngaju death rituals (*tiwah*) is the biggest ritual in an individual's lifecycle, and it alone takes 33 days.

The Ngaju celebrate their death rituals in two stages: primary burial called *tantulak matei* is performed from three until seven days after death; and secondary burial called *tiwah* is held about nine months or more after primary burial.⁶ The Ngaju texts published by Schärer (1966) are taken from *tantulak matei*, or primary burial. These texts contain a great amount of material which, up until now, could not be sufficiently evaluated. Hardeland (1858) and Mallinckrodt (1928) transcribed and translated only short extracts from the *tiwah* which are insufficient for an exploration of the entire soul-concept of the Ngaju as it is represented in the ritual texts for primary and secondary burial.⁷

⁴Jike Miles (1964), Metcalf (1976), Schiller (1987), Weinstock (1983).

⁵Hardeland (1858:210): "Die Zaubergesänge (...) bestehen aus kurzen meistens zweigliedrigen, parallelen, synonymen Redeabschnitten, die denselben Gedanken mit anderen, gewöhnlich im zweiten Gliede mehr aus der *Sangiang*sprache entnommenen Wörtern wiederholen, während im ersten Gliede sich mehr gewöhnlich Dajaksch findet." (The magical chants (...) consist of short, mostly paired, parallel and synonymous parts of speech which repeat the same thought in the second arrangement using other words taken from the *Sangiang* language, whereas in the first arrangement the Dayak speech is more commonly found).

⁶Schiller (1987;1996) divides the "death cult" into three stages: 1. primary treatment of the corpse, 2. chants to purge the deceased's home of some of the pollution associated with death, 3. secondary treatment of the souls and physical remains. In my opinion her first two stages ought to be put together, because the purging of negative influences forms an intrinsic part of the primary burial ceremony.

⁷Schärer and Mallinckrodt were helped by informants who wrote and translated all of the sacred songs. The informants were Christianized Ngaju, who were thus no longer adherents of Kaharingan religion. Using modern technology I had an opportunity to record all of the priests' songs during the ritual, that means in their sacred context. The translation of these sacred songs could only be accomplished in cooperation with the priests, who discussed the correct translation. My primary purpose was to present the interpretation of the adherents of Kaharingan religion.

The ceremony upon which my research is based is the *tiwah*. The particular *tiwah* I studied took place from December 1987 till January 1988, and from November until December 1993, in the village of Tumbang Malahui on the Beringai, a tributary of the Rungan river. In contrast to neighboring villages where Islam and Christianity dominate, in Tumbang Malahui the indigenous Kaharingan religion is still strong. Of the 1,375 inhabitants in 1990, 60 per cent called themselves Kaharingan, the remaining 40 per cent Christians.

After the first *tiwah* I remained a further three months in the region to transcribe the texts which had been recorded on tape. I stayed with the family of Demal Runjan who helped with the first transcription, and later I worked with the priest (*basir*) Itar Ilas, who interpreted the chants and gave me the meanings of many codified phrases (*tandak*). Altogether I have transcribed and analyzed four of the main ceremonies (on twenty tapes), namely the *manenung* (a divination ceremony to check whether the deity that protects *tiwah* allows the ritual to proceed), *manarung* (announcing the guiding of the souls), *basir munduk* (the guiding into the upper world itself), and *blaku untung* (a concluding ceremony for the surviving relatives).

The ritual texts and interpretations of the religion by Ngaju religious specialists offer the best access to the Ngaju religious sphere. Thereby one is able to explore from an "inner perspective" the actual contents of the religion.

The Priestly Speech, *Basa Sangiang*.

The Ngaju use a sacred language for rituals which is called *basa sangiang*.⁸ A large part of *basa sangiang* can be translated using the grammar of Hardeland (1858) and his *Dajacksch-Deutsches Wörterbuch* dictionary (1859), which, to this day, is still unequalled in quality and the amount of *sangiang* words it contains. Furthermore, Baier has recently composed a *sangiang* language dictionary based on the notes and preparatory work done by Hardeland and Schärer which offers additional help. But these three sources are not sufficient to achieve a reliable translation and comprehension of the ritual texts in their full complexity.

When a priest uses *basa sangiang* he or she automatically assumes that the upper world deities are involved. Everyday speech is for ordinary life, while *basa sangiang* is the form of speech which is used in the upper world. The existence of sacred languages has been reported for various Indonesian regions.⁹ The chief difference between *basa sangiang* and ordinary speech is that in *basa sangiang* we find a general rhetorical structure which may be described as dyadic (Fox 1988). The coupled phrases stand namely in a fixed relationship, whereby the second part is subordinate to the first. In the first part the meaning is determined, while the second consists of a variation of the first. While the words in the first and second part are semantically related, this relationship can be described as "neutral",¹⁰ that is, they can in another context be used to form other

⁸Linguists of the University of Palangkaraya call the sacred language *basa sangen* (Elbaar 1981/82:1-2; Santoso 1983/84:1-1). However the people in Tumbang Malahui differentiate between *basa sangen*, the language used for the telling of mythical tales, and *basa sangiang*, the language used in rituals, e.g. for contact with the deities.

⁹For references, see Fox 1988.

¹⁰J.J. Fox 1971: 271.

pairs. For example, while in a certain context *antang* (hawk) can be paired with *tambun* (hornbill), in another context the word *kenyui* (another name for hawk or bird of prey) is appropriate. The dyadic sets, as Fox calls them (1971; 1988), may or may not occur during spoken prayers (*karungul*), but they are typical when priests proceed to chant, accompanied by drums (an activity called *balian*). During *balian* chants in particular the two phrases closely match each other, as in the following example:

hatue ("male part"):

Ngitar *garing* *panduka* *munduk* *naharep* *sambang* *garantung* *nyahu*
to turn ivory seats to sit opposite drums gong thunder

bawi ('female part'):

misat *sihung* *tapujena* *bajanda* *nyambau* *pintu* *janjangan* *kilat*
to turn ivory seats to see opposite drums gong lightning

Free translation:

they turn around on their ivory seats, nearing the drums and gongs that make thunder,
they turn around on their ivory seats, seeing the drums and gongs that make lightning

When explaining such paired sentences to the researcher, the priests describe these dyadic sets in gender terms; every set contains a "male" (*hatue*) part, followed by a "female" (*bawi*) part. Of these two parts, *hatue* is the more important. If, for example, through lack of time the ceremony must be shortened,¹¹ the priests may decide to chant only *hatue*. These *hatue* phrases are made up mainly of words which also exist in ordinary speech, while the *bawi* parts frequently contain words that are specifically found in ceremonies and mythology, words that are generally designated as belonging to the sacred speech of *basa sangiang*. While the *bawi* part is a reflection of the *hatue* phrase, the relationship between *bawi* and *hatue* expressions is often synonymous, but there are also metonymous or even antonymous pairs. When a *bawi* word has no apparent semantic connection with a parallel *hatue* expression the link may be found in mythology. Thus in the following example:

hatue:

petak sintel balambang tambun = earth thick having a base watersnake

bawi:

liang deret bangkalan gong = pit close together having a base gong

Since there is no semantic connection between watersnake and gong, the pairing of the two must be found in mythology. In a priest-drawn chart published by Stöhr (1968) we see the watersnake as the creature that holds up the earth. As for the gong, it is an instrument that is intrinsic in a ceremony; its sound functions to establish a cosmic connection (Laubscher 1977:132) and during ceremonies the priests place their feet upon

¹¹A ceremony or a part of a larger ceremony must end by sunrise. This is because in the upper world circumstances are reverse to the world here on earth. Sunrise on earth is thus sunset there and the *sangiang* will rest.

gongs. Thus, both the watersnake and the gong can be seen as supports and as means by which to link this world with the upper world.

An interesting aspect of the relationship between *hatue* and *bawi* parts is apparent when numbers occur. The *bawi* number is always one higher or one lower than that mentioned in the *hatue* part, but it is understood among priests that the divergence must be interpreted not as respectively larger and smaller numbers, but as alternative ways of expressing the *hatue* number.

For example:

hatue:

lewu *due* *barsa* *tandipah* *kilau* *namunan* *usuk* *antang*
village 2 standing opposite like stripes breast hawk

bawi:

rundung *telu* *hasambau* *nyakatan* *beket* *dahiang*
village 3 standing opposite like stripes *dahiang* bird

Free translation: A village that consists of two parts lying opposite to one another like the stripes on the breast of a hawk, or like those on the *dahiang*.¹²

When we record a large body of *basir* chants it becomes apparent that there are *hatue* words that are almost always accompanied by a particular *bawi* expression. In the following table a short list of regular pairs presented is subdivided according to different classes of relationships.

HATUE	BAWI	TRANSLATION	RELATIONSHIP
<i>balai</i>	<i>sali*</i>	meeting house	synonym
<i>bulau</i>	<i>rabia*</i>	gold	synonym
<i>garing</i>	<i>sihung*</i>	ivory	synonym
<i>kahaliman</i>	<i>kabuasim*</i>	to enjoy	synonym
<i>nunjung</i>	<i>gatang*</i>	to lift up	synonym
<i>kilau</i>	<i>ruwan*, nyakatan*</i>	as	synonym
<i>balambang</i>	<i>bangkalan</i>	to base upon	synonym
<i>lewu</i>	<i>rundung*</i>	village	synonym
<i>tandipah</i>	<i>hasambau*</i>	be opposite to	synonym
<i>namunan</i>	<i>beket*</i>	stripe	synonym
<i>tapakalung</i>	<i>salandewen*</i>	tattoo	synonym
<i>lasang</i>	<i>gentui*</i>	boat	synonym
<i>anak</i>	<i>busu*</i>	child	synonym
<i>raja</i>	<i>kanaruhan*</i>	king	synonym
<i>sintel</i>	<i>deret</i>	thick	synonym
<i>pinang</i>	<i>manyang*</i>	Pinangpalm/Pinangflower	whole/part
<i>bumbung</i>	<i>pandung*</i>	Saxifrage-leaf/Saxifrage-plant	part/whole
<i>petak</i>	<i>liang</i>	earth/pit	whole/part

¹²This is the name of the village Tumbang Malahui itself in *basa sangiang*. The secular name is never mentioned during the ceremony.

<i>tawur</i>	<i>etan bulau*</i>	rice/golden rice kernel	whole/part
<i>lampang</i>	<i>hadurut</i>	emerge/immerse	antonym
<i>Hatala</i>	<i>Jata</i>	upper world deity/ underworld deity	antonym
<i>baras</i>	<i>busung*</i>	sand/sandbank	metonym
<i>manamuei</i>	<i>mangaja*</i>	to travel/to visit	metonym
<i>parentah</i>	<i>basara</i>	command/discussion	metonym
<i>garing</i>	<i>sihung paturung*</i>	ivory/ivory talisman	metonym
<i>hindai</i>	<i>isen*</i>	not yet/not	metonym
<i>tingang</i>	<i>tambun</i>	hornbill/watersnake	mythological
<i>tingang</i>	<i>antang</i>	hornbill/hawk	mythological
<i>bulau</i>	<i>hintan</i>	gold/diamond	mythological

Words marked with an asterisk do not occur in ordinary Ngaju language.

The large number of words which have been marked with an asterisk confirms that *bawi* words are frequently not regarded as part of everyday language. It is not altogether clear whether such *bawi* words have always been part of a separate sacred language, or if they once formed a part of the ordinary language that has become obsolete. Evidence for the latter hypothesis has been advanced by Baier, who has found some words that Hardeland recognized as ordinary speech, but which Schärer identified as *basa sangiang*.¹³

The dyadic sets have contributed to the general debate on dualism (Schärer 1946; 1966: 10), and therefore it is interesting to note that particularly the names of the most important gods, have *tandak* that surpass a dyadic set: the complete, most sacred and seldom mentioned full *tandak* has a third level.¹⁴

E.g., Raja Duhung Mama Tandang, Langkah Sawang Apang Bungai, Bandung Nyaring jahawen (Schärer 1966: 757) = the name of the man, who accompanies the souls of the dead to *lewu tatau* during the secondary burial (*tiwah*).

Lewu Tatau Habaras Bulau, Habusung Hintan, Hasahep Bati Lantimpung, Hakarangan Bawak Lamiang, Hapasir Manas Marajan Bulau - Lewu Tatau Dia Rumpung Tulang Rundung Raja Isin Dia Kamalesu Uhat, freely translated as "Prosperous Village of Gold Sand, of Diamond Beaches, Carpeted With Silk, of Jasper Pebbles, Heaps of Jasper Beads, Grand Place Where Bones Never Decay Carrying the Burden of the Glorious Flesh, Where the Muscles Never Tire" (Schiller 1987: 37).

Although this third and final level is seldom mentioned, it is ideologically of great importance, indicating that the dual structure is part of a more inclusive system.

Tandak

Within the *basa sangiang* there exists a special class of words or combinations of words which are called *tandak*. For example, the *tandak* "bawi kangumbang sinjang, hatue kanampan buno" literally means: "the women (souls of women) wear scarves, the

¹³Baier 1987: viii. As noted above *bawi* parts can be left out, and it may be asked whether *bawi* words have become unfamiliar because they have been rarely used or whether they formed a rare and separate set of words from the outset.

¹⁴see also Baier 1987: viii.

men hold lances" (Hardeland 1859: 268). According to *basir* Itar Ilas this is the common *tandak* for women and men. Also the *tandak* "liau kaharingan" which literally means: "the souls that are near the water of life" (Hardeland 1859: 276) is according to *basir* Itar Ilas just a *tandak* for the souls.

The codified phrases which are called *tandak* by the priests are formulae with which during the ritual names of places, objects, ritual activities, or persons are indicated. *Tandak* are the precious possession of a priest, which are often shortened in ritual texts, thus forming a code within a code. Only occasionally will a priest give the complete form, to indicate that he or she has mastered this aspect of *basa sangiang*. Just as *basa sangiang* generally is characterized by parallelism, so *tandak* are usually comprised of two parts, a male and a female part, with the second part also generally containing lesser known esoteric words.

Tandak fulfill the religious requirement whereby places, objects, and persons, when referred to in a ritual context, must not be called by the names given to them in everyday language. Extended knowledge of the Ngaju religion is necessary for the interpretation of these texts. Moreover, some religious "secrets" are hidden in the ritual texts, which will not reveal themselves to an outsider, even with the help of dictionaries. Only through the help of priests and experts on the Ngaju tradition can these ritual texts be understood.

A special use of *tandak* can be found in the area of personal name giving. A deceased person for whom a *tiwah* is organized receives a *tandak* name during primary burial (*tantulak matei*) (if he or she has not received one while still alive). During secondary burial, when the soul is conducted to the upper world, it is addressed, not with the person's ordinary name, but by his or her *tandak* name. After the *tiwah* ritual is concluded, it is usual to hold a name-giving ceremony, the *patandak*, for all relatives who have organized a *tiwah*. They will all obtain a *tandak* name which they must treasure. Close relatives are privy to one's *tandak* name, so that in case of a sudden death, it may be communicated to the *basir*. If the relatives have no recollection of a deceased's *tandak* name, they may have to consult the *basir* who once assigned it. In contrast to one's ordinary personal name, or that of one of his or her parents, it is important not to say one's own *tandak* name aloud. If someone wants to reveal it to another person, he ought to show it written down. The *basir* who gives someone his *tandak* name lets himself be guided by his position in society, his wealth, his occupation, or a particular character trait. There are some conventions in a person's *tandak* name. A *basir* will receive, for example, a *tandak* that begins with the word *sambang*, "drum". A common male *tandak* name begins with the word *tingang* "hornbill", *antang* "hawk", or *sangkalemu* "name of a tree". A common female *tandak* name begins with the word *bulau*, "gold", or *lamiang*, "agate". A knowledge of *tandak* is the most important thing that a *basir* (priest) must learn.

The Education of a Basir

The most important part of a person's training to become a *basir* traditionally consisted of memorizing not only a multitude of *hatue* and *bawi* phrases, but also of memorizing many hundreds of *tandak*. Hitherto, for my dissertation, I analyzed only one relatively small ceremony and found more than three hundred and fifty *tandak*. Every place, person, bridge, or village has its *tandak*. Each deity also has a *tandak* name, but these ought not to be spoken aloud: even during a ceremony the *basir* mentions the deity's secret *tandak* name only internally, to himself.

When a *basir* has studied *basa sangiang* he may demonstrate his skills on the occasion of a *karunya*. *Karunya*, "chanting praise", can take place after all kinds of ceremonies, except those that are essentially of a sad nature. During the *karunya* a *basir* sings praise to all the important persons present. He begins with the younger ones, proceeding to the eldest. During this chant he ought to refer to personal information, such as the characteristics or professions of his subjects without prior consultation. Some say that magical power is involved to enable the *basir* to chant correctly, but others are of the opinion that the *basir* ought to know all-important persons of the village anyhow. A properly trained *basir* must internalize *basa sangiang* to such an extent that he uses it fluently. Thus *basir* Itar Ilas, who helped me translate the ceremony text, made free use of *basa sangiang*. He also recited a myth of origin in this form of speech. This is in contradiction to the frequently stated opinion that a *basir* can only speak *basa sangiang* when he is in trance, when the *sangiang* have entered his body, and that he cannot produce it when he has returned to full consciousness.¹⁵

There is specialization among those who have learnt *basa sangiang*. While some may decide to become *basir*, others prefer to become *tukang hanteran* or "guides of the souls". The *tukang hanteran* acts only during death ceremonies and guides the soul to its destination. While he guides the souls to the upper world, the *tukang hanteran* speaks and chants throughout the night. The *tukang hanteran* is believed to have greater sacral power than the *basir* because it is he who personally guides the souls towards the upper world.¹⁶ Nowadays a *tukang hanteran* is rarely engaged, because his services are extraordinarily costly. For one night of chanting he obtains as much as the chief *basir* (*upu*) gets for conducting the whole *tiwah*. Even if a *tukang hanteran* functions as guide, the organizers must also employ a number of *basir*, because the *tukang hanteran* accompanies only one of the souls. Hence it is much simpler and cheaper to let the *basir* guide all souls. A dead person has four souls that need to be guided to the upper world. As legitimization, before he accompanies the soul, the *tukang hanteran* recites the whole body of myths of origin, which he must commit to memory. Somebody who aspires to become a *tukang hanteran* must go through a thorough training, as mistakes are considered extremely dangerous and may result in his death or the death of his relatives. Therefore there must be implicit trust between a *tukang hanteran* and the pupil who trains to become one. The specialization is often passed on from father to son. When a *tukang hanteran* is fully trained he must first perform a guidance ritual for a banana plant, which, after he has done so, should die within a month. This is interpreted as a sign that the soul of the plant was successfully guided to the upper world. If this happens, it is interpreted as his confirmation as *tukang hanteran*.

A *tukang hanteran* is a specialist who is concerned with only death rituals; he should in principle not be used for ceremonies for the living. In reality, since their services are seldom called for, some *tukang hanteran* have branched out to conduct other ceremonies, that is to say, they are beginning to learn to become *basir*. The *basir* is much less specialized. He can conduct death rituals but also those relating to marriage, birth,

¹⁵See Schärer 1966: 9.

¹⁶*Basir* Itar Ilas is however of the opinion that the *basir munduk* (the "requesting *basir*") can guide the souls just as well.

healing, agriculture, house building, and so on. During all these ceremonies the *basir* does not act alone like the *tukang hanteran*, but he shares responsibility with at least three other *basir*. A *basir* must also know a body of knowledge called *balian lunas*, which are the unwritten rules and regulations referring to all ceremonies which carry religious sanction. This becomes apparent for example if, after a ceremony that was not properly held, one or more of the participants die. Thus it may be dangerous for a village if during a ceremony too many rules are broken.

The education of a *basir* also includes much practical knowledge, which is subsumed under the concept *talatah balian*. Such practical knowledge includes items such as how decorations should be made for the construction of a *sandung* or "bone house", which offerings are needed on such an occasion, and how the house's roof should be built. *Talatah balian* is without religious sanction and the *basir* may introduce innovations without endangering himself or the community. When a person has reached an advanced stage of learning as a *basir*, he should attach himself to teachers to learn about the upper world. At this level he ought to pay each of his teachers a traditional gift (*syarat*) consisting of:

- three grams of gold;
- knives, plates, and saucers;
- a suit of clothing (*pakaian sinde mendeng*);
- a piece of agate;
- two hens, one of which must be white;
- one hen's egg, and
- one silver coin (*ringgit*).

Without receiving these gifts a teacher is not allowed to pass on detailed information about the upper world.

For years a person who is learning this specialization has to function as a *pangapit* or *pangambun* (ordinary *basir*) before he may become an *upu* (chief *basir*). During a ceremony the *upu* sits with *pangapit* and *pangambun* on both sides of him. The further away a person sits from the *upu* the less advanced he is in knowledge. The persons sitting immediately next to the *upu* have almost advanced to *upu*-level or are already recognized as *upu*, but on this occasion are not taking the leader's role. By participating in many ceremonies, a person training to be a *basir* learns to recognize the various drum beats that are used during *balian* chants. There are 35 different ways of playing the drum, each connected with specific ideas and activities. Every change in drum pattern is announced in the chants so that the group can act in unison. All *basir* must master the techniques of chanting (*balian*) and recitation (*karungut*).

A *basir* who takes part in a *tiwah* should know the rules pertaining to the part of the ceremony in which he chants, for example:

- The washing ceremony for the soul (*liau*) must be recited in *karungut*.
- The travel of the soul boats must be described in *balian*, but the movements in the upper world villages are in *karungut*.

A good *upu* will divide the hours of the night carefully so that he will not be forced through lack of time to forego the slower *balian* chants. *Karungut* is considered more

formal and sacred than *balian* and that is why the chief ceremonial acts take place in *karungut*.

A Bridge to the Upper World

The task of a *basir* or *tukang hanteran* is to memorize the pathways in the upper world. Knowledge of these pathways is necessary not only for ceremonies concerning the dead, but also for all rituals performed for living persons. During rituals the soul of a living person is not only sent to the upper world, but must be accompanied back. This is the reason why the parties concerned should not fall asleep during a ceremony. Doing so may cause the soul to remain in the upper world. This situation, when not rectified, results in certain death within a month. The upper world is conceived of as consisting of layers which are separated by streams. These separating streams can be crossed at particular places where there are bridges or, when the soul travels in a boat, mooring places. Such points of entry between layers in the upper world are called *jamban*, meaning bridge, landing, or jetty. A *basir* must know exactly the various uses of the *jamban*, because the pathways used by souls of the dead and those of the living differ. When reaching a *jamban* it is essential that he utter its correct and full *tandak* name. Only in this way does the entry point function as such (Zimmermann 1968:392). Even when laymen have knowledge of the various *jamban*, they can not utilize these *jamban* in their function as bridges in the upper world if they do not know their complete *tandak* name. In my transcription there is a passage where the souls of the dead have to cross by a particular *jamban*. The *basir* tested the knowledge of the souls by mentioning a *jamban* with a beautiful cloth and agate stones, but noted that the souls did not want to cross this bridge. The souls reported that the *jamban* was insufficient. They wanted to cross by another *jamban*. When the *basir* as conductor of the souls mentioned a more complete one, including gold and a different, more complete *tandak*, the entry was successful. This example shows how the various *jamban* are recognized also by laymen. The latter know that at every layer of the upper world there is a *jamban* that must be decorated in a traditional manner. However, they do not know its exact *tandak*. It is only the *basir* who, by uttering the right magic words makes the passage possible. At the same time he gains financially because the relatives have to provide valuables for entry at every *jamban*. The *basir* themselves are interested to keep this *tandak* secret. On one occasion I witnessed a dialogue between two *basir* who were discussing a ceremony for rescuing an endangered soul. One *basir* asked the other for the right name of a particular *jamban*, but he got only a smile for an answer. Later the other *basir* told me that only a few were able to conduct such a ceremony, because a living person's soul can only once be saved from such a situation. He compared it with the difficulties of someone whose visa has run out. He added that he was not allowed to give the *tandak* of the *jamban* to the other *basir*. When I asked the reason for his reticence he told me that his fellow priest had not mentioned a *syarat* (gift).

A *basir* who can conduct a *tiwah* knows the position and names of the *jamban* and thus possesses a truly precious knowledge. After his own death he will be able to find his own way into the upper world. This knowledge makes him independent in this respect. Such a *basir* need not fear that his relatives will wait a long time before they have saved enough to hold a *tiwah*. During this period of waiting, the souls are thought to be restless

and anxious.¹⁷ The knowledgeable *basir* however, is sure to reach his destination without having to wait.

As mentioned above, every deity also has a *tandak*. These words are regarded as of particular magical value. Uttered while scattering rice, the proper *tandak* causes the deity to come so that a request can be formulated in its presence. Hence particular *tandak* of deities are regarded as of great value to a person and are kept secret. When a *basir* during the course of a ceremony has to mention a deity's *tandak*, he usually leaves off the latter, female part, uttering this latter part only in his inner thoughts, or mumbling it in an indistinct manner, so as not to give away the whole *tandak*. In order to obtain such a *tandak* one has to present a *syarat* (gift).

During an early phase of my research while transcribing one of the sacred texts, I encountered a *tandak* name of the deity Raja Sangumang, the protector of all humans. This *tandak* obviously was incomplete, so I wrote *basir* Itar Ilas with a request that he furnish me with the missing part. He answered affirmatively, giving the name, at the same time explaining how important it was to him that he should give me such assistance and how he valued my efforts to understand the Kaharingan religion, before providing me with the needed answer. Much later I understood that he presented me with a very secret name of the deity, one which is often used not unlike a *mantera* (sacred sentence, in order to wish for something). At the time I did not fully realize how bold I had been to ask for the name or how generous he had been in giving it.

The use of *mantera* is common in Indonesia: if one has a wish and needs help he utters a *mantera* and hopes that he receives help. In this case one can utter the whole *tandak* of Raja Sangumang, and the deity will come to help.

Schärer (1966) presents a series of texts in which he discloses the complete *tandak* of various deities. His remarkable openness did at first prevent me from being aware of the sensitivity of this topic. Since his book has as yet not been translated into English or Indonesian, the *basir* do not know the extent of his printed revelations.

Tandak have been around for a long time and it appears that they have assumed a life of their own especially in oral tradition. This is apparent when we attempt to interpret the various drawings of parts of the upper world made by *basir* in the course of time. Thus there is a drawing depicting *jamban timpung*, the entry to the final level in the upper world.¹⁸ When this picture is shown to a *basir* he can only recognize it as standing for *jamban timpung* when he knows its complete *tandak*. This *tandak* entails, for example a male and female tiger on top, a variety of gongs and Chinese jars, several plants among

¹⁷In modern times many young people resist the pressure to sell their possessions and go into debt in order to send the souls of their ancestors to their final destination. It is a motivation for the younger generation to join the Christian or Islamic faith, and the elder Kaharingan people feel threatened at such thoughts (see Schiller 1997: 44; Kuhnt-Saptodewo 1993: 13ff, 1997).

¹⁸Stöhr 1968, Zimmermann Collection. The notes probably are Zimmermann's own (according to Stöhr).

which is the *handiwong* palm tree, a *lunuk* tree as well as two separate worlds, symbolically represented with circles (Stöhr 1968: 409-412).¹⁹

During the past years I have shown various of these drawings to groups of *basir*, and in the lively discussions which followed it was generally the *tandak* that provided the clue. For example, in order to decide which boat is drawn, the *basir* look for pointers, such as a bird, weapons, or a gong and compares these with all the boat *tandak*. In various European museums there are many such drawings which were collected early this century mainly by missionaries. These drawings contain aspects of the upper world which have not been seen in this form by any living *basir*.²⁰

Conclusion

The sacred language of the Ngaju, *basa sangiang*, is used to communicate with beings of the upper world. It must be learned by the priests during their education (to become a priest). Knowing the *basa sangiang* gives the priest the authority to arrange a ritual. It also legitimizes his own existence.

Basa sangiang has a rhetoric structure comprising a so-called male part (*hatue*) and a female part (*bawi*). The dyadic sets have contributed to the general debate on dualism, but should not be taken as proof of a dualistic worldview. Within the *basa sangiang* there exist *tandak*, formulae by which places, objects, ritual activities, or persons are indicated. *Tandak* fulfill the religious requirement whereby places, objects, and persons, when used in ritual contexts, must not be called by the names given to them in everyday speech. There is a big difference between *tandak* for living persons and for the dead, and between *tandak* for death rituals and for life cycle ceremonies. The most sacred *tandak* are those of the deities and of the bridges in the upper world, the *jamban*. When reaching a *jamban* it is essential that the priest utters its correct *tandak* name. Only in this way may it serve as an entry point.

In addition, uttering the *tandak* of certain deities can be used as a *mantera*, in order to wish for something. *Tandak* function also as a mnemonic, so that the priest nowadays can still recognize priests' drawing from the 1920s. Finally, some religious "secrets" may be hidden in ritual texts, which will not reveal themselves to outsiders, even with the help of dictionaries. Only priests and experts can correctly interpret their meaning.

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¹⁹This particular drawing was provisionally analyzed by Zimmermann in the 1920s. His commentaries are somewhat vague and incomplete. I am as yet not able to decode the picture in full, but I have already obtained the comments of a *basir*, which already must be regarded as an improvement upon Zimmermann's analysis. However, before making conclusive statements about this picture, I have to show it to other *basir*. I am sure that such drawings can elicit important information about this perception of the upper world.

²⁰In 1996 I invited two of them, *basir* Itar Ilas and Bajik to visit the Museum in Cologne in order to study the priest drawing. This invitation was financed by the German Research Foundation (DFG).

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A NOTE ON NATIVE LAND TENURE IN SARAWAK

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I am prompted to write this short paper by recently reading two excellent essays by Drs. Appell and Wadley in Volume 28 of the *Borneo Research Bulletin*. I only wish their work had been available to me twenty years ago when I was grappling with Native Law in Sabah and Sarawak. The short book I published then (Hooker 1980) would have been much better.

In this paper I hope to give a wider context to Appell's and Wadley's data and, in particular, to discuss the material with respect to the laws of Sarawak. My proposition is that indigenous land tenure cannot be seen in isolation from state law. Each impacts on the other and, at the end of the day, it is the law of the state which will determine the nature of tenure(s) and the rights and obligations which arise under it (or them). Changes within the Iban communities do not take place in isolation. Now, in 1999 (and since the 1970's) there is always an eye on the commercial possibilities for land tenures and a close attention to the vagaries of state policy with respect to market values. To ignore this fact is to live in a fantasy. The land issue is politically sensitive and I have had my own work on native tenure in Sarawak quoted out of context so as to justify various interests and interest groups.

Essentially the issue is the nature and place of native law—here indigenous—in the modern nation state. Indigenous tenures cannot be discussed in isolation. They have to be dealt with in the light of the economic and social transitions which are occurring at an increasing pace. The transitions must be managed. Stasis is no longer an option **though the existing laws assume this to be so**. And here is the problem. We have to be careful as to what we mean by "law", "native", "adat", and especially "land" and "land rights". These terms are all loaded with history, preconceptions, and contemporary government policy. The definition of "law", with reference to Borneo land tenures, is not without difficulty. Drs. Appell and Wadley refer to the old N.E.I. discussions of *adat*. The problem with such a reference is that it presupposes a quite different legal system (the N.E.I. adats) (see Hooker 1978) which are not really appropriate for Sarawak. This state (and Sabah) has a quite different history and hence, set of land tenures (Hooker 1980). We have to approach the subject in three ways.

The Definition of "Native"

Native tenures can only be held by "Natives" and hence the definition of the latter is crucial. As with so much else in Sarawak law the original definition came from the Brooke administration which was concerned to establish a distinct and separate system of law for each social and religious group. Sir James Brooke distinguished (a) Malays who were Muslim, (b) the Chinese "race" and (c) the "original inhabitants." This was a rough and ready classification and, while suitable for initial conditions in the Rajah's rule, the

increasing complexity of Sarawak society forced the introduction of quite complex regulations. The Court Order of 1870 adopted the simple "indigenous race" class but in succeeding years attempts were made to regulate such contentious issues as interracial marriage, the marriage of "Christian" to "pagan" natives and conversion to Islam. In the latter, the interests of Native heirs were protected by trusts. Adoption of Natives was dealt with by registration from 1878 and provided for the implementation of *adat* (Hooker 1980: 16f). These orders persisted, with re-drafting and amendments, until the end of Brooke rule.

The first comprehensive attempt to define "Native" was in 1948 in the Constitution Ordinance of that year¹. However, **in relation to land**, there were partial definitions which were separate and related solely to land. In 1920 a Native was "a natural born subject of H.H. the Rajah."² In 1933 this became "a natural born subject---. Of any race now considered to be indigenous to the State of Sarawak---"³ This definition was later carried on into the Land Ordinance of 1948. In the later revised version of 1958, as I discuss later below, section 5 (7) on Native reserves leaves it to local customary law to determine whether or not a person is "a member of the native community." In the final analysis, the District Native Court determined the issue and the tests were "conduct" or "mode of life".⁴

This brings us to the Native Courts Ordinance of 1992, again to the provisions relating to rights to hold land (s.20). The factors determining a Native "identity" include public opinion in the community, evidence given by "responsible persons", and the opinion of leaders of the community. In the case of *Law Tanggie v Untong ak. Gantang*,⁵ the plaintiff was the son of a Chinese father and an Iban mother. He bought native title land and transferred it into the name of his mother's brother, the defendant, who held the title as a nominee. The intention was for the plaintiff to acquire Native status. To do this he declared himself Native by Statutory declaration, a status he achieved. He then brought an action for return of the land. The Native Court found that the plaintiff was in fact a Native and the High Court also accepted this. However, the factors for accepting that native status had been achieved were not described in the judgements. The action was decided on those sections of the land code dealing with proof of title. This judgement, therefore, leaves open the judicial definitions of Native.

I turn now to further material on definition. This is the Interpretation Ordinance of 1958.⁶ "Natives" are the following:

- | | |
|----------------|------------|
| - Bukitans | - Melanots |
| - Bisayahs | - Muruts |
| - Dusuns | - Penans |
| - Dayaks (Sea) | - Sians |

¹Sc'ld. I. "Races now considered indigenous to Sarawak", later, revised laws of Sarawak, 1958, cap. 1.

²Order No. VIII. s. 2.

³Land Order, 1933.

⁴Land Code, 1958 s. 20 (1) (b).

⁵[1993] M.L.J. 537

⁶Cap. 1/1958 Schd. III

- Dayaks (Land)
- Kadayan
- Kelabits
- Kayans
- Kenyahs (including Sekapans, Kejamans, Lahanans, Punans, Tanjongs and Kanowits)
- Lugats
- Lisums
- Malays

- Tagals
- Tabuns
- Ukits

(And any admixture of the above with each other).

This list can be compared with the definition of "Native" in the Federal Constitution of Malaysia, Art. 161A (6a) and (7) which reads as follows:

- (6) (a) in relation to Sarawak, a person who is a citizen and either belongs to one of the races specified in clause (7) as indigenous to the State or is of mixed blood deriving exclusively from those races; and
- (7) The races to be treated for the purposes of the definition of "natives" in clause (6) as indigenous to Sarawak are the Bukitans, Bisayahs, Dusuns, Sea Dayak, Kadayan, Kelabits, Kayan, Kenyahs (including Sabups and Sipengs), Kajangs (including Sekapans, Kejamans, Lahanans, Punans, Tanjongs and Kanowits), Lugats, Lisums, Malays, Melanos, Muruts, Penans, Sians, Tagals, Tabuns and Ukits.

There are at least two preliminary points arising from these lists. First, the groups named in Art. 161A of the Constitution are specified with reference to an earlier provision (Art. 153 (9A)) which provides for the reservation of quotas in respect to permits and services which are confined to Malays and Natives. The reference, in other words, is political.⁷

Second, and related, just how ethnographically accurate are these lists? Recent data seem to show that there is some question at least as to the appropriateness of the terminology used. Ethnic identity/identification is a notoriously debatable issue particularly given the possibilities of change in response to new economic, political, and social circumstances. The concept is dynamic and subject to change.⁸ The legislation and the Constitution, on the other hand, both assume a status which by its nature must be out of touch with the realities of contemporary Sarawak society. I drew attention to this in 1980 (Hooker 1980: 81ff), and nothing has changed since, particularly with respect to property.

Nowhere is this more clearly illustrated than in the case of the "Muslim Native". Both lists above give "Malay" as a Native but the Malays are Muslim. Until recently their affairs were determined by the Undang2 Mahkamah Melayu Sarawak (laws of the Sarawak Malay Court) in which a simplified version of Syariah plus Malay adat was the operative law (see Hooker 1984: Chapter 4). This was a separate jurisdiction from the

⁷For a similar political reference see the discussion in Dentan et. al. 1996 on the Orang Asli and "Buniputera" in Peninsular Malaysia.

⁸See the special issue of the *Sarawak Museum Journal* (1989), vol. XL, on ethnicity.

(non-Muslim) Native Courts, and Native law did not apply. This position has been maintained in the new Islamic laws administration under which all Muslim property matters are determined by Syariah. Native laws do not apply to Muslims.⁹

However while it is relatively easy to state these propositions, actual practice is sometimes more confusing. The fact is that "Native" and "Muslim" can be distinguished. An early judicial decision,¹⁰ for example, found that for a Brunei Malay Muslim who had lived in a Bajau community for over forty years the appropriate law was Syariah. The Syariah was the "social law" of Brunei. Admittedly this was decided in 1953 but a similar result was reached in 1966 which denied Native Court jurisdictions in a mixed Muslim-Native dispute.¹¹ In these and latter cases¹² matters of succession to property were determined by religious profession. While there might be room for negotiation where one party was "pagan" or Christian, this was not so for Muslims. In the latter case, Islam determined absolutely. This is the present position and it is a reversal of the practice of the Rajah's time but subject to the special use of unused native land- N.14 above.¹³

This brief outline is enough to show that "Native" has a number of definitions and each definition is directed toward some particular purpose. There is a common focus and it is land or rights of access to land or, in political terms, authority to make rules about land occupation, disposal, and exploitation. Variations in state policy explain variation in definition. The legislation is an attempt to state an agenda within which the competing demands of state politics and individual rights can be accommodated. We turn now to the legislation.

The Sarawak Land Code of 1958

This is a consolidation of earlier laws¹⁴ but it cannot be read separately from them because pre-1958 judicial decisions remain authoritative or persuasive. However, this is less of a problem than it might seem because much of the 1958 code is the same as the earlier laws.¹⁵

There is one preliminary point; the substantive **technical** provisions of the land code are based on the Torrens system of registered title(s). An interest can be "owned" only if it is registered. If there is no registered title then an occupier is at best a licensee. He has no interest which he can charge or transfer. The Code, in other words, does not envisage Native social structures or land use practices. At the same time, it does attempt to impose a title system so that we have an inherent contradiction in Sarawak land law. The comments on the Code which follow should be read with this in mind.

⁹Except where the issue is rights to untitled Native land where both parties are subject to the same personal law (s. 5(3)).

¹⁰*Matusin v Kawang* (1953) SCR: 106. Lee 1973: 1.

¹¹*Haji Abdullah v Rupah*. Lee 1973: 65.

¹²See e.g. *Keasberry v Gomes*. Lee 1973: 146.

¹³See Hooker 1980: 16f for examples.

¹⁴Land Ordinance, 1948; Land Settlement Ordinance 1948; and Dealings in Land (Validation) Ordinance 1955.

¹⁵The post-1958 amendments are dealt with below.

The Code provides for five classes of land in Sarawak.¹⁶ Of these only Native Area land, Native Customary land and Interior Area land are relevant for this essay. Native Customary rights apply to each and the crucial definition of Native Customary land is:

- (a) land in which native customary rights, whether communal or otherwise, have been lawfully created prior to the 1st day of January, 1958, and still subsist as such;
- (b) land from time to time comprised in a Native Communal Reserve to which section 6 applies; and
- (c) Interior Area Land upon which native customary rights have been lawfully created pursuant to a permit under section 10 of the Land Code.

The Code limits customary rights to those lawfully created before 1st January 1958.¹⁷ After that date, no recognition will be given unless new rights are created in terms of the Code. This applies to Native Communal Reserves (S.6) but even here the greatest right an occupier can have is a license. This does not amount to a chargeable interest (i.e. full title).

So far as Interior Area land is concerned, a person who wishes to occupy this class of land must first get a permit from the authorities.¹⁸ Occupation without a permit is unlawful (S.10) and confers no rights under Native custom or any other law.

In short it is now almost impossible to create new Native Customary rights in Sarawak. However, even when created, there are quite severe restrictions on Native Customary rights. For example, the State retains the entire property in all water resources, a Native has merely a right of use (see below on extinguishment or loss of rights). The main point is that all Native rights depend on State authority and approval, and the following is a clear judicial exposition:¹⁹

In Sarawak a person can be said to 'own' land only if there is a Land Office title subsisting in respect of that land. If there is no such title the land is Crown Land; the occupier is at best a mere licensee; and he has no legal interest which he can either charge or transfer. That is so whether for the purposes of the Land (Classification) Ordinance the land is Native Customary Land. If a person abandons his legitimate occupation of such land he does so at his peril.

Again from a later case:²⁰

¹⁶They are: (a) Mixed Zone land, (b) Native Area land, (c) Native Customary land, (d) Reserve land, and (e) Interior Area land.

¹⁷The recognized methods are: (a) clearing of jungle and occupation, (b) planting fruit trees, (c) occupation and cultivation, (d) use of ground as a shrine or burial ground, (e) use of land as a right of way. Now in s.5(2) of the Land Code.

¹⁸Government policy now is to refuse permits in all cases. Verbal communications to the author from the State Attorney General's Office, Kuching, November 1997.

¹⁹From *Keteng v Tua Kg. Suhtiaili* (1951) S.C.R.9.

²⁰*Nyalong v Supt. of Lands, 2nd Division* (1967) 2 MLJ 249.

The right which the plaintiff may have created by his original clearing and cultivation is a restricted one and it can be lost by abandonment.

It must be remembered that a person can be said to own land only if there is a land office title subsisting in the land and if no such title exists the occupier is a mere licensee of Crown Land.

The onus of proof is always on the Native to show that he has lawfully acquired the customary rights which he claims. The Land Code itself says (S.5(6)):

—[re. customary rights] it shall be presumed until the contrary is proved, that State land is free of and not encumbered by [native] rights.

On the other hand, there are some protections but again these are not absolute. The main protection is that only Natives can hold rights in Native Area, Interior Area and Native Customary Lands (section 8). However, there are qualifications to this rule. First, if a non-native has become identified with or subject to any system of customary law he may hold Native land.²¹ Second, a non-native may hold Native land under a permit at the discretion of the state.²²

The corollary to protection of Native rights is extinguishment and loss and the Code treats each of these separately. The first is treated in detail in the Code.²³ The position now is that Native rights may be extinguished by direction of the Minister on payment of compensation or making other land (already subject to Native rights) available. Claims for compensation must be submitted within sixty days or the claim is lost. A direction of the Minister cannot be questioned or challenged.²⁴ The best that a claimant can get is arbitration as to terms. The only real question is the method of assessment of compensation. As to this, the High Court in Kuching²⁵ has interpreted the Code²⁶ as saying: (a) that the potential commercial value of the land should **not** be considered, (b) compensation is for extinguishment only, defined as the value for loss of use, buildings and reasonable removal expenses. The bona fide selling price of neighboring property may or may not be a relevant consideration.

Turning now to loss of Native customary rights. The Code and the Courts have determined the two methods of loss. First, non-use or abandonment of customary land. There are a number of cases²⁷ all of which come to the same conclusion—that non-use for a considerable length of time is sufficient to dispose of Native rights. Periods range from 20-30 years. In addition, allowing others to use the land amounts to abandonment. Second, if the holder of Native rights moves out of his longhouse or goes to another

²¹Section 20 Native Courts Ordinance 1992.

²²Section 213 Land Code, 2nd Schd. Part I.

²³Section 5. Extinguishment has been subject to extensive amendment in 1974 and 1996 "in order to streamline the process of extinguishment".

²⁴Section 5(3) Land Code. This rule was introduced in 1974.

²⁵*Minister for Lands v Bilam*. Civil Appeal No. 2/1971.

²⁶Sections 212 and 82(2).

²⁷See, e.g. *Nyalong v Supt. Lands* [1967] 2MLJ 249; *Ara v Supt. Lands* [1973] No. 103, Kuching District Civil Case.

district under the jurisdiction of another Penghulu (or Tuai Rumah) he loses his rights. This is an old rule both of adat²⁸ and of the Brookes.²⁹ However, the rule can be somewhat more complex in practice. For example, if an individual holder of rights in "communal" land removes himself from a longhouse he may still retain his rights so long as he remains within "reasonable farming distance."³⁰

Anyone having the slightest acquaintance with Borneo land tenures will find these propositions misleading if not actively distorting (see Appell 1997, Wadley 1997). The distance between ethnographic reality and judicial reality is indeed great, and is the subject of the following section.

Native Law and Ethnographic Data

This is a difficult question and it is one which affects the status and rights of all indigenous peoples. No satisfactory answer has yet been given. The issue is more broadly a part of the contemporary international debate on indigenous populations. The UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations/Peoples defines such in the following terms:³¹

Indigenous communities, peoples and nations are those which, having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing in those territories or parts of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued existence as peoples in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal systems.³²

This is very general and it does not apply perfectly to all indigenous groups, but it is the best we have.³³ The important elements for this paper are the phrases "...to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories... in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal systems". These phrases bring us directly to the data brought forward by Appell and Wadley.

How can the ethnography be accommodated within the Native laws of Sarawak; indeed, is it even possible? The law as it stands does possibly provide two avenues by which some accommodation can be attempted.

²⁸Now restated, for example, in the *Adat Iban* of 1993 and *Adat Kayan-Kenyah* of 1994, both made under the Native Customary Laws Ordinance, Cap. 51.

²⁹Order of August 1899. See *Udin v Tuai Rumah Utom* [1949] SCR 3.

³⁰*Sumbang v Engkarong* [1958] SCR 95 and *Abang v Saripah* [1970] 1 MLJ 164.

³¹The WGIP established in 1982 was proposed by the sub-commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities in its Resolution 2 (XXXIV) of September 8, 1981. This resolution was endorsed by the Commission on Human Rights in its Resolution 1982/19 of March 10, 1982, and authorized by ECOSOC in its resolution 1982/34 of May 1982.

³²See WGIP's Report UN Doc. E/CN. 4/sub. 2/1986/7/Add. para. 379.

³³See Independent Commission on International Humanitarian Issues, *Indigenous Peoples: A Global Quest for Justice* 11 (1987).

The Native Courts Ordinance (1992)

This ordinance replaces the earlier (1955) one of the same name and has also a new set of Native Court Rules (1993). Administratively it is much more elaborate than its predecessor. Its key function so far as we are concerned is that it allows for the preservation of Native customs while at the same time recognizing that change in land use and tenure systems is inevitably occurring. "Change" can be as obvious and momentous as state policy, large scale logging, plantation agriculture, and so on. It can also include what Appell calls the "erosion of the village land base". As he says (Appell 1997: 91),

Under situations of social change and the growth of wealth in cities, there is an erosion of the village land base as the cash-rich city dwellers buy land from the cash-poor farmers. This results in the creation of a landless peasantry, and the flood to the cities of those without the skills, training, or education to move into regular urban employment. And this creates social problems.

Does the traditional system of land tenure in Borneo suggest to planners an approach, a means whereby these social dislocations can be minimized and social stability achieved in the rural areas? Can a system be devised whereby the strengths of a stable rural population can be maintained?

The 1992 Native Court Ordinance does provide some limited mechanism, which might be used to regulate social change. This is found in section 20 which gives the Native Court a "special jurisdiction" to determine whether an individual is or is not subject to a Native system of personal law. The section clearly allows for the possibility of an individual to enter or leave a personal law jurisdiction. The tests are: (a) public opinion in the community; (b) the testimony of responsible persons in the community; (c) the opinion of assessors appointed by the Native court from within the community. A decision once made is binding. This section is specifically directed toward and confined to rights to hold land under section 9 of the Land Code. Adherence to Christianity is no barrier to the exercise of the jurisdiction. However, a person who wishes to claim land rights in a "Native Islamic community" must be a Muslim. The court may accept or reject the evidence put forward under (a)-(c). These provisions repeat the substance of the former law and the earlier judicial decisions on "way of life" and so on will apply.

The Ordinance is supplemented by the Native Courts Rules of 1993³⁴ which deals with procedure and which must be read with the principal Ordinance. It has a number of interesting provisions. For example, professional advocates are excluded from a Headman's Court and a Chief's Court, though the court may allow any other person (an anthropologist?) to appear. Again, for the "speedy dispatch of business" there are wide powers vested in the Yang di-Pertuan Negeri to appoint judges at various levels but they must be "Natives of Sarawak". The Native Court of Appeal has the same powers as the (Borneo) High Court. Penalties may be paid in cash or kind and compensation may also be in kind. The Native Court can decide the manner in which expert evidence can be given (s.7(1)(v)). This is an important provision because it leaves the issue of evidence

³⁴Gazette, Vol XLVIII (No. 11), 3rd June 1993.

open ended. Further on evidence, the provisions of the Evidence Act of 1950 do not apply. This is also important because it allows the production of evidence by e.g. anthropologists without complex arguments as to its admissibility. Proceedings may be in Malay, a native language, or English. The definition of an assessor, a key role in Native Court proceedings, is in section 34(2-4) as follows:

- (2) The District Officers shall with the approval of their respective Residents and in consultation with the Chiefs and Headmen in their respective districts, prepare from time to time a list of persons who are qualified to serve as assessors in their respective districts.
- (3) Every person of or above the age of twenty-one, resident within the State being of sound mind and not afflicted with deafness, blindness or other infirmity incapacitating him from such duties and who in the opinion of the District Officer is versed in the native system of personal law of any native community shall be qualified to serve as an assessor.
- (4) The list shall set out the name, age, place of residence, standard of education, occupation, race, community, dialect spoken, the native system and personal law followed or applicable to him and the native law or custom which he is conversant.

A second piece of legislation, potentially of greater importance is the Native Customs (Declaration) Ordinance of 1996. The preamble explains its purpose:

WHEREAS certain customs of the several native races of Sarawak have always constituted a part of the laws of Sarawak:

AND WHEREAS some of such customs have from time to time been compiled and published and such codes of native customs have been recognised by the courts as the customary law of the native races concerned:³⁵

AND WHEREAS it is expedient that express statutory provisions should be made for regulating the codification of such native customs and for the publication of authorised version of any native customary laws that have been so codified:

This Ordinance repeals the earlier Native Customary Laws Ordinance of 1958 and quite severely controls the material that may be presented in the Native Court. Whether or not there is room for ethnographic data or the ethnographic "truth" has now become debatable.

Who may write the Code? The answer is the Majlis Adat Istiadat Sarawak.³⁶ The code is then presented to the Majlis Mesyuarat Kerajaan Negeri for approval upon which it becomes law. The Majlis Adat Istiadat Sarawak acts "in consultation with the Chiefs

³⁵This is a reference to the pre-1996 Codes of Adat. See Hooker 1980, for an outline.

³⁶Established in 1977. One of its major functions is to codify the Sarawak adats for legal or administrative purposes.

and Headmen". The Code(s) which it drafts may apply to one or more Native races or to any part of a Native race. The Code defines offences civil and criminal, and fixes compensation and fines. It provides also whether the Native or English language version is to be the authoritative one. It may, in consultation, alter provisions which are absolute or mistaken. If any Code provision is repugnant to or inconsistent with the laws of Sarawak, the latter prevail. The two sections, 7 and 8 which most closely concern this essay say, in paraphrase: (a) Codes are conclusive and may not be questioned in any court, (b) a failure to consult with one or more Headmen does not invalidate a Code and (c) the Majlis Adat Istiadat is authorized to provide "guidance on how a native custom is to be observed or practised by any of the Native races..."

Taken together, the provisions of the Ordinance give the Majlis a complete power to define what Native law is and how it should be implemented. Change to any part of a Native Code would have to go through the Majlis and then through the Sarawak legislative assembly.

This brings us to the final piece of material which has a bearing on Native tenures—this is the formal Code of Native law. These are not a new feature in Sarawak law; the best known earlier examples are the Codes compiled by A.J.N. Richards in the 1950's (see Hooker 1980: 46ff). The characteristic of a Code is that it is certain and specific. It is designed for the bureaucracy and the court both of which require very specific rules. These comments apply very well to the Adat Iban (1993) which is the Code I have chosen here and the following passage from its "General Explanation" (1993: iii) illustrates what I have just said.

In 1986, seminars were held at the various main towns in Sarawak with the aim of obtaining a consensus of opinion among the Iban community pertaining to the proposed codification exercise. Concepts of the Iban customary laws were identified and translated into **correct terminologies not only acceptable to the Iban throughout Sarawak but suitable for administrative and legislative purposes** (my emphasis). Many of the provisions in the existing *Tusun Tunggu* have been rewritten and recast to ensure that established adats omitted in the past were included. Some of the variations found among the various riverine groups were excluded, while the core or commonly practised adat were included in the Adat Iban. The impact of legislation and judicial decision on the customary laws had been thoroughly examined and discussed by all the Iban elders.

Notice the use of the words "seminar", "consensus of opinion", "concepts", "recast", "core", "impact of legislation", as well as the passage emphasised. This is a Code "of law" and the structure of the text bears this out. Thus, the "General Explanation" makes detailed reference to the legislation (above) and discusses "authorised language" of the text in "the native tongue of the Iban" takes precedence over the English translation, though both are authoritative. The text is in eight chapters which are set out in exactly the same way as any other Ordinance passed by the Sarawak legislature. This last point is crucial and has three aspects which relate to incidents arising out of tenure. While it is true that the Majlis has no authority over land tenure as such, its control of the process of

formulating Codes and defining obligations in Native Law cannot be separated from tenure. The Codes of Native Law assume a tenure from which individual obligations flow. Whether these obligations and the state tenures are compatible is a matter for ethnographic fact to determine. The brief outline of *Adat Iban* which now follows should be read with these comments in mind.

The contents:

Chapter 1, "Definitions" has two interesting entries for both the state administration and the anthropologist. They are as follows:

"Genselan" means a kind of ritual propitiation provided by the offender for a breach or infringement of a custom or taboo. In other words, it is a ritual offering to appease gods for any disturbances caused and to restore harmonious relations among members of the community.

"Tunggu" means a form of restitution. Restitution covers two important ingredients of the term "tunggu": first, it covers the idea of providing a settlement between individuals; second it covers the idea of appeasement, atonement or restoration of the physical and spiritual well-being of the community. There is no element of punishment.

In terms of settlement, the offender shall provide "tunggu" in the form of "mungkul", and in terms of appeasement, atonement or restoration, the offender shall provide "genselan", (plus others). I leave it to those qualified in Iban ethnography to assess the appropriateness of these definitions.

Chapter 2, "Customs Relating to House Construction, Moving to a New House, Moving or Migrating to New Area and Taboos". This is a long chapter (sections 2-73) dealing with the building of a longhouse in all its details, damage to the building, rules about occupation, various restrictions, and leaving the building. *Tunggu* and *genselan* for breach of the rules are set out.

Chapter 3, "Infringement of Farming Rites and Miscellaneous Prohibitions—". This is also a long chapter (sections 74-131) but those of interest from a tenure point of view are the first two thirds or so. They are **not** concerned with **rights** to tenure but with "taboos" in respect of land. These include disturbing an omen rod, farming where a person has found a charm, quarrelling while cutting a tree, chewing betel, disturbing sacred plants including padi, carrying dead bodies or uncovered animal carcasses across a farm and many others of a like nature. On the non-ritual side, there are penalties for theft and damage to crops and trees.

Chapter 4, "Offences Relating to Matrimonial or Sexual Matters". This chapter (sections 132-181) deals with unlawful sex, marriage, divorce, and maintenance. The only interesting provisions for this paper is in section 150 which provides that an Iban woman who marries a "man of another race not in accordance with Iban custom" loses all communal rights. She retains rights only in her parent's property.

Chapter 5, "Distribution of Property Following a Divorce and Lanting" (sections 182-186). Distribution is in the control of the Tuai Rumah. Property is defined in English law terms, i.e., real and personal. The main principle is that acquired property or income derived from its development is to be distributed equally among members of the "bilek-

family". There is one query here; whether the English law classes "real" and "personal" can sensibly apply to the Iban. These classes are forms of action developed in the common law over several centuries and are not in any way appropriate to Iban adat. Even if one makes this crude equation: "real" = land and "personal" = everything else, difficulties remain, e.g. in trusts for minors. This terminology is going to cause expensive litigation in the future. This chapter, however, does go on to deal in detail with "acquired" as distinct from "inherited" property and these classes seem to me to be much more sensible in Iban social life.

Chapter 6, "Death and Burials", and Chapter 7, "Adoption", are short and have no relevance to Iban tenures or at the official legal level. Chapter 8, "Miscellaneous", has only one section (198) which leaves open the possibility of a custom not included in this text being recognized.

Jurisdiction:

While the contents of the Code are as I have just described them, they are dealt with at various levels of the judicial hierarchy. The jurisdictions are:

- (a) Tuai Rumah
- (b) Chief's Court
- (c) District Native Court

These are all authorities defined in the Native Courts Ordinance of 1992 and all are inferior courts. The reason for my listing out what parts of the Code come under which jurisdiction is to indicate relative importance **from the State's point of view**.

Tuai Rumah; the court with the most limited jurisdiction in terms of fines. Almost all of Chapters 2, 3, and 4. Jurisdiction is confined to building, and living in, a longhouse and ritual offences.

Chief's Court; the next court with more extensive jurisdiction. This includes offences related to moving house or migrating to a new area (Chapter 2), offences against public order (e.g., telling lies, transporting dried heads), setting of illegal traps, marriage and divorce, and sexual offences, death, burial, and adoption.

District Native Court; the superior jurisdiction in the Iban Code. This court is mentioned only once in sections 128-131. Section 128 is on arson, obviously a criminal offence; sections 129-131 are on "unnatural sex", i.e. same person sex. These are also a matter for the criminal courts.

Precedents for the Code

The 1993 Code is not new, nor is it original. Most of its provisions are taken from the earlier Tusun Tunggu and the Codes drafted by A.J.N. Richards. The 1993 Code, in fact, gives the source of each provision in the form: "TT Iban Bagi—" or "DAL Richards Bagi—". These sources comprise well over 90 percent of the text. New provisions, of which there are very few are justified in the formula: "Established custom not Entered in TT Iban or DAL Richards". In short, we have a continuity with previous practice. In this, it is in line with legislation.

Concluding Remarks

I hope that this brief outline of the formal structure of Native law in Sarawak will be of use to anthropologists. The real job is to get ethnography recognized in the formal laws

or, more specifically, in the application of the formal laws. This is not easy to do because of the constraints which the formal system imposes on evidence which is not "legal" evidence. Law is a self contained system with its own referents. The relation of "fact" to a "rule of law" is governed by the rules of Evidence which is itself a part of the legal system. Fact, therefore, is what the legal system says is admissible or not in proceedings. While the 1993 Code allows for the admission of evidence which a non-native Court would reject, the standard rules of Evidence can still apply. The extent of this application is unclear.

In such an important matter as land tenures I believe ethnographic data to be crucial. If anthropologists can bear in mind the comments in this note, then I hope that the ethnographic reality can be made to inform the law in land matters.

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STATE LAW AND IBAN LAND TENURE: A RESPONSE TO HOOKER

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In his useful research note on native land tenure and state law in Sarawak, Professor Hooker draws out the historical development of land law, the formal codification of *adat*, and the problematic nature of definitions of "native" and "indigenous." However, he seems to suggest, indirectly at least, that both George Appell and myself in earlier *BRB* pieces (i.e. Appell 1997; Wadley 1997) have somehow ignored the influence of state law on the development of land tenure in Borneo. Within the first three paragraphs he writes that "indigenous land tenure cannot be seen in isolation from state law," that "[c]hanges within the Iban communities do not take place in isolation," that "indigenous tenures cannot be discussed in isolation," and that "[t]o ignore this fact is to live in fantasy." In his concluding remarks, he writes, "If anthropologists can bear in mind the comments in this note, then I hope that the ethnographic reality can be made to inform the law in land matters." This suggests that social scientists have not taken state law into account in studying land tenure. While I agree that local land tenure systems cannot be understood in isolation from outside influences, I do not agree with Hooker's assessment regarding the anthropological study of land tenure. Indeed, there is abundant evidence that anthropologists and other social scientists have not ignored the interface of state law and local *adat* or treated *adat* in isolation from state law (see e.g. Appell 1985a, 1985b; Vargas 1985; Cramb 1986; Doolittle 1999).

Hooker also dismisses Appell's and my reference to ter Haar, arguing that these "old N.E.I. discussions of *adat*" are irrelevant in the Sarawak context. This misses the point, however, as Dutch work on *adat* is illuminating for its scholarly treatment of the subject. What is more, the Iban with whom I work in West Kalimantan and whose land tenure system I described have never been under Sarawak state law. Indeed, they were under nominal Dutch control from 1854 until the 1880s, and then more directly until the Japanese Occupation and the formation of independent Indonesia. In the case I discussed, Sarawak state law is largely irrelevant, but even Netherlands East Indies law remained very peripheral to this Iban area. The Dutch were just happy when the Iban stopped headhunting and did not seem to intrude very directly in local land issues.

One exception to this was along the border with Sarawak. For the Dutch, the border remained something of a contentious zone. This was not only because of the recurring Iban raiding and headhunting from one side or the other, but also because of what they considered Sarawak's failure to respect their territorial sovereignty and control its subjects' cross-border activities (e.g. Kater 1883). The "Batang Lupar question," as the Dutch called their difficulties with the Iban, peaked in 1886. Rajah Charles Brooke launched a major punitive expedition against the Ulu Ai' Iban and their Emperan brethren across the border, with Dutch permission to enter N.E.I. territory. The expedition left some 80 longhouses in ashes and about 20 people killed on both sides, and both

governments resettled most of these communities. Farming along the border was prohibited, and people caught doing so would have their houses burned down and rice fields destroyed. By the late 1890s, this prohibition was less stringently enforced, with some district officials being more inclined to do so than others (see Wadley 1999, n.d.).

While the prohibition was relaxed, the earlier concern with controlling the border remained, and by the 1920s several regulations had been made in cooperation with Sarawak authorities. Possibly recognizing their inability to control most movements of these closely related people across the border, the Dutch allowed individuals and households to move freely while requiring that entire communities request permission from both Dutch and Sarawak governments. In order to prevent complaints about "unlawful" fruit collection, the Dutch required that Sarawak Iban wanting to pick fruit in their old *tembawai* across the border would have to seek permission from the district officer. There was also a formal prohibition on people from one side of the border from farming on the other side without changing residence first. The official government concern was that foreign Iban would place their own subjects at a disadvantage in terms of access to farmland and forest resources (Werkman 1930:35-36).

The Dutch are, of course, gone from West Borneo, but clear signs of their influence on Iban *adat* remains. For example, the titles of *temenggong* and *patih* were long-established in the area, having been regularly bestowed by Melayu rulers on Iban allies before the Dutch arrived in the 1850s (Wadley 1999). The colonial authorities institutionalized the titles into formal offices with their own appointed leaders. Today, the Indonesian government recognizes local *adat* in dealing with many mundane local matters, and each Iban-dominated district has its own *temenggong* with a council of *patih*. Little or no memory of the Dutch influence on the institution remains; rather, local Iban see these offices as having been handed down from ancient times, as indeed they have but in much modified form.

With regard to land tenure, the Dutch left a more fleeting legacy. In 1990, *adat* leaders from three Iban-dominated districts (i.e. Kecamatan Nanga Badau, Kecamatan Batang Lupar, and Kecamatan Embaloh Hulu) held a general meeting to draw up a list of *adat* rules and set fines, in a manner following those of Kecamatan Nanga Kantuk (see McKeown 1983:521-566) and various places in Sarawak. Of the dozens of rules covering property matters, only one shows any clear evidence of past Dutch regulations. This rule states, "Ngelanggar antara menoa negara - enti urang Indonesia bumai ngambi tanah Malaysia, kena ukum; enti urang Malaysia bumai ba tanah Indonesia, kena ukum" (Musyawah Adat 1990). The rule follows the old Dutch regulation quite closely in forbidding anyone from one side of the border from farming on the other. The specified fine is Rp. 500,000 (at the time about US\$250). (Interestingly, in an *adat* list drawn up in the 1970s by the Iban of Kecamatan Nanga Kantuk, there is no rule like this, possibly reflecting their slightly different experience with Dutch administration [McKeown 1983].)

However, in talking to *adat* leaders, I found that the rule would only be enforced if the foreigner was **not** brought along with citizens to farm, or if the foreigner did **not** first request permission from the community in question. This would apply even if the foreigner had used the plot of land in the past. This rule then appears to conform less closely to the old regulation in practice, and is more in line with traditional Iban *adat* (see Wadley 1997). It looks very much like a modified version of the rule that no one from

outside a community may intrude on that land without permission from the community. It is likely that if granted permission to farm, the foreigner would have to pay the *penti pemali* as I described. My point is that state law may try to impose its classifications and rules on locals, but that does not necessarily mean that locals will respond as the state would like.

This leads to the question of how communities treat state law in dealing with internal matters. Local *adat* is illegible to the state, to use a currently fashionable phrase (Scott 1998), and it is the state's interest to simplify local variation through formal codification. Although *adat* codification, as Hooker notes correctly, ignores local variation, codification in itself does not imply that locals will adopt the formal code wholesale and abandon their own variants. Indeed, they may refer to the code as an aid while still relying on local precedence, **depending on the situation**. Hooker provides some evidence of the complex interface between *adat* and state law, which does not necessarily imply that local variation is swallowed by standardization or state law (see e.g. Vargas 1985). In addition to codification, another state strategy is to allow *adat* some space to operate locally, but with the provision that all resources not under state-recognized tenure (like fallow forest land) are state-owned and can be appropriated in the national interest. In this manifestation of state power, local communities are far less able to adjust *adat* to fit the situation. Indonesia provides another good example of this (see Colfer 1993:75-80). In its current guise, the state—be it Malaysia or Indonesia—is much more powerful and intrusive in local affairs than the colonial powers ever were.

To return to Hooker's initial point, "isolation" is a relative condition, and the Iban in West Kalimantan have lived for decades relatively isolated from the developments in land law and practice in the rest of Indonesia. It is only recently that the state and its agents have begun to directly impinge on local land rights and claims. This comes with the heavy military presence along the border following Konfrontasi in the 1960s, the expansion of logging concessions in the 1970s and 1980s, the establishment of the road system and designation of conservation areas in the 1990s, and most recently the development of oil palm plantations. Because state law does not recognize local rights to fallowed forest land, some people have begun to convert such land into tree crops, like rubber and durian, which the state acknowledges as signs of improvement. This does not mean, of course, that the state cannot claim such "improved" land, as it indeed empowers itself to do "in the national interest." I gave some examples of this in another research note on the road system in this area (Wadley 1998), and Hooker mentions the payment of compensation under Sarawak law.

I agree completely with Hooker in his hope that ethnographic data be used to inform state law in land matters. It is especially difficult to know how social scientists can make ethnographic data and their analyses of that data more accessible and comprehensible to government officials without compromising local *adat* practices and having their work used out of context, as Hooker notes has happened to him. This is obviously an issue that requires much more consideration than I can hope to give it here.

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CONSERVATION AND THE ORANG SUNGAI OF THE LOWER SUGUT,
SABAH: PRELIMINARY NOTES^{1,2}

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Introduction

The Sabah Biodiversity Conservation Project (1995 to 1998) was an official project of the Sabah Ministry of Tourism and Environmental Development³, with financial and technical assistance from the Danish Cooperation for Environment and Development (DANCED). The project's objectives included improving and strengthening institutional capabilities and conservation measures. The Identification of Potential Protected Areas (IPPA) component of this project sought to identify appropriate conservation measures for six ecologically distinctive areas in the state. To this end, specific studies were commissioned by the IPPA, with technical expertise supplied by the World Wide Fund for Nature, Malaysia (WWFM).

We were contracted by WWFM to provide sociological (Lye) and resource economic (Wong) reports on a few of the field sites. Lye worked from October 1997 to June 1998, and Wong April to October 1998. We conducted our field studies independently of one another, but have exchanged ideas and information since. Involvement of social scientists was necessary to the project; the areas of interest are not

¹This paper draws from our participation in the Sabah Biodiversity Conservation Project. We would like to thank the World Wide Fund for Nature, Malaysia, especially John Payne and Isabel Louis, and the Sabah Ministry of Culture, Tourism, and Environment for the opportunity to participate in this project. We are also grateful to Monica Chia, Permanent Secretary in the Ministry, for reading a draft of this paper. In addition, we thank the Sandakan branch of the Wildlife Department and especially Jon Taran and Jeffrey Mathew for logistical help; Reza Azmi (WWFM/University of Malaya Department of Botany) for botanical identifications; Flory Siambun, the Project Biologist, for organizational help and data collection assistance; and Julie King and George N. Appell for their ethnographic insights. Finally, we are immensely grateful to the Orang Sungai of the lower Sugut for hosting our studies.

²For Orang Sungai words, we have provisionally adopted the spelling system of King and King used in their thesaurus of the Sungai/Tombonuwo language (1990), while recognizing that dialectical and semantic differences do exist.

³The Ministry is now known as the Ministry of Culture, Environment and Tourism.

"human free" natural habitats. Communities live in the area and may already have important interests in those habitats.

A major problem in habitat conservation and/or development in Sabah as elsewhere, is that potential protected areas often are subject to contesting claims (see Ghimire and Pimbert 1997; Pimbert and Pretty 1995; WRI *et al* 1992). Further, projects often fail to take into account the opportunity costs of local communities when large tracts of traditional forest are converted or brought under statutory protection (Kramer *et al.* 1994). The sociological studies therefore sought (among other things) to identify local land use preferences. The resource economic studies examined the degree to which biotic resources contribute to community socio-economic welfare. Two major economic interests are the ecological services provided by natural ecosystems and the welfare of rural peoples based on their interactions with that ecosystem (as the study period was short, this project focused solely on the latter). A guiding principle is that the protection of ecologically important ecosystems can preserve the flow of economic benefits to local peoples as well as conserve biodiversity and maintain environmental services.

This paper presents some results of our work in the lower Sugut (in the Labuk-Sugut administrative district), where we focused on the Orang Sungai of Kaliaga and Pantai Buring villages (see Figure 1). This area is not well known outside of Sabah and the ethnographic documentation on the Orang Sungai is also not widely available. Thus we hope to make an ethnographic contribution with this paper.⁴

The specific conservation problem concerned the fragmented nature of the forest cover, the need to retain more riverside forest, and, more broadly, to maintain the lower Sugut ecosystem as a representative of its kind (see below). Lye examined the land, livelihood, social, and environmental concerns of the villagers. Wong examined the economics of local resource use, and identified potential development strategies to advance the IPPA/SBCP's conservation objectives.⁵

The Setting

The Sugut (approximately 178 km long) is the largest river in northeast Sabah. From its high altitude origins in the Kinabalu Range, it flows through an extensive alluvial plain before arriving at the Sulu Sea. At the coast, there is a tidal swamp (stretching for about 8 km of the river course) with the banks lined by a growth of nipah palms and mangrove trees.

The study area (see Figure 1) was limited to a 45 km stretch between Pantai Buring and Kaliaga villages and, within that, the riverine State lands along both banks of the Sugut. Width of these lands varies from 1.5 to 3 km, measured from riverbank to the boundaries of the Sugut Forest Reserve (which is classified for commercial exploitation, primarily of timber).

Botanically, IPPA was concerned with the riparian and freshwater swamp forests of the floodplain zone. Between the villages, these consist generally of peat- and alluvial swamp forests (Reza 1998). This type of ecosystem is unique to only a few sites in

⁴This paper still bears traces of the reports in which our findings were originally presented. We have not substantially revised those findings for this publication.

⁵At the time of writing, our recommendations have been forwarded to relevant state agencies for further consideration and we cannot detail them here.

Malaysia, the Kinabatangan floodplain in east Sabah being better known (Anonymous 1998). Distinctive features include the riverine forests, dry land forest on sandstone hills, and freshwater ox-bow lakes (Reza 1998). These habitats are a natural breeding ground for an abundance of wildlife, including sambar deer, orang utan, muntjac, proboscis monkeys, macaques, silvered langurs, sun bear, wild pig, mousedeer, large and small birds. Muhamad Saini (1998) has identified 43 species of freshwater fish in this area.

The climate is dominated by monsoon patterns; the northeast monsoon lasts from October or early November until March or April, and the southwest from May until August. Most of the annual rainfall occurs during the northeast monsoon, while dry periods (lasting several weeks) are most likely to occur during the southwest.

Methods

Lye made two trips to the study area (February, and March/April 1998) for a total research period of just under a month. Wong's field trip lasted from June 15-28, 1998. Access to the area was made in a 140hp speedboat from Sandakan.

Most of Lye's report is based on information gathered on the second trip, during which six days were spent in Kaliaga and the remaining portion in Pantai Buring. The methodology followed standard anthropological assessment methods: riverside (ground) surveys to observe land use conditions, structured and loosely structured interviews with village leaders and household members, and a basic census of all inhabited houses in the two villages. The interview sessions were conducted in individual or household sessions rather than large group sessions. Some attempt was made to canvass views from as many different sectors of the communities as possible (e.g., male, female, old, young, leaders, non-leaders, etc.). These discussions generated a compendium of ideas and grievances concerning problems facing the village, priority issues, desired and planned-for developments, and aspirations for the villages' future.

The economic household survey by Wong covered 51 households or approximately 69 per cent of households in the area. Here, again, structured interviews and informal discussions were the primary methodological tools. A structured questionnaire was used to elicit detailed information regarding household production and livelihood activities from household heads (or their available representatives). This economic survey also provides estimates on several indicators of wealth, namely: ownership of chainsaws, generators, radios, livestock (chickens) and motorized boats. The survey does try to capture household levels of affluence but was mainly intended to assess the households' capacity to participate in resource exploitative activities and cope with income fluctuations.⁶

Time was a major constraint to our studies (incumbent to applied, multi-site projects of this sort). Lack of time affected whom we could talk to, where we could go, how we got our results, and what we can conclude from them. Further, we were working for a Government-sponsored project. Villagers, we know, would have taken this point into consideration. A third issue concerned the size of our field contingents. On our various

⁶In studies carried out in the Amazon, households that are more "affluent" have shown a tendency to practice more efficient resource extractive activities by either investing in better technology (i.e. chainsaws over axes), and/or capitalizing on the labor of poorer households (Coomes 1996; Hammond, Dolman, et al. 1995; Henrich 1997).

trips, we were joined by members of the Sandakan branch of the state Wildlife Department. Apart from the two weeks when Lye conducted fieldwork alone, the officers were present throughout the studies. Department staff were periodically conducting faunal surveys and were familiar to the villagers⁷; they helped with "community entry" and, specifically, with administering our structured interviews. Further, the agency possessed the boats we needed to reach the lower Sugut from Sandakan.⁸ Although the Department's involvement was logistically necessary, we acknowledge that their presence may also have affected the villagers' responses to our interview questions.⁹

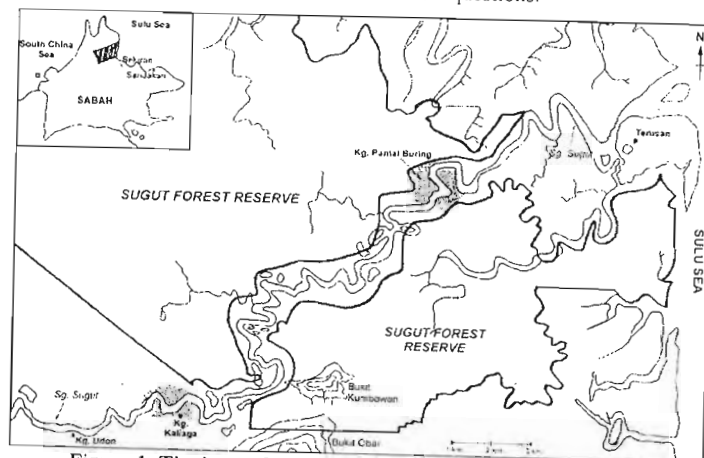


Figure 1. The lower Sugut area, Labuk-Sugut district, Sabah

Land use, Ownership, and Problems

At the time of Wong's study, the villagers were just recovering from the El Niño-caused drought and the forest fires of that year. Fires in the Sugut Forest Reserve occurred around mid-April 1998 and were still burning during Wong's field trip. Information on the causes, magnitude, and long-term impact of the Forest Reserve fires was not widely available (for other local updates, see Wadley 1998: 89). Thus, in this paper, we can only detail some immediate effects of the fires. The skies were largely clear during Lye's study. Pantai Buring villagers told Wong that, during the fires, they were periodically enveloped by the haze for up to four or five days at a time.

⁷One of the officers, indeed, was distantly related to some families in Pantai Buring.

⁸Distinguishing features of the SBCP were the collaborative relationships between different state agencies involved in environmental governance and the pooling of information and institutional capabilities wherever different agencies had a common subject interest.

⁹Dove (1986: 23) has commented on the liabilities of making inspection (research) trips in large groups.

The land use scenario is complex. Apart from fallowing swiddens, there are also fruit orchards, stands of *Acacia mangium*, rubber groves, abandoned village sites, present and abandoned logging camps, and at least one abandoned tobacco plantation close to Pantai Buring. Lands currently used by the communities are officially classified as State Lands (meaning they have not been alienated yet). Other than these, most of the area lies within the Forest Reserve. As State Lands, the area could potentially be alienated to private individual owners. Upriver, just outside the study area, land clearance for the development of large-scale oil palm plantations is occurring.

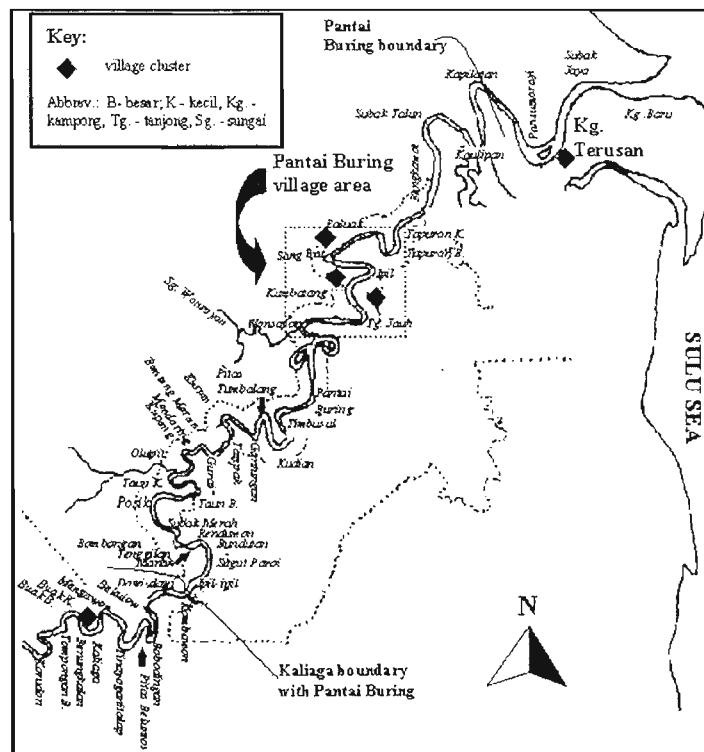


Figure 2. Map of the lower Sugut, showing village boundaries and local place-names. Each place-name refers to a specific *tanjung* (cape) along the Sugut River. The place-names were listed by Haji Samamin Inting of Kumbatang (Pantai Buring village). Due to the Haji's great age (80), this information was confirmed not with ground surveys but through follow-up interviews with other villagers.

Most of the State Lands in the study area are currently under application by individuals within or linked to the communities, or are licensed for other purposes. Pantai

Buring and Kaliaga villagers say that no one among them had as yet obtained title to land. Village desires for the security of land titles are strongly affected by the exogenous forces of logging inside the Sugut Forest Reserve and upriver planting of oil palm by plantation companies.

The logging companies have constructed base and transport camps along the riverbanks; a sawmill exists just beside Pantai Buring village. Employees of the logging companies (mainly non-locals) are a ubiquitous presence as are the scows and tugboats transporting freshly cut logs to sawmills outside the area.

Key constraints on land availability also include the drainage and inundation of the swamp forests. Village houses are strung along the river levees; these are relatively flood-free, being high in sand content and free-draining (Reza 1998). Agricultural activities are limited to the riparian forest, with swiddening of the *tanjung* (alluvial capes) being its distinguishing characteristic. The Orang Sungai have farmed here quite extensively in the last century and continue to do so within a more restricted ambit of their villages. The forest is in various stages of succession and regeneration, ranging from advanced woody vegetation to grasses and herbaceous growth.

History and Settlement Patterns

For environmental planning purposes, knowing settlement histories and patterns enables us to assess the degree of landscape modification, the effects of practical activities on biodiversity, and the location (or lack thereof) of territorial boundaries and resource management units. We cannot generalize about the lower Sugut case yet.

Colonial observations indicate sparse populations along the Sugut and its tributaries. However, like the rest of Sabah's major rivers, the Sugut has long been an important waterway; historically, the interior was best approached coastally by traveling up the navigable rivers. This is still the best approach to the lower Sugut: by taking a boat from either Beluran (the District administrative center) or Sandakan. Orang Sungai origins are complex; the lower Sugut peoples are related to the Tombonuwo who live farther upriver; they are of Paitanic origin.¹⁰ The village of Terusan (located at the river mouth, on the mangrove edge) is apparently long-established.

The locally renowned expert on village history is Haji Samamin Inting (aged 80) of Pantai Buring. According to the Haji, his people had come from Terusan. Work was limited to coastal extractive activities. Soon after he was born, there was a stream of upriver migration to seek arable land (we do not know how many people were in this group). There was also some harvesting and trade of non-timber forest products (e.g., of rattan and damar). By the 1960s, however, only six of the original families remained. Most people had migrated to the big towns or to other rural areas like Kudat. According to Haji Mohamad Said (the current Ketua Negeri or Native Chief), who began his political career at this period of time, he then began to persuade dispersed villagers to return to the community. The population began to grow again.

Until 1972, the practice was to move from one *tanjung* to another every year, to open up new fields for cultivation. Mobility patterns are likely to have been flexible and adaptive to ongoing conditions. We do not know if there were any territorial restrictions,

¹⁰Thanks to Julie King for help on this issue.

at least within the local area (all the way up to Sungai-Sungai). It appears that pioneering and abandonment of village sites was a continuous occurrence.

For unknown reasons, the Pantai Buring group settled permanently in their present location in 1972. This official village name is a misnomer. Possibly the name was entered into Government records when there was a community in Pantai Buring *tanjung*. But, as Figure 2 shows, the village is today located farther downriver, over the *tanjung* of Sang Bat, Ipil, Kumbatang, and Wonsayon (listed from north to south).

Village membership continues to be in flux. For example, Wonsayon is home mainly to people from Talidusun who are the most recent settlers in the group. One attraction of the lower Sugut appears to be (until recently) its sparse population and the availability of fertile land for cultivation. Upriver, the villages in the Sungai-Sungai area and beyond (for example, Lingkabau and Merungin) appear to be undergoing severe environmental stress. Settlers say there is lack of farming land and good water sources there. Kaliaga, formed in 1983, originated in much this way.¹¹ As conditions worsen upriver, we can expect more immigration into the lower Sugut.

Meanwhile, people continue to move to the big towns because there are few wage-earning opportunities locally. This is said to be the trend in Pantai Buring. Education is another stimulus to outmigration. There is no secondary school in Pantai Buring (and no primary school in Kaliaga) and the boarding school at Terusan provides only lower secondary education.

Demographics and Social Composition

There is some surface homogeneity in village society: close to 100 per cent of the people in both villages are Orang Sungai, while roughly three-quarters are Muslim. Conversion to Christianity seems recent. About 16 per cent pursue traditional religious practices. There may be some ecological effects to this, since the Muslim members of society do little hunting and eating of wild game. Villagers caution that those who have not taken up Islam or Christianity may not admit so (thus leading to the problem of inflated statistics).

Village populations currently number 107 persons in Kaliaga and 465 in Pantai Buring.¹² Our population total falls short of the figures reported by village leaders at Pantai Buring. They include among their numbers the village members who are no longer living full-time in the village. We relied on house members to supply us with these names, but with limited success. Table 1 below summarizes the population statistics of the two villages while Table 2 details the demographic profiles.

¹¹No individual over the age of 14 was born in Kaliaga. The most common place of origin appears to be Sungai-Sungai. Almost 60 per cent of the village population acknowledge upriver origins.

¹²Unfortunately, we do not have base population figures and mortality data with which to estimate population trends over the years.

Table 1. Population statistics for Lower Sugut villages, 1998

Statistics	Kaliaga	Pantai Buring
Total population	107	465
Modal age category	1-10	1-10
Median age	13	15
Mean age	18.32	21.01
Standard deviation (SD)	16.46	17.68
Born in the village	36	222

Source: Field data, Lye Tuck-Po (1998)

Table 2. Demographic profiles of Lower Sugut villages, 1998

Age category	Pantai Buring		Kaliaga	
	Female	Male	Female	Male
1-10	92	78	12	33
11-20	55	63	12	15
21-30	33	26	4	8
31-40	23	23	7	5
41-50	14	20	1	4
51-60	12	11	3	0
61-70	5	6	0	3
71-80	0	4	0	0

Source: Field data, Lye Tuck-Po (1998)

Village society is based on kinship (in the local sense of "everyone here is related to everyone else"). We do not have more detailed data. Our rather sketchy knowledge of origin and postmarital residence patterns is summarized in Table 3 below. The majority claim extra-local places of origin (100 per cent for Kaliaga, 58.1 per cent for Pantai Buring). There is some spatial clustering along kin lines; this is especially evident in Pantai Buring, where sibling and parent-child sets tend to live in neighboring houses. Although there appears to be a stable core of village members, over 40 per cent of Kaliaga villagers and over 20 per cent of Pantai Buring villagers are partial or occasional residents. In this group, education is the major reason taking people away from the community (accounting for 75 per cent of cases in Kaliaga [n=40] and 66.23 per cent of cases in Pantai Buring [n=77]).¹³

¹³Education outside the community may affect not just the particular child involved but the structure of the entire household since, in some cases, one of the parents might remain with the child for the duration of the term. This occurs if (e.g.) a child is living with relatives in a big town like Sandakan rather than boarding at school and needs parental supervision. We have observed this scenario elsewhere in Sabah as well. Long-term effects of this process are not known; the immediate effects would include shortage of household labor.

Table 3. Origins and postmarital residence patterns of lower Sugut couples

	Pantai Buring	Kaliaga
1. Total number of house groups ¹	66	12
2. Total number of married couples	74	14
3. Number of houses with more than one married couple	4	2 ²
4. Places of origin:	<i>Number of couples</i>	
a. Both spouses claiming origin outside the village	43	14
b. Both spouses claiming origin in the village	14	0
c. One spouse claiming origin in the village	17	0
• wife is from the village	9	
• husband is from the village	8	
5. Postmarital residence: ³		
a. Patrilocality residence	16	6
b. Matrilocality residence	23	4
c. Indeterminate data	35	4

Source: Field data, Lye Tuck-Po (1998)

Notes:

1. House group = a group living in a currently inhabited house.
2. One of the couples was living temporarily with the wife's daughter while their new house was being built.
3. The couple is residing or had moved into the village with the husband's or wife's parents or siblings (no data available on secondary ties).

There are several sources of authority or influence. Apart from Government-recognized leadership positions (such as the Ketua Kampong [headman] and Pengerusi JKKK [Chairman of the Village Development and Security Committee]), respect is also given to the aged, the educated, men who have performed the Haj, religious leaders, politicians, and successful business entrepreneurs. Economic mobility, enabled by a household's access to extra-local social and political linkages, is an abiding concern. Going by the indirect indications of (e.g.) men who have performed the Haj and possession of expensive speedboats, at least some families are relatively affluent (see below) and there is some feeling that wealth should be distributed more widely. Economic differentials show up in the household surveys. In that sample, 24 per cent of households own a chainsaw, 51 per cent own a generator, 35 per cent a radio and 98 per cent of households have a boat with engine for their fishing activities.

The Problem of Remoteness

A prominent issue, one which shapes their responses to Government and the wider world (and the reverse: the wider world's perceptions of them), is the fact that the villages are extremely remote even by Sabah standards. The only access route, the Sugut River, does not have major navigable tributaries at this point. Kaliaga is located approximately

45 km upriver from the coast and Terusan. Beluran is located 150 km from Kaliaga and 120 km from Pantai Buring.

Travelling to the big towns is cost-prohibitive. The round-trip cost is approximately RM80¹⁴ from Kaliaga to Beluran (equivalent to an average household's monthly income), and RM120 from Pantai Buring to Sandakan. An overland route, established in 1997, connects the lower Sugut to Beluran via a series of old logging trails. The villagers do not normally use this route, however, because they cannot afford the high fares charged by the informal "taxis" that go there. The villages also lack such things as electricity and piped water supply. The major issue for villagers is the absence of medical facilities. There is only a village clinic in Terusan. For emergencies, they must depend on airlifts from the district hospital in Beluran but the 1997 fiscal crisis had put a halt to this service.

Pantai Buring is more integrated with markets. There are two village stores at Pantai Buring, and it is reasonably close (15 km) to Terusan, the nearest village with trading and market facilities (and source of boat fuel). There is also a middleman for the sale of prawns and extension officers from the Rural Development Co-operative (Koperasi Pembangunan Desa or KPD)¹⁵ have resided there for the past three years. The agency supplies agricultural inputs like seeds and fertilizers (but not for free) and a ready market for village crops, which villagers can take advantage of. In the past, they have also supplied seedlings for *Acacia mangium* and other commercial crops.

Economy

We now describe subsistence activities in the lower Sugut, namely swidden agriculture, fishing, and uses of forest materials.

Swidden agriculture. The Sugut swiddening system, which is basically rainfed, is restricted to the riverine forest on both sides of the Sugut. The Orang Sungai do not cut swiddens farther inland. Reasons include the high fertility of the alluvial soils and the lack of freshwater sources the farther one moves inland. The state and content of the vegetation in fallow lands are the main determinants of which plot of land to cultivate next.¹⁶

Rice (*padi tiga bulan*) is the primary crop. The varieties planted may be locally distinctive, often being saved from one harvest for use in the next. Generally (so the men say), women are responsible for the storage and maintenance of rice cultigens. A variety of crops are also planted in gardens around the homes and on the edges of swidden fields; these include tapioca, numerous vegetables, pineapples, sweet potatoes and corn. These crops normally act as rice substitutes when there is food shortage or crop failure. The growing season for *padi* is timed to coincide with the three-month southwest monsoon, so that the harvest will be brought in just ahead of the year-end rainfall and floods.

¹⁴At the time of publication, the exchange rate is fixed at RM3.80 = USD1.

¹⁵A statutory agency of the Sabah Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries.

¹⁶We do not have in-depth analyses of ecological stability and plot organization in the lower Sugut swiddening system. A comparative study of this with other Bornean systems would be fruitful, given (e.g.) the rather distinctive character of this ecosystem.

The average swidden field in the 1997 season was just under 2 acres per household. The average household was planning to clear about 2.25 acres for the 1998 season.¹⁷ The fallow period is currently three to five years and has been shortened as a result of sedentarization since 1972 (limiting individual access to forest farther away, given the prohibitive cost of boat fuel). Pressures on land come from demographic growth and logging. There is also a tendency to increase farm size in response to crop failures (and erratic incomes).¹⁸ Another competition for swiddening land is the shift towards increased planting of permanent standing cash crops such as oil palm and *Acacia mangium* (see Cramb and Willis 1998: 67; Lambert 1981). This reflects general smallholder trends in Sabah, with oil palm, especially, being desired as a source of cash income.

Largely, both Pantai Buring and Kaliaga villagers continue to maintain the practice of farming certain sections of the forest and keeping the remainder under fallow. Inter-household exchange of labor occurs, in particular for felling trees, sowing seeds, and harvesting. However, we heard contradictory versions of whether such exchanges are freely available. Ability to capitalize on others' labor may be linked to such factors as length of residence in the village, warmth of social ties, and, practically, where one's swiddens are (see Dove 1985: 70-72). Several households will decide to farm a *tanjung* together and the farmers keep track of whom they have farmed with in the past. One probable effect is to reduce pest density in individual swiddens (see, e.g., Chin 1985: 134; Dove 1985: 72-75). Ownership rights apparently go to the farmer who had cut the forest initially, that farmer becoming the *de facto* "owners" from whom subsequent users must seek permission. Table 4 below lists the timing of various tasks and the sexual division of labor therein.

Orang Sungai women also plant swamp rice (*padi bolayang*) in wet fields (called locally *sawah*). The technology for this is straightforward, whereby cultivators employ naturally occurring sub-surface inundation for irrigation purposes, and the pondfields are abandoned and left to lie fallow following the harvest. They do not use water-controlling devices (in fact, they do not appear to plant irrigated wet rice at all). Women will plant swamp rice if they have the time and/or inclination. Childcare is one constraint on time but childless, unmarried women may also open their own fields. We found few households who had planted *padi bolayang* in the last two years (although there are a number of *sawah* under fallow).

Rice yields do not contribute much to household cash incomes. Surplus from a bumper crop season is kept in storage for the next planting season (an average of two tins, or approximately 30 kg, is required for planting one acre of swidden) and as buffer stocks to smooth consumption in times of shocks. It is also sometimes exchanged for material goods or cooperative labor (*gotong royong*) with fellow villagers.

¹⁷There appeared to be much variation in the households' decisions. Some planned for larger swiddens to compensate for crop failings of the previous year. Others were planning for smaller swiddens to reduce potential investment losses in anticipation of the heavy rainy season.

¹⁸As Cramb and Willis (1998) show, decision-making in this respect is linked to property arrangements. We did not examine this issue in the field.

The *padi* crops of the 1997 season were badly affected by the prolonged drought and fires. About 16 per cent of the farming households lost their entire crops, whilst the mean *padi* yields for the area (at 193 kg/acre) were only about 48 per cent of the average yields in previous seasons. Households reported their agricultural damages from the drought to be between RM100–2000, with a mean loss of RM391 per household. Pests like insects, wild boars, rodents, long-tailed and pig-tailed macaques are other scourges to *padi* and tapioca crops. Following a pattern observed worldwide (see, e.g., Knight 1997), crop raids by wild animals have increased as the animals' natural habitats in the Sugut Forest Reserve have become more degraded.

Table 4. Stages of the swidden cycle in the lower Sugut

Time	Stage of swidden cycle	Done by:
March	<i>gumamak</i> 'slashing the undergrowth'	men, women
April	<i>monogado</i> 'felling of standing trees'	men
	<i>monoga</i> 'pruning branches from felled trees'	men
May	<i>monusul</i> 'firing'	men
	<i>monurut</i> 'the stacking together of unburnt humus, wood and leaf materials for the second burning'	men, women
	<i>monidak</i> 'dibbling' and <i>monumpos</i> 'sowing'	men, women
July	<i>mongandikut</i> 'weeding'	women (assisted by the men)
August	<i>mongiyok</i> 'guarding fields'	All
September	<i>momaroi</i> 'harvest'	men, women
as needed	<i>mongkodat</i> 'drying'	men, women
as needed	<i>monutu</i> 'pounding'	men, women
as needed	<i>moniri</i> 'winnowing rice, side to side'	men, women
as needed	<i>mongotap</i> 'winnowing rice, up and down'	men, women

Source: Field data, Lye Tuck-Po (1998)

Fishing. Fishing of freshwater prawns is the primary cash-earning activity for almost all households in the area. As with agricultural products, fish catches are primarily for household consumption and only secondarily sold for cash. *Bubu* (local prawn traps made from the bark of the *kapur* tree, or from bamboo and rattan), gill nets, and cast nets are the most common fishing gears used; tapioca or coconut are used as bait (Mohamad Saini 1998).

The most productive fishing season occurs during the northeast monsoon. Heavy rains and seasonal flooding of the Sugut River during these months drive the prawn stocks downriver towards the coast. Incomes fluctuate dramatically between the seasons. An average fisherman can earn about RM250 per month in Kaliaga and RM600 per month in Pantai Buring during the high season, while off-season prawn fishing generates only about RM80 and RM200, respectively.

Without organized trading (especially in the case of Kaliaga), the cash incomes generated by fishing are not markedly significant. Occasionally prawns and fish are sold to the nearby logging camps and oil palm estates. Fishermen in Pantai Buring enjoy better fishing incomes because the resident middleman purchases the local catches for transport to markets in Beluran where prices apparently are 250 to 300 per cent higher. Between

800 to 1000 kg of prawns were transported to Beluran weekly from the lower Sugut during the fieldwork period.

Table 5. Summary information household economic activities, lower Sugut

	Mean per household	
	Kaliaga	Pantai Buring
1. Agriculture		
Average size of a swidden field in 1997 (acres)	1.72	2.13
Rice yields (kg/acre) ¹		
Average in previous seasons ²	400 – 500	350 – 500
1997 season	235	180
Market price of rice (RM/kg)	2.10	2.10
Average losses from 1997/98 drought and fires (RM) ³ :	445.80	371.20
2. Fisheries		
Prawns (kg/catch)		
Season (Nov – Mar) ⁴	10 – 15	10 – 25
Off-season	2.6	5.5
Fish (kg/catch)	2	2
Market prices (RM/kg) ⁵		
Prawn	2.50 – 4.50	3.00 – 4.50
Fish	4.00 – 8.00	5.00 – 8.00

Source: Field data, Grace Wong (1998)

Notes:

- The unit of weight for *padi* is that of husked rice.
- Based on estimates by the respondents for the previous 2 seasons (1995 and 1996).
- The losses are reported as a one-time loss from burnt vegetable crops and foregone "income" (or value) from seasonal crop failures (*padi*). Households were asked about their rice yields for the two seasons prior to 1997, and that average was taken as the household's "average" yield. Hence, *padi* losses were measured as [(average yield - 1997 yields) * village price].
- Figures for high season prawn yields are averaged from respondents' estimates.
- Prices here vary according to season.

Forest use. The villagers have traditionally extracted both timber and non-timber products extensively. Forest extraction, however, has declined in recent years with the acceleration of logging activities and fires. Significant groves of rattan and *kapur* trees are a two-day journey away. Rattan, *damar* (resin) and bamboo were harvested commercially up to about ten years ago and were a significant source of cash income then. Although most extraction of forest products is now limited to domestic purposes, this does not mean there is little value to the activity. For example, the all-important fish and prawn traps are made with the bark of the *kapur* tree (local name *pesuwon*) which thus plays an important

role in maintaining household livelihoods. In addition, a variety of fruits, plants and herbs are collected to complement the household's daily diet, firewood remains the primary source of fuel (use of generators being limited largely to night-time provision of electricity) and *nipah* leaves are used for thatching roofs and as cigarette wrappers. Various hardwoods are also harvested for the construction of boats, houses, and household utensils. Table 6 gives some indication of local uses of plants:

Table 6. A small selection of the culturally recognized and useful plants, lower Sugut

Local name	Common Malay name (Scientific) ¹	Plant part used ²	Uses ³	Habitat ⁴
Gabang	NK	NK	xylophone (<i>kulintangan</i>)	SF
Ulatian	NK	T	house post	SF, R
Pesuwon	kapur (<i>Dryabalanops</i> sp.)	T	flooring, roofing, house rafters, walls, fishtraps	SF, R
Longkobungan	NK	T	roofing	SF
Lambak	NK	T	house post, roofing, rice mortars,	PF, SF
Marong sarong	NK	T	rice mortar	PF
Anibung	Nibung (<i>Oncospermum tigillarium</i>)	T	flooring, housepost	ND
Maloh	seraya (<i>Shorea</i> sp.)	T	door, walls, flooring, rice bin, boat	PF
Tagong	nipah (<i>Nypa fruticans</i>)	L	thatch, cigarette wrapper	nipah
Tokkit	NK	T	firewood	PF
Liu	NK	T	house post	SF
Biasak	Sagong	T	walls	PF
Selungapit	NK (<i>Mallotus muticus</i>)	T	house post	PF, F
Asam-asam	NK	T	floor	PF, F
Toring (bamboo)	NK (<i>Bambusa</i> spp.)	S	walls	SF, R
Mensolongan	Keruing (<i>Dipterocarpus</i> sp.)	T	rice winnower	ND
Laran	NK (<i>Anthocephalus cadamba</i>)	T	wall	ND
Tambirok	Jelutong	T	floor	ND
Ipil	Merbau (<i>Intsia palembanica</i>)	T	house post	SF, R
Sepudah (introduced species)	NK	T	timber for sale	PF
Ogu	NK	W	ornamental	PF, R
Serayong*		Sh	food source:	SF, R

Nunuk*	ara (<i>Ficus</i> sp.)	W	vegetable prohibition against felling: home of ghosts	SF, R
Binuang*	NK (<i>Octomeles sumatrana</i> or <i>Nauclea orientalis</i>)	ND	INU	SF, R
Mengaris*	NK (<i>Koompassia excelsa</i>)	T	boats	SF, R
Bongkol*	NK (<i>Nauclea subdita</i>)	T	house construction	SF, R
Becangon*	NK	ND	INU	SF, R
Mundok	NK (<i>Baccaurea</i> sp.)	FR	food source (has astringent taste)	PF
Mengawong*	NK	T	house construction	SF, R
Kangkol*	NK	FR	food source, fish bait	SF, R
Kalasiwoi*	NK	T	boats	SF, R
Litak*	NK (<i>Pterospermum</i> sp.)	T	firewood, boat, house construction	SF, R
Tarap hutan*	NK (<i>Artocarpus</i> sp.)	W	INU	SF, R
Serosop*	NK (<i>Dracontomelon dao</i>)	FR	food source	SF, R

Source: Field data, Lye Tuck-Po (1998).

Notes:

Species marked with asterisk * were observed during a riverside survey by boat, which approximated a "participatory transect boat-ride." All other plant names were obtained casually in the course of house visits when villagers were asked to name and describe the timbers in their homes. Naturally, the data that results is biased towards house construction.

1. NK—not known, ND—no data.

2. T—trunk and/or any appropriately woody portion of the tree, S—stem, B—bark, L—leaf, W—whole plant, FR—fruit, Sh—growing young shoots

3. INU—informant not aware of uses

4. PF—primary forest (*oba'on*), SF—secondary forest (*goten*), R—riverside, F—flat area, H—hillside

Estimated Cash Incomes

Although there is some commercialization, the economy remains predominantly a subsistence-based one. Incomes are largely derived from the occasional sale of prawns and surplus vegetables to logging camp and plantation workers. Distance from markets is a key constraint.

The average household income is approximately RM1708.40 per year or RM185.80 per month (median RM1050; Std. Deviation RM1997.40; Range RM100–12,000). Twenty-five per cent of households earn under RM750 per year, 75 per cent under

RM2000 per year, and 95 per cent earn less than RM4000 per year. Table 7 summarizes information on cash incomes.

Incomes at the more remote Kaliaga are generally lower. Pantai Buring villagers have the advantage: 25.6 per cent of Pantai Buring villages work for money as compared to 16.7 per cent at Kaliaga. Sources of cash earnings include occasional work at the nearby sawmill, logging concessionaires and oil palm plantation estates, working for the KPD, and teaching at the local schools¹⁹.

Table 7. Household cash incomes in the lower Sugut

Economic activity	Average cash income per household (RM per month)	
	Kaliaga	Pantai Buring
1. Prawn fishing		
In-season (Nov-Mar) ¹	200–250	400–500
Off-season	76.40	209.40
2. Agriculture ²	20.60	17.20
3. Cash earnings from other sources (see above)	125	565
4. Mean cash income per household per month	84.60	217.80
Minimum	20	25
Maximum	160	1000

Source: Field data, Grace Wong (1998)

Notes:

1. Figures for high season prawn incomes are averaged from respondent estimates.

2. Income from sale of surplus corn yields and vegetables to logging camps and oil palm estates.

Focusing on cash incomes does not adequately capture the flow of benefits. We need to also account for the non-marketed values. Ideally, the non-market benefits should also include the full range of environmental services provided by the forest (maintenance of watersheds and soil fertility, mitigation of soil erosion and floods, carbon sequestration, etc.)²⁰ For the present, using a rough-and-ready method, Table 8 presents the total value of an economic activity by adding the cash income generated by the major products as sold in the market (as in Table 7) and the value of that product as consumed by the households. These values are calculated using the current market prices (July 1998). Price data on the products are village-level prices and were obtained by interviewing various villagers familiar with cash values, including shop owners at Pantai Buring and household and village leaders.

If a household is involved in agriculture, the annual flow of benefits from the lower Sugut ecosystem is approximately RM1361.60 to a Kaliaga household and RM1063.50 to a household in Pantai Buring. A fishing household would enjoy a benefit flow of RM3032.50 in Kaliaga and RM5096.60 in Pantai Buring. If a household practices both

¹⁹Some of the villagers also tutor children in the Koran.

²⁰Economic quantification of these benefits would provide a holistic value of the flow of benefits from the forest for use in cost-benefit analyses of land conversion.

fishing and agriculture, then the annual flow of benefits is the sum of the values; i.e., RM4394.10 for Kaliaga and RM6160.10 for Pantai Buring. Similarly, if a household participates in only fishing and forest use, then the annual value of the ecosystem to that household is RM2021.60 in Kaliaga and RM1923.50 in Pantai Buring.

Table 8. Value of agricultural, fishery and forestry activities

Economic Activity	Mean Annual Value to a Household (RM)	
	Kaliaga	Pantai Buring
Fishing:		
Prawn ¹	1732.50	4363.30
Fish	1300	733.30
Agriculture		
<i>Padi</i>	961.60	663.50
Other ²	400	600
Forest uses		
Kapur, firewood ³	660	660

Source: Field data, Grace Wong (1998)

Notes:

1. Since the fieldwork was conducted during the off-season, the accuracy of in-season values for prawn fishing is based largely on informant recall.
2. Other crops include tapioca, vegetables, fruits, and corn. This is an estimate value based on discussions with several knowledgeable village farmers in both villages.
3. The value for these products is based on the market prices for their substitutes. Other more valuable forest products (i.e. timber) were not included because of the difficulty in defining values. We lack data on harvest quantities. We also acknowledge, and have not been able to calculate, the importance of forest fruits, herbs, and vegetables to the village diet. Hence, forest use values are conservatively estimated. These numbers represent only a tiny fraction of its true value to the household.

Potential Loss of Income and Household Adaptive Strategies

The economic study was particularly interested in the household's adaptive strategies for economic survival when faced with unexpected income shocks or emerging threats. For villagers, there are few options available for diversification of economic strategies. Unsustainable logging and large-scale forest conversion have effectively disrupted a traditional source of wellbeing and income. Furthermore, politically and economically imposed boundaries restrict community access to land. Local income security is at greater risk when the villagers do not have legal ownership over their farming lands.

Although the current political economy may be the most obvious threat, natural events have also proven to be catastrophic for local livelihoods. Since both fishing and agriculture are dictated by the seasonal rainfall patterns, the unpredictable weather (and an inherently unstable and combustible forest) has caused drastic fluctuations in local incomes. Such problems are magnified with the increased population density of recent years.

Against this broader scenario, the resilience of the social and ecological systems (as linked through a process of mutual feedback) is a central issue in balancing the production needs of the community with conservation objectives. Examining linkages between society, extra-local social-political conditions, and the biophysical environment allows us to explore the different conditions that encourage or force people to adopt unsustainable practices (compare, for example, Brightman 1987; Thompson, Warburton, and Hatley 1986).

Concluding Words

The short period of field study has made it impossible for us to adopt more rigorous methodologies or to pursue issues in greater depth. This paper provides, however, some provisional findings.

The Orang Sungai of the lower Sugut are not desperately clinging to their traditional way of life for survival. Although clearly concerned to maintain their traditional livelihood practices, they also actively seek to improve incomes. Villager aspirations for the future are not uniform from one person to another but they did express interest in maintaining continued access to the forest. They did not want to abandon swidden farming and recognized the importance of having good forest cover for this purpose; also, forest materials continue to be highly sought after. But they also want improved social services like schools, a hospital, better road access, and more wage-earning opportunities, and more land security.

Conservation of the lower Sugut has many potential benefits to the villagers. Conservation, however, requires a participatory approach that involves the villagers in the development of their region and provides them with a stake in the long-term welfare of land and water resources. We suggest the need for local (in-situ) development strategies to improve rural incomes whilst ensuring sustainable use or management of the natural resources. Such strategies always have their trade-offs. Potential problems include disruptions to the social relations of production, the danger that new opportunities will be monopolised by limited sectors of society (for comparison, see, e.g., Dore 1978; Schroeder and Suryanata 1996).

Greater economic security and income diversification would be among the goals. These should reduce the pressure on local villagers to engage in environmentally unsustainable activities. They also would provide the basis for local peoples to develop adjustment systems to cope with income shocks, increasing the overall resilience of the systems. The capacity to have options during periods of crisis reduces pressure on the ecosystem and empowers the local villagers to take an active role in the management of the resources. However, a series of studies over time should be carried out with the communities to analyze the long-term ecological, social, and political effects of increased participation in the market economy.

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EDUCATION AND RESEARCH ON SUSTAINABLE LAND USE AND NATURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT. A NEW DANISH-MALAYSIAN UNIVERSITY PROGRAM

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Introduction

This paper provides a brief introduction to a new educational and research collaboration between Universiti Malaysia Sarawak (UNIMAS) and a consortium of three Danish universities focusing on sustainable land use and natural resource management (SLUSE).

The Danish government has since 1994 prioritized aid on environment and development not only in the least developed countries, but also in certain middle income countries such as Thailand and Malaysia. Part of this aid program has been the establishment of two Danish University Consortia on Environment and Development (DUCED) in 1996: DUCED-I&UA on Industry and Urban Areas and DUCED-SLUSE on Sustainable Land Use and Natural Resource Management. SLUSE was funded for a two year period by the Danish Cooperation for Environment and Development (DANCED - Ministry of Environment and Energy) in 1998 and involves seven departments at three Danish universities: University of Copenhagen (UC), The Royal Veterinary and Agricultural University (RVAU) and Roskilde University Centre (RUC). The partners in Southeast Asia are universities in Thailand (Kasetsart, Chiang Mai, and Maejo Universities) and UNIMAS in Malaysia. In addition collaboration with universities in Rep. of South Africa and Botswana was initiated during 1999.

SLUSE aims at improving education and research on sustainable land use and natural resource management in Denmark as well as in countries receiving Danish environment and development assistance (DEDA countries), namely Thailand, Malaysia, Republic of South Africa, Botswana, Namibia, Lesotho, and Swaziland. The objectives of the SLUSE program can be summarized as follows:

- to strengthen the Danish resource base with expertise in interdisciplinary approaches to land use and natural resource management;
- to develop an interdisciplinary environmental postgraduate teaching program collaboratively between three Danish universities;

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and in relationship to UNIMAS:

- to establish a partnership and support the development of a capacity building program in which a new Master's education on environment and development is a key element;
- to develop research activities in collaboration with UNIMAS.

In the following sections, the program in Denmark will be referred to as SLUSE-D and the UNIMAS program, which is currently under consideration for funding by DANCED, will be termed SLUSE-M.

Activities of SLUSE-D

The basic idea of SLUSE-D is to improve the curricula at the universities and increase the availability of courses that focus on environment and development. Students with relevant Bachelor degrees in social or natural sciences (Table 1) can, in addition to their regular university enrollment, register for the SLUSE program and thereby replace part of the first year of their Master's education with courses relevant to SLUSE. Forty-eight students enrolled for the academic year of 1998/99 and forty-seven for 1999/2000. Upon completion of their first year of the Master's program, the students will obtain a SLUSE Certificate. The second year of their Master's will be devoted to the thesis which may or may not be related to SLUSE, but students are entitled to financial support if they choose to carry out internship or field studies in a DEDA country such as Malaysia. The structure of the Danish Master's education and how the SLUSE-educational activities fit in is shown in Figure 1.

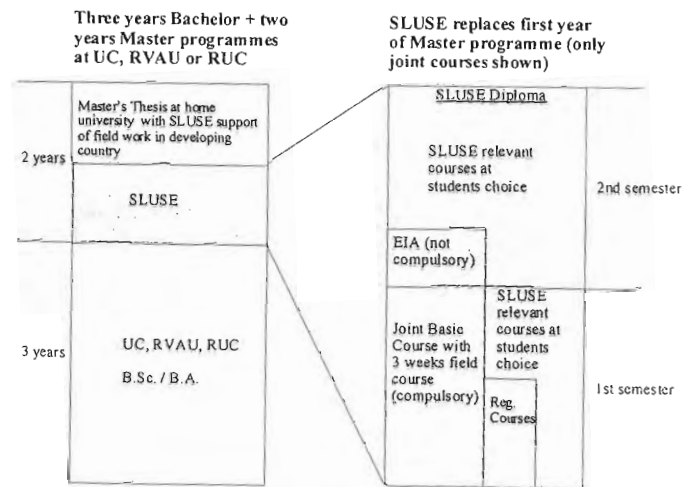


Figure 1: Structure of Danish Master's education and the SLUSE-Denmark program.

A number of new courses have been developed by SLUSE, some jointly between the three universities and others by individual departments. The most important is the Interdisciplinary Joint Basic Course on Natural Resource Management which is compulsory and one of the key SLUSE activities. The course is run in collaboration between all participating departments and focuses on training students in interdisciplinary subjects, particularly those of direct relevance to field work. The course contains lectures/discussions on theory and methodology in Denmark, two to three weeks field work in a DEDA country, and reporting in Denmark.

In 1998 the field course took place in Sarawak and Sabah and the 48 students were divided between 3 locations in Sarawak: Bau District, Ulu Batang Ai and Lemanak Oil Palm Estate, and one in Sabah: Kundasang. A group of 20 Malaysian students also participated as volunteers. The supervision during the field course was undertaken by eight Danish teachers and twelve UNIMAS teachers.

For the 1999 field course, the field-bound students from Denmark were divided into two groups: 23 students to Malaysia and the remainder went to Thailand. The 1999 field course in Malaysia was arranged to coincide with the Crocker Range National Park Scientific Expedition, XPDC 1999, which took place in Sabah in October. The students were located in three Dusun villages (Tikolod, Kuyongan, and Patau) on the southeastern fringe of the Crocker Range National Park in Tambunan District. The original intention with this course was to have an equal representation by UNIMAS graduate students, but unfortunately funding for the UNIMAS program was not obtained in time and only six UNIMAS student volunteers participated in the field course.

During the field course the focus has been on supervising students on the use of research methodologies typical for social as well as natural science. However, the students have prepared problem based mini-research projects beforehand and a significant amount of data collection also takes place. In 1999 the six village based student groups had 4-6 members working on agricultural intensification, income-generating activities, use of forest products, hydrology and soil erosion problems, land tenure, and the potential for tourism development. As all groups are ideally composed of students from different disciplines each topic is normally treated from both social and natural scientific viewpoints. The final reports will be the basis of an examination in January 2000 and if some of the projects have compiled publishable data, these will be edited for publication in the Crocker Range National Park Scientific Expedition monograph.

Other new courses developed at the Danish Universities include Environmental Impact Assessment, Environmental Anthropology, The Politics of Environment and Development, Community Forestry and Soil Pollution in the Tropics. Moreover, several Departments have remodeled existing courses to accommodate students from other Universities who are interested in broadening their disciplinary focus. These courses include topics such as Geographic Information Systems (GIS) and Remote Sensing, Farming Systems in the Tropics, Land Evaluation, Tropical Forestry, Land Tenure and Social Institutions, Development Studies, Ecological Economic Policy Analysis in Developing Countries, etc.

SLUSE-D is administrated by a Board consisting of the Managing Director and University Managers from the three Danish partner universities. An Advisory Committee to the Board includes representatives from DANCED, other ministries, and the

universities. Teaching of the new and joint SLUSE courses is assured by six consortium lecturers employed full time, and by permanent staff at the participating departments.

The current funding of SLUSE-D ends in June 2000. It is, however, expected that a second phase will be funded, probably for a period of six years. Other than the activities mentioned above, a PhD program will also be introduced in the new program and is expected to be one of the driving forces for developing research activities. In-service training for graduates will also play an important role in order to upgrade the scientific level of the persons working with environment and development outside the universities.

SLUSE-M

SLUSE-Malaysia will, at least in its first phase, be based at UNIMAS. Collaboration with other universities in Malaysia is envisaged at a later stage, but in order to facilitate the initiation of the program, a one-university approach was opted for. The funding for SLUSE-M is expected from DANCED in late 1999 for an initial phase of two years, and, consequently, the activities described in the following are still in the planning stage.

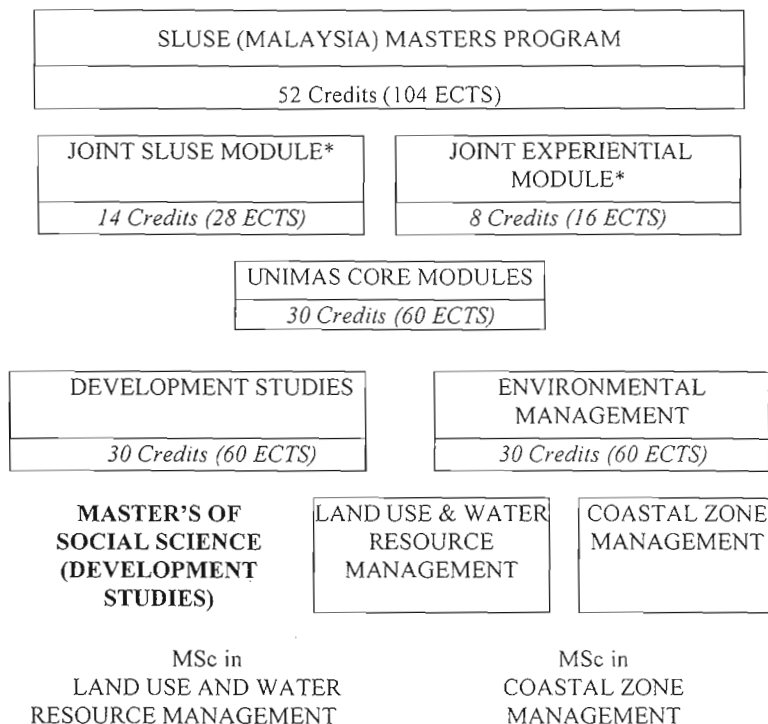
The proposed SLUSE-M is developed on a concept similar to that of the ongoing SLUSE-D in which UNIMAS is one of the collaborators. The SLUSE interdisciplinary concept concurs with the teaching-learning approach at UNIMAS whereby the student's knowledge base is enhanced by a number of complementary and generic courses.

SLUSE-M has been designed as a new Master's education at UNIMAS with the aim of providing students with an M.A. in Social Science (Development Studies) or M.Sc. in Land Use and Water Resource Management or Coastal Zone Management. An intake of 20-25 students representing a broad number of disciplines from all over Malaysia and possibly other ASEAN countries is expected.

The education program of SLUSE-M is structured to comprise one year of intensified course-work and four months of dissertation work, making up a total of 52 credits (Figure 2). The course work includes a Joint SLUSE Module, UNIMAS Core Modules, and an Experiential Module. The latter, and to a large extent the Joint SLUSE Module are closely 'twinning' with the SLUSE-D Interdisciplinary Joint Basic Course. Consequently, the Danish and Malaysian SLUSE field courses in 2000 will be planned jointly, and the students from both countries will not only work together in the field but also plan their field study jointly over the Internet. The reports, however, will be written separately as it will be logistically difficult to run a joint examination. The Sungai Niah catchment area in Sarawak has been proposed as the field course site for 2000.

Besides the field course, it is also planned that some of the courses offered under the Joint SLUSE-M Module be jointly taught or facilitated by invited Danish teachers and UNIMAS teachers. In situations when the Danish teacher's physical presence at UNIMAS is not possible, a video conference mode of course delivery will be utilized.

The remainder of the SLUSE-module consists of new courses at UNIMAS such as Applied Environmental and Resource Economics, Land Use and Natural Resource Management, Water Resource Management, Environmental Management Instruments and Systems, and Monitoring Using Earth Observation (Eo) and GIS. In addition, the course work consists of a specialization in either Development Studies, Land Use and Water Resource Management, or Coastal Zone Management, and the Master's thesis work will also have to be carried out in one of these fields.



*Interfaculty and partial twinning with SLUSE-D Program.

Figure 2. SLUSE-M Masters Program

Finally, SLUSE-M includes funding for two PhD students to be enrolled at Danish Universities. On a more longterm basis, it is envisaged that an extension of SLUSE-M should include the development of a PhD program at UNIMAS within land use and natural resource management.

SLUSE-M program administration and monitoring shall operate at five levels:

1. Project Steering Committee (PSC)
2. Project Management Committee
3. SLUSE-M Academic Advisory Panel
4. UNIMAS Board of Post-graduate Studies
5. SLUSE-M Board of Studies.

The PSC shall be represented by DANCED, Economic Planning Unit, Project Director, State Planning Unit, Department of Higher Education, Department of Environment and the Sabah and Sarawak state environmental agencies.

Research

SLUSE-D and UNIMAS are in the process of developing research activities in Sabah and Sarawak based on the educational collaboration which has already been established as well as previous research collaboration between the participating institutions. A number of areas of joint interest have been identified and it is expected that during 2000, several proposals will be presented for funding. Ideas include natural resources inventory and watershed management, intensification processes of traditional farming systems, land resource use and conflicts, local perceptions of environmental change and sustainability, and recycling of urban and agricultural waste on farm land and organic farming. More concrete research projects will be communicated to the *Borneo Research Bulletin* once they are under way.

Concluding remarks

The SLUSE program is continuously evolving and lessons learnt from the first years are being incorporated into the planning of future activities. The execution of the Interdisciplinary Joint Basic Course in 1998, for example, required considerable revisions that were applied during the 1999 course. One of the main issues regarded the problem of interdisciplinary teaching and supervision which requires trade-offs between maintaining a high academic level in all disciplines while not leaving any students out. Our experience is that lecturing and discussions must adhere to general themes (e.g. sustainability, land degradation, deforestation) elucidated from the perspective of different disciplines, while specific theoretical disciplinary skills must be acquired in other courses.

Moreover, attaining interdisciplinarity in student project groups requires considerable control of group formation and the topics studied. Students must be forced to work with their own disciplines while at the same time acquainting themselves with methods and rationales of other disciplines. It is important that interdisciplinary group work results in reports showing how each discipline has contributed to the solution of a given problem. This is not necessarily evident in "democratic" student groups where choosing "the lowest common denominator" may be an attractive solution to accommodate everybody and distribute the tasks.

The Interdisciplinary Joint Basic Course and other SLUSE courses have created an interdisciplinary, interinstitutional, and intercultural academic environment for students and SLUSE staff alike. The students from the 1998 batch are already benefitting from these networks as they are gradually embarking on field work for their Master's theses in Malaysia, Thailand, and Southern Africa.

The SLUSE concept, as it is developed in the future, will hopefully inspire other institutions to establish similar collaboration especially with regard to developing joint interdisciplinary education programs which generally receive much less interest than research collaboration.

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Table 1: Distribution of students by Departments for SLUSE-Denmark intake 1998/99 and 1999/2000.

University	Specialization	Students 98/99	Students 99/00
University of Copenhagen (UC)	Anthropology		2
	Economics		1
	Human Geography	18	6
	Physical Geography	2	
	Biology	4	6
	Near Oriental Studies	1	
Royal Vet. and Agricultural University (RVAU)	Agronomy	4	8
	Forestry	7	4
	Agricultural Economics	3	1
	Horticulture	1	1
Roskilde University Centre (RUC)	Int. Development Studies / Geography	1	12
	Int. Development Studies / Anthropology	1	
	Int. Development Studies / Biology	1	
	Int. Development Studies / Public administration	2	
	Int. Development Studies / Pedagogy		1

	Geography / Public Administration		1
	Geography / Communication		1
	Public administration	2	
	Technology, Science and Planning	1	1
University of Aarhus	Ethnography		1
	Political Science		1
TOTAL		48	47

WET RICE CULTIVATION AND THE KAYANIC PEOPLES OF EAST
KALIMANTAN:
SOME POSSIBLE FACTORS EXPLAINING THEIR PREFERENCE FOR
DRY RICE CULTIVATION¹

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Introduction

In Kalimantan, as in other Indonesian islands, wet rice cultivation has been encouraged by government policy, which often equates dry rice cultivation with "traditional", "extensive", "wasteful of land", whereas wet rice cultivation is equated with "modern", "intensive", "productive", and "rational". Inland groups in Kalimantan, so-called "Dayaks", are considered to be dry rice cultivators and are under pressure to switch from dry to wet rice cultivation. In fact, however, many Kalimantan inlanders, including Kayanic groups of East Kalimantan among whom I conducted anthropological research for two and half years (1996-8), have a knowledge of both dry and wet rice cultivation. Among Kalimantan groups, the Lun Dayeh (or Apo Duat group)² are, in addition, known as being traditional wet rice cultivators. Moreover, the Lun Dayeh are not alone, and wet rice cultivation, at least in the form of "rawa" or "swamp rice farming", has been reported among a number of Borneo swiddeners, for example, the Iban, Land Dayak, Kantu', Maloh, and others (see Pringle 1970, Sather 1980, Wadley 1997, Low 1848, Dove 1980, Seavoy 1973, King 1985). There is, however, little detailed discussion of such cultivation.

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²Here I adopt the term "Lun Dayeh", following Crain (1978:124), as a linguistic category to distinguish the Lun Dayeh (including the Kelabit and Lun Bawang) from Murutic groups. Hudson names this group the "Apo Duat Group." According to some oral histories, part of the Lun Dayeh (at least those in Bario) seem to have been in close contact with Kayanic peoples in the past. In East Kalimantan, Lun Dayeh is pronounced *Lun Daye*. The phonetic description used in this article follows Guerreiro (1995: 26, appendix 3).

ex.) /é/: [e], /è/: [ɛ], /û/: [ü] (nasalized vowel), /:/: length of the precedent vowel, /'/: [ʔ] (glotal stop in all positions)

This may reflect not only ideological factors but also the fact that wet rice cultivation is often carried out on a small scale and is frequently secondary to dry rice cultivation for many of those who practice it. Several recent studies challenge the view that dry rice cultivation is "primitive" and historically precedes wet rice cultivation. Instead, rice agriculture, as practiced in Kalimantan and in other parts of Island Southeast Asia, using both dry and wet fields, has been described as the remains, or characteristic feature, of an ancient Asian rice agricultural system, which itself is the result of adaptation to the varied and special environmental circumstances of Southeast Asia (for example, see Watabe 1983, 1993, Tanaka 1991). Characteristic of this agricultural system, wet rice fields are cultivated in a similar way to dry rice fields, without tillage except for puddling³ (regarding the details of these types of rice farming, see later).

In this paper, I will first describe Kayanic wet rice cultivation and outline its characteristics. I will then speculate as to why Kayanic people prefer dry rice over wet rice cultivation, although they appear to have practiced the latter since the time they lived in the Kayan basin, for some 350 years. There are several obvious reasons for this preference, including environmental and technological constraints, but here I wish to stress historical and cultural factors.

First, before beginning our discussion, it is necessary to mention some terminological problems. To clarify the differences that exist between different types of wet rice cultivation in Southeast Asia and other parts of the world, I shall use here Schneeberger's terminology and distinguish between "ladang", "rawa", and "sawah cultivation" (1979:46-53). "Ladang" or dry field cultivation is so-called slash-and-burn and is widely practiced in interior Borneo. "Rawa" cultivation involves the utilization of natural swamps or wetlands with or without control of water-levels by the use of dykes and is practiced, as noted above, by a number of Borneo groups, including Kayanic people. "Sawah" is the most elaborate form with developed irrigation systems, that is, dykes, water conduits, reservoirs, and so on, as seen among the Lun Dayeh, Javanese, in mainland Southeast Asia, and also in East and South Asia. Here we need to refine these distinctions further.

The principal difference between rawa and sawah fields is, in fact, not just irrigation but rather the total system of the water regulation, that is, the techniques used to control water impoundment in the field. These techniques consist of three main elements: leveling (to make the field bed flat, so as to keep the water-level equal, involving usually tilling,

³There are several stages in the process of rice farming in East and South Asia. For land preparation, people first till the field before introducing water, so as to soften the soil and at the same time level the field bed with cattle and various tools such as the plough, harrow, hoe, or oar-shaped spade. Then, before transplanting the rice seedlings, they puddle, i.e., stir up the inundated field with their bare feet, cattle, or tools, like the oar-shaped spade, in order to level the field and also to plug up the crevices and leaks in its surface for better water impoundment. This stage broadly exists in Southeast Asia in place of the intensive tillage seen in East and South Asia and it sometimes takes the form of a village event like fish-catching or mud-playing. Trampling (with bare feet or cattle) is basically a kind of puddling, but in some cases, it is done both before and after inundating fields (see the Lun Dayeh example).

puddling, or trampling), bunding (to surround the field with dykes), and inundating (to fill the field with water, not only rain water, but water supplied by a constant source). Thus, rawa fields can be described as wet rice fields that lack one or some of these elements, in contrast with sawah fields which have them all. There are many different forms of traditional rawa fields in the world, all of which depend on some uncontrolled water source, such as rainfall or tidal rivers, or which are made on steep slopes without leveling, or lack dykes. Typical sawah fields are seen widely in East and South Asia, where rice farming is done with the use of cattle and/or tilling tools like hoes, ploughs, and harrows. Following this definition, strictly speaking, some of the wet fields that are used by the Lun Dayeh belong in the rawa category, even though they are locally called "sawah" (see the case of Kelabit fields without leveling in Talla 1979) and so too, similarly, are Javanese fields dependent on rainfall (see Ohki 1990). Thus, various types of rice fields range between the two extremes of ladang and sawah. In addition, the wet rice cultivation now being promoted by the Indonesian Government is neither the Javanese nor Balinese sawah system, but rather, one developed following the "Green Revolution". Modeled on an East Asian type of sawah (Tanaka 1998: 140-42), it is characterized by intensive tillage which, in fact, is not always suitable to Southeast Asian environments. In general, the traditional wet rice fields of Kayanic people have dykes, simple water conduits consisting of small canals or bamboo pipes, but involve no leveling except for puddling, which may partly contribute to leveling. Their wet rice cultivation is thus a form of rawa cultivation, while their neighbors, the Lun Dayeh, practice sawah cultivation using simple leveling tools.

Concerning the terms "dry rice" and "wet rice": in general, it is difficult to establish a clear distinction between the two, for many varieties of rice can grow in both dry and wet fields. Wild rice can be divided into perennial and annual types; the former tend to prefer swamp or wetlands, such as ponds or river banks, while the latter can equally adapt to dry land. The ancestor of cultivated rice is likely to have been an intermediate strain between the two (Sato and Fujiwara 1992: 65). Until today, there are rice varieties which are used in both wet and dry fields, as seen in India, Laos, Thailand, China, and Japan (Watabe 1983: 213-15, 1993: 62-7, 72-4), and also, as we shall see, in East Kalimantan. Therefore, I mean by "dry rice" and "wet rice" those varieties planted, respectively, in dry or wet fields (in the latter case, both rawa and sawah fields), as defined and practiced by local people. Also, I exclude here terms with geographical reference, such as "upland rice", "hill rice", or "swamp rice" (except for the term "rawa cultivation" above), emphasizing, instead, the way in which rice is locally cultivated. Indeed, "dry rice" fields may exist on lowland flats and "wet rice" fields on hillsides or even mountains.

Ethnohistorical Background

The "Kayanic peoples", as I use the category here, consists of the following three subgroups, which are not only related linguistically and culturally, but which also share a common historical background (see Map 1):

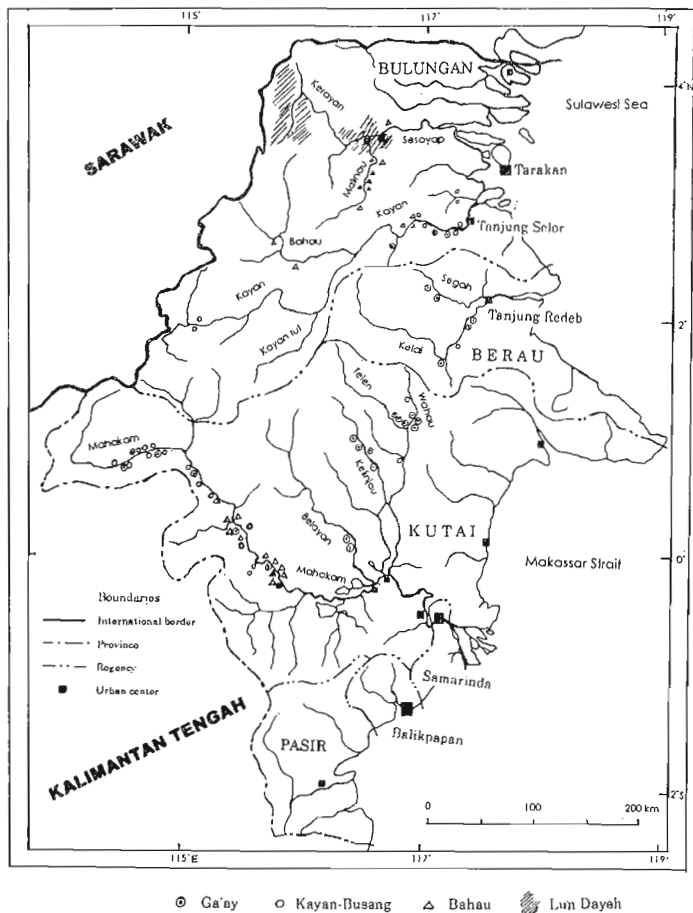
1. The Ga'ay or Mengga'ay language group, also identified with other names such as "Modang-Menggaè" (Guerreiro 1995: 1), "Segei-Modang" (Rousseau 1990: 16), including the Long Glat, Long Way, and other Modang in Kutai; the Segai (Menggaè and Mengga'ay) in Berau and the Ga'ay (Mengga'ay, or Ga'ay Long Ba'un, and Gung Kiya:n) in Bulungan. The term "Ga'ay /Mengga'ay" seems to have

- been generally used by both Ga'ay and non-Ga'ay, before some powerful Ga'ay groups started to differentiate themselves from others by the use of settlement names such as Long Glat, Long Way, and Melan. Guerreiro suggests that their language, which is phonologically and lexically different from other Kayanic languages, shows some similarity to the Chamic group (Rhadé) in Vietnam (1995: 8).
2. The so-called Kayan language group, widely dispersed today, and including the Uma: Suling, U. Lekwé:, U. Tua:n, U. Mehak, U. Wak, U. Héban, U. Laran, and U. Lekan (including the U. Lasa:n and U. Teliva') and other Busang in East Kalimantan; the Uma: Aging and U. Pagong in West Kalimantan; the Uma: Juman, U. Bawang, U. Lesong, U. Semuka, U. Nyaving, U. Pu, and other Kayan in Sarawak (see Sellato 1981, Ngo 1988, Uyo 1989, Rousseau 1990, and Guerreiro 1995). All identify themselves with the Kayan basin, except for those who are known today, or who used to be called, "Busang (Busa:ng)" (those in the middle-upper Mahakam). According to these latter groups, their old village was situated on the Busang river before they settled in the Apo Kayan. In this paper, I provisionally call this group the "Kayan-Busang".
 3. The Bahau group of the middle-upper Mahakam, lower Kayan, Malinau, and middle-upper Baram, whose older ethnonyms are "Ngorek", "Murik", "Baw" and so on (Sellato 1995, Kaskija 1995); for example, the Hwang Tri:ng, H. Anah, H. Siraw, H. Boh in the Mahakam, the Ngorèk, Pua' in the lower-middle Kayan, and the Merap in the Malinau. They themselves use the endonym "Hwang Baw /Bao: /Tembaw (hwang = the people of)" since their migration from upper Baram to the Bahau-Pujungan basin. They tend to consider themselves part of the Kayan-Busang and Ga'ay groups who strongly influenced them (Devung 1978: 1-2, Blust 1984: 134 n.15, Sellato 1995: 5-7), while the latter distinguish the former because of linguistic differences and/or lack of developed chieftainship and social stratification. Sellato suggests (1995) that they share cultural characteristics with their neighbors, the Lun Dayeh. The Kayanized Uma: Apan (Hopan) and the Ga'ay-ized Wahau (Wéhèa) also originally belonged to this group.

Here I outline Kayanic ethnohistory based on my field data from East Kalimantan. From their oral histories and present distribution, many Kayanic groups seem to have come first from northern Sarawak, mainly from the Baram basin. The Bahau (and part of the Lun Dayeh) were formerly scattered over the northern tributaries of the Baram and possibly other rivers such as the Limbang and Trusan. The Kayan-Busang settled an area from the southern Baram to Usun Apau and part of the upper Baluy. Both groups coexisted, fought or allied, and mixed with one another in the Baram basin (see Map 2). Then the Ga'ay came. They were a warlike people with a strong chieftainship and an iron industry, clever diplomats, and traders. These latecomers were probably the main impulse behind the great migration of Kayanic people across the Central Borneo ranges, for a demand for heads, slaves, and forest products to maintain their chieftainship urged them towards the frontier. The Ga'ay, who allegedly originated from "Tiong Kok"⁴, seem to

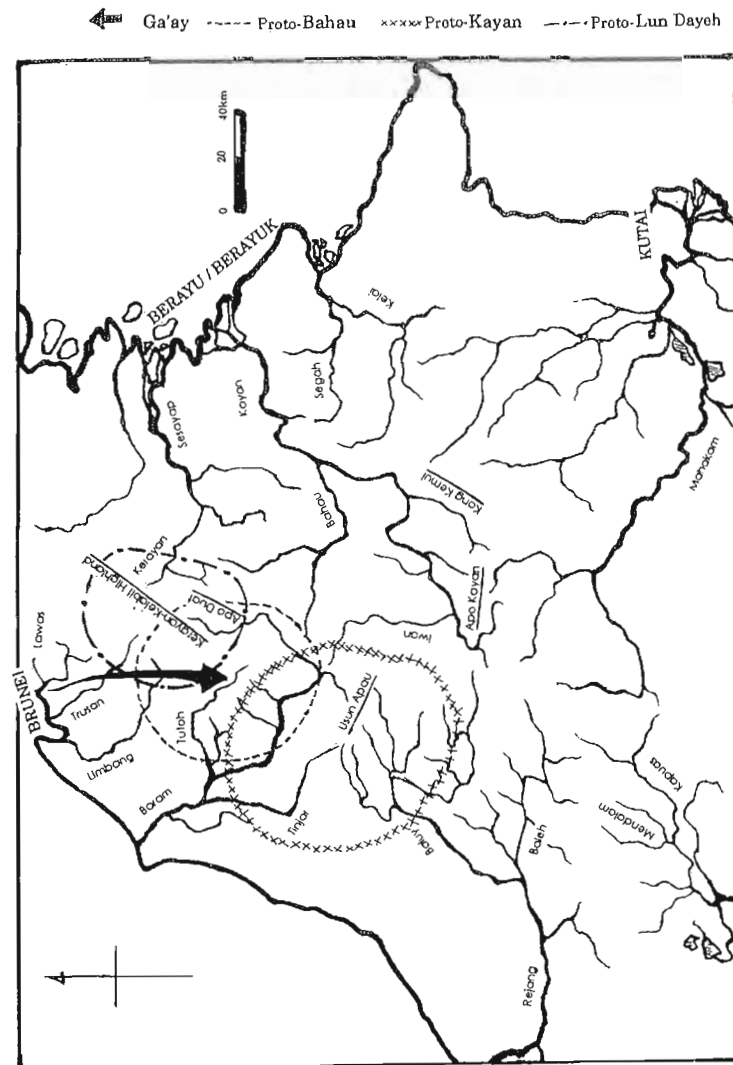
⁴Part of the Ga'ay such as the Long Glat insist they came originally from *Tiong Kok*, the location of which they do not know. This term possibly originates from some South China dialect like Fukienese, "Tiong Kok", or from "Trung Quốc" in Vietnamese, both of

Map 1: Ethnic Distribution in East Kalimantan (Kayanic and Lun Dayeh groups)



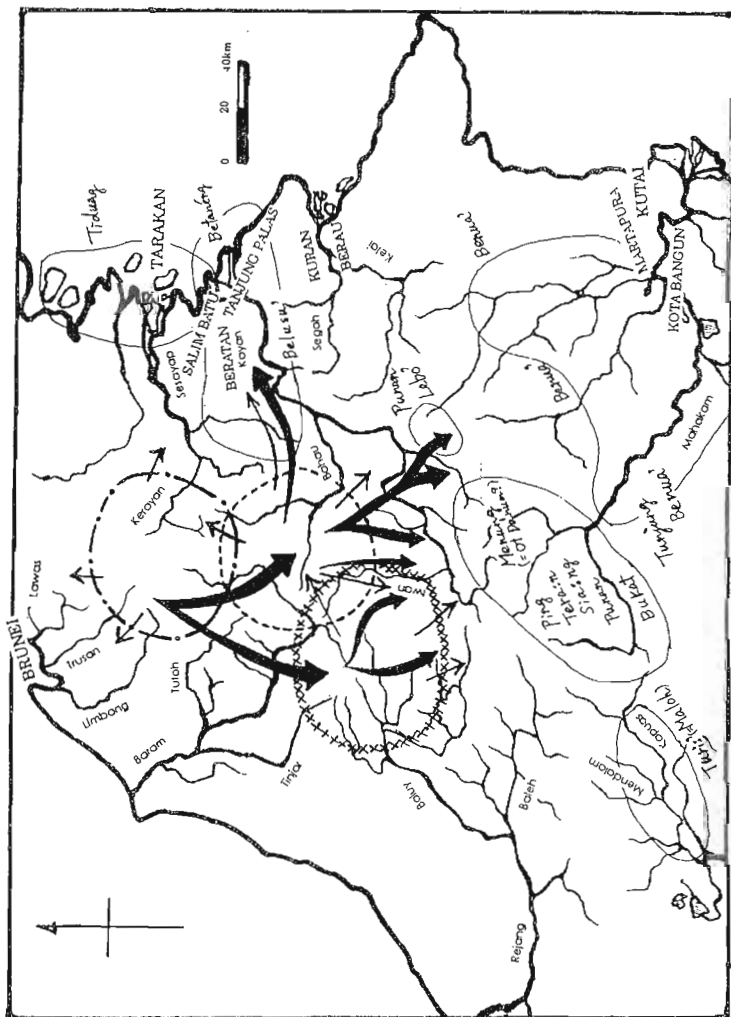
which mean "China". Some Kenyah in Bulungan state that their ancestors left *Tiong Kok* for Brunei in the age of a *Tiong Kok* king, "Akalura".

Map 2: Speculated Ethnic Distribution Before 15C



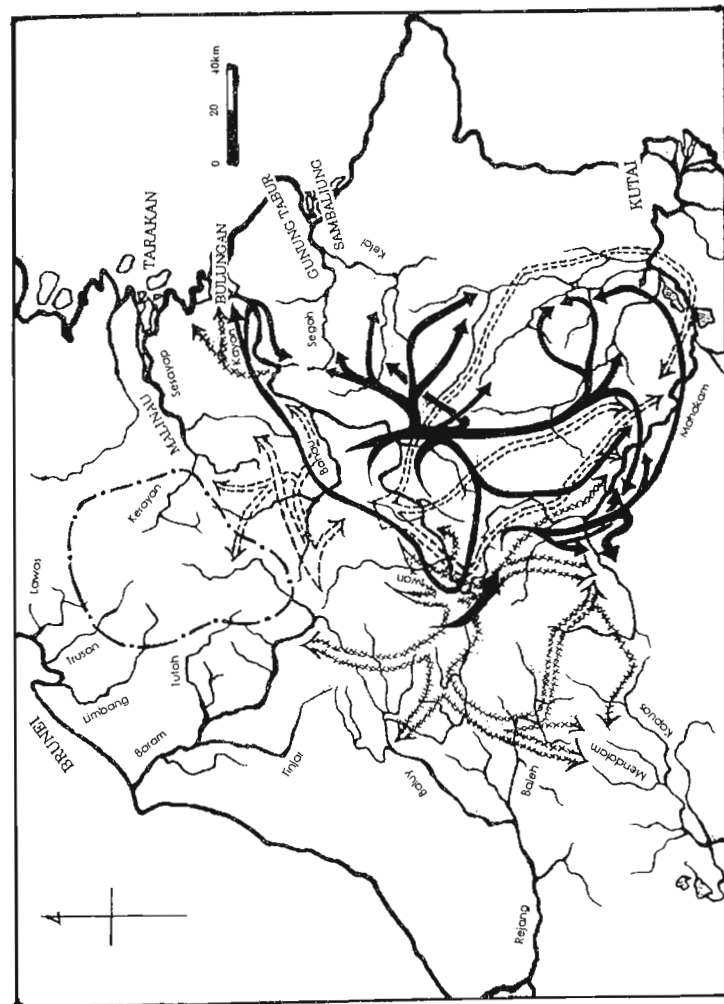
Map 3: Historical Migration of Kayanic People (16~18C)

← Ga'ay - - - - Proto-Bahau x x x x x Proto-Kayan - · - · Proto-Lun Dayeh



Map 4: Historical Migration of Kayanic People (18~20C)

← Ga'ay <- - - - Bahau <- · · · · Kayan - · - - Lun Dayeh



Kenyah today consist of persons speaking various languages, with resemblances to the Kayan-Busang, Bahau, Ga'ay, Lun Dayeh, and others. There seem to be several reasons why the Ga'ay felt themselves superior to the "Ken'yeh". According to oral histories, some of the latter did not know blacksmithing originally, or boat-making, and some ate tubers or sago⁶ instead of rice, and others formed less stratified societies. Kayanic peoples are generally known as indigenous smiths, but I suspect many of the most skilled came from the Ga'ay subgroup ("ga'ay" may derive from *gay*, an engraved sword, according to Guerreiro's field data from Long La'ay village in Berau).

Thus, these presentday Kayanic peoples, or those living in "Kejin/Kayan", expanded over the island. Those in East Kalimantan scattered into the lower Kayan, Malinau, Segah, and Kelay, then, continuing farther, to the Mahakam, Belayan, Kelinjau, Telen, and Wahau (see Map 3), in the process, raiding, driving out, or assimilating earlier settlers such as the Belusu' (Berusu'), Betanéng/Petaning (mixed into the Bulungan and extinct), Menung (Ot Danum today?), Lebbo' (Lebu, a subgroup of the Basap, see Guerreiro 1985: 108), Penihing, and Tunjung-Benua' (who had lived in headwater areas of the Mahakam, Kelinjau, and Telen). They once occupied even coastal areas, especially in Bulungan and Kutai; but then, the great majority returned to the middle-upper areas, as seen in their contemporary ethnic distribution shown in Map 1, except for those who remained in the lowlands and converted to Islam.

Wet Rice Cultivation among Kayanic Peoples in East Kalimantan

Now I wish to turn attention to Kayanic wet rice cultivation, drawing materials from both my own field data and from the studies of others. Most of my research was carried out in Kutai regency, especially in Long Pahangai district on the upper Mahakam. I also made short visits (1-2 months) to the following districts: Long Iram, Long Hubung, Long Bagun, Muara Ancalong, Muara Wahau (Kutai), Sambaliung, Gunung Tabur, Ulu Segah (Berau), Tanjung Palas, Peso', and Malinau (Bulungan).

Case 1: The Uma:' Suling (Kayan-Busang, Long Pahangai)

The Uma:' Suling, one of the largest subgroups of Kayan-Busang in East Kalimantan, inhabit the upper Mahakam of Kutai. Today, they are divided into four villages in Long Pahangai district (4441 persons in 1997): Long Pahangai (1193 persons); officially divided into Long Pahangai 1, 962, and Long Pahangai 2, 231), Long Isun (401), Naha Aru: (204), and Lirung Ubing (161). During my research in Long Pahangai village (mainly 1996-7), there were about 110 farms owned by a single household or sometimes a few households, 15 of which, at least, had wet rice fields alongside their dry fields (this number may be larger, as it is possible that I may have missed the wet fields that were in fallow at that time). My first impression was that these wet rice fields were sawah fields and had been created as a result of recent outside influence, for the village contained the post of the district officer (*kantor camat*), as well as other offices (including DEPERTA (Department of Agriculture)), schools, a health center (PUSKESMAS), a Catholic church, a mosque and so on. Almost all of the fields, however, were not sawah

⁶"Sago" among those groups refers not only to *Metroxylon sagu* but also *Eugeissona utilis*, *Arenga*, *Caryota*, and *Corypha* (Sellato personal communication).

but rawa fields⁷. They had dykes, a simple irrigation system with small ditches or bamboo pipes, and were sometimes combined with fish ponds; but they were usually not tilled or leveled. These fields were concentrated on swampy flats around shallow streams (mainly of the Isau, a tributary of the Mahakam) or were located at the foot of a hill behind the village. They were cultivated for several years, and then left fallow just like dry fields, or they were totally abandoned if their productivity markedly decreased. One exceptional villager, who had learned techniques of sawah cultivation in a city, commented: "The reason why people of this village cannot stabilize the productivity of wet rice, or continue to use a field without fallow, is because of the lack of tilling." His words show the characteristic of their traditional style of wet rice cultivation, though, in fact, tilling is not always effectual in increasing the productivity of wet rice fields in Kalimantan.

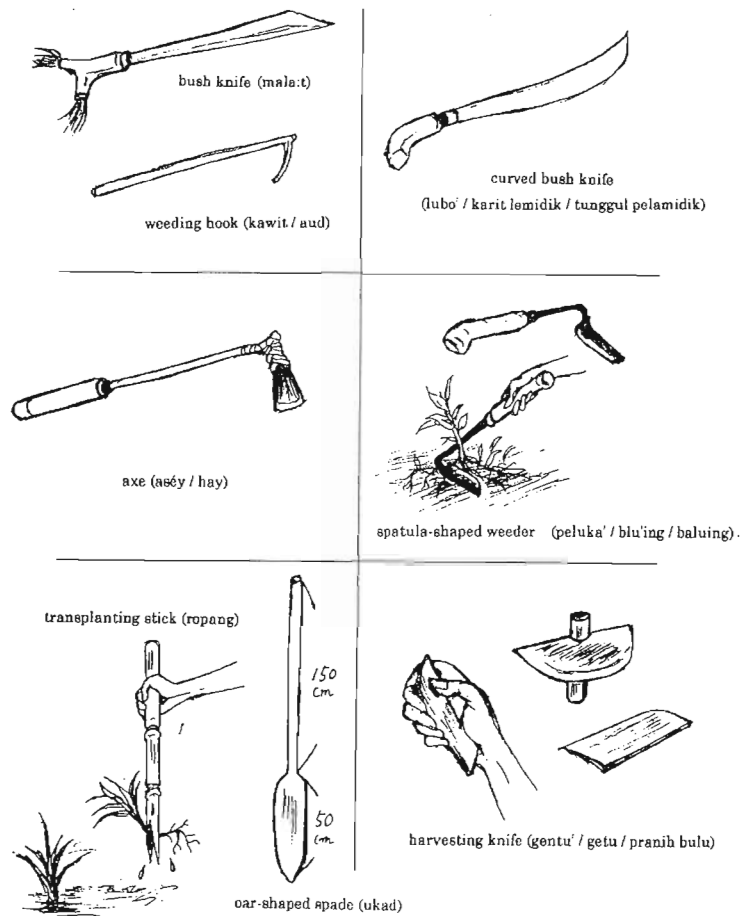
According to the Uma:' Suling, they used to practice rawa cultivation not only around Long Pahangai but also in the Meraseh (a tributary of the Mahakam), their old territory including their former settlement at Long Isun. Based on a rough calculation from oral genealogies, they seemingly came from the headwaters of the Mahakam (Bato' Masa:n) to Long Isun some 150-175 years ago (see Table 3). Then, part of this group moved to Long Pahangai between 1910-20. If they have farmed wet fields since their first arrival at Long Isun, they have been practicing rawa cultivation in this region since the 1800s.

As to why wet rice cultivation is not more extensively practiced, the villagers gave me several answers. The dry land of this region is generally fertile enough to satisfy their subsistence requirements. They can do wet rice cultivation only where there exists swamp land suitable for it; and there is not much swamp or wet land in the region, and such land as exists is usually in narrow spots. Some of the springs and streams used as water sources dry up during times of serious drought. Such explanations were often heard when I went to other Kayanic villages. The rice yields of the Long Pahangai villagers in fact showed no significant difference between dry and wet fields. It was a lean year during my research, and almost all the farmers produced about 20 *blék* of rice harvest from one *blék* of rice seeds (*blék* = a milk can)⁸. Farms in the Isau area which included a quantity of wet rice fields produced 18.55 *blék* on average (minimum 15, maximum 21 *blék*). Only those in the Danum Bua:' (a tributary of the Mahakam) got 45.3 *blék* on average (min. 25, max. 64). This difference seems to depend not on farming type (*ladang* or *rawa*) but rather on the vegetation that covered the farm land. Twenty percent of the farms, including those of the Danum Bua:', were opened in old secondary forest which had been left fallow for 10-20 years at least, and all of them showed higher productivity than the rest. The latter were made in young secondary forest (5-8 years) or in continuous fields (2-4 years).

⁷The U. Suling's neighbors, Long Tuyog villagers (the Long Glat, Uma:' Tepay and U. Pala:), practice sawah cultivation, which was introduced by a TAD project in the early '80s.

⁸The people use *blék* (literally "tin can" in Indonesian), or a condensed milk can, for local measure of rice seeds. As a standard, they sow 3 cans of rice seeds per hectare. Ordinary rice harvest amounts to from 25 to 50 cans per 1 can of seeds; and 50 to 75 cans represents a good harvest, while less than 25 is considered poor.

Scheme 1 : Agricultural Tools for Rice Farming



A few months after harvest (in May or June), the Uma' Suling villagers, like Kayanic peoples in general, enter the forest to look for new farm sites, exchange information, negotiate with each other, and finally start to open fields (in Long Pahangai, more than 50 percent of the farms, including both dry and wet rice fields, are 1-2 ha, 20 percent 2-3 ha, 20 percent less than 1 ha, and under 10 percent, more than 3 ha). Many

people start to clear wet fields after they have opened dry fields, seemingly because the former are much easier and faster to clear. Clearing is done with a traditional iron bush knife (*mala:t*), an iron ax (*aséy*), and wooden hooks which are used to draw grass (*kawit*) towards the person who is cutting it (see Scheme 1). Chainsaws may be used to open primary or old secondary forest. Slashed grass and trees are cut up and piled in the field to be dried, or sometimes they are left to decay, depending on soil conditions. People prepare rice seed beds within or outside the field, check and repair dykes, ditches and pipes (today, they also use plastic pipes and rubber hoses). With some money, other tools such as hoes, sickles, or cattle are also available (harrows and ploughs are rarely seen in the region); nevertheless, only a few households do tilling with hoe or cattle-trampling. Instead of tillage or leveling, the villagers do a kind of puddling with their bare feet when they catch fish in the fields before transplanting so as to save the seedlings from damage. After drying the fields for three weeks to one month, they fire them just like dry fields, and then inundate them. Transplanting seems to be generally practiced today, but some still dibble and sow rice seeds before inundating the field. About one month after planting, from October to November, the first weeding starts in both dry and wet fields, if needed. The people use spatula-shaped weeders (*peluka'*), or weed by hand in wet fields. The second weeding in dry fields takes place around November to December. The harvest starts in February and continues usually until the end of March. The rice panicles are reaped with a half-rounded knife blade (*gentu'*), collected in baskets, and brought back to the village where the rice is threshed by foot. Rice is later pounded with wooden pestles and boat-shaped mortars (usually two- to four-holed); or, for some money, it can be mechanically threshed by the village rice-miller.

There are 25 rice varieties commonly seen in Long Pahangai, five of which were recently introduced from the outside. The 20 local varieties are categorized into *paréy* and *paréy ubak*, that is, ordinary and glutinous rice. There are 12 ordinary varieties, consisting of 9 dry rice, 2 wet rice (*paréy luma' peka'* = "rice of the swampy field"), and one early ripening variety used for religious purposes (called *paréy hava'* or *udo:*). There are eight glutinous varieties, including seven dry rice and one wet rice.

Case 2: The Hwang Tri:ng (Bahau, Long Iram)

The Hwang Tri:ng, a Bahau subgroup in the middle Mahakam (today, divided into Tering Lama and Tukul villages in the Long Iram district, and Muyub Hilir village in the Melak district), also cultivate wet rice in almost the same way as the Uma' Suling. Five villages of different neighboring ethnic groups have been studied (Devung et al. 1991-2): the village of the Tunjung, that of the Tunjung and Benua', of the Hwang Tri:ng, of the Kapuas mixed with the Busang from the upper Mahakam, and of mixed Tunjung, Banjar and Bugis. Wet fields in these villages are generally dependent on rainfall as their water source. Most of them are continuously used without fallowing, except those of the Hwang Tri:ng which are cleared only during years of drought (Devung et al. 1991-2:63, 85). There are periodic droughts (usually every 4 to 5 years) in Borneo, seemingly related to the El Niño (see MacKinnon et al. 1996:34). One of these drought years occurred during my research (1997-8). The Hwang Tri:ng open wet fields (average 1-2 ha) with slightly curved bush knives (*lubo'*) and iron axes (*hay*), fell larger trees and plants, and dry and fire the cleared vegetation, just like their neighbors in the upper Mahakam. After about a month, the rice sprouts are transplanted from the nursery bed to the field. This is done

around the end of September or the beginning of October. They weed with spatula-shaped weeders (*peluka'*) until the rice starts to ripen. It is then harvested with knives (*gantu'*), and later threshed by foot (Devung et al. 1991-2:85-91) (see Scheme 1).

The people consider this form of cultivation to be traditional. It may, however, be less practiced today than it was when the Hwang Tri:ng still lived in the Kayan basin. This is because in their present territory oil and iron percolate into their wet-field water sources (Devung personal communication). Indeed, the village is located on a rolling plain above coal and oil reservoirs. Villages in the upper Mahakam, like the Uma' Suling (about 150 km from Tering Lama), are situated on more fertile uplands, which extend to the Kayan basin and partly include volcanic soils (MacKinnon et al. 1996:24-8). Moreover, they have another reason to prefer dry rice. According to the people, wet rice has a smell, seemingly of mud. In contrast, many varieties of dry rice are said to be fragrant (Devung personal communication). (Similar views have been reported from East Timor, see Metzner 1977).

The Hwang Tri:ng make a terminological distinction between dry rice and wet rice, *paray* and *paya'*, in contrast to the Kayan-Busang and Ga'ay who use the term *paréy* / *paré:* (in Kayan-Busang) or *play* (in Ga'ay) to refer to both dry and wet rice. There are five local varieties of wet rice and three from outside, and 17 varieties of dry rice, including five glutinous rice varieties (*haé:*) and two foreign varieties (Devung et al. 1991-2:88, 101-3). It is interesting that the Wéhèa, Ga'ay-ized Bahau people of the Wahau and Telen (Muara Wahau district), also use the term *paya'* for wet rice, although they seldom practice either sawah or rawa cultivation because of the frequent flooding of streams in the region. King reports that the Maloh of West Kailmantan also make such a distinction between *ase* and *paya* (1985:154). It is not clear whether the latter is a common Maloh term or a loan word from Malay, Iban, or another language. The term *paya'* in Hwang Tri:ng has the same meaning as *padi paya'* in Malay and Iban, although the Hwang Tri:ng actually use *peka'* or *bawa:ng* to refer to swamp lands or marshes (like the Kayan-Busang).

Case 3: The Pua' (Bahau, Pujungan) and the Kenyah

Sellato and WWF (World Wide Foundation for Nature) staff recently conducted research in the Bahau basin, where the Kenyah and some Bahau (the Pua') practice rawa cultivation, especially in Long Tebulu, Long Alango, Long Kemuat on the Bahau, and Long Pua' on the Pujungan (Day 1995: 6; Dyson 1995:10, 23; Damus 1995: 25; Lamis 1995: 12-3). Also, I heard that there are old wet field sites in Lurah, but it is not clear whether these were made by previous Kenyah settlers, such as the Bakung (1945-69, see Ngindra 1995:5-6), or by the Bahau of much earlier times (such as the Nyibun, Berap, or Ngorek Apo, see Sellato 1995).

Their wet fields are also of rawa type and the methods of cultivation they follow are by and large the same. The Bahau basin, near the Malaysian border area in the Bulungan regency, consists of steep slopes with volcanic soil, dotted with numerous small swamps and marshes. In Long Alango, the Leppo' Ma'ut Kenyah start clearing in May and dry the cut vegetation for about one month. They utilize swamps or old sites of fish ponds for farming, a practice they reportedly learned from people in Kerayan and Malaysia. They fire the fields, cut up the larger unburned timbers, repair dykes, and inundate; they do not till or trample, except for a small number of people who own hoes. A plot in the farm is

chosen to serve as a seed bed. Planting is done in July in two ways, either broadcast or by dibbling. Seeds are then covered with soil and the field is flooded with water. Transplanting takes place in August. The people weed for three months until the fields are harvested in January (Damus 1995:25-7). Alternatively, they prepare seed beds first, and clear the fields in September, after dry rice planting is completed (Day 1995:16). The methods used in Long Pujungan (by the Uma' Lasa:n Kenyah) are almost the same. They do not till and they fallow their wet fields just as they do their dry rice fields (Day 1995: 16-7). However, there seems to be a kind of puddling with bare hands and baskets after fields are inundated (Sellato 1997: 32), a method possibly learned from the neighboring Lun Dayeh (Sellato personal communication). The Pua' of Long Pua' also make rawa fields around the village and along the upper Pua', irrigating them with bamboo pipes (Dyson 1995:23).

A major difference in the agriculture of the Bahau basin compared with Uma' Suling and Hwang Tri:ng is the frequent use of stone tools. Sellato suggests that megalithic remains such as urn-dolmen and stone tools found in the middle-upper Bahau seemingly belonged to the Bahau settlers of earlier times and that the Kenyah acquired them from the former (Sellato 1995:13-20, see also 1996). The fact that these Kenyah actively practice wet rice cultivation may reflect a lack of iron tools in the past. Dry rice cultivation involves heavy work, such as clearing thick undergrowth, felling large trees and cutting them into pieces, and removing weeds from hard soil, work for which the people typically need metal tools. On the other hand, vegetation in wet rice fields is not as thick and is slower to recover; weeds can be uprooted with bare hands, and large trees have difficulty rooting in wet earth. Indigenous cultivators themselves recognize that work on wet rice fields is much easier, so that the old or the sick often make rawa fields around a village (Dyson 1995: 27, Day 1995: 17). I also know of several old couples in the upper Mahakam who recently switched from ladang to rawa cultivation nearer to the village. They told me that they had become too old to open dry fields far away from the settlement as they had done before, when they were younger.

Twenty-seven rice varieties are grown in Long Alango, nine varieties of dry rice (mainly glutinous) and 18 wet rice varieties (Damus 1995 37-54). The Kenyah of Apau Ping plant 38 varieties, 35 of which were collected and examined. These included 23 dry varieties, including 10 glutinous ones, six wet varieties, and another six for both dry and wet fields (compare with Setyawati 1995: 7). In Long Pua', they plant 18 varieties, seven of which are glutinous. It is not reported, however, whether these are planted in dry or wet fields (Dyson 1995:26). The Bakung Kenyah of Long Aran have 51 varieties of dry rice, including 12 glutinous varieties (Ngindra 1995: 31).

Case 4: The oral history of the Long Way (Ga'ay, Muara Ancalong)

Sellato (1997: 31) summarizes by saying that wet rice farming on the Pua' and Pujungan Rivers seems to be of some antiquity, while that of Long Alango appears to be relatively recent. In fact, some people in the latter region consider their techniques of wet rice cultivation to have been adapted from the outside, from Malaysia, Kerayan, or Java (Damus 1995:25, Lamis 1995:12, see also Devung 1996:67). But I suspect that rawa cultivation has existed there at least since the arrival of early Kayanic immigrants from Sarawak, and that the Kenyah learned it from the former. Here are some interesting data from Kayanic oral history: The Long Way, one of the Ga'ay subgroups, have numerous

stories of their golden age in the Kayan basin. Among them is that of Baeng Wuang Ngo:k (or, Béang Wang Ngo:k in Wéhèa), one of the most famous chiefs among the Ga'ay and Wéhèa. According to a genealogy I recorded, he lived on the upper Kayan Iut around 1650 (see Table 1). He was so perverse, haughty and untrustworthy from his youth that his followers at last ran away, and he was obliged to leave with his family for the village of relatives on the upper Kayan. On their way, they stopped at a village called Min Béa Gueng Lang Me' Hengoy (*me' hengoy* = wet rice field), where the people made wet rice farms. Baeng amused himself by destroying some dykes and letting out all the water. This made an old villager, Tung Kela: Jiw, so angry (he was apparently a kind of guardian responsible for the irrigation system of the village) that he scolded the insolent boy, who then killed him. As soon as the village chief heard of this, he drove Baeng and his family out of the village.

One more story: After their migration from Kayan Iut, part of the Long Way settled in the headwaters of the Belayan (Tabang) sometime around 1750 (see Table 1). They found this region particularly suitable for wet rice cultivation and farmed only in this way. Years later, however, there was a serious drought and their fields suffered from water shortage. One man destroyed the dykes of other peoples' fields in order to flood his own. This started a quarrel and people began to fight with each other, until there was a murder. At this, the village chief forbade his followers to make wet fields. His name is unmentioned in the story, but apparently it was Baeng Lewi:ng, who, according to oral genealogies, lived five generations after Baeng Wuang Ngo:k.

If oral tradition is reliable on this point, wet rice cultivation (probably rawa) was already being practiced when the Long Way and Wéhèa were still living in the Kayan basin. Even though there are some discrepancies in the genealogies, the dates of the events above seem accurate to some extent. In fact, the Long Way appeared in Kutai near the end of the 18th century. It is said that the Ga'ay and Bahau migrants allied themselves with the Muslims in the Mahakam basin, seemingly those of small kingdoms in the middle-lower Mahakam, such as Martapura, which had been conquered by Kutai, and together they attacked the Kutai Sultanate sometime in the 1780s or 90s (Dewall 1846-7). So, the Long Way must have arrived in the upper Belayan by this time.

Summary

The basic characteristics of traditional wet rice cultivation among Kayanic people can be summed up as follows: fields are cleared with bush knives and axes; they are then dried and fired, or the cut vegetation is allowed to decompose; seed beds are prepared and the rice seedlings are transplanted, or seeds are sown directly using a dibbling stick (some legends suggest the possibility of broadcasting seeds in the past); fields are weeded with a spatula-shaped weeder; rice is harvested with a blade knife; threshing is done by foot, and pounding with a wooden pestle and mortar. Fields are usually cleared in swamps or marshes, are bunded with dykes and irrigated using ditches, bamboo pipes, or reservoirs, or depend on natural rainfall. Sometimes rice cultivation is combined with fish breeding. Cultivators do not till, level, or puddle with special tools, such as a harrow, hoe, puddling wheel, or cattle, except for foot- and hand-puddling before transplanting (sometimes as a public village event, see Yuga et al. 1985-6:63). Farmers usually cultivate both dry and wet rice. Some fields are continuously used; others need to be fallowed.

Wet Rice Cultivation among the Lun Dayeh

For a comparison with the Kayanic rawa method, I want to look now at sawah cultivation as practiced by their neighbors, the Lun Dayeh. There are significant regional variations in the way in which wet rice is cultivated among this group, but two groups may serve as examples: the Kerayan Lun Dayeh of East Kalimantan and the Kelabit of Sarawak.

Case 1: The Lun Dayeh (Kerayan)

The Kerayan Lun Dayeh in general make use of both dry and wet rice fields. Among them, the main sawah cultivators today are the Lun Ba:'/Lun Nan Ba:', a linguistic subgroup in Kerayan Ulu and Kerayan Tengah (*ba:'*, *nan ba:'* = swampy land). Others, such as the Lun Tana: Lu:n and Lun Ngilu', cultivate more ladang than sawah. In Kerayan, in several villages in Kerayan Darat, such as Long Api, Kuala Belawit (Yuga et al. 1985-6: 55-95), people pasture water buffaloes (*krubau*) for three months in their fields after harvest. At the end of June or the beginning of July, they take all the buffaloes to the forest, then clear the land with slightly curved bush knives (*karit lemidik*) and wooden hooks (*aud*). Later they transport the slashed grass by boats (*alud*) and level the land with oar-shaped spades (*ukad*), which can also be used for repairing dykes, transplanting, and other tasks (see Scheme 1). In flat areas, they do not divide fields into smaller plots with dykes, but, in some cases, prepare a single plot as large as two hectares. Ditches or bamboo pipes for conducting water are checked and repaired. Before preparing seed beds, they drain the fields and catch the fish that would otherwise damage the young seedlings. A month after sowing, they transplant the young rice plants using the *ukad*. The seedlings are carried in *alud*, and a forked bamboo stick (*ropang*) is used to plant rice sprouts in deeper mud. They weed with spatula-shaped weeders (*blu'ing*) until the rice ripens. The panicles are then reaped with a straight bamboo knife (*getu*), or an iron knife, if the latter is available, they are threshed with bare feet, and pounded with a one-holed mortar on which one or two persons stand while pounding. It is said that they used bamboo rafts (*rait*) instead of the *alud* before the 1960s. At that time, iron spades (shovels) also came into widespread use in the region, but some, even today, prefer the *ukad* (Yuga et al. 1985-6: 128-30). Milling machines were introduced around 1974 (Yuga et al. 1985-6: 137). Various traditional devices, such as scarecrows to protect the rice from birds or other animals, are seldom used today (1985-6: 133-4).

Case 2: The Kelabit (Bario)

On the other hand, Kelabit rice cultivation, as practiced at Pa' Ramapoh village in Bario (Talla 1979: 312-25), appears quite different. Until the 1950s, the Pa' Ramapoh people used an ornithological calendar to fix the start of the farming year. At that time, after seasonal floods, they trampled the fields with their bare feet, made dykes (*bubpun*) of grass and mud, and divided the fields further into a patchwork of plots with smaller dykes (*atak*) for better water control (sometimes creating as many as 300 plots to one acre). Rice grains were soaked in water for two nights, then removed for two nights, and finally washed and broadcast in inundated seed beds. Men spent time checking ditches, canals, and bamboo pipes, and making farm huts. After transplanting, the people turned the *bubpun* and *atak*, now covered with grass, upside down, in order that the decomposing grass might fertilize the soil. They weeded twice and protected the ripening

rice with various devices intended to frighten away birds and animal pests. Harvesting was done with a straight bamboo knife (*pranib bulu*) and threshing with bare feet. Kelabit rice farming, however, was drastically changed during the 1955-68 period, first, because of the spread of iron tools that gradually seem to have entered the region during this time. Farmers now started wet rice cultivation in May or June, cleared fields with slightly curved bush knives (*tunggul pelamidik*) or iron machetes and with hooks (*a'ud*). Cut grass was left to decay for about one month, then turned over. Meanwhile, farmers inundated their fields and leveled the ground with hoes and boats (*alud tanah*), which were apparently introduced from Kerayan. Soaked seeds were broadcast in the seed beds and later transplanted. Weeding was done with a spatula-shaped weeder (*baluing*) and the people set up scarecrows to protect the maturing grain from pests. The *pranib* was used for harvesting (Talla 1979: 329-43). After 1968, water buffaloes (*kerubau*), which were introduced from Kalimantan, became popular and today the people use them mainly, as in Kerayan, for trampling and fertilizing their fields or for carrying logs and firewood (Talla 1979: 346-7). In some cases, they are also used for tilling and puddling. (whether buffaloes puddle or only trample a field probably depends on the depth of mud and the size of a plot.) In earlier times, they claim to have pastured deer for the same purpose, also to utilize their meat and their horns for machete handles and other objects (Talla 1979: 383-5, see also Sellato 1997: 37). Fields were also used for fish breeding (carp), but carp in fact damage or destroy dykes (Talla 1979: 348).

Summary

Although the situation in Kerayan before the 1960s (or, before the '30s, when Catholic missionaries first entered the region) is obscure, we can say that among the Lun Dayeh of the Kerayan-Kelabit Highlands, iron tools were formerly scarce. Only in the early twentieth century did a shift apparently occur from stone or bamboo tools to iron ones. The spread of water buffaloes seems more recent, though some early records show their use for trampling and puddling (for the Kelabit, see Hose and McDougall 1912: 97, and for the Kerayan in 1939, see Schneeberger 1979: 52). In the past, deer may have been used instead of buffaloes, at least by the Kelabit. It is interesting that Kerayan farmers made use of a combination of oar-shaped spades and rafts or boats, features which they share with the Ifugao and Toraja. By contrast, the Kelabit had no leveling tools but rather used two kinds of dykes to control water level, just like the Batak of Sumatra (see Takaya, Tachimoto & Furukawa 1981). Other features are almost the same. Nevertheless, there are some variations in other areas; for example, the Lun Dayeh of Mengalong (in Sabah) burn the slashed vegetation like Kayanic groups (Crain 1973: 6).

Rawa Cultivation as a Malayan Type of Rice Culture

Compared to the water impoundment systems of the Lun Dayeh's wet fields, Kayanic peoples bund and inundate their wet fields, but do not level them. They do not use cattle for trampling or puddling either. Such a system, not sawah but rawa cultivation, seems to be broadly shared by many ethnic groups in Borneo. Wet rice cultivation among Sarawak groups (e.g. Iban, Land Dayak, Malay) shares basically the same features as Kayanic rawa cultivation, for example, non-tillage, sowing and transplanting with a dibbling stick, bunding with dykes, and dependence on rainfall or stream or spring irrigation, and frequent use of fallowing (Fukui 1980: 712-4, 738-40). West Kalimantan

groups (Maloh, Kantu'), in addition to dry rice, also grow wet rice as a secondary crop in swamps and irrigated fields (King 1985: 154, Seavoy 1973: 221-3). Further, wet rice fields like those of Borneo are reported in Sumatra (Takaya, Tachimoto & Furukawa 1981, Marsden 1966: 66), Thailand (Kaida 1987), Japan, Madagascar (Takaya 1988), Nigeria (Wakatsuki 1990), and elsewhere. Rawa cultivation thus exists widely in the world.

Kayanic rice cultivation can be said to typify a "Malayan type of rice culture" (Tanaka 1991). Tanaka distinguishes various types of rice culture in Asia, considering them as sets of techniques, tools, and practices (including rituals) with their separate historical backgrounds and distribution. He categorizes them into three major types and describes those of the Southeast Asian Archipelago as comprising a "Malayan type", distinctive from the other two, the Chinese and Indian types, which are characterized by intensive tillage with plough or harrow drawn by cattle, harvesting with sickle and threshing by beating or cattle-trampling, and so on. In terms of practices and techniques, the rice culture of the Southeast Asian Archipelago (the Malayan type) is thought to be less affected by the other two than that practiced in continental Southeast Asia and is considered to have preserved techniques derived from an "original, primitive type" of rice culture, which is supposed to have originated somewhere in the region extending from southern China to northern India (Tanaka 1991: 307). Regional variations in the Malayan type give rise to five subgroups; wet fields in (1) inland Malaysia and Sumatra characterized by the coexistence of cattle-trampling, foot-trampling and non-tillage; (2) the coastal area around the Sunda Sea, without tillage; (3) the Philippines, Sulawesi and Borneo, with a combination of cattle-trampling, foot-trampling, and puddling with an oar-shaped spade; (4) East Indonesia with a combination of cattle-trampling and puddling with a digging stick; and (5) Java and Bali, whose rice culture had been much influenced by both the Indian and Chinese types so that it has lost its original Malayan features (Tanaka 1991: 307, 326-54). The most important point relating to this paper is that Tanaka considers the Malayan type to be a mixture of old rice culture types including both ladang and rawa cultivation, developed in a different way from the other types of rice culture on the Asian Continent (Tanaka 1991: 307, 323, 326). Fukui, who questions the hypothesis that dry rice cultivation originally preceded wet rice cultivation, also suggests that the flexibility of rice farming technology shared by different groups in Sarawak is a result of environmental adaptation (involving both dry and wet fields, depending on local conditions) (1980: 717, 724-5). Kayanic wet rice fields thus belong to subgroup (2) of the Malayan type, or in some cases to subgroup (1).

The lack of intensive tillage does not signify primitiveness or backwardness in the case of the Malayan type, but is rather a reflection of adaptation to the natural conditions of the Southeast Asian Archipelago, such as its deep peat, thick layers of twined grass-roots, frequent flooding, erosion, and so on (Tanaka 1991: 338, Fukui 1980: 714, 732). Though tool-tilling with cattle, as practiced in East and South Asia, at once functions for clearing, soil-refining, leveling, kneading, and fertilizing the soil, non-tillage can produce higher rice productivity than elaborate land preparation in some areas of Southeast Asia (for example, in Thailand, see Kaida 1987: 87). In other areas, cattle- or foot-trampling and leveling with an oar-shaped spade like that seen among the Lun Dayeh above can replace tillage. Trampling is widely distributed throughout Southeast Asia, not only in the

archipelago but also on the continent, and in parts of East Asia as well, such as Taiwan and the Ryukyu Islands of Japan (Tanaka 1991: 328-33). An oar-shaped spade also appears among the Toraja of South Sulawesi and the Ifugao of Luzon (Tanaka 1991: 335-7).

Discussion: Preference for Dry Rice Cultivation

Here the question arises: Though the Malayan type of rice culture is broadly shared throughout the Southeast Asian Archipelago, the Kayanic peoples as well as other Borneo groups generally prefer dry rice cultivation to wet rice cultivation. Why does wet rice cultivation remain marginal? Is the matter to be explained only by environmental reasons?

I have indicated some of the reasons my informants gave for preferring dry rice cultivation. These include restrictions of nature such as soil and water conditions, the scarcity of swamp or wet land suitable for rice cultivation, periodic drought, frequent floods, and so on. Secondly, some individuals and ethnic groups are fond of the taste of dry rice or its fragrance when compared to wet rice. Thirdly, some say that their dry rice fields are fertile enough without having to plant wet ones, except under exceptional circumstances. In fact, the productivity of the rawa fields in Long Pahangai is, more or less, the same as that of dry fields. Dry rice cultivation in infertile uplands of Kalimantan may have advantages in terms of nutrition, for the quantity and density of forest vegetation as an alternative manure is usually richer in dry land than in swamp or wet land.

Fourthly, from a technical point of view, the lack of leveling in Kayanic farming (and among other groups as well) is an obstacle to the adoption of wet rice cultivation. As already noted, intensive tillage is not necessarily done in Southeast Asia. As long as the wet rice fields are cleared on flat land, puddling or trampling is enough to improve water impoundment. However, some people living in mountainous areas, like the Kayanic peoples, may have difficulty establishing wet fields because flat land in such areas is usually limited to riverbanks or to the foot of mountains. To open wet fields on a large scale would require utilization of the slopes. But, here, without leveling techniques, water depth cannot be controlled, so that some rice seedlings wither or decay from not enough, or too much, water. Water levels can be controlled to some extent using dykes as seen in the case of the Kelabit, but even such a method is not perfect.

Efficiency might be a fifth reason. Remember that wet rice cultivation is often considered by local people to involve less "hard work" than dry rice cultivation. This is because the latter includes such arduous tasks as felling trees and rebuilding farm huts whenever new swidden sites are cleared. In contrast, working wet fields can be done without intensive labor. The regenerating vegetation is usually less thick on wet rice fields because it is generally slower to recover; there are seldom large trees, and weeds can be easily pulled out of the softer soil. Also, though they often require fallow periods in Kalimantan, wet rice fields are used longer than ladang, so that wet rice cultivators can stay in a given place for a longer period of time. Those who can no longer perform heavy work or participate in mutual help, such as the old and the sick, stop clearing ladang and switch to wet rice fields. At the same time, however, wet rice cultivation takes much more time in general, in working in muddy fields, managing dykes, ditches, and opening other gardens for vegetables which cannot grow in wet fields except for taro or kangkung (swamp cabbage, *Ipomoea aquatica*). Dove reports that, among the Kantu' in West

Kalimantan, almost all who work wet rice fields spend more time at this work than those who farm dry fields (1985: 377, table 99). Comparing them with farmers in Central Java, he further explains (1986) why the Kantu' prefer swiddens to irrigated fields. Measuring rice productivity in terms of land, a Javanese sawah yields 2.75 tons per hectare at harvest (and if harvesting twice a year, it will be much higher), while a Kantu' swidden yields 0.75 ton per ha. However, if measured in terms of labor, a Kantu' household gets 7.9 kg of rice per workday as a return on labor, whereas a Central Javanese household (that owns the land its members cultivate) gets only 4.2 kg. So, the return on labor in a Kantu' swidden ranges from 88 to 276 percent higher than on a Javanese sawah (Dove 1986: 224-5).

This efficiency relates to the existence of an iron industry. The poor vegetation of swamps or wet land can be dealt with using only bare hands or stone tools, but such methods would not suffice for clearing primary or old secondary forest and for weeding well-rooted vegetation from hard soil. So, if some people who have a non-metal culture acquire iron tools which can be used to slash vegetation regardless of its condition, they are very likely to switch to this new agricultural system in order to finish their work more speedily. We already saw this with people who formerly practiced wet rice cultivation with stone tools in the Bahau and Kelabit-Kerayan regions. In the case of the Kelabit, farmers before the '50s spent much more of their time involved in land preparation than they do today. They used to trample plants into the soil, turn over cut grass several times, make mud dykes mixed with grass, and turn them over. After the spread of iron tools, however, they abandoned this technology and managed their sawah just like ladang fields. This shows the impact of iron-working on rice farming in Kalimantan. From archaeological studies, Yokokura writes (1992) that metal hoes (of Yunnan and Han styles) were found mainly at Early Metal sites of North and North-Central Vietnam, instead of the iron weeders seen mainly in southern Indochina and the Malay Peninsula. This suggests the coexistence of two different agricultural traditions in early Southeast Asia: on the one hand, rice cultivation with metal hoes originating in China, and, on the other, cultivation without hoes, adapted to the natural environment of Southeast Asia. In the latter tradition, the appearance of metal tools to cut down vegetation and to weed seems to have had greater impact on local agriculture than soil tilling (Yokokura 1992: 272, 305-9). Rice farming in the Southeast Asian Archipelago evidently belongs to the latter tradition in developing alternative techniques and tools. The Kayanic peoples were probably one of the intermediaries in the spread of blacksmithing into Central Borneo and thus may have promoted ladang cultivation through the process of conquering their neighbors. Interestingly, several local legends of Berau and Bulungan also suggest the possibility that stone tool cultures persisted until recently, not only within isolated areas like Bahau and Kerayan, but quite commonly over much of these regencies.

This must have promoted, as a sixth reason, the mobility of Kayanic groups and vice versa, whose frontier-oriented way of life motivated their great migrations from north to south, from Sarawak to East Kalimantan. As seen in their ethnohistorical traditions, those migrants always rushed ahead into their New Worlds. Their migrations, especially of the Ga'ay, were quite swift and ambitious when compared with the movements of their neighbors. The latter also migrated far and frequently, but more often within a given area quite familiar to them, that is, within their own territory. For example, when they arrived

in the upper Mahakam, the older settlers of the region such as the Ot Danum, Sihang, Bukat, and Punan, fled towards Central and West Kalimantan, from where their ancestors seem to have come. The Tunjung and Benua', who belong to the Barito linguistic group (Hudson 1978: 16-7), once occupied the whole Mahakam basin, but then moved downriver being pushed back by the Kayanic immigrants. I do not know much about Lun Dayeh migration, but they have probably been moving back and forth innumerable times within their territory between Apo Duat and the Kerayan-Mentarang ranges (according to some informants from Bulungan, and also compare Harrison 1967: 126-9 and Talla 1979: 13-8). A typical strategy that the Kayanic peoples used for invading their neighbors' territories was to disturb the latter by frequent headhunting and raiding. At last, they acquired the land they sought, after its inhabitants had given and moved to other regions. From these facts, I suspect that the mobility of the Kayanic peoples was related not only to a quest for new farm lands, rich supplies of fish and game, or by erosion around their villages, but also by a quest for honor and wealth. Their chieftainship was based both on descent and personal skills in trade and warfare, that is, looking for various forest products such as bird nests, gold, gaharu, and also human heads, captives and other loot. Whenever the resources of forest products or enemies became exhausted locally, the people had to leave and migrate further to find new lands where they could maintain their social structure. To migrate from time to time is an inevitable destiny in such a system. Of course, various other societies were also engaged in trade and war like the Kayanic peoples, but I wish to point out the latter's strong attachment to these activities. They once occupied even coastal areas of East Kalimantan (especially of Bulungan and Kutai), whereas the greater part of them turned back to middle-upper river areas after a while. Also, part of them, mainly Bahau subgroups, intruded into the Mentarang-Tubu basin, but they were less attracted to the fertile lands of the Kerayan. In both cases, the Kayanic peoples did not cling to those regions, though it appears possible they might have had they really wanted to. One may explain this by saying that the return of those immigrants from coastal to upland East Kalimantan was a reaction to Islamic and Western powers from outside the island; others may state that they just migrated at random, passing through not the Kelabit-Kerayan region but the Kayan basin. Still, whatever the case, we can assume at least that they were much interested in pursuing a mobile life and preferred it to a stable life as citizens of trading ports or as intensive wet rice cultivators.

Dry rice cultivation is indeed suitable for a mobile life. Migration over long distances sometimes takes many years. As Guerreiro and Sellato note (1984), first a male team goes to open a path toward the destination, and on the way makes farms to reserve food for the villagers. Then they turn back to the village and move things and materials from the old longhouse to their new farms. Finally, the people migrate, making provisional farms each year until they reach their final destination. In this process, they may prefer to make ladang rather than to spend time looking for swampy spots or in making dykes and irrigation systems, only to abandon them the next year. It would be just the same during wartime and trading activities. Having decided to travel some distance away, they gradually advanced in opening farms each year. Sometimes, they made even other ethnic groups help them with their needs (food, torches, and other service), or taught them rice farming if the latter did not know it at that time (for example, the Long Glat and the post hunter-gatherer Penihing, see Sellato 1986). If they take a short trip, for a few or

several months, they will not make farms but take rice with them or receive it from a supply-party of their village. In fact, their rice surplus was seemingly utilized for these purposes, rather than only for selling within the village or neighboring areas. In this way, the Kayanic peoples came to concentrate on dry rice cultivation, so as to save their time for raiding, headhunting, dealing with forest products, migrating, building new longhouses, holding village events like feasts and rituals, and so on. Such a social orientation seems to be a strategy of farmers who live in less fertile lands.

Various activities of the Kayanic peoples above were controlled by hereditary chiefs, and this naturally strengthened the corporate life of the people. They used to form themselves into a single farming group (*daléh* in Kayan-Busang, *laléh* in Bahau, *teléh* in Ga'ay) for mutual help as well as for protection, where all the households had to make farms side-by-side. If it were impossible to form a single *daléh*, they divided themselves into two or three groups. After deciding upon a new location(s) for the next year, no one could make a farm elsewhere without special reasons. This could be also a factor for preferring dry rice cultivation, as locating dry fields is much easier than finding a large, continuous wet tract. Sometimes there may have been quarrels about water between the villagers, and the chief may have prohibited the making of wet fields, as we saw in the oral history of the Long Way. Also, with dry rice cultivation, members of a *daléh* could save time and spend it for mutual help; they accomplished agricultural work without delaying, so that they could all together participate in the next activity, such as war or trade. Thus, dry rice cultivation stimulated Kayanic expeditions across the island, which, in turn, were made possible by the existence of iron tools with which to conquer both nature and man.

Concluding Remarks

In this paper, I first described Kayanic wet rice cultivation in East Kalimantan. Like many other ethnic groups in Borneo, the Kayanic peoples have a knowledge of both dry and wet rice cultivation. In contrast to the sawah systems encouraged today throughout Indonesia, Kayanic wet rice fields, though equipped with dykes and simple ditches, are left unleveled. Kayanic groups insist that they have practiced rawa cultivation since they lived in the Kayan basin. However, they tend to concentrate on dry rice farming and generally consider their wet rice fields to be secondary to their dry fields. Several factors, such as low productivity of wet land, or the preferred fragrance of dry rice varieties, help explain this preference. The lack of leveling techniques by which wet rice fields can be established in mountainous areas may also be a factor. Iron-working introduced into Central Borneo mainly by the Kayanic peoples encouraged both ladang cultivation and human ambition. People started to explore the forest, concentrated on trade and war, and conquered or allied themselves with various groups, all of which in turn accelerated an increase in dry rice farming. Being strongly attached to honor and wealth in connection with their chieftainship, they kept on expanding further and further over the northern part of Borneo, at the expense of a more sedentary life style based chiefly on wet rice cultivation. I do not mean to say that either all these factors must exist in the process of developing dry rice preference in general, or that some of them are inherent only in regard to the Kayanic peoples. Rather, I suggest each of these factors, such as nature, taste, technology, mobility, and social structure, may work, more or less, to change a mode of rice cultivation through historical processes at work within a given society or region. The

Kayanic peoples, especially the Ga'ay, were very likely attracted not only to internal affairs like warfare but also to external trade which flourished in ancient Southeast Asia. And their subsistence may have experienced gradual change in adapting to a new life style as agriculturists compatible with specialists in forest products, or also forest-wanderers, who are self-sufficient in rice within a frontier zone. Thus dry rice cultivation became dominant in association with an increase in social mobility. But we need much more data in order to be able to examine these hypothetical factors further.

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DAYAK KINGS AMONG MALAY SULTANS¹

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Among a score of Melayu (Muslim Malay) sultanates found throughout West Kalimantan, both along its coasts and on the upper course of its rivers, there once existed a Dayak kingdom known as Kerajaan Ulu Are or Kerajaan Ulu Aik ("Kingdom of the Headwaters"), which seems to be absent from the written historical record. The names Ulu Are and Ulu Aik refer to the upriver location of the village of Sengkuang, the kingdom's capital, in the Sandai District in the interior of Ketapang Regency. The kingdom of Ulu Are appears to have been the only non-Islamized kingdom in West Kalimantan.

Although the *raja* of Ulu Are lacked the executive authority usually held by a Melayu sultan, as reflected in the levying of taxes, his rule was recognized by a number of Dayak ethnic groups living in the region now comprising the Sandai, Sungai Laur, and Simpang Hulu Districts in Ketapang Regency, as well as by a number of other Dayak groups in Sanggau Regency. Furthermore, the kingdoms of Tanjung Pura, centered in the village of Tanjungpura near Ketapang, and Matan, centered near Teluk Melanau, in the Ketapang Regency, acknowledged not only the existence, but also the seniority and historical prominence, of the kingdom of Ulu Are.

The Raja as Symbol of the Dayak Federation

According to several *ketua adat* (customary leaders) from Simpang Hulu District, the king of Ulu Are was the symbolic leader of a regional federation of Dayak groups, as he was believed to have been entrusted by Pareman Tuan Datuk Patara Guru (the Creator) with the authority to maintain peace and security among the Dayak people. This authority was symbolized by an iron object known as the *Bosi Koling Tungkat Rakyak*, "the Koling Iron Staff, the People's Champion".

Local beliefs have it that, when the Koling Staff wears away in the middle, the Dayak people will face great difficulties, such as warfare, epidemics, extended drought, natural disasters, or famine. These calamities are believed to be entailed by disrespect of customs and traditions, or transgression of certain prohibitions—such as adultery, pregnancy outside of marriage, abuse of authority by a leader, or the burning of forests or sacred places—as such sins disrupt the balance and harmony between nature and mankind and between the Creator and his Creation, that is, nature and humankind. The ritual language, in the Simpang tongue, has a specific expression for this condition: *Dorik dah mee bamacan, tolok dah mee banabo*, that is, "The tiger of the mountain has fled, the dragon of the deep river pool has gone away".

¹This note was translated by John C. Ryan in Pontianak and edited by Bernard Sellato.

If such disharmony were to occur, the Creator would punish mankind with the calamities described above. To mend the situation, the whole village where the transgression occurred had to be cleansed by way of a traditional ceremony, *babantan*, whose purpose was the atonement of individual and collective sins and, subsequently, the restoration of harmony between nature and mankind and of the relationship between humankind and its Creator. Everyone in the village participated in the ceremony by contributing rice, chickens, eggs, pigs, goats, or other items. This contribution to the *babantan* ceremony was known as *pupu-caup*.

The Legend of Karanamuna and Karanamuning

These beliefs and traditions are also found in the legend of Karanamuna and Karanamuning, which in its Melayu version is known as the legend of the Princess of Foam (*Puteri Junjung Buih*) or the legend of the Seven-Sectioned Bamboo (*Betung Tujuh Ruas*). This legend is summarized below.

"In the times when humans were still few on earth, there lived a woman called Aji Mantelok. She was given this name because she begot children by laying eggs, one of the left side of a road, and the other one on the right side. From the two eggs were born a boy and a girl named Karanamuna and Karanamuning respectively. Since they had already been separated by a road, they were allowed to marry, and Aji Mantelok performed a marriage ceremony for the two children.

"Later, after Karanamuning had been pregnant for seven years, seven months, and seven days, but showed no signs that she was going to give birth, she had a craving to eat the liver of a white monkey. So her husband went to the forest with his blowpipe. Upon arriving in the thick forest, he saw a white monkey. As he was aiming his blowpipe, suddenly the monkey spoke: "I hereby inform all animals that we will meet at this place in two days. I will pass on some important tenets and then, I will die". Then, the white monkey suddenly disappeared.

"On the day of the meeting, Karanamuna returned to the forest, where all sorts of animals were already congregating. As he arrived, the monkey spoke again from a high tree: "Animals and humans have different norms and values. Humans live by their customs (*adat*) and are buried within the soil. Customs are the basic regulations of human life and those who violate them must be punished". The monkey then enumerated various regulations and the retribution for their transgression. One was that humans may not marry their own siblings. Offenders were to be placed inside a fish trap made of *bemban* stakes tied with wire and then thrown into the river. They were to be given a lead knife and, if the Creator wished them to live, they would be able to escape; if not, they had to accept the consequences of their act.

"Then, the monkey came down from his tree and Karanamuna shot him and took his liver. Upon arriving home, Karanamuna saw that Karanamuning had given birth to seven children. Then, in a ceremony, he entrusted the children to Patara Guru. He and his wife entered a fish trap, like the monkey had described, and floated down the river. As they were drifting downstream, the fish trap got snagged on the hooked thorns of a rattan vine and a cowry cut the trap's wire, so that they were able to escape.

"Meanwhile, Patara Guru placed the seven children inside a seven-sectioned piece of bamboo in the middle of the dry rice field of King Siak Bulan. When King Siak Bulan split the bamboo, the seven children emerged. The eldest, Tamongong (or Tumenggong)

Ira Bansa, was holding a piece of iron and the youngest, a girl named Dayang Kutong, had a gold nugget the size of a cucumber, whereas the other five children had nothing at all. The king cut thin slices off the gold nugget and distributed them amongst the five children who had nothing, before returning the nugget to Dayang Kutong.

"Because she was still a baby, Dayang Kutong was not strong enough to hold the heavy nugget, which fell on the floor where it was bitten by a dog, then fell to the ground (under the longhouse) where it was bitten by a pig, then sank into the ground. The little princess cried and cried. To cheer her up, King Siak Bulan told Dayang Kutong that the gold would bring peace on earth ("keep the world cool") and make the land fertile and that her five siblings would repay her in the form of their crops for 17 generations". The story then goes on.

Briefly, Tamongong Ira Bansa, the first king of Ulu Are, settled near the headwaters of the Keriau River, a branch of the Pawan River, whereas Dayang Kutong's children began in the coastal area a line of Melayu kings, who would later become sultans. As for the other siblings, they dispersed throughout the surrounding regions. The piece of iron that Tamongong Ira Bansa was holding when he emerged from the bamboo became known as Bosi Koling Tungkat Rakyat.

The Koling Staff

According to Timotius Ajim, a descendant of the kings of Ulu Are who now lives in Pontianak, the people of Sengkuang and the surrounding area still very highly regard the Koling Staff, Bosi Koling Tungkat Rakyat. Sixty-year old Poncing, the direct descendant of the kings of Ulu Are and Ajim's uncle, now is the guardian of the Koling Staff (as *pusaka*).

The Koling Staff is stored in a special chest wrapped in yellow cloth, inside a special room. No one may see it, except the king himself on the day of his enthronement, and even then, he may only look at it with one eye, because the eye that sees it will become blind. Thus the kings of Ulu Are were usually blind in one eye (*picing*).

This piece of metal, according to Ajim, is about one handspan long (*jangkal*, about 20 cm) and about as broad as a *lalang* leaf (Imperata grass; about 1 cm). Oral tradition has it that, at the times of Tamongong Ira Bansa, the Koling Staff was broader, but it grew thinner and thinner as the years passed and more and more sins were committed. When the Koling Staff finally wears out, tradition states, the whole world will come to an end.

So that it would not wear out completely, a ceremony called *maruba* was held every year during the full moon in July—now, says Ajim, it is Poncing who leads this cycle of rituals lasting three days. On the first day the king, with his eyes closed, would examine the Koling Staff and spread over it some oil mixed with various spices. Then, he would meditate while fasting the whole day.

Relations of Ulu Are with Matan and Tanjung Pura

Another story about the Kingdom of Ulu Are was related by a *ketua adat* of the Simpang Dayak of Simpang Hulu District. In the 1930s, he witnessed a meeting between the then king of Ulu Are, Patinggi Jambu, and the sultan of Matan (also called the Sultan of Simpang), who were both traveling. At the longhouse of Bukang village, the Sultan of Matan first met with a group of Dayak tribal leaders then, shortly thereafter, the king of Ulu Are arrived at Bukang.

After Patinggi Jambu entered the longhouse, he paid homage to the Sultan of Matan. But the latter swiftly stepped aside to avoid the homage. At that instant, the main pillar of the longhouse, just behind the spot where the sultan was standing an instant earlier, split in two. The sultan of Matan then paid homage to the king of Ulu Are. According to eyewitnesses, the sultan stated that he was a junior (i.e., from a junior genealogical line) to the king of Ulu Are, and therefore it was not proper for him to receive homage. If he had not stepped aside, it might have been his belly that had been split in two.

Indonesian independence brought about the end of the Melayu sultans' power. It also ended the payment of tribute in kind (*pajak bumi*) by the Dayak people to the Melayu sultans. This was regarded by Dayak leaders as the fulfillment of King Siak Bulan's pronouncement to Dayang Kutong, that she would receive tribute from her siblings for only 17 generations. True or false, for centuries this story had marked the relations between the Dayak groups and the kingdoms of Tanjung Pura and Matan (Simpang). The seven-sectioned bamboo has been exalted as the symbol of Ketapang Regency.

Long-lasting Effects

Belgian researcher Mil Roekaerts noted that the Dutch colonial authorities use the Melayu sultans as their proxies in order to govern the Dayak groups, thus creating a two-tiered colonization system. The behavior of the people in power toward the Dayak was occasionally less than humane. Many Dayak groups (known in the literature as Dayak Serah), such as the Linoh near Sintang (see Roekaerts 1986), were virtually enslaved by the local sultans.

Researchers with the IDRD have determined that this two-tiered colonization has had traumatizing effects on Dayak youth. Before the 1950s, the Dayak felt contemptible and ashamed to have their names written as Dayak with a final k (see Djuweng 1992), and many changed their names to imitate Javanese or Batak names. It is regrettable, as one IDRD researcher stated, that many Dayaks, including highly educated intellectuals, are unaware of this situation. Low self-esteem, usually found among oppressed people, is still reflected in the daily attitudes and behavior of the West Kalimantan Dayak peoples.

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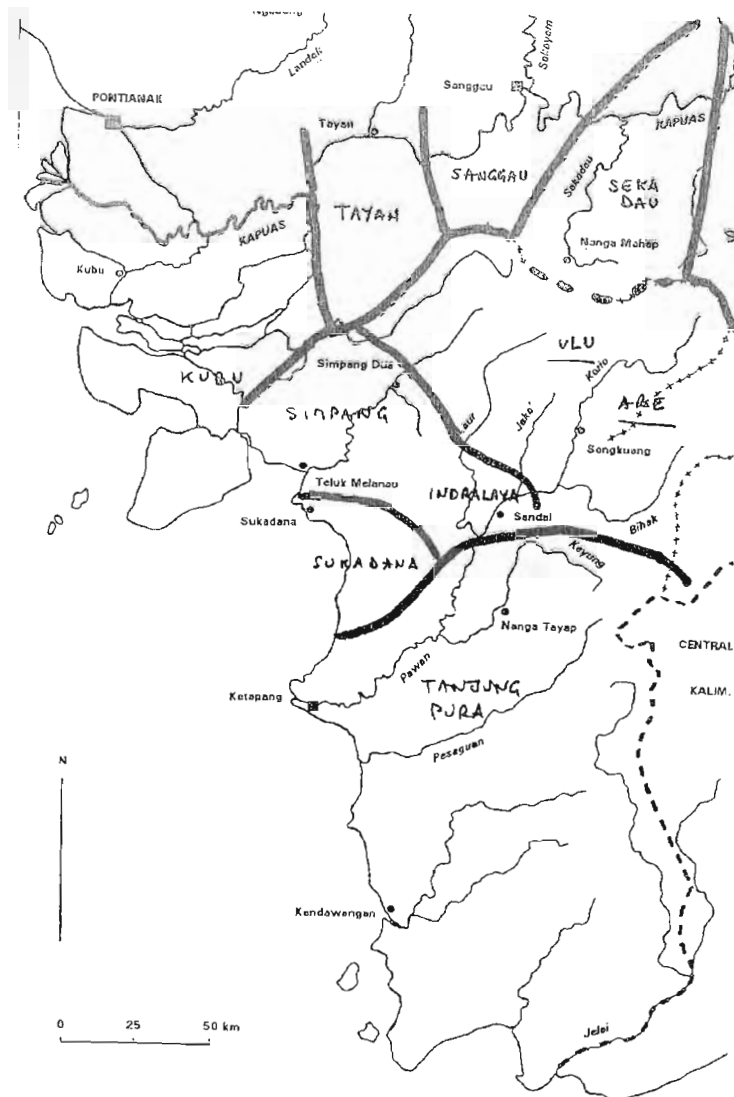
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THE KINGDOM OF ULU ARE IN BORNEO'S HISTORY: A COMMENT

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Since I was involved in helping to prepare the English version of the above text by Stepanus Djuweng and in submitting it, back in 1995, to the *Bulletin*, the present editor has asked me to contribute some comments. Due to time constraints, I have been unable to thoroughly check through the early Dutch literature on West Kalimantan, and these comments, therefore, remain rather shallow. Nevertheless, although the story of the Ulu Are kingdom is of the kind commonly found in local oral traditions and often viewed as "myth," it is clearly not a "just so" story. The historical events and, perhaps more pointedly, the historical processes it suggests, or recalls, are definitely of interest. What the text says makes sense, historically speaking. Here, below, I submit a rough outline of the background situation and of how the story Djuweng relates fits into it (see the accompanying map).

In the 15th century, or even somewhat earlier, influence of the Indianized Javanese kingdom of Majapahit was becoming important on Borneo's coasts. There must have been one powerful, prominent tribal group among the groups inhabiting the Pawan River basin (Ketapang Regency), with its center some distance upstream for security reasons (piracy, slave-raiding, etc.). Some traders belonging to the Majapahit trade network settled in the coastal area (Sukadana), likely established trade links with interior groups (presumably mainly for forest products), and eventually got the paramount tribal chief to give a daughter in marriage to the trading leader, establishing alliance and granting legitimacy to the trader. This started a dynasty of Indianized kings in Sukadana. This type of marriage alliance cum trading partnership along the axis of an important river was "standard operating procedure" in the establishment of coastal (and hinterland) kingdoms all round and through Borneo.

By c. 1500, Sukadana, part of the network of the so-called Majapahit "empire," was the most important polity between Banjarmasin and Brunei, controlling maritime trade along half the island's coastline, from Tanjung Puting (West of Banjarmasin) to Tanjung Datu, and the hinterland trade flux from Indonesia's largest river basin, that of the Kapuas, and other minor river basins. Offspring of Sukadana kings eventually established new petty kingdoms in Tayan and Meliau on the Kapuas.

After the demise of Majapahit, Islam reached Sukadana (c. 1550) and, soon afterwards, the Dutch, looking for diamonds to purchase, showed up (c. 1600). By the first quarter of the 17th century, the Sukadana king had converted to Islam (first Sultan of the Sultanate now called Tanjung Pura). More petty sultanates appeared in the region, like Simpang and Indralaya (Sandai). By c. 1825, the Sukadana sultanate moved its seat to the Ketapang area.

Meanwhile, that is, from the 16th century, the hinterland region had remained under Dayak "kings," who eventually became more or less Indianized, but never became Moslems. This "Dayak kingdom" covered indeed a vast tract of territory on the upper Pawan and Simpang, and probably also across the watershed on the upper Sekadau. It controlled the important land route between Sanggau on the Kapuas and Sukadana, which was safe from the pirates operating in the Kapuas delta, and became crucial for the gold and diamond trade after the sultanate of Pontianak had started economically suffocating the kingdom of Sanggau.

The kingdom of Ulu Are lost its strategic importance after the Dutch took control of the region's trade, and all the trade from the Kapuas basin was redirected through Pontianak. Then, those people became unimportant backwater Dayak, away from the centers of trade. In a sense, Ulu Are may have been the only non-Moslem kingdom, but only in that it disappeared from the fore of the economic scene before becoming Moslem: It was the only remaining non-Islamized polity by the time the Dutch took over. It would eventually have become Moslem, as other minor trading centers in the upper Kapuas area (e.g., Bunut) and elsewhere (e.g., Tayan) have, quite late (c. 1800), but somehow it reverted from the status of a Dayak "state" to that of a Dayak "tribe." In itself, this process, or "regress," while not unique, would be worth investigating.

An interesting feature, put forth in the story above, is the Indianized kingdom's enduring formal acknowledgment of the tribal group's chiefly line's historical seniority (as both wife giver and land giver), despite the heavy political and economic prominence achieved by the former. In fact, the kingdom had a more strategic location in the trade network, but remained dependent on its hinterland partners for supply of trade products. The same feature prevails in the history of the sultanate of Bulungan (East Kalimantan), with the kings, later sultans, crediting the Kayan Uma' Apan, an upstream Dayak group now marginalized, with the origins of their dynasty and a genealogical seniority (Sellato, work in progress).

In the local literature in Indonesian (probably partly dwelling on oral tradition collected earlier in the same region), I found a couple, Teruna Munang and Teruna Moning, equivalent to Djuweng's Karanamuna and Karanamuning; one Ms. Dayang Putong (Djuweng's Dayang Kutong), the seventh child, who started a coastal dynasty; and mentions of the kingdom of Ulu Are and the kings of Siak Bulun on the Keriau (Kerio) River. It is not clear whether Siak Bulun was the name of a particular king or that of a place where Ulu Are kings may (earlier or later) have resided. I also found a reference to the kings of Siak Bulun, at some point, taking turns with the kings (or sultans?) of Sukadana to govern the kingdom of Sekadau on the Kapuas. (The upper Sekadau area has important Buddhist inscriptions.)

Cases of birth from eggs or sections of bamboo are consistent with an origin myth common among Borneo's coastal polities (e.g., Kutai) and Dayak groups alike (e.g., Kayan). As for iron and gold, in Djuweng's story, they may represent major trade products.

Much is known about the emergence and history of major kingdoms, such as, for example, Banjarmasin and Brunei, which are well documented in both local annals and the colonial literature, not to mention the archaeological record. I submit here that research in the history of petty kingdoms, on which little information is available so far,

may be just as rewarding to the student of the state formation process, ethnicity and cultural and social change, or environmental and trade history. Some work in this direction has been done in Sumatra, but Borneo remains largely a *terra incognita*.

THE BROOKE-SARAWAK ARCHIVE AT RHODES HOUSE LIBRARY,
OXFORD

Bob Reece
Division of Social Sciences
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When I began my research on Sarawak history in 1973 I naturally expected that I would find most of my materials in Sarawak. Such was the reputation of the Sarawak Museum that it seemed to me the first port of call in my work on the 1946 cession and its consequences. As it happened, I was disappointed to find that the archives consisted largely of one room in the Museum Office kept by the ever-helpful but apologetic Mr Loh Chee Yin. Apart from the newspapers of the immediate post-war period held by the Museum library, there was very little else of any use.

This was just as well in a way because (for reasons which are still a mystery to me) I had been refused a research visa by the Sarawak government and my time in the state was limited to two-week dashes from Kuala Lumpur. All I could do was to borrow my friend Hj. Yusuf Heaton's careful notebook copies of newspaper articles, photographing them in my room in the (then less than luxurious) Borneo Hotel and stitching the negatives together to make a crude microfilm. (Hj. Yusuf, by the way, was a somewhat eccentric New Zealander who had come to Sarawak as a patent-medicine seller and converted to Islam to marry a local Malay girl. He took his Malay name from the then *mufli*, Hj. Yusuf Shibli, a brandy-drinking and altogether colourful personality of part-Arab descent who had been close friends with the legendary Gerard MacBryan.)

Most of the information I did obtain was from some of the veterans of the anti-cession campaign whom I met during those furtive forays to Kuching: Mohd Ma'mon bin Nor, Hj. Mohd. Su'at Tahir, Andrew Jika and others. They talked nostalgically about Anthony Brooke and their correspondence with him and his father Bertram Brooke, the *Tuan Muda*. I also made the journey to Limbang to meet Bishop Peter Howes, one of the two Europeans who had spoken against cession at the Council Negri meeting on 15 May 1946 when the Cession Bill was narrowly carried by the Rajah's officers.

In Canberra I had seen a copy of Louis Frewer's 1970 catalogue of manuscript collections (excluding Africa) held at Rhodes House and I knew that in the Indian Ocean series there were more than a dozen items of interest, including the papers of W.G. Morison, J.L. Noakes, A.J.N. Richards, K.H. Digby, B.H. Elam, A.B. Ward, C.F.C. Macaskie, Sir David Gammans and others. I can't remember how I first heard about Rhodes House Library's more recent acquisition of Brooke family papers but it was probably through Mrs Margaret Noble, who had been recommended to me by Anthony's former wife Kathleen whom I met shortly after arriving in London.

Married to Arthur Noble who was General Manager of Sarawak Shell Oilfields at Miri in the early 1930's, Margaret had been a close friend of both the Rajah and the Tuan Muda but had taken the latter's side during the bitter cession controversy which began in

early 1946. An accomplished artist with a Slade School background, her portraits of the two men are a reminder that historians are desperately disadvantaged in their efforts to portray human character. In my view, her oil painting of the Rajah in Magdalene College Library, Cambridge, says it all.

When I met the grand old lady in her Maida Vale apartment, she took me to what she called her 'Brookery', a study crammed with Sarawak books and notes, and told me of her long connection with the Brooke family. In recent times she had acted as an agent for the deposit of various family papers at Rhodes House, Oxford, where the archivist, Miss Patience Empson, had been extremely helpful. The Rhodes House link with Sarawak had been made through the deposit there earlier of various former Sarawak government officers' personal papers as part of the Oxford University Colonial Records Project which had been set up in 1963 on the initiative of Dame Margery Perham and Dr A.F. Madden.¹

Fearing that the imminent end of the British colonial period in Africa and other parts of the world would lead to the scattering and destruction of much of the historical material in private hands, Perham and Madden proposed that it should be collected and housed in Oxford, principally at Rhodes House, a branch of the Bodleian Library which held its printed British Commonwealth collection. It was agreed that its governance would be the responsibility of the University's Institute of Commonwealth Studies. Practical assistance was offered by the Bodleian Library and initial financial support was provided by Viscount Boyd of Merton, the Goldsmiths' Company, the Drapers' Company, Associated Electrical Industries, the United African Company and the African Studies Association of the United States. Subsequent grants were given by the Rhodes Trustees, the Nuffield Foundation, Nuffield College and the British Academy.

Jack Tawney, an historically-minded retired government officer from Tanganyika, became the Project's first Director with an office at 20 St. Giles St., Oxford. While the primary interest was in African material, the wealth of other donations from the Far East, Southeast Asia, the Pacific and the West Indies persuaded the Project's founders that it should embrace all of Britain's former colonial territories administered by the Colonial Office when it was reconstituted in 1925. From 1967, the Project also had an oral history component which resulted in the recording and transcribing of more than one hundred interviews with former colonial officials.

Patience was first employed by the Project in 1965, eventually taking over as Director and running the show until 1972 when its funding ran out and the responsibility was taken over by Rhodes House. Working at Rhodes House, she catalogued material collected through the Project until 1977 when the Oxford Development Records Project was established. Her association with Rhodes House continued until 1984 when the latter was wound up. By 1972 she had been involved in acquiring and cataloguing some eighteen major collections, including including those donated by the Fabian Colonial Bureau and by Elpseth Huxley. The first collection of Brooke papers was being dealt with

¹This brief account is based on 'The Oxford Colonial Records Project: A report for the Year 1963' and 'Some Facts About The Oxford University Colonial Records Project 1963-1972', prepared and mimeographed by Rhodes House Library. A more detailed published account can be found in *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, vol. 6, no. 2 (October 1978), pp. 76-86.

when I first arrived at Rhodes House in 1973. These had been donated by Simon Brooke Mackay (Lord Tanlaw, the third Rajah's grandson), Margery Perham, Bertram Brooke's two daughters (Lady Jean Halsey and Lady Anne Bryant) and his son (Anthony Brooke). They were listed by Patience in 1973 as **Papers of the Brookes of Sarawak** (MSS Pac. s. 83) and her introduction is the first to be reproduced below. A later listing in 1978 under the same title included material donated subsequently.

Through her Brooke family connections, Margaret Noble had played a key part in securing this first major Brooke collection. She had also been in correspondence for many years with Vice-Admiral Basil Brooke, a descendant of Hope Brooke whose father, John Brooke Johnson (better known as Brooke Brooke), had been disinherited by James Brooke in 1861. Hope Brooke had been given the collection by his cousin Col. Patrick Grant, son of Charles Grant who had served for sixteen years in Sarawak under the first Rajah. It consisted of a tin trunk of Brooke Brooke's correspondence with his uncle and his brother Charles and with people like Charles Grant and William Hay who staunchly supported his cause. The entire collection was linked to Brooke Brooke's claim to have been unjustly treated by the Rajah. Hope himself made an attempt to assert his rights when Charles Brooke was Rajah but was never allowed to visit Sarawak.

Receiving packets of these letters from the Admiral from time to time, Margaret Noble developed a strong sympathy for Brooke Brooke and his long-lost cause and began to transcribe them with a view to writing his biography. Although she was never to achieve this, it was through her diplomacy with the Admiral that the contents of the tin trunk ended up at Rhodes House. She was also instrumental in persuading the last Rajah's grandson, Simon Brooke Mackay (Lord Tanlaw), to put up the money for their proper listing and conservation. Professor Nicholas Tarling, who consulted much of this material while it was still in Margaret's hands at Maida Vale, no doubt played a part in their preservation as well. This, the largest collection, is listed as **Basil Brooke Papers** (MSS Pac. s. 90).

When I first arrived at Rhodes House I had little idea of the vast volume of Sarawak material which had just been received. The whole of the attic area above the library proper was the domain of Miss Empson and her amiable associate June Williams who untied the red-ribboned packets of letters, systematically read and listed them and then put them into the dozens of cardboard boxes that littered the floor. Altogether, it was an historian's Aladdin's Cave with thousands of letters dating back to the 1820's, many of them cross-hatched and with passages underlined in red ink. There was disappointingly little material on the 1946 session in all this but plenty of information to illustrate what had been going on in the Brooke family and Sarawak in the 1920's and 1930's when the seeds were sown. While working at Rhodes House, I was constantly encouraged by Patience and June who often invited me to sit with them over lunch in the superbly kept garden.

Patience Empson was a tall and dignified lady of Anglo-Irish ancestry who had been the partner of the noted Cork-born woodblock artist and writer, Robert Gibbings. Regal and gracious, she had the air of someone who really knew what they were about. After Robert's death, she inherited his thatched cottage at Long Wittenham near Abingdon and the Thames and it was there that we visited her as a family in later years. She had a wonderful garden and was a most delightful hostess. I never learnt what she had done in

her earlier career but in later life she had taken an archivists' course and found employment at Rhodes House. In addition to the painstaking work she did with the archives, she was also involved in the delicate negotiations which were often the necessary prelude to acquiring private donations. I think that she would have made a wonderful British ambassador in some of the more difficult postings.

Through Margaret Noble and Kathleen Brooke, I met many of the surviving pre-war Sarawak government officers and talked to them about the cession. Some had already given their papers to Rhodes House but other still had some things of interest. Kathleen herself had a large collection of Anthony's and her own letters which I persuaded her to give to Rhodes House. This collection is now part of MSS Pac. s. 83 but is separately listed as **Papers of the Brookes of Sarawak** (Supplementary List 2: Boxes 34-36): **Papers of Mrs Kathleen Brooke, Raneé Muda**. With the Rajah's private secretary from the early 1940's, Mrs E.H. ('Sally') Hussey, I also struck gold. When I visited her exquisite little house near Uckfield in Sussex for the first time, she told me over several gin and tonics that there really wasn't any way she could help me. But there was an old suitcase upstairs which might have something ... Indeed, it proved to contain a number of extremely useful cession period files from the old Sarawak Government Office at Millbank in London which had been closed down in 1946. There were also the original documents relating to Gerard MacBryan's hush-hush mission to Sarawak in January 1946 to 'fix' the cession privately with the Malay datus and Chinese kapitans. These were duly passed on to Rhodes House and Patience Empson's tender care. They now constitute vols. 18-22 of MSS Pac. s. 83 and are included in the 1978 listing.

Another major collection of Brooke-Sarawak material came to light when I was in London in July 1978 to check my revised thesis for publication. Kathleen Brooke told me that Margaret Noble was very ill after a stroke and when I went to visit her she was in a coma. She had often suggested that I should meet Sir Steven Runciman, whose book on the Brookes had been commissioned by the colonial government. Indeed, it was Sir Steven who inadvertently put me on to another major collection of Brooke papers. These had been found by chance by a neighboring architect, Jim Tolson, in Bertram Brooke's old house at Weybridge in Surrey which was then derelict and on the eve of demolition.

There were many vicissitudes in this search, which I have described elsewhere.² Suffice it to say that the boxes of papers (stuffed into a broom cupboard and forgotten for twenty years) turned out to be the personal correspondence of Anthony Brooke for the cession period, including a large collection of letters to him from the Sarawak anti-cessionist describing their work. There were also some letters from the Rajah in Australia to Bertram during the war and some correspondence between Anthony and Bertram. Like Brooke Brooke before him, Anthony had been disinherited by his uncle and his papers reflect his efforts to assert his rights.

Other historians will understand the mixed feelings of excitement and dismay as I surveyed this new material and wondered how it could be incorporated in my manuscript. Anthony's sister, Anne Bryant, allowed me to work on them in her South Kensington

²'Sarawak Fever', in V.T. King and A.V.M. Horton, eds., *From Buckfast to Borneo: Essays Presented to Father Robert Nicholl on the 85th Anniversary of His Birth, 27 March 1995*, Kuching: Sarawak Literary Society, 1995, pp. 309-324.

apartment and I was able to persuade Anthony that they should eventually go to Rhodes House. This collection is also incorporated with MSS Pac. s. 83 but is listed separately as **Papers of the Brookes of Sarawak** (Supplementary List: Boxes 19-26): **Additional Papers of Anthony Brooke**.

Since Patience Empson's departure from Rhodes House, other significant collections of Brooke-Sarawak material have been donated. The letters of the first Anglican Bishop of Sarawak, Francis McDougall, and his extraordinary wife Harriette were purchased from an indigent relative. More were donated by another relative. Most recently, the papers relating to a libel case involving Anthony Brooke and Gerard MacBryan have been passed over by a firm of London solicitors. Altogether, the Brooke-Sarawak collection at Rhodes House is an enormous and invaluable resource under the one roof. As any historian who has used it knows, its careful cataloguing and conservation reflect a devoted professionalism of a kind that can only be described as unique.

Reproduced below are Patience Empson's introductions to the five listings mentioned above. Two of these (**Basil Brooke Papers** and **Papers of Mrs Kathleen Brooke**) were published for Rhodes House by the National Manuscripts Commission of Chancery Lane, whose permission I gratefully acknowledge. Printed copies of the full listings are to be found at Rhodes House Library at South Parks Rd. Oxford, and the National Manuscripts Commission at Quality Court, Chancery Lane, London.

PAPERS OF THE BROOKES OF SARAWAK
KEPT IN RHODES HOUSE LIBRARY, OXFORD¹

P. A. Empson
Former Librarian
Rhodes House Library
Oxford

Introduction

The Collection, which covers the years 1841-1971, is associated primarily with the following members of the Brooke family:

James Brooke, First Rajah (1803-68)
Charles Johnson Brooke, Second Rajah (1829-1917)
Charles Vyner Brooke, Third Rajah (1874-1963)
Bertram Brooke, Tuan Muda, brother of the Third Rajah (1876-1965)
Anthony (Peter) Brooke, Rajah Muda, son of Bertram Brooke (1912-)

The title Tuan Muda means an heir-presumptive; Rajah Muda signifies heir-apparent. Aheh, meaning "younger brother", was the name with which Bertram Brooke often signed his letters to the Rajah. Dayang is the courtesy title given to descendants of Rajahs or Chiefs—Anthony Brooke's sister, Lady Bryant, was known in Sarawak as the Dayang Anne.

The Collection has come to Rhodes House Library from several sources. The first and largest part was deposited by Lord Tanlaw, formerly Simon Mackay, grandson of the Third Rajah (Vols. 1-8 and Boxes 1-8). Boxes 9-11 contain papers deposited through Mrs. Margaret Noble, a close friend of the Brooke family who had lived for ten years in Sarawak where her husband, Arthur H. Noble, was General Manager of the Miri Oilfields; these papers belonged to two sisters of Anthony Brooke—Lady Halsey (Jean) and Lady Bryant (Anne), wife of Sir Arthur Bryant.

Mrs. Noble's own collection of Brooke papers forms the fourth part, in Box 12. The fifth consists of a file presented by Dame Margery Perham containing correspondence between herself and Anthony Brooke, who approached her in 1939 about events in Sarawak, and papers sent to her by him during the following ten years (Box 13). Box 14 holds printed material, including *Hansard* reports of Parliamentary debates on Sarawak and press cuttings.

A table of contents follows, showing the scope and arrangement of the whole collection. Certain restrictions have been placed on the use of the papers. Vols. 1-8 and Boxes 1-9A may be seen by readers but permission to quote from them in any published work must be obtained in writing from The Sarawak Foundation, c/o Lord Tanlaw, 62 Addison Road, London W14.

¹Published here with permission of the National Manuscripts Commission of Chancery Lane.

Permission for access to Boxes 10-12 must be obtained from Mrs. A.H. Noble, 1 Vale Court, Maida Vale, London W.9, from whom permission to quote must also be obtained. The remainder of the Collection is open.

Brooke manuscripts deposited previously in Rhodes House Library are as follows:

MSS Pac. s 66	1841-1960	Sir James Brooke: printed extracts of letters, 1841-48; Copies of letters from H. Wise to Palmerston and Russell, 1848-52; Instructions and letters to C. Ermen as Resident from C. Brooke, the Raja, 1910-15; the Brooke tradition; Meeting between Chou En Lai and Anthony Brooke (c. 1959-60).
MSS Ind. Ocn. s 119	1906-1930	Sir Charles Vyner Brooke: Letters to George O. Gillam, Treasurer of Sarawak. Letters to C.P. Lowe, mainly regarding the Public Works Department, Sarawak.
MSS Ind. Ocn. s 118	1922-1935	
MSS Pac. s 74(1)	1924-1929	Personal letters to Frank Kortright, D.C., Sarawak, and his wife Ina.
MSS Pac. s 58	1940-1941	4 letters to Dr. M.P. O'Connor regarding medical and health matters in Sarawak.

Other collections in Rhodes House Library, including those of B. H. Elam and A.B. Ward, contain material associated with the Brooke family, as do the papers of T. Stirling Boyd, Chief Justice of Sarawak 1930-39, which are housed in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. The Brooke library, collected from members of the family, has been presented to Magdalene College, Cambridge.

MSS Pac. s 83

Vols. 1-8	1847-1971	Contents Lord Tanlaw's Collection and Boxes 1-8 Letters from Sir James Brooke, First Rajah, to his sister and other members of his family.
Vol. 1	1847-1864	
Vol. 2	1868-1889	Letters to Charles Johnson Brooke (later second Rajah) from various correspondents.
Vol. 3	1917-1918	Correspondence of the Sarawak State Advisory Council, Vol. VI.
Vol. 4	1918-1919	Correspondence of the Sarawak State Advisory Council, Vol. VI.
Vols. 5-8	n.d.	Albums of photographs of Sarawak scenes and people, including members of the Brooke family.
Box 1	1860-1963	"Brooke Archives", including correspondence with the three Rajahs.
Box 2	1862-1956	"Sarawak State Papers", concerning the constitution and succession, the invasion of Sarawak by the Japanese in 1941, and the Wills of the first and third Rajahs.

Box 3	1903-1933	Notebooks and maps.
Box 4	1909-1969	Miscellaneous papers about Sarawak, including lists of official publications.
Box 5	1946-1950	Libel suit: MacBryan v. Anthony Brooke
Box 6	1948-1950	Civil suit: Brooke v. Brooke.
Box 7	1912-1961	Draft of book by James Colin Swayne about the Raj of Sarawak.
Box 8	1971	"White Rajah, the story of Sarawak": tape recordings and records.
Box 9 and 9A	1841-1968	History of Sarawak: files from the collections of Lady Halsey, Lady Bryant and Mrs. Noble.
Box 10	1933-1962	Lady Halsey's Collection, mainly concerning the Cession and including correspondence of Anthony Brooke and Bertram Brooke.
Box 11	1938-1964	Lady Bryant's Collection, mainly concerning the Cession and including correspondence of Anthony Brooke, Bertram Brooke, Arthur Bryant and Malcolm MacDonald.
Box 12	1913-1966	Mrs Noble's Collection, concerned largely with the anti-Cession campaign.
Box 13	1939-1948	Dame Margery Perham's Collection, correspondence with Anthony Brooke and related papers.
Box 14	1913-1969	Printed Material, including <i>Hansard</i> reports of debates on Sarawak and press cuttings, mainly concerning the Cession.

MSS PAC. S 83: PAPERS OF THE BROOKES OF SARAWAK

Introduction

Papers contributed by nine members or friends of the Brooke family combine to form the Collection. These papers, both official and personal, cover the whole span of Brooke rule, look back to the earlier history of Sarawak and to Thomas Brooke, father of the first Rajah, and forward to the present day (1803-1977). But the greater part is concerned with the Cession of Sarawak to the British Crown by the third Rajah in 1946, the events that led up to it and the controversy it aroused, and the question of the succession which became a crucial issue during the final years of Brooke rule.

The first and largest section consists of papers of Anthony Brooke, Rajah Muda (heir-apparent) – nephew of the third Rajah, Sir Charles Vyner Brooke – and Lord Tanlaw, formerly Simon Mackay, the Rajah's grandson. It includes correspondence of Sir James and Sir Charles Brooke, the first and second Rajahs, correspondence of the Sarawak State Advisory Council in London from its formation in 1912 until 1919, Brooke Archives and State Papers concerning the Constitution and succession and the invasion by the Japanese in 1941, and papers relating to Brooke litigation during the years 1946-50. Other legal documents, official papers and correspondence, including files from the

Sarawak Government Offices, Millbank, came from Mrs. Evelyn Hussey, the third Rajah's Executor, who was his Secretary in London from 1946 until his death in 1963.

Vols 35-39 hold papers, including much personal correspondence, that belonged to the third Rajah's nieces, Lady Halsey and Lady Bryant – daughters of his brother Bertram Brooke, the Tuan Muda (heir-presumptive). These two collections were deposited through Mrs. Margaret Noble, who became a close friend of the Brooke family during the ten years she spent in Sarawak where her husband, Arthur H. Noble, was General Manager of the Miri Oilfields; her own collection (Vols. 40 and 41) is concerned chiefly with the succession and the anti-Cession campaign in which she played an active part. She was responsible also for the deposit of papers connected with the Rane Margaret, wife of the second Rajah, including letters from some of her wide and distinguished circle of friends in England (Vol. 16).

A correspondence covering ten years between Anthony Brooke and Dame Margery Perham, initiated by him in 1939, is contained in Vol. 42, with many related papers about the Sarawak situation including copies of letters to the Colonial Office and the press.

A small collection of papers that had belonged to the Rane Sylvia, wife of the third Rajah, came from the Department of Archives in Barbados. Those that relate to Sarawak are bound in Vol. 17; the remainder, mostly associated with Barbados where the Rane spent the last years of her life, are filed in Box 16. Vol. 17 holds also some personal letters from the third Rajah, 1936-63, and papers presented by Edward Banks who was Curator of the Sarawak Museum in Kuching from 1925-46.

Additional material was received from various sources after the listing of the first five deposits had been completed; and through the generosity of the Sarawak Foundation it became possible to bind in volumes papers previously filed in boxes. These additions and alterations are indicated in the Contents list. The whole Collection fills 42 volumes and 9 boxes.

The Brooke library, collected from members of the family, has been presented to Magdalene College, Cambridge, where the portrait of the third Rajah by Mrs. Noble (see Vol. 9A/1) is also housed.

Restrictions on the use of certain papers

Vols. 1-13, 25-34: Permission to quote from these papers in any published work must be obtained from the Sarawak Foundation, 14-16 Cockspur Street, London SW1Y 5BL.

Vols 36-41: Permission for access to these papers must be obtained from Mrs. A.H. Noble, 1 Vale Court, London W9 1RT, from whom permission to quote must also be obtained.

Bertram Brooke's letters and other writings: copyright belongs to his daughter from whom permission to quote must be obtained: Lady Bryant, 46 High Point, Heath Road, Weybridge, Surrey, KT13 8TP.

We are greatly indebted to Mrs. Noble for help and information generously given; also to Dr. Robert Reece, author of "The Cession of Sarawak to the British Crown in 1946", who through personal contacts made during the course of his researches was responsible for many additions to the Collection.

MSS Pac. s 83		Contents
Vols 1-13 and Boxes 1-8 (Vols 25-34)	1847-1971	Papers of Anthony Brooke, Rajah Muda, and Lord Tanlaw
Vol. 1	1847-1864	Letters from Sir James Brooke, first Rajah, to his sister Emma and other members of his family.
Vol. 2	1868-1889	Letters to Charles Johnson Brooke (later second Rajah) from various correspondents.
Vol. 3	1909-1919	Letters from Sir Charles Brooke to his children and granddaughter.
Vol. 4-9	1912-1919	Correspondence of the Sarawak State Advisory Council, Vols. I-VI.
Vol. 10-13	n.d.	Albums of photographs of Sarawak scenes and people including members of the Brooke family.
<p>Note: The papers listed below were filed in Boxes 1-14 but were later bound (Vols 25-42) except for Boxes 3, 7, 8, 9A and 14. References in any published work should be given to the Box and File numbers marked on each paper.</p>		
Box 1 (Vol. 25)	1860-1963	"Brooke Archives", including correspondence with the three Rajahs.
Box 2 (Vols 26 & 27)	1862-1956	"Sarawak State Papers", concerning the constitution and succession, the invasion of Sarawak by the Japanese in 1941, and the Wills of the first and third Rajahs.
Box 3	1903-1933	Notebooks and maps.
Box 4 (Vols 28 & 29)	1909-1969	Miscellaneous papers about Sarawak, including lists of official publications.
Box 5 (Vols 30-32)	1946-1950	Libel suit: MacBryan v. Anthony Brooke.
Box 6 (Vols 33 & 34)	1948-1950	Civil suit: Brooke v. Brooke.
Box 7	1912-1961	Draft of book by James Colin Swayne about the Raj of Sarawak.
Box 8	1971	"White Rajah, the story of Sarawak": tape recording and records.
Box 9 (Vol. 35)	1841-1968	History of Sarawak : files from the collections of Lady Halsey, Lady Bryant and Mrs. Noble.
Box 10 (Vol. 36)	1933-1962	Papers of Lady Halsey
File 1	1933-1962	General correspondence and related papers.
File 2	1935-1939	Letters to her from her brother Anthony ("Peter") Brooke.
File 3	1940-1948	Anthony Brooke: correspondence.
File 4	1941-1946	Minutes and memoranda concerning the constitution and succession.
File 5	1942-1963	Bertram Brooke: correspondence.
File 6	1946-1957	Jean Halsey: correspondence relating to the anti-

			Cession campaign.
Box 11 (Vol. 36)	1938-1964	Papers of Lady Bryant	
File 1	1928-1964	Letters to her from various correspondents.	
File 2	1940-1963	Bertram Brooke: correspondence	
File 3	1940-1948	Anthony Brooke: correspondence chiefly about Cession and the ban on his re-entry into Sarawak.	
File 4	1946-1949	Sir Arthur Bryant: correspondence with Malcolm MacDonald and others; articles and memoranda by him about Sarawak.	
File 5	1946-1949	F.F. Boulton: correspondence.	
File 6	1946-1949	Native protests.	
File 7	1946-1948	Malcolm MacDonald: correspondence with Arthur Bryant.	
File 8	1946-1948	Christopher Dawson: correspondence with the Malay National Union of Sarawak and other associations.	
Box 12 (Vols. 40 & 41)	1913-1946	Papers of Mrs. Noble	
File 1	1913-1975	Letters and notes about the Brookes.	
File 2	1941-1962	Papers concerning the succession and the constitution.	
Files 3-9	1932-1966	Letters to her from members of the Brooke family and close friends, mostly concerning anti-Cession activities and propaganda.	
Files 10-14	1935-1965	Correspondence, including her own with Members of Parliament, and other writings by her connected with the anti-Cession campaign; native protests and post-Cession correspondence.	
Files 15 & 16	1952-1956	Photocopies of correspondence between Anthony Brooke and Johari Anang, M.N.U., and between Anthony Brooke and Robert Reece.	
Box 13 (Vol. 42)	1939-1962	Papers of Dame Margery Perham	
		Correspondence with Anthony Brooke about the succession and Cession, and related papers.	
Box 14	1913-1969	Printed material including <i>Hansard</i> reports of debates on Sarawak and press cuttings mainly concerning the Cession.	
Vols 14-24 and Boxes 15-18	and 1803-1977	Additional Papers received from various sources including further papers from Lady Bryant and Mrs. Noble.	
Vol. 14	1803-1977	Papers concerning three families connected with the first Rajah: Rev. Charles Johnson,	

- Charles William Brooke and Reuben George Brooke.
- Vol. 15 1835-1970 Copies of Wills and other documents; correspondence between J.C. Templer and Sir James Brooke; negotiations with Belgium; Brooke armorial bearings.
- Vol. 16 (and Box 15) 1892-1969 Letters to the Raneë Margaret, and correspondence concerning them; obituary notices and photographs of her; 4 notebooks containing summaries and lists of letters.
- Vol. 17 1902-1970 A. Papers of Edward Banks, 1902-1963.
B. Papers of the Raneë Sylvia relating to Sarawak, 1904-1970.
C. Letters from Rajah Vyner to Lady Halsey, 1936-63.
- Vois 18-22 (and Box 17) 1912-1967 Papers of Mrs. E.H. Hussey, including files from the Sarawak Government Offices, Milbank.
- Vols 23 & 24 (and Box 18) 1939-1951 2 press cutting albums compiled by Lady Halsey, and box of loose cuttings.
- Report on Correspondence and Papers of the Brooke Family of Sarawak, including papers of Charles T.C. Grant (1831-1891) Laird of Kilgraston.

MSS PAC. S 83: SUPPLEMENTARY LIST 1

Introduction

The papers in this supplementary collection reached Rhodes House Library from three separate sources. Those filled in Boxes 19-26 were retrieved from an empty house in Weybridge which had once been the home of the late Mrs. Elizabeth Maunsell, sister of Anthony Brooke, Rajah Muda, to whom the papers belonged. The story of their discovery is told by James Tolson, RIBA (Box 19, File 1A), and we are greatly indebted to him for his care in their preservation. As the papers had been scattered before Mr. Tolson rescued them, it was not possible to restore the order in which they were originally filed. The present arrangement is shown in the table of contents that follows.

Boxes 27-29 contain papers that were in the possession of Mrs. Margaret Noble when she died in 1978. She had previously deposited material which forms part of the main Brooke collection. The present papers are chiefly associated with her researches into the history of the Brooke family but include also personal letters from Bertram Brooke, Tuan Muda, to his children and to Mrs. Noble, and from his daughters Jean (Lady Halsey) and Anne (Lady Bryant).

Eight albums, containing chiefly press cuttings, were donated by Mrs. Kathleen Brooke, former Raneë Muda. Four of these (in Box 32) give comprehensive coverage of the Cession period; they were compiled by her and include many cuttings sent from Singapore by her husband. The earlier volumes (in Boxes 30 and 31) were compiled by Mrs. Gladys Brooke, wife of the Tuan Muda.

The collection covers the years 1915-76, with a few papers of earlier dates. Permission to quote from these papers in a published work must be obtained from the Librarian, Rhodes House, Oxford. Lady Bryant has also delegated to him the right to give permission for quotation from the writings of her father Bertram Brooke, of which she owns the copyright, and for photocopying from these papers for private research.

Boxes 19-26		Additional papers of Anthony Brooke
Box 19	1978 File 1A	Statement by James Tolson, RIBA, about the discovery of the papers.
	1939-1951 File 1-7 File 8 File 9 File 10	Personal correspondence with the following: Anthony Brooke, Rajah Muda (1939-51). Sir Charles Vyner Brooke, Rajah (1941-46). Bertram Brooke, Tuan Muda (1941-49). Mrs. Gladys Brooke, Dayang Muda (1946-49).
Box 20	1936-1955 File 1 File 2 File 3 File 4 File 5 File 6 File 7	Subject Files G.T.M. MacBryan (1936-50). Enquiry concerning F.L.G. Crossley (1939). Abolition of title of Rajah Muda (1940). Libel action, Anthony Brooke v. K.H. Digby (1946-51). Ban on Anthony Brooke's entry into Sarawak (1948-50). Mrs. Kathleen Brooke's visit to Sarawak (1947). Rajah's Dependents Order, Income Tax appeal, etc. (1948-56).
	File 8	Brooke family Wills and Estates (1950-55).
Box 21	1944-51	Sarawak Commission (Provisional Government of Sarawak) and the Cession controversy.
Box 22	1945-1959	Anti-Cession campaign.
Box 23	1841-1956	Historical papers relating to the Constitution of Sarawak and the succession of the Raj.
Box 24	1901-1956	Printed material and memoranda relating to Borneo, Malaya, and Sarawak.
Box 25	1941-1963	Papers connected with Anthony Brooke's world travels and work for the promotion of international understanding and peace.
Box 26	1936-1960	Press cuttings.
Boxes 27-29		Additional papers of Mrs. Margaret Noble.
Box 27	1880-1968	Papers connected with the Raneë Margaret (File 1) and with her son Bertram Brooke; and family photographs, 1864-1970.
Box 28	(c. 1880) 1915-1972	Family letters of Bertram Brooke and his children; also correspondence with Mrs. Noble and her husband.
Box 29	1837-1976	Papers connected with Mrs. Noble's research into Brooke family history.
Boxes 30-33	1925-1949	Albums donated by Mrs. Kathleen Brooke containing chiefly press cuttings, and a roll of posters.

MSS PAC. S 83: SUPPLEMENTARY LIST 2

PAPERS OF MRS KATHLEEN BROOKE, RANEE MUDA

Introduction

Kathleen Mary Hudden was born in 1907, youngest daughter of Mr. and Mrs. William E.C. Hudden of Newport, Monmouthshire. In 1939 she married Anthony Brooke, Rajah Muda of Sarawak, whose uncle, Sir Charles Vyner Brooke, GCMG, was then third Rajah. The following year she accompanied her husband to Sarawak where he was serving as District Officer. They lived at various out-stations until disagreement between nephew and uncle over a proposed constitution for the state necessitated a hazardous return to London via Athens in 1941. One casualty of the subsequent Japanese invasion of Sarawak was her brother Donald Hudden, District Officer of the Baram area, who was killed by Dayaks in Dutch Borneo (see Box 34/9, ff 137-9).

After the Rajah's decision to cede Sarawak to the British Crown in February 1946, Mrs. Brooke played an important part in the campaign fought by her husband and loyalist Malays and Dayaks to restore Sarawak's independent position as a protected state with internal sovereignty. When the new colonial government of Sarawak refused Anthony Brooke permission to enter the state in November of that year, she made an extended visit in his place. For more than six months she traveled throughout Sarawak, sometimes by canoe, sometimes on foot, welcomed with enthusiastic receptions by Brooke supporters. Such was her determination and fortitude in the face of extreme physical discomfort and the uncooperative attitude of certain Government officials that Sir Charles Arden-Clarke, the Governor, himself paid tribute to her "courage, energy and pertinacity".

During the last years of her life, Mrs. Brooke planned to write an account of these events for her three children, and the papers contained in Box 34 are those she had selected with this object in view. Her reasons for attempting such a memoir are referred to in File 12, ff 47-9, and File 13, f 4. The papers consist of the diary of her travels in Sarawak in 1947-48, supplemented by correspondence with her husband in Singapore during those months; also further letters from him and members of his family, and from correspondents in both England and Sarawak, concerned with the anti-Cession campaign as well as family matters. Her own letters to her husband were returned to her in 1978 (see File 13, ff 7 & 8) after being found among papers retrieved from an empty house in Weybridge, once the home of his sister, Mrs. Elizabeth Maunsell (Boxes 19-26).

Box 35 contains additional letters from Anthony Brooke written during his wartime service with the Intelligence Corps in Southeast Asia and in later years during his world-wide travels in the cause of peace and international understanding (see also Box 25). Photographs taken during her tour in Sarawak and other related items are contained in Box 36.

It was Mrs. Brooke's intention eventually to donate these papers to Rhodes House Library where she had previously deposited eight volumes of press cuttings including those sent from Singapore by her husband (Boxes 30-32). After her death in London on 24 April 1981, the papers were deposited by her elder daughter, Mrs. Angela Kerr-Moller.

MSS PAC. S 90 BASIL BROOKE PAPERS

Introduction

Much has been written and published about Sir James Brooke who in 1841 became the first white Rajah of Sarawak: of his nephew John Brooke Brooke, for nearly twenty years his appointed successor and heir to the Raj, little has been told. Through these papers can be traced the changing relationship between the two men, and the development of events that culminated in Sir James's disinheritance of his nephew and the installation in his place of his brother Charles. (Both nephews, sons of Sir James's sister Emma Johnson, assumed the surname of Brooke, the elder in 1848, Charles in 1863.) The papers were assembled by Charles T.C. Grant, son of John Grant, Laird of Kilgraston in Perthshire. Charles Grant served sixteen years in Sarawak with Brooke Brooke and remained till the end of his life a devoted and loyal friend. The Collection was made, during the years following Brooke Brooke's death in 1868, with the object of vindicating his name and also for the sake of his surviving son, Hope – to show that as rightful heir to the Raj "some recognition surely should be made" (Box 1/7, f. 169).

How so various a collection of letters came into Grant's hands can only be conjectured. He had been a well-loved member of the Sarawak Service and old friends continued to write to him long after his retirement in 1863; but this accounts for a small proportion only of the letters. It is possible that Sir James Brooke's literary executor, Sir Spenser St John, to whom he bequeathed papers, may have handed over to Grant some of the Rajah's correspondence after publication in 1879 of St John's *Life of Sir James Brooke* which Grant included, possibly because others were among the Rajah's papers that were burnt in the Chinese insurrection of 1857. Undoubtedly the Johnson family contributed much correspondence, to be held in trust for Hope Brooke. But it is difficult to account for the presence of letters to Charles Brooke (see Vols. 1 and 11), or for the provenance of much of the correspondence in Vols. 13-16.

The whole Collection was given by Charles Grant's son, Colonel Patrick Grant, to his cousin Hope Brooke, and in 1975 was most generously presented by Hope Brooke's eldest son, Vice Admiral Basil C.B. Brooke, CB, CBE, to Rhodes House Library, Oxford. It consists mainly of letters written between the years 1833 and 1875, with a few of later dates; these have been bound in sixteen volumes. Related papers, 1830-1977, are filed in boxes numbered 1-5. Some additional letters, 1856-1974, were deposited after the binding of the correspondence had been completed, and these have been filed in Box 3/12. The list of contents that follows this introductory note shows in some detail the scope and arrangement of the papers.

* * *

James Brooke was born near Benares, in 1803; his father, Thomas Brooke, was a Judge in the Honorable East India Company's Civil Service. James was one of six children. His sister Emma, a year older than himself, was particularly close in his affections, and her children's lives became woven into the pattern of his own. He never married.

He entered the Company's army in 1819 and was severely wounded during the first Burmese war; he was invalided home in 1825. It was on his return to Bengal in 1830 in the East Indiaman *Castle Huntley* that he first met John Keith Jolly, one of the ship's officers. Jolly later became Captain of the vessel, and the two men maintained their friendship by correspondence for over twenty years (see Vol. 1). Having resigned his commission, Brooke sailed on in the *Castle Huntley*, visiting China, Penang, Malacca and Singapore before returning to England. These travels fired his imagination and his ambition. He made a second voyage to the East in 1834 in a brig, the *Findlay*, which in partnership with another he had purchased and freighted for China; but this venture proved a failure, and brig and cargo were sold in China at a loss. Brooke's early letters to Jolly describe his activities between 1833 and 1838.

In 1835 his father died, leaving him a legacy of 30,000 pounds. This brought within reach the realization of his dream to explore the islands of the Eastern Archipelago. He purchased the schooner *Royalist*, and after a preliminary cruise in the Mediterranean (his eldest nephew was one of the party) sailed in December 1838 for Borneo, with plans for the promotion of trade as well as British ascendancy. Singapore was reached the following May, and there Brooke was asked by the Governor to convey thanks and gifts to Rajah Muda Hassim, governor of Sarawak (then a province under the rule of the Sultan of Brunei), who had shown kindness to shipwrecked British seamen. This service was accomplished and a friendly relationship established. After a year spent in exploring the Archipelago, he paid a second visit to Sarawak, where he gave valuable advice and active assistance in subduing insurrection. Hassim begged him to stay, offering him the government and trade of Sarawak, to be held under the sovereignty of Brunei in return for a small annual payment to the Sultan. On 24 September 1841 James Brooke was proclaimed Rajah.

For the first years of Brooke rule the Collection contains no documentation. Two letters from the Rajah to Brooke Brooke are dated 1845; in October 1846 his correspondence with Charles Grant began (Vol. 4). Grant was then a midshipman in HMS *Agincourt*, the flagship in which the Rajah accompanied Admiral Sir Thomas Cochrane from Sarawak to Brunei. Verses by the Rajah addressed to "My midshipmen friends in HMS *Agincourt*" are filed in Box 1/1. Grant became a favorite of the Rajah who took an interest in his career; they met again in England during 1847. Grant was appointed to HMS *Meander*, the ship that carried the Rajah back to Sarawak in 1848 after his triumphs in England where he had been acclaimed by the nation and knighted by the Queen. He appointed Grant his aide-de-camp, and wrote to the boy's father in Scotland proposing that he should leave the Navy and make his career in Sarawak (Vol. 4, ff. 306-19). He became the Rajah's private secretary, and a valued member of the Government Service.

It was a remarkable group of young men whom Sir James gathered round him at that time – men who embraced a life of considerable hardship, loneliness and danger, and gave devoted service to the Rajah and his adopted country. In addition to a common allegiance and mutual dependence in an alien land, they shared the bond of similar background and upbringing. It was chiefly from the families of Brooke, Johnson and Grant that these men were drawn: brothers, sons and cousins were introduced into the Rajah's service and came under the influence of his strong personality. Inter-marriage strengthened ties of family and friendship. Brooke Brooke married Charles Grant's sister;

Grant's wife brought her brother Robert Hay, who became Brooke's good friend and supporter; not only Brooke's brother Charles joined him in the Service but later his younger brother Stuart, and his sister Mary's brother-in-law Harry Nicholetts. The Pedigree of these families made by Mrs. Margaret Noble for the Society of Genealogists (Box 3/11) is an invaluable guide through the complexity of names and relationships.

Letters from the wives (Annie Brooke, Matilda Grant and Harriette McDougall, wife of the Bishop of Labuan and Sarawak) give spirited, factual and sometimes painfully moving accounts of their lives and the homes they created with resourcefulness and courage. They were supported by the strong Christian faith in which they had grown up. England was three month's voyage away, travel was costly, mails unreliable. They were dependent entirely upon each other for company, comfort, and help. Medical aid was supplied by Bishop McDougall, a qualified doctor; but unfamiliar tropical diseases and the deaths of children and of mothers in childbirth are tragically recurrent themes in letters and journals. An interesting account of the Rajah's "family circle" and their way of life is given by Captain Cresswell (who had served with Charles Grant in the *Agincourt*) in a letter to his mother following a visit to Sarawak in 1858 (Vol. 13, f 128).

The correspondence presents a comprehensive picture of the writers' lives and preoccupations. As well as the constant concern with personal and family matters, every aspect of Sarawak affairs is discussed, often from divergent viewpoints, and there are first-hand accounts of many historic events such as the insurrection of the Chinese gold-workers in 1857 when the Rajah narrowly escaped with his life. Problems of administration and local politics recur, the exploration and development of the country, particularly its mineral resources, and relations with the Borneo Company; the suppression of piracy, and the Commission of Enquiry appointed by the British Government to examine the accusations brought against the Rajah by Joseph Hume, MP; the Testimonial raised on behalf of the Rajah; the "Muka incident" in 1860; the conduct of the Borneo Mission; and the prolonged negotiations to obtain recognition and protection for Sarawak. John Grant's letters to his son Charles (Vol. 12) help to place these matters in the perspective of world events, and perhaps give point to the apparent indifference shown by the British Government to the Rajah's approaches.

All through the Collection passages marked principally by Charles Grant (initialled CTG), sometimes by Hope Brooke or Admiral Brooke, draw attention to the Rajah's reiteration of his promise that his nephew Brooke should succeed him as ruler of Sarawak. As early as 1845 he wrote proposing that Brooke should join him as aide-de-camp, saying that it was his wish "to transmit this as an inheritance to you and to your heirs" (Vol. 2, ff. 1-6). Brooke left the Army and joined the Sarawak Service in 1848, assuming his uncle's name. Throughout the sixteen years he served in Sarawak there was never any doubt that he was heir presumptive and would one day take over the reins of government and become the second Rajah.

It was during the course of Sir James's long-drawn-out negotiations with the British Government, and later with Holland, France, and Belgium, that there appeared signs of discord between the two men. Brooke disagreed with his uncle's opinion that Sarawak could not maintain her independence unsupported, and disliked the idea of protection by a Foreign Power. In October 1858 the Rajah suffered a stroke while in England; he made a good recovery, but heavy responsibilities devolved on Brooke. Personal tragedies befell

him: in December 1858 the death of his beloved wife Annie, following the birth of their second son, Hope, and two years later the death of their elder boy. In 1862 his second wife also died in childbirth. The Rajah's constant letters of instructions and criticism, sometimes several in one day, must have added to the tension at a time when Brooke was exhausted by emotional strain and anxiety. He came increasingly to feel that the proposal to "hand over" Sarawak, in return for payment of a sum that would recompense the Rajah for the amount he had expended from his "private fortune", was a violation of his own rights as heir. His resentment was exacerbated by a report on Sarawak written by St John for the British Government and shown to him by Colonel Cavenagh, Governor of the Straits Settlements, during his visit in 1862. In this memorandum Brooke felt his claims were "utterly suppressed". He wrote to his uncle in England a threatening letter of reproach and defiance (Vol. 5, ff 488-9), and to Lord Russell a protest against a transfer of the country without his consent and that of the Council.

The Rajah sailed at once for Singapore. On 24 February 1863 the two men met: Brooke submitted to his uncle's authority and departed for England "on leave of absence"; the Rajah proceeded to Sarawak to resume government, accompanied by his nephew Charles.

Had Brooke kept silence on reaching England, the situation might yet have been retrieved. Instead he attempted to demonstrate that wrong that had been done to himself and to his son, and to prove that his uncle had abdicated in his favor in 1861, a fact that Charles Grant was ready to confirm (Vol. 11, ff. 123-4). The publication of his pamphlet "A Statement Regarding Sarawak" (Box 3/6) brought final disaster. A letter from the Rajah ended their relationship: "I disinherit you for crimes you have committed against the State and against myself" (Vol. 3, f 399). His brother Charles was installed in his place and in 1868, on the death of Sir James, became second Rajah. Brooke survived his uncle by only a few months.

From these papers Brooke emerges as a man of courage, integrity and resource who, in the words of his grandson Admiral Brooke, "carried almost all the weight and difficulties when the country was being rescued from the pirates and the jungle" (Box 3/10, f 3). Quiet and reserved in manner, he possessed "a noble nature and sweet temper" (Vol. 4, f 420). He had great affection and admiration for his brilliant uncle, whose elegance of style in prose and diplomacy he could not hope to emulate but whose advice and judgement he accepted loyally until they ran contrary to what he felt to be right. Perhaps out of temperamental differences grew the misunderstandings that ended in tragedy for Brooke. But though never officially Rajah, he gave devoted service to Sarawak and played a fundamental part in the development of the country. He is buried in the family vault in the churchyard at White Lackington, near Ilminster, where his father was vicar for 49 years. A memorial tablet in the chancel (one of many commemorating members of the Johnson family) names him as "Rajah Muda of Sarawak".

* * *

We gratefully acknowledge our indebtedness to Mrs. Margaret Noble who initiated the deposit of these papers, and warmly record her most generous response to all our calls upon her specialized knowledge of the Brooke family and their history, both in connection with these papers and with a second large collection deposited in Rhodes

House Library (MSS Pac. s 83); this is concerned mainly with the later period of Brooke rule and the cession of Sarawak to the British Crown in 1946, but it contains also earlier papers including correspondence with the first and second Rajahs.

Other relevant papers in Rhodes House Library are an unsigned "Statement of the proceedings of Governor Edwardes upon the Coast of Borneo" [1860] (MSS Pac. s 1); extracts from letters, 1841-48, from Sir James Brooke to Henry Wise, printed for Members of the House of Commons, copies of letters from Wise to the Foreign Office, 1845-48, and from Sir James to Captain Bethune, 1845 (MSS Pac. s 66).

MSS Pac. s 90

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FIFTH BIENNIAL MEETINGS

FIFTH BIENNIAL INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE BORNEO
RESEARCH COUNCIL

OPENING ADDRESS

Warsito Rasman, The Governor of Central Kalimantan
 Palangka Raya
 Presented August 10, 1998

On behalf of our local government we extend a very warm welcome to all of you to this unique small town of Palangka Raya, the "Beautiful City". It is a great opportunity for us to get together with scholars/scientists, especially those from America, Europe, Asia, Australia, Papua New Guinea and from Indonesia, and especially from Borneo/Kalimantan which includes Brunei Darussalam, Sarawak, Sabah, as well as from four provinces in Kalimantan.

The Indonesian Government, and especially the local government of Central Kalimantan, is honored to hold the Fifth Biennial Conference of the Borneo Research Council this year with the main theme "Borneo/Kalimantan and Sustainable Development". This encompasses various sub-topics such as human, educational, socio-cultural, economic, and health resources development.

We believe that there is a great deal of interesting and significant research being carried out in Central Kalimantan. Especially we note the Mega Project, involving 1 million hectares of peat land resources development, being done by a wide range of experts, such as foresters, biologists, anthropologists, linguists, and sociologists. We are fully aware that Central Kalimantan with its rich natural resources offers great opportunities for researchers from all over the world. Many of our natural resources have remained untouched by development up to the present. This is due to our geographical conditions. This is the reason why we in Palangka Raya are very interested to compile, record, and preserve our traditional cultural heritage with the help of experts, and with the collaboration of both the Government and non-governmental agencies.

This conference is most timely as it stimulates awareness of the need to undertake more research in Central Kalimantan, so that findings can contribute by assisting the Government in setting up policies for further development. We can all learn from one another in this conference. And after the conference is over we can continue to collaborate in various aspects of development, especially in our future research.

We appreciate that all of you represent a wide range of different fields of knowledge, backgrounds, and interests. It is a very special occasion for us in this area to see such a distinguished group of people. You have five days of deliberation ahead of you with much to discuss and achieve. We believe that you all will make this conference an unforgettable event.

Last but not least, we wish you every success and a happy stay in Palangka Raya. Hereby I declare that this conference is officially opened.

MESSAGE FROM THE RECTOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PALANGKA RAYA

Professor Dr. Ir. H. Ali Hasymi, Rector of the University of Palangkaraya
Palangka Raya, Central Kalimantan, August 10, 1998

Permit me to welcome you all as conference participants to the Land of *Iseo Mulang*. It is with great pride and as a considerable privilege that Central Kalimantan Province and the University of Palangkaraya have been chosen to be the hosts for this conference.

Borneo (it is called Kalimantan by the Indonesian people) is a rich island. It is not only rich in natural resources, but in its human resources and socio-cultural aspects as well. Through this conference, we hope to explore, identify, and conserve our environment and attempt to contribute the best to our community and environment.

I hope that the conference will benefit all of you and will give the best contribution to the welfare of the population of Borneo/Kalimantan and also to the development of science and technology.

Have a lively conference and may God bless us all.

GREETINGS FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE BORNEO RESEARCH COUNCIL

Dr. George N. Appell, President of the Borneo Research Council
Department of Anthropology, Brandeis University
Waltham, Massachusetts, USA

It is my very great pleasure on behalf of the officers and directors of the Borneo Research Council to welcome you to this Fifth Biennial Conference of the Council. This conference is a continuation of a dream that many of us have shared for years, a dream first articulated by Dr. Vinson H. Sutlive, Jr., Executive Director.

We are indeed most grateful to the Honorable Governor of Kalimantan Tengah for his kind invitation to hold this conference here in Palangka Raya. We want to express our appreciation to Professor Dr. Ir. H. Ali Hasymi, MS, MA, Rector of the University of Palangka Raya, for his kindness in offering to host this important conference and for his support and help in making this conference a success.

We want to express our deepest thanks to Professor H. KMA M. Usop, MA, Coordinator of the local organizing committee for the conference, for initiating the idea to the Board of Directors of the Borneo Research Council to hold the Fifth International Conference in Palangka Raya. We have worked long and hard to bring this conference to fruition. We are furthermore most grateful for the work and efforts of Drs. C. Yus Ngabut, M.Pd., Chair of the Organizing Committee and Programme Committee. To Drs.

Kumpiady Widen, former Chair, we wish him every success in his studies in Australia. Finally, this conference is the culmination of months of work to bring us all here together. We want to express our deep appreciation to all those members of the various committees for the time, energy, and effort they have put into bringing this conference about and facilitating the exchange of ideas and results of research.

When the Council was established in 1968, our goal was to forward research in the social, biological, and medical sciences in all regions of the island of Borneo. Understanding the importance of recognizing the past as the prologue and foundation for building a strong future, the directors, officers, fellows, and members of the Council have tried to support the work of recording and interpreting the rich cultural materials of Bornean societies, past and present, the study of Bornean flora, fauna, and their ecosystems, including their interrelations with the people of Borneo, the history of environmental change, the relationship of all these to the health of the peoples of Borneo, and the application of such research results to informed plans for the future.

We are particularly appreciative of the presence and participation of colleagues from all over Borneo. We who founded the Council in the United States have been particularly gratified that the work of the Council is now being taken on locally in Borneo, and we look forward to further participation in maintaining a strong Council through the work and dedication of scholars from every region of Borneo and the world.

This conference gives us an exceptional opportunity to learn about the advancement of research, scholarship, and its application to policy that has been going on at the University of Palangkaraya, and I want to express my congratulations to the far-seeing vision of those at the university who have fostered such work.

I wish all of you who have come an exciting and productive conference and the time to renew old friendships and make new friends with scholars from around the globe. May it provide the opportunities to exchange ideas and the results of research that will lead to the betterment of all peoples.

Finally, it is with great disappointment that I am unable to attend this conference because of the press of work and conflicts in my schedule. But I look forward to reading the papers that are delivered as they are prepared for publication in the Proceedings Series of the Borneo Research Council.

GREETINGS FROM THE CHAIRMAN OF THE BORNEO RESEARCH COUNCIL'S INDONESIAN OFFICE

Professor Syamsuni Arman, PhD
Chairman of the BRC Indonesia Office

It is a great pleasure for me to be present among distinguished hosts and guests today. Eight years have passed since we had our first biennial conference in Kuching in July 1990, and four conferences have facilitated gatherings of scholars and professionals from all corners of the world. Scholars and professionals from Central Kalimantan have never been absent in all previous conferences, and here today you move one step further by hosting this conference.

This is the second BRC conference to be held in Indonesia. I realize that the local committee, under the direction of Prof. H. KMA. M. Usop, has worked very hard to make this conference a success, and on behalf of the Indonesia Office we want to convey our sincere appreciation for what you have done.

The success of a scientific event of this size could not have been achieved without the support of government agencies and offices, and the support of the people of Central Kalimantan in general.

In particular, we want to thank the Honorable Governor of Central Kalimantan for his invitation to hold this conference in this beautiful city of Palangka Raya. We also want to express our thanks to the Rector of the University of Palangka Raya for his support in making this conference possible.

I thank the participants coming from other provinces of Kalimantan and from other countries for their interest in Borneo and Kalimantan studies. I am sure that their contribution is well received and appreciated by the people of this region. I would like to express my pleasure in discovering that studies on the four provinces of Kalimantan have grown in numbers and depth, in line with similar growth in conference aims at communicating their findings within and beyond the campuses of Borneo and Kalimantan.

I wish all participants happy days to come and a successful conference.

WELCOMING ADDRESS BY THE CO-ORDINATOR OF THE ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

Professor H. KMA M. Usop, MA, Co-ordinator of the Committee of the Fifth Biennial International Conference of the Borneo Research Council, Palangka Raya

Mr. Warsito Rasman, the Governor of Central Kalimantan; Dr. George N. Appell and Professor Vinson Sutlive, President and Executive Director of the Borneo Research Council; Professor Dr. Syamsuni Arman of Tanjung Pura University, Borneo Research Council representative in Indonesia; Professor Dr. Ir. H. Ali Hasymi, Rector of the University of Palangkaraya; honorable guests, ladies and gentlemen.

On behalf of the local committee may I welcome all of the participants of this conference and extend our best wishes to all the guests. We apologize for the postponement of this conference from July to the second week of August due to the national crisis that we have been facing. Many of the participants there have changed their schedules. However, some improvement is developing and we are grateful that the last report shows that about 250 participants have registered. More than half of them are domestic participants from many universities, schools, institutions, and non-governmental organizations, while the rest are foreign participants from USA, Australia, Malaysia, Japan, France, Finland, the Netherlands, England, and Germany. We believe that the holding of this meeting may have some positive impact on tourism and our security image.

We hope that we can serve you with the limited facilities that we can afford, to make your stay useful and pleasant.

Considering the global tendency of sustainable development, especially among the developing countries, including Indonesia and its Kalimantan provinces and its Borneo neighbors, we have encouraged ourselves to decide that the theme of this conference is focused on that concept. We hope that its orientation and translation in our discussions may result in enrichment of our thought and knowledge of many socio-cultural aspects of the problem.

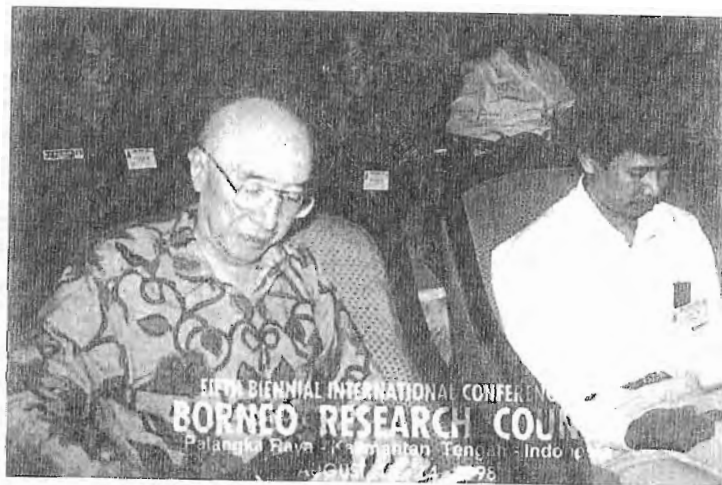
For those who are interested to make further studies of Kalimantan, allow me to give a glimpse of information: we have only 1.5 million people in an area 1.5 times the size of Java, composed of 65 % Muslims (half of them Dayak Muslims and the other half consisting of Malays and other ethnic origins of Indonesia), and 17 % of Christian/Catholics and 18 % Kaharingan Hindus, most of Dayak origin. The Dayaks consist of several great ethnic groups: the Ot Danums in the upriver areas, and the Ngajus, the Dusuns (including the Ma'anysans), and the Ibans in the western part. Each has its many sub-ethnic groups. It is important to note that due to the spread of the Ngajus, the Ngaju language has in fact become the lingua franca among the Dayaks of this province, besides Banjarese Malay and Indonesian.

So we welcome you to this land of unity in diversity (*Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*) and to this city of sand, the only city specially built after our Independence as the capital of this province 41 years ago.

Thank you very much.



Conference participants being welcomed by The Mayor of Palangka raya: (from left to right) Dr. J.J. Songan; Mika Okushima; K. Oshima; Dr. Syamsun; Arman; Isabel Herrmans; unidentified; Justin Lee; and Kenneth Sillander.



Professor Kazumori Oshima and Mr. Moh. Nipalah, and (behind center) Mr. Madrah (photos courtesy of Mika Okushima)

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

AN ETHNOLOGICAL EXHIBITION ON INDONESIA IN LINZ, AUSTRIA

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An exhibition on Indonesia, with particular emphasis on Borneo, was held from June 11th, 1999, through February 27th, 2000, in the Schlossmuseum (Castle Museum) in Linz, Austria, called "*Indonesien. Kunstwerke—Weltbilder*" ("Indonesia. Works of Art—World Views").

Opening ceremonies took place on Monday evening, May 31st. Indonesian artists performed Javanese and Balinese dances in the Museum's festival hall and the Museum Director and the Governor of Upper Austria gave opening speeches. The ceremonies were attended by His Excellency, the Ambassador of Indonesia, together with other members of the Indonesian embassy. Stone sculptures and bronze figures from the Javanese Middle Ages as well as examples of *wayang* art, weapons, and batik predictably stood out. But the exhibition also featured a number of unique objects from Borneo. Before 1940, Austrian travelers and collectors brought back examples of material culture from Kalimantan and this tradition continues. Among the objects included in the exhibition was the bronze waterbuffalo with rider reported on in Volume 29 of the *BRB*. This was the first public exhibition of this figure. Also included were more recent woodcarvings from the upper Mahakam region, as well as a longhouse entry ladder ornamented with *aso* motifs, masks, and figurative sculptures.

A comprehensive catalogue, Heide Leigh-Theisen and Reinhold Mittersachschrömler, eds., *Indonesien. Kunstwerke—Weltbilder. Kataloge des Oberösterreichischen Landesmuseums, Neue Folge 139, 1999* (ISBN 3-85474-037-9), was produced to accompany the exhibition. In it, Dr. Magdalene von Dewall, an archaeologist specializing in the South China Bronze Age, wrote a six page introductory description of the bronze waterbuffalo, entitled "Eine archaische Bronzeplastik aus Ost-Kalimantan" ("An Archaic Bronze Figure from East Kalimantan"), illustrated with photographs and figures. Dr. Dewall is extremely cautious in her evaluation of the sculpture's dating, since it was found without a clear archaeological or ethnographic context, and argues that the spirit of the buffalo probably played a significant role in guiding the deceased's soul in its journey to the land of the dead.

THE FATE OF DONALD HUDDEN

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In his recently published book, *Masa Jepun*, Bob Reece gives an account of Donald Hudden's death. He obtained the information from Hudson Southwell, who had heard it from the headman of Belawit in the Kerayan (Kalimantan Timur). Unfortunately many of the details are incorrect, and I would like to take this opportunity to present the facts, as they have been related to me by eyewitnesses of the events.

I first heard about the fate of Donald Hudden in 1990 from a Sa'ban, Balan Usat. He had been a young man at the time, and his father, Usat Apuoi, had helped to hide Hudden from the Japanese. In 1995, I received a letter, written in Sa'ban, from an old friend, Ta'ai Lap, in which he spontaneously referred to his part in the Hudden affair. I knew two other men who had been closely involved. One, Lejang Apuoi, has since died, but recently I was able to question the other, Jalan Yi, together with Balan Usat about the details of the story. This account has been written with the agreement and co-operation of Balan Usat and Jalan Yi, both of whom were deeply affected by what happened and even today still find it hard to put these events behind them.

Donald Hudden was the District Officer in Marudi before the Japanese landed in Sarawak in December 1941. He then fled with a companion¹ up the Tinjar River and across the mountains to Long Nawang, in Kalimantan.² There he and his companion parted company, the latter returning to the Rajang River area of Sarawak. Hudden did not stay long in Long Nawang but went on to Long Pejungan, where, according to Balan Usat, Dutch officials had called a meeting of local leaders. At Long Pejungan, Hudden met Usat Apuoi, headman of the Sa'ban village of Pei' Rieu (River Berau) who agreed to hide him. Hudden then accompanied Usat Apuoi to the village of Long Tuah on the upper Bahau river.³ It appears to have been Hudden's suggestion that he be hidden some distance from any village. The Sa'ban built him a house about three or four hour's distance from Long Téeng⁴ and the villagers took turns every week to go in pairs to see Hudden and take food to him. According to Balan Usat and Ta'ai Lap, Ta'ai, then a young boy of about eight years of age, often stayed with Hudden to keep him company.

¹The Sa'ban did not know the name of Hudden's companion, but Reece identifies him as B.B. Parry, General Manager of Sarawak Oilfields Ltd. (Reece 1998: 47).

²Reece (1998: 47) gives the date of his arrival at Long Nawang as 2 February 1942.

³Ta'ai's letter states that he went from Long Pejungan to Long Kemuat and then to Long Téeng.

⁴According to Ta'ai's letter the house measured about 5m by 8m.

Some Iban had heard that Hudden was being hidden by the Sa'ban, and four of them (three brothers, Bum, Tangi, and Elut and their friend Lindang) set out to find him. They persuaded four Penan to accompany them.⁵ They arrived at Usat Apuoi's house in Pei' Rieu and told him that Hudden had been their D.O. in Sarawak, that they were sorry for him, and would like to see him and possibly even take him back with them to Sarawak. At first Usat Apuoi was unwilling to tell them, but eventually, convinced by their story, he told them that Hudden was near Long Téeng. The Iban and Penan set off for Long Téeng.

Meanwhile, two Sa'ban men, Lajang Apuoi and Jalan Yi, had been over in Sarawak visiting family in Long Banga'. When they returned to Long Téeng they heard about Hudden and were curious to see him, so they asked to be allowed to take a turn with the other villagers in taking food to him.

In due course they set out, taking Ta'ai with them. The first part of the journey was by boat and then on foot. They spent the day with Hudden. About four o'clock in the afternoon, they decided to go hunting, as that was the time the deer came out to feed. They asked if they could borrow Hudden's gun and he lent it to them. They returned to their boat leaving Ta'ai with Hudden. When they reached the boat they found two Sa'ban from Pei' Alon (Timo' Lulu and Améeng, the son of the headman) waiting for them, to warn them that some Iban were on their way to kill Hudden. While they were talking, the Iban and Penan who had been hiding in nearby bushes jumped out and surrounded them. They took Hudden's gun from them by force and said they were going to kill Hudden because white men had imprisoned Iban elders in the past, and they were going to take their revenge on him. Jalan Yi then pointed out that there was a young Sa'ban boy with Hudden, who might get hurt or even killed in any struggle. He hoped to be allowed to go and get the boy and at the same time warn Hudden. The Iban, however, threatened him that if he alerted Hudden, they would kill him, the boy, and Lejang Apuoi.

Jalan Yi was allowed to go and get the boy, and agreed to say that the boy's father had had a bad accident and wanted Ta'ai to go to him. Hudden, when he heard the story, showed real concern for Ta'ai, patting him on the head and saying how sorry he was for the boy's father.

Jalan Yi returned to the boat with Ta'ai. The Iban kept them all there until nightfall, then ordered Jalan Yi to take them to Hudden's house. They obliged Lejang Apuoi and Ta'ai to accompany them too. On arrival at the hut the Iban ordered Jalan Yi to go up and light a lamp for them, but he refused and pointed out that there was already a light in the hut. Hudden was in bed under his mosquito net when the Iban entered the hut and stabbed him to death. Jalan Yi, waiting below, heard Hudden call out, "Why are you killing me Jalan Yi?", and then silence.

The Iban took Hudden's head and such money and valuables as he had with him. They returned to Usat Apuoi's house in Pei' Rieu and boasted that they had killed a pig in the forest, but when Usat Apuoi looked into their backpacks he saw Hudden's head. He was furious, stamped his feet and shouted at them, berating them for their stupidity. They ran off, threatening at the same time to kill Usat Apuoi with Hudden's gun.

⁵Reece records that they were Punan, but the Sa'ban informants were certain that they were Penan. I omitted to ask where they came from.

The day following the murder Jalan Yi and other villagers from Long Téeng went and buried Hudden's body. After the war, a Kenyah government officer (Sawa'lkrit) from Lio Matu came to Long Téeng and collected Hudden's bones for reburial.

According to Southwell's information, Hudden was killed in 1942. Three years later Tom Harrison arrived in Bario (March 1945). He offered a reward for the capture of the Penan involved in the murder and for the Iban, dead or alive. The pursuit of the Penan and Iban ranged from the upper Bahau in Kalimantan to Bario in Sarawak, across the Kerayan region. The Penan were caught and taken to Bario, but one who tried to escape was shot in an ambush. Two Iban were killed (of whom only one had been involved in the murder) and their heads were taken to Bario; one was Lindang, the other a friend of his called Sejin. The other Iban escaped, although two of them are said to have married women from Pei' Alon. Harrison, in lieu of the promised reward, invited the Sa'ban to come over into Sarawak, which many of them did.

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MASA JEPUN

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About a year ago I purchased a copy of *Masa Jepun* by Bob Reece. I found it most interesting and the author had obviously carried out a great deal of research.

There are, however, certain points in Chapter 5 under the heading of "Decisions" which I contend are not correct, or at least have to be challenged. I must point out at this point that I am the son-in-law of W.S.B. "Bunny" Buck, having married his eldest daughter. Not only that, but I knew many of the principal players of the time well, particularly the Andersons, Francis Drake, Bill Banks, John Chapham, and others. Not unnaturally, there were a number of discussions held about the period of World War II, both from the view of ex-prisoners and of those who had elected, or been able, to escape and join the Forces.

The statement that "many harsh things were said at Batu Lintang about those officers who fled to Dutch Borneo..." is, to my knowledge, totally unfounded. Digby's remarks about "...our escaping friends to make their decision and take flight without reference to anybody" is both incorrect and insulting to people whose first thing to do in most cases was to enlist in the Forces, and several of whom lost their lives in action. In the previous chapter Reece records that MacPherson, the Resident of the Third Division, had contacted Sir Shenton Thomas in Singapore for advice and been told "Do whatever you think best". He elected to try to escape, and also gave that advice to his subordinates.

Le Gros Clark, as Officer Administering the Government in the absence of the Rajah, issued his instruction that all Officers should remain at their posts. I have never heard any evidence that this was an instruction from the Rajah himself, and it would not have been in keeping with his character since he himself had joined up in World War I and been in the Anti-Aircraft Artillery for two years. In addition, he had allowed some of his officers indefinite leave to go and join the Forces. I believe that those officers who elected to leave, and there were at least 35 out of 87, did so because they used their initiative—which had been the basic precept of the running of Sarawak since the days of James Brooke.

I have in my possession, or to be strictly correct, my wife's possession, a letter written by her father to her mother when he arrived in Pontianak after escaping from Sarawak. It is dated 14th January 1942. It gives much better detail than Morison's sketchy account which is quoted, and having been written at the time on a non-official basis, is likely to be correct. I quote it below.

My Darling Sybil,

I don't know how to write this letter. As you will know from my cable and from official sources, I'm in Pontianak and have been here some days. I decided to leave home on receipt of a phone message from Moshidi to say that the enemy were at Divisional Headquarters & that Andrew had beaten it with the rest, for the border. I hastily summoned my crowd & after putting Govt. affairs in order we left to pick up Bland. Sally Bomphrey and the kid I had insisted on going up the river thank goodness so they are with Mac's party, together with Mrs. M., Mrs. Lee and the Kidds. She has both children with her, poor woman. Our home Darling and all that was in it has gone. I had only time to grab a miniature of the children as I left, for one of Pop's people reported the arrival of the enemy at Moshidi's station & we had no time to lose. Even as we arrived at Bland's a report was received that they were at the Kuala, so we set out for Arundall's old station on the border. There were six of us in all, Murray, Moscrop, Pop, Bland, Morison and myself. After a couple of days marching we picked up Drake, and heard that Richards had left the ulu, as had Arundall and all his crowd having handed over to the Datu. We had to avoid the kampongs, but were badly held up by Pop who often had to be carried. After 8 days I managed to wangle an outboard and we were able to complete our journey in comfort (comparative!). I offered my services to Arundall but as there was nothing to do decided to come over the border with the rest so as to get in touch with such members of the Govt. as remain. Morison at the last minute, as the bearers were loaded up, suddenly said he was going back home. & Richards likewise. They had both been influenced by Jongklaas it appears and were I think scared at the thought that they would be conscripted by the Dutch. Having no treasury or authority behind me I saw no use in handing myself over as a burnt offering, when I could do no good to the natives by doing so and might bring retaliatory measures upon them by hiding in the

districts so I decided that my job was to get out and hold a gun if possible in Singapore. Apart from which, I had been ordered to retire by Mac, but obviously was unable to do so in the direction indicated by him. Coming over the border we were joined by "Cobber" Reeves, and Edwards of the L & S Dept., and after a three day journey by boat, arrived here where we found many others from Kuching, and some Miri people who had come over with them from upper Sarawak. Some of them had been here a fortnight & all were very depressed at the enforced inactivity. The Judge, Tracky and Traills at the Residency some in private houses and hotels, but the majority, including my party in the local loony bin. God knows if or when we shall get out of this place, but while we are here we have a bed to sleep on and rice to eat and are in good health. Bad news today of Gillatt of the bank who has been down with malaria and has now developed jaundice and hiccups for three days. They can't stop him and his case is looked upon as serious. A number of others are down with fever, including John Gilbert, but none of my party has suffered except Pop, who has bad feet. No news of the Miri crowd, though rumour has it that they are in nook, or of Jim and Dood. Outram is said to have joined Mac, and among those remaining in Kuching are Le Gros, Archer, Noakes, Tait, the complete medical staff including Mrs. Gibson, Selous, Digby, Taylor, Lowry, Jaques, Aikman, Ward, Marjoribanks, Field and Horn of B.C.L.—also White.

As I said above, we had a matter of minutes to get out so I'm afraid our chances of seeing any of our stuff again is pretty remote as much of it will probably be looted. I did get most of the silver wrapped up and gave it to Ahad telling him to put it in a steel trunk and bury it. I gave him about \$100 to share with the others so he may have done something about it, but I doubt it. The canteen silver is all crested so may be traceable but I think the best way is to make up our minds to start over again. I am hoping that Govt. or H.H. will continue to pay my allotment to you in Sydney, for of course we get no pay here and are subsisting on charity which rather gets under the skin, but we have no option I'm afraid. Our chances of getting to S'pore are pretty remote I imagine, since they have quite enough on hand as it is themselves, but we might get to Java with luck though there is a large waiting list of Dutch subjects who have priority.

Later. Have just heard that Pitt has chartered a plane to take some of us to Java & so may have a chance of a seat on that, though when the arrangement was made my party had not arrived and they were unaware that we were on the road. Waldo, Siegel, Lawman and Edwards have been given jobs with the regulars and have left for up-country, so are now the tanjong of the army & will presumably be looked after by the B.G. in due course, lucky dogs. Wish I could slip into something so easily. Mrs. Martine has picked up some infection and has a badly

poisoned face which is considered serious. Gilly I'm glad to say is better today. Dr. says he is serious but not critical. Yesterday he was given two days. Bates who has all his family with him will probably stay unless they can all get accommodation on some ship. Fear that saying too much may mean total censorship of this letter precludes my giving you any news of the existing situation here, but I will give you full news in due course when it can do no harm, but nevertheless I am in perfect health and thoroughly cheerful, so you need not worry nor need K. worry about Waldo because although he is with the troops I fancy his job is mainly on forage works & as an interpreter for them with the natives. Snelus is said to have left for the station where we once visited Fish to see if he can get news of Andrew and party so that assistance can be sent from this end for otherwise it is doubtful if they will pull through. They have about three weeks above the last house and in a country without food to get through and that with women and children is near suicide. You may have heard that McB. arrived over here, but on representations being made was shipped to S'pore on board a tanker under arrest. This place, although bigger than Kuching, is virtually deserted and practically speaking the whole bazaar is shut up, one or two shops only operating from 7 to 9 and 4 to 5 pm. Give my best love to the children and tell them that they are continually in my thoughts, as you are too dearest. Maybe we shall meet again sooner than you think, who knows, but in any case you are always with me in spirit. Anyway, keep smiling, & all will come right in the end, though I may be looking for another job by then. I must get this to the post in case it closes early. Perhaps you could drop me a line c/o Pitt in Java if you know his address.

Your devoted husband,
Bunnie

I think that perhaps this is the more accurate account of the instructions he had been given by MacPherson, the manner of the escape and the attitude of Messrs. Richards and Morison. For Richards to say, "I wasn't a military man and wouldn't be much use anywhere else" is pathetic in the extreme. He certainly would not be much use as a prisoner of war and there were, by 1942, very large numbers who were not "military people" but, nevertheless, had been and were fighting with courage.

I would like now to touch on Morison's remark "After the war Buck was I believe reprimanded for leaving while his junior assistant remained but I always had considerable sympathy for Buck for the action he took...". Apart from being condescending in the extreme it is absolute nonsense. The first question I would ask is—who would administer the reprimand? Le Gros Clark could not because he was dead. The Rajah would hardly do so since he also had been out of the country—albeit for a perfectly legitimate reason. Added to which, I have another letter, this time from Vyner Brooke to Sybil Buck. Again I quote it:

My Dear Sybil,

Many thanks for your kind letter about my birthday and all your other news. News here is scanty and is mostly wrapped in Pitt's movements and when he will return from his travels. You must have had a grilling experience in Sydney during the week-end—contrary to ourselves you experienced icy winds and cold blasts. I expect to get away to Tasmania in about a month's time, when summer really starts and be back here for the Melbourne Cup.

So glad that you have such a nice house. I have given your message to Geoffrey, who in spite of aches and pains, is fairly healthy. Liz is in great form and a great favourite among all the old ladies who live here in large numbers.

Please give my kindest regards to Bunnie when you write to him, and love to the kiddies,

Kindest regards,
Yrs aff.
Vyner Brooke

Hardly the kind of letter the Rajah would write to the wife of an officer who had incurred his displeasure. Apart from the fact that about 30 odd officers would have had to be reprimanded—not the best way to start trying to get the country on its feet again—it would also be extremely hard to justify so doing to people who had, in most cases, enlisted in the Forces and seen active service, as opposed to sitting in a prisoner of war camp waiting to be rescued.

Although Bunnie Buck had died in the Sixties and so his view could not be obtained, I think it unfortunate that Reece apparently made no attempt to check the statements of Messrs. Digby, Richards and Morison with people who might have had different views and opinions. One other small point. Gilbert Arundell joined the Sarawak Civil Service as a Cadet on 12 November 1925, not 1922 as stated on page 44.

[**Editor's note:** Since this communication was prepared for publication, I have received several others which arrived too late to be included in this volume, but which will appear in Volume 31, including a response by A.J.N. Richards.]

SWINGING INTO THE GLOBAL MUSIC SCENE AT THE RAINFOREST WORLD MUSIC FESTIVAL, KUCHING, SARAWAK

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For the past two years, the Sarawak Cultural Village, just outside of Kuching, has hosted the Rainforest World Music Festival, an event uniting local musicians with international "world music" recording artists in a weekend of performances and collaborative workshops. Staged on the last weekend of August in both 1998 and 1999, the Festival has essentially coincided with Malaysia's National Day celebrations. As of September 1999, plans were already underway for a third production. Dr. James Masing, Sarawak's Minister for Tourism and Patron of the first two events, intends to make the Rainforest World Music Festival 2000 the biggest, most exciting yet.

For those unfamiliar with the venue, the Sarawak Cultural Village (SCV), is a State-run "living museum" situated on a plot of land flanked by rainforested slopes on one side, and the Damai Beach Resort on the other. It takes about 45 minutes to reach the SCV by road from Kuching. Like Taman Mini Indonesia Indah in Jakarta, and similar institutions that have sprung up elsewhere in Southeast Asia over the past two decades, the SCV consists of replicas of houses of the most prominent ethnic groups of the region. By visiting the various houses, guests have the opportunity to interact with representatives (or interpreters) of Sarawak's diverse population, and gain a sense of the lifestyle that is, or at one time was, characteristic of each community.

Most of the SCV houses and larger stages were used at some point during the Rainforest World Music Festival (RWMF) for special activities. On Saturday and Sunday afternoons, the houses provided intimate settings for interactive workshops where individual musicians could talk about their practices, as well as experiment with new sounds by combining in ensemble with other RWMF participants. Such workshops were among the unique features of the RWMF, when compared with similar festivals worldwide. In the evenings, formal concert performances started around 7 pm on the larger SCV stages, and continued until nearly midnight. At the close of both the 1998 and 1999 RWMFs, all participants convened on stage to revel in a musical amalgam, sonically symbolic of the "*kerja sama*" of the diverse cultures and communities embraced by the event.

Although numerous groups and individuals were acknowledged in the 1998 and 1999 RWMF program booklets, the Ministry of Tourism, working primarily through the Sarawak Tourism Board, has been the propelling force behind the Festival. With a committee comprised of representatives from several governmental and non-governmental organizations, the Sarawak Tourism Board has ultimately been responsible for the selection and administration of the Festival performers. The local organizing committee for the RWMF 1998 included 1) the Sarawak Tourism Board, 2) the Sarawak Atelier Society, 3) Universiti Malaysia Sarawak (UNIMAS), 4) the Office of Custom and

Tradition (Majlis Adat Istiadat), 5) the Ministry of Social Development (Kementerian Pembangunan Sosial), and 6) the Sarawak Music Society. The 1999 Festival was created by essentially the same committee, except the Office of Custom and Tradition, which was not involved the second year. A critical non-Sarawakian member of the organizing committee for both the 1998 and 1999 Festivals has been Randy Raine-Reusch, a professional composer, performer, producer, and world music consultant based in Vancouver, Canada.

Performers at the RWMF 1998 and 1999 can be grouped into three general categories: Sarawakians, other Malaysians, and international artists. The first staging of the RWMF included nineteen groups. Eleven of these were from Sarawak, four were from other parts of Malaysia, and the remaining four were from the UK, Australia, the Philippines, and Canada. Representing Sarawak were various popular and "traditional" artists from Kuching, UNIMAS in Kota Semarahan, Damai, Sibü, Belaga, and Mukah. (NOTE: "Traditional musics" here generally embraces those forms that were not originally developed with the intention of being marketed to a broad public or disseminated through the mass media, but were pitched to local audiences, and often performed in particular social or spiritual circumstances.) The Kuching contingent included the Bidayuh Community Cultural Ensemble, offering a music-theatrical presentation based on a Lundu Bidayuh legend, the Ethnic Orchestra of the Dayak Cultural Foundation, which combined an array of local instruments in ensemble as an educational tool for Sarawak's youth, and Kumpulan Gendang Melayu Asli, a group of Malay women singing to the accompaniment of their own frame drums. Performing in the "pop" vein was Safar Ghaffar, a Kuching-based musician and dancer originally from Kalimantan Barat. Ensembles from the university included the UNIMAS Gamelan and the Electro-Acoustic Group UNIMAS, performing traditional and experimental music, respectively. Tuku' Kame', a Damai-based band comprised of Sarawak Cultural Village employees, served up a sampler of original popular music based on Sarawakian traditions. Similarly, Andrewson Ngalai, a well-known singer from Sibü, delivered his distinct style of Iban pop. Two groups came from the Belaga District. One of these, named "Voice of the Usun Apau" for this occasion, consisted of four Penan men from Long Wat, Long Singu, and Long Malim. Three of these artists played *sapé'* and provided supporting voices for the fourth musician, who focused on *sinui* singing. The second group from Belaga, billed as "Sapé' Ulu," was the phenomenal Kenyah Badeng *sampe'* duo of Asang Lawai and Tegit Usat from Long Geng (now Uma' Badeng, Sungai Koyan). The final Sarawakian group in the RWMF 1998, the Badan Budaya Melanau from Mukah, presented selections from Melanau recreational music and dance traditions.

Most of the groups from Semenanjung and beyond performed self-consciously constructed popular music hybrids of assorted flavors. The BM Boys from Penang blended Malay and Chinese traditions into a new pop style, while the (primarily) Kuala Lumpur-rooted group, Anak Dayung, combined the Orang Asli (Temuan) vocals of Mak Minah Anggong with an assortment of acoustic and electric sounds. The prominent singer, songwriter, and instrumentalist, Zuriani, also from Kuala Lumpur, joined the festival with her own high-tech pop music creations, and members of the music department of Kuala Lumpur's Malaysia Institute of Art mixed various Malaysian, Chinese, and Western traditions "to create a music that has a particularly 'Malaysian'

identity." (The Rainforest World Music Festival 1998 program notes, p. 17). Adding an international hue to the RWMF line-up were Lainmas from the UK, a group performing what might best be characterized as "Celtic jazz"; B'tutta from Australia, airing a potpourri of percussive sounds drawn from across the globe; Joey Ayala, whose band melded Philippine and transnational rock styles; and Asza, a Canada-based acoustic quartet incorporating sounds of more than fifty instruments to yield an eclectic "world music" fusion.

The Rainforest World Music Festival 1999 saw a reduction in the overall number of performers, and a balance of representation between the Sarawakian, other Malaysian, and international groups. Of thirteen showcased ensembles, four were from Sarawak, four were from Sabah and peninsular Malaysia, and five were from points abroad. Aside from comprising fewer performers, Sarawak's festival presence experienced a change in character between 1998 and 1999. Where traditional music/dance forms were prominent in the first Festival, they were virtually eliminated from the second. In 1999, Sarawak made its mark primarily through hybrid bands, intentionally constructed from local, traditional music resources, and backed by influential agencies or organizations. Two of the three bands were government sponsored: Tuku' Kame' of the Sarawak Cultural Village (ultimately under the Ministry of Tourism), and MITRA ("Muzlk TRAdisional"), an ensemble of employees from the Ministry of Social Development. The third band, Sayu Ateng, was cultivated by the Ibraco House development company. Each of these groups aimed to project an all-inclusive musical image of Sarawak by weaving numerous Sarawakian traditions into a single, novel fabric. Almost in anomalous contrast, the fourth group, Kuching-based Kenyah *sampe'* duo of Uchau Bilong and Mathew Ngau Jau played traditional dance tunes familiar to upriver peoples.

Representing other regions of Malaysia were Seni Kinabalu from Sabah, Akar Umbi and Kumpulan Ghazal from Kuala Lumpur, and the Dama Orchestra, which tapped musicians from various states of the peninsula. In folding Sabahan traditions into a unified artistic expression, Seni Kinabalu matched the Sarawakian bands in principle and intent. Akar Umbi, an Orang Asli (Temuan)/Malaysian-pop fusion band from Kuala Lumpur, was in part a return act, since several of its most charismatic members, including Orang Asli singer Mak Minah Anggong, performed at the RWMF 1998 with the pop group Anak Dayung. The Kumpulan Ghazal, like the *sampe'* duo from Sarawak, consisted entirely of traditional musicians, here performing traditional music of the Malay community. Similarly, The Dama Orchestra was comprised of traditional musicians from Malaysia's Chinese population. The music of this ensemble, however, embraced Western popular tunes from the 1930s-60s and Chinese pop songs, rendered on a combination of western and Chinese traditional instruments. Performing and perpetuating a kind of "world music" from an earlier era, The Dama Orchestra was an intriguing addition to the RWMF 1999.

International artists appearing at RWMF 1999 came from Cuba, Peru, Canada/China, Madagascar, and Scotland. Alma Latina, an acoustic quartet of violin, guitar, voice, and percussion, performed traditional Cuban and Latin-American dance music, while Mochica del Peru, another acoustic quartet of string, wind, and percussion instruments, delivered an array of Andean sounds. Randy Raine-Reusch, who played with Asza in the 1998 production, and was the consultant for both Festivals, appeared in 1999

with Han Mei, a Chinese *zheng* (plucked zither) virtuoso. Both performing on *zheng*, Raine-Reusch and Han exploited the expressive capacity of this ancient instrument in a set of re-worked traditional tunes and the duo's own compositions. With eyes closed, Regis Gizavo, a singer and accordionist from Madagascar, lost track of time and place as he melted into his instrument, singing spiritual Malagasy songs, stylistically reminiscent of bluesy Cajun zydeco. Capping the RWMF 1999 events were the driving sounds of Shooglenifty, a band fusing fiddle, mandolin, banjo, bass, and guitar into a Scottish-flavored pop dancehall blend. Indeed, the audience could not help but congregate on the grassy area in front of the stage and groove to the music at midnight—despite the rain.

Pleased with the outcome of the first RWMF, and encouraged by smoother operation and increased attendance at the second Festival, the Sarawak Ministry of Tourism plans to repeat and further refine the event in the year 2000. Directions in which members of the Sarawak Tourism Board and organizing committee would like to develop the Festival include amplification of the rainforest theme, intensification of the spotlight on Asian artists, and establishment of the RWMF as a platform for new Sarawakian groups to gain recognition and access to the global music industry. Viewing the rainforest as a unique feature of Sarawak, as well as one of the state's principal tourist draws, the Tourism Board sees an advantage in promoting the Festival as an arena for performers coming from regions where there remain substantial tracts of rainforest. Toward this end, the Board's marketing manager hopes to re-distribute and re-proportion the performing groups such that the three categories—Malaysia (including Sarawak), Asia, and the rest of the world (especially South America and Africa)—receive equal billing at the RWMF. If this plan is implemented, two-thirds of the music groups, then, would be Asia-connected. It is also significant that some Festival organizers have indicated an inclination to erase "traditional" musics, especially those from Sarawak, from the program. Advocates of such a plan contend that the RWMF should not be a "folklore festival" or "culture show." Rather, it should be a stepping stone for innovative ensembles creating new sounds and genres from traditional (Sarawakian) sources, thus implying that this is what constitutes true "world music." Ideas differ, however, on this issue and on the other programmatic matters mentioned here. The Rainforest World Music Festival in Kuching, Sarawak is indeed an ambitious and exciting undertaking that continues to unfold, and promises unparalleled experiences for researchers, tourists, musicians, and music-lovers alike.

SOME HIGHLIGHTS OF THE RAINFOREST WORLD MUSIC FESTIVAL 1998

(Courtesy of the Sarawak Tourism Board)



Penan from the Belaga District performing as "Voice of the Usun Apau"



Members of the Malaysia Institute of Art Traditional Orchestra from Kuala Lumpur



Musicians from the Australian percussion ensemble, B'tutta.

ARCHIVE OF 1971-74 AND 1985-89 ORAL LITERATURE PROJECTS IN SARAWAK

Carol Rubenstein
c/o University Archivist
The Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections
Kroch Library
Cornell University, Ithaca, NY 14853
 USA

Noted here is the acquisition by Cornell University's Kroch Library, The Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, in cooperation with the John M. Echols Collection, of materials titled "Archive of Carol Rubenstein in Sarawak, East Malaysia." This delineates my projects during 1971-74 and 1985-89 for collecting and translating some of the sung or chanted oral literature of various Dayak groups in Sarawak, and for documenting the changing contexts of this oral literature, along with related correspondence and subsequent publications.

The archive is comprised of ten boxes. The document titled Guide to the Archive is at present 221 pages. In the Table of Contents is a Listing of Boxes, providing an outline, and a Listing of Sections as Numbered and as Paged, toward locating the particulars. The Listing of Boxes follows.

Box 1: Background, Sarawak
 (Boxes 2 and 3: Notebooks, Mss., Description)
 Box 2: Notebooks, Mss. (1971-74): Iban, Bidayuh, Melanau

Box 3: Notebooks, Mss. (1971-74, 1985): Kelabit, Kayan, Kenyah, Penan
 (Boxes 4,5,6, and 7: Photographs, Description)
 Box 4: Photographs (1971-74): Kuching, Iban, Bidayuh, Kelabit, Kenyah, Penan, Kayan,
 (1985): Iban, Bidayuh
 Box 5: Photographs (1985): Bidayuh, Kejaman, Belaga, Penan
 Box 6: Photographs (1985): Penan, Sekapan, Kelabit, Kuching, Travel
 Box 7: Photographic Composites for Publications; Negatives; Miscellaneous Photographs
 Box 8: Results of CR Projects as Presented
 (Boxes 9 and 10: Tape Recordings, Description)
 Box 9: Tape Recordings (1971-74, 1985-86): Iban, Bidayuh, Melanau, Kelabit, Kayan
 Box 10: Tape Recordings (1971-74, 1985-86): Kenyah, Penan, Kejaman, Sekapan, Lun
 Bawang, Presentations

My primary purposes in forming an archive were as follows:

- To provide accessible background to my published materials concerning the sung or chanted oral literature of seven Dayak groups, along with residual materials from other such groups or from related studies. One cannot know which elements from the sources or results of one's work may be found valuable and claim the attention of researchers in time to come.
- To document my processes of derivation and choice of words and phrases from the indigenous and literal meanings into English-language translation of materials that are rapidly disappearing. The original words and phrases are almost all in a lexicon reserved for the sung or chanted oral literature and are unlike the ordinary speech of the particular Dayak group. Also to document the background of these choices within the societal and aesthetic functions, presentations, and effects as I perceived them.
- To offer my experiences translating within seven groups while working with and coordinating a wide variety of sources. The various circumstances and solutions described may be of some use to researchers, since access to rare materials continues to decrease through loss of memory and death of practitioners. Increasingly such research may necessitate a team approach, working with several informants and interpreters, each of whom may possess varying degrees of knowledge of the arcane materials and of communication skills for relaying queries and meanings. For each assistant, one need ascertain reliability, save face, and emphasize their strengths. Locating the meanings may be difficult since the medium is poetry, in which the sense is often convoluted. Also the translator needs to maintain standards for ascertaining her or his own level of comprehension. Common sense may be useful, along with an understanding of and respect for poetry and its leaps of intent and image as related to societal and individual expression.
- To clarify my objectives and the means available to me in order to attain specific aims; and to describe the scope of my research as evidenced by pragmatic endeavors and empirical results and not by adherence to any set theory or by proofs advancing or negating those theories.
- To delineate the technical matters, such as exist in my fieldwork notebooks, photographs, and tape recordings, while also presenting both the procedures and the results from the point of view of an outsider researcher accessing societal and

individual Dayak expressions of tradition and human emotion through their sung or chanted oral literature art.

- To focus on societies in rapid transition, with particular reference to the loss of their oral literatures and the markedly altered and dislocated contexts of the songs. This accelerated deterioration of environment, habitat, society, and culture was observed by me during a time span of about two decades, representing a period of intense local and international change over which the Dayaks had little, if any, control.
- With reference to historical currents and relative to how they affected my work, to consider the British postcolonial world and its heritage in Sarawak, the emerging Malaysian nationalism, the U.S.-powered warfare raging in nearby Southeast Asian regions, and the economic, social, and political hegemony that fastened on Malaysia and in particular on Sarawak. The signposts of these swiftly developing and altering directions will likely be better recognized by future generations.
- To consider the historical and societal effects on any translation endeavor as they inevitably permeate the result. Recognition of such influences reveals at least as much about the time when it was produced, as it does about the material so translated.
- To consider the beliefs, choices, actions, and conclusions of any observer, identifying them as factors in the determination and description of any ostensible behaviors and utterances presented as having been observed in research. These variations became apparent to me during various phases of my work and in my understanding and assessment of the work of others.
- To suggest a means toward working with and presenting research materials which otherwise might be considered too marginal or unconventional in procedures for the research community. This is certainly the case in delineating aspects of the nonmaterial culture, such as the sung or chanted oral literature. Presentation of background sources might assist academics—who may be reluctant to give credence to results generated from the application of standards not their own and not practiced in their particular department or self-reinforcing circle of practitioners—a possible means toward understanding and respecting such standards and results.
- To encourage indigenous researchers to collect and translate their own oral literature, controverting the notion that such explorations should be left to “the experts,” for whom they have long served as bringers of raw data and been maintained in informant status. Instead, outside researchers might best serve as editors, querying for clarity of meaning, and as secondary authors for indigenous researchers trained to test for standards. “The experts” are those who learn by experience while engaging in serious study.
- To encourage accounting for the sources of one's views, minus the gloss of certainty projected by purveyors of a set dogma or theory, especially if such requires the work of others to fit with and advance it. This may minimize to some degree the danger of intellectual dishonesty and arrogance.
- To convey to other researchers, both in the present and in the future, the usefulness of linking their own individual and societal reality with that described in the past.

- To articulate my perceptions of the value and meaning of Sarawak Dayak culture as I have experienced it and as regards its relevance to contemporary and future global society.
- To offer these explorations, thoughts, comments, choices, and results as frankly as possible, highlighting background that for a variety of reasons, chiefly of a political or status-based nature, is generally ignored or suppressed. The purpose is to communicate the reality of events as I experienced them in relation to my research, so that others, at present and in future, may undertake to place this research within an overall and appropriate context. Only in this way can I get across something of the real feel of things as they changed around me in my outsider role and around the Dayak inhabitants.

The archival material is documented as fully as possible and with whatever may be its flaws and variables intact. I hope it may provide a renewable resource for fruitful study by researchers, especially since so much else of Dayak life and culture is endangered and has already been destroyed.

As described in the Guide section titled Access and Notification, the archive may be made available with restrictions to researchers of whatever discipline as it may relate to his or her work. In the request for access please describe the intent of the research and the proposed venue for describing the research.

The materials may be accessed with restrictions according to the library guidelines for this particular collection. To access the archive, please write to Archive of Carol Rubenstein at the address above, or via e-mail (ee11@cornell.edu), or fax (607-255-9524). Access is provided on a one-time basis for each such proposed use.

As with the original written request to access the archive, any request to quote or reproduce the materials in any form must be made in writing. Notification of response to the request for permission to access the archive or to reproduce any part of it will be made in a timely manner.

Any publication or presentation based on materials accessed therein must credit as provenance both the archive and the specific publications described or contained within it which form the basis and background of the archive. Description of archival and publication provenance is required both as proposed and as actualized in any subsequent publication or presentation.

Sponsorship of my projects must also be credited. Any materials collected during my 1971–74 projects must credit as well the Ford Foundation. Any materials collected or developed during my 1985–86 projects must additionally credit the National Endowment for the Arts. Any materials collected during my 1987–89 projects must further additionally credit the Social Science Research Council.

A copy of any publication or presentation materials generated by the archive must be sent to the Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections for addition to the archive (see I: 1-13, Description of Scholarly Uses); any comments the researcher may wish to

contribute may also be added to the archive (see 1: 15, Comments and Criticism: An Open-Ended Review).

I hope this small and marginal collection of completed and published Dayak oral poetry in translation, underlying data, documents, conjectures, and results of my wide-ranging and unwieldy projects may prove useful to a variety of researchers. Particularly to those interested in the nonmaterial culture—those who recognize poetry as essential to the living texture and vitality of the community of source, with its tensions between tradition and change in style and substance, as well as to those from unlike cultures who may value Dayak poetry in itself and perceive its concerns as being more akin than not to those within their own community—this archive is addressed.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

ENVIRONMENTAL CHANGE IN NATIVE AND COLONIAL HISTORIES OF BORNEO: LESSONS FROM THE PAST, PROSPECTS FOR THE FUTURE

Leiden, The Netherlands, 10-11 August 2000

Sponsored by the International Institute for Asian Studies and the Borneo Research Council Conference

Convenor: Dr. Reed L. Wadley (rwadley@rullet.leidenuniv.nl)

Conference Organizer: Drs. Helga Lasschuyt (hlasschuyt@rullet.leidenuniv.nl)

Paper proposal deadline: 15 November 1999 (300 words)

During the closing decades of the 20th century, the island of Borneo and its peoples have faced many critical environmental challenges. Controversial transmigration, oil palm plantation development, continued logging and mining, and devastating forest fires are only a few of those problems. At this transition into the new century, it is instructive to look at environmental change in Borneo historically through native, colonial, and national perspectives, and consider what these processes might bring for the island's future.

This conference focuses on histories of human-environment interactions and welcomes contributions from a wide range of scholars and researchers working throughout Borneo. These may include descriptive studies of particular local or regional changes, syntheses of past studies, essays on theoretical concerns, or some combination of the three.

The notion of history here is broad and concerns both the ancient, as preserved orally or archaeologically, and the recent such as that derived from oral, colonial, or national sources. The past therefore should have no arbitrary beginning or end points, and may include recent events. A major emphasis will be on transitions and on-going processes. Equally important are what the past can tell us about how things have come to be as they are today and the lessons it might have for the future.

There will be four general themes, although contributors are encouraged to cross these divisions and should not feel limited by the example topics given. They should

endeavor, however, to place their contributions within the broader context of Southeast Asia given Borneo's geographically central position in the region.

Changing Subsistence and Extractive Patterns (e.g. shifts from foraging to settled agriculture, transitions from shifting to established agriculture, reliance on cash crops and commercial fishing, market hunting and collection, colonial and national policies affecting local practice, the growth of cities and squatter settlements)

Views of Human-Environment Interaction (e.g. colonial ideas about local practice, native views of past local practice, native views of colonial or national policy, NGO views of the past)

Natural and Human Disasters (e.g. local, colonial, or national responses to prolonged drought, epidemics, crop failure, war and raiding)

Development and Conservation (e.g. colonial and national development policy and implementation, local responses to colonial development efforts, the impact of conservation areas on settlement and subsistence, the political ecology of development and conservation, the history of NGO activity)

Because of time constraints and in order to stimulate discussion, the conference will be limited to 15-20 papers. Participants will be asked to submit their papers well ahead of the conference so that they can be circulated to all participants. Over the two days of the conference, presenters will be given 15 minutes each to summarize their papers. This will allow considerable time for discussion. The conference will be open to the public.

For those interested in participating but with scheduling conflicts, papers in absentia will be considered.

Participants should plan to pay for their own transportation and lodging, but the conference organizers will endeavor to raise some funds for paper presenters with priority going to those from Indonesia, Malaysia, and Brunei. There will be no conference fees.

The language for the conference will be English.

The proceedings of the seminar will be published as a book or as a special edition of a refereed journal.

All correspondence and proposals should be sent to:

Dr. Reed Wadley
International Institute for Asian Studies
P.O. Box 9515, 2300 RA Leiden
The Netherlands
Fax: +31-71-527-4162
E-mail: rwadley@rullet.leidenuniv.nl

FELLOWSHIPS, KYOTO UNIVERSITY, CENTER FOR SOUTHEAST ASIAN STUDIES

The Center for Southeast Asian Studies of Kyoto University is now accepting applications from scholars and researchers who work on Southeast Asia, or on any one of the countries in that region, and are interested in spending time in Kyoto, Japan, in order

to conduct research, to write, or to pursue other scholarly interests in connection with their field of study.

For the year 2001, six fellowships, including one for librarians, will be given out by the Center on a competitive basis.

Since 1963, more than one hundred and forty scholars have visited the Center for periods ranging from six months to one year. Noted anthropologist Professor Koentjaraningrat and Nobel Laureate Aung San Suu Kyi have availed themselves of the Center's considerable resources and the invigorating atmosphere of scenic Kyoto, the ancient capital of Japan and the main repository of the country's cultural treasures, to fulfill some of their professional goals or renew their intellectual energies. The Center's multi-disciplinary thrust and the diverse research interests of its faculty create many opportunities for the exchange of ideas, the cultivation of comparative perspectives, and the cross-fertilization of disciplines.

Successful applicants receive a stipend sufficient to live and to conduct research in Kyoto and an additional sum, computed according to government regulations, for travel expenses. A research fund and a number of facilities are also available to visiting scholars. Fellows will be expected to take up residence in Kyoto for six months or for one year, although three-month grants may also be offered in exceptional cases.

Scholars are normally invited to deliver a public lecture and to give a seminar for students from the Graduate School of Asian and African Area Studies during their term at the Center.

Qualifications.

Applicants should be below 63 years of age, although this requirement may be waived in exceptional cases. Applicants must submit the following documents:

- project statement or research proposal (maximum of two pages, typewritten, double spaced) written in English;
- a curriculum vitae that should include evidence of research experience and a complete list of publications;
- two letters of recommendation (optional).

Application Deadlines.

Applicants are encouraged to apply for the fellowship at least one-and-a-half years prior to the starting date of their intended stay. Since the duration of the fellowship varies (see below), with each successful applicant, the Center has two general deadlines for the submission of applications: April 15 and October 31. Fellowship positions will become available on the following dates:

December 9, 2000
 December 14, 2000
 December 21, 2000
 February 18, 2001
 March 27, 2001
 May 1, 2001

Please send your application to:
 International Office
 Center for Southeast Asian Studies

Kyoto University
 46 Shimoadachi-cho, Yoshida
 Sakyo-ku, Kyoto 606-8501
 Japan
 e-mail: grants@cseas.kyoto-u.ac.jp

Application materials will not be returned to applicants. For more information and for updates, please check out our website: URL: <http://www.cseas.kyoto-u.ac.jp>

BORNEO NEWS

REGIONAL NEWS

Mr. R.C.K. Chung (KEP) is continuing his PhD research on Peninsular Malaysian and Bornean species of *Grewia* and *Microcos*. Both genera can be distinguished by their gross vegetative and reproductive characters, stomata, wood anatomy, and pollen morphology. A paper on lectotypification of the Linnean species of *Grewia* has been submitted to *Taxon*. He will revise the family Tiliaceae for the Tree Flora of Sabah and Sarawak, the Tree Flora of Brunei Darussalam, and the Angiosperm Flora of Singapore. In addition, Mr. Chung has finished his research on Bornean *Helicia* and *Heliciopsis* for the Tree Flora of Sabah and Sarawak 3. He will now study them for the Tree Flora of Brunei Darussalam and the Angiosperm Flora of Singapore.

KALIMANTAN NEWS

Ms. S. Bodesgom and **Mr. P.B. Pelsler** (Leiden) are studying seedlings of secondary forest trees in East Kalimantan (Batu Ampar, Berau, Sangatta), with around 1000 specimens collected. **Dr. P.J.A. Kessler** carried out a 60-day consultancy for the Berau Forest Management Project.

SARAWAK NEWS

A *Rhododendron* specimen (*R. verticillatum*) from Maureen Warwick's expedition to Gunung Mulu in 1990 has flowered in Edinburgh.

The Tree Flora of Sabah and Sarawak Second *Lauraceae* Workshop was held in KEP, 23-28 November 1998, and coordinated by Ruth Kiew and K.M. Kochummen and E. Soepadmo, with 6 other participants. After the first workshop in Kuching, which focused on the generic delimitations of the Sabah and Sarawak taxa, the second concentrated on firstly delimiting the taxa and then preparing descriptions of them. This was interspersed with discussion groups to tackle consistency in the use of terms.

INTERNATIONAL IKAT WEAVING FORUM 1999

KUCHING, SARAWAK, 11-16 JUNE 1999

For three days from 11-13 June, 300 participants from 21 nations gathered in Kuching, Sarawak, to discuss the ancient art of ikat weaving. Anthropologists, scholars, museum curators, gallery directors and textile enthusiasts heard 22 papers presented under the headings of:

- Ikat- origins and historical aspect;
- Ikat- cultural significance;
- Ikat- design symbolism;
- Ikat-tradition and change;
- Ikat- new directions.

Speakers:

- Dr. Robyn Maxwell (Australia)
- Dr. Rosemary Crill (Britain)
- Dr. David Baradas (Philippines)
- Dr. Traude Gavin (Britain)
- Dr. Ruth Barnes (Britain)
- Mdm. Jasleen Dhamija (India)
- Datin Amar Margaret Linggi (Malaysia)
- Mdm. Keo-Siri Everingham (Thailand)
- Mr. Imai Toshihiro (Japan)
- Mdm. Bina Rao (India)
- Mdm. Bela Shangvi (India)
- Mdm. Kate FitzGibbon (USA)
- Mdm. Liz Oley (Australia)
- Mdm. Genevieve Duggan (France)
- Mdm. Taguchi Rie (Japan)
- Mr. Kensei Ishigaki (Okinawa, Japan)
- Mdm. Victoria Vijayakumar (India)
- Mdm. Usha Bhagat (India)
- Prof. Kim Ji-Hee (Korea)
- Fr. Jacques Maessen (Kalimantan, Indonesia)
- Mdm. Faika Ouwayda (Lebanon)
- Mdm. Hajah Rahimah (Malaysia)
- Mdm. Rens Heringa (Holland)
- Mr. Edric Ong (Malaysia)

The International Ikat Weaving Forum was officiated by the Deputy Chief Minister of Sarawak, Y.B. Tan Sri Datuk Amar Alfred Jabu. A special opening ceremony was performed by dancers from the Sarawak Cultural Village signifying the 'Weaving of Cultural Links'.

The Forum sessions were chaired by:

- Datuk Lucas Chin (former Director, Sarawak Museum and Atelier advisor)
- Y. M. Raja Fuziah bte. Tun Uda (President, Crafts Council of Malaysia)
- Mr. Sanib Said (Director, Sarawak Museum)
- Mr. Edric Ong (President, Society Atelier Sarawak)

Exhibition of textiles

Several participating countries brought ikat textiles for exhibition and sale, viz. India (Aavartan and Vallala companies); Laos (Phaeng-mai Gallery); Thailand (Keo-Siri Everingham and Suramontri); Philippines (Narda's and Alfonso Guino-O); Japan (Imai and Ishigaki); Prof. Kim Ji-Hee (Korea); Ibu Sumiyati (East Kalimantan, Indonesia); Aranya (India and Bangladesh). Local exhibitors included the Society Atelier Sarawak (Forum organiser); Sarawak Crafts Council; Tun Jugah Foundation; Fabriko; Robert Yong Models; John Ng silver jewellery; and Iban *pua' kumbu'* weavers did brisk sales as well. There was a vibrant bazaar atmosphere created within the hotel venue. An exhibition of Malaysian textiles was also mounted by the Malaysian Handicraft Development Corporation at the Hilton Hotel Main Lobby. The Tun Jugah Textile Gallery, a private collection of Iban textiles belonging to the Tun Jugah Foundation was also inaugurated for the Forum.

State-wide Iban *pua' kumbu'* competition

Simultaneously with the Ikat Forum, an annual competition for Iban ikat weavers was held in three categories:

- Large cotton weavings; (15 entries)
- Large silk weavings; (17 entries)
- Shawl-size silk weavings. (26 entries)

Submissions were all in natural color with traditional patterns. Three trophies plus cash awards were given in each category during the opening night dinner hosted by the State Government of Sarawak.

Weaving demonstration and natural dye workshop

Demonstrations of weaving skills were given by:

- Mr. Gajan Govardhana (Crafts Council of India)
- Mdm. Ibu Sumiyati (East Kalimantan Indonesia)
- Mdm. Ensunot (Sarawak)
- A Trengganu *kain songkit* weaver
- A Sabah *kain dashtar* weaver

On Sunday 13 June afternoon, natural dye demonstrations were given by:

- Mr. Kenichi Utsuki (Japan)- indigo blue
- Prof. Kim Ji-Hee (Korea)- safflower dye
- Mr. K.S. Rao (India)- natural red dye
- Mr. Suramontri (Thailand)- natural -'lac' red dye
- Mdm. Victoria Vijayakumar (India)- dyeing with tea
- Mdm. Bangie Embol (Sarawak)- morinder and indigo dye

Gala dinner and fashion show by international designers

At the State Civic Centre on Saturday night (12 June); over 500 guests were treated to a fashion collection based on 'ikat' textiles paraded by 17 models in a special choreographed show. The guest of honor was the Minister of Tourism, Datuk Dr. James Masing.

The designers were:

- Alfonso Guino-O (Philippines)
- Narda Capuyan (Philippines)
- Sumet of Classic-Lanna (Thailand)
- Khun Meechai of Kamphun (Thailand)
- Milo's of Bali (Indonesia)
- Aavartan (India)
- Vallala (India)
- Aizen-Kobo Workshop (Japan)
- Phaeng-mai (Laos)
- Samia Zaru (Jordan)
- Fabriko (Malaysia)

Post-Forum tour to Nanga Sumpa Longhouse, Batang Ai

About 150 delegates and officials travelled for 5 hours to the Batang Ai Dam area in four coaches on 14 June on a post-forum tour. On the way, they visited the Malaysian Handicraft Development Board's training center at Betong, where they were treated to lunch. Half of the delegates then stayed at the Hilton Batang Ai Resort while the others journeyed in open longboats up to the Nanga Sumpa longhouse where they stayed for two nights.

The following day 15 June, everybody journeyed up to the waterfall and then had a barbecue lunch on a scenic pebble beach before going back to the longhouse to observe the traditional Iban 'ngar' mordant-bath for cotton yarn. A wonderful display of heirloom textiles woven at the Nanga Sumpa longhouse was exhibited by the people, and also items of textiles, basket, hand-beaten clay pots, rattan and fiber mats were also offered for sale. The evenings both at the longhouse and also at the hotel were alive with traditional Iban music and dance.

Delegates were given a farewell dinner at Rumah Masra, the home of Society Atelier Sarawak.

Summary

A printed collection of Forum papers was published in time for the gathering. The Ikat Forum website will carry reports and updates. It will also be used to distribute information on the dye workshops and other data requested at the Forum. From the onset, the organizer has intended that the Forum should serve to network people concerned with promoting eco-textiles. At the conclusion of the Forum a commitment was made to set up a **World-Eco Fiber and Textile (W.E.F.T) Foundation**. It is hoped that a follow-up program will be held in Kuching next year in June (tentatively fixed on Fri. June 16-Sun. 18). The Forum will highlight **Natural Fiber Weaving and Basketry**, with a Post-Forum tour to Mulu Caves, a visit to Kenyah longhouses and Penan settlements to study their basket and mat-weaving.

Through ties with UNESCO, World Crafts Council Asia-Pacific, and the crafts councils of the region, it is anticipated that the next program will even be better. (Edric Ong, Forum Coordinator and President of Society Atelier Sarawak, Rumah Masra, 93000 Kuching, Sarawak, Malaysia)

BOOK REVIEWS, ABSTRACTS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

BOOK REVIEWS

David and Sue Fielding. *Borneo. Jewel in a Jade Rainbow, Letters and Legends from North Borneo Sabah.* Koisaan Cultural Development Institute, Kota Kinabalu, Sabah, 1998, xiv + 444, photos and maps.

Historian friends tell me that it is nearly impossible to find a publisher for a colonial memoir. What a pity, especially if the memoir is as engagingly told as this delightful book. *Jewel in a Jade Rainbow* is not a work of analytical reflection, but an illustrated chronicle of people, places, and daily events conveyed with all the immediacy of letters written to parents and friends at home, diary entries, snapshots, district tour reports, shipboard menus, official circulars, and picnic and sporting day programs. It covers a highly eventful period—sadly neglected by academic historians—the final years of British colonial rule in Sabah.

At the heart of *Jewel in a Jade Rainbow* is a collection of personal letters sent home by a young cadet District Officer and his wife during three years in Sabah, from July 1960 through August 1963. The officer, David Fielding, served in the British military in Malaya during the Emergency. After returning to England, he read geography at Oxford and upon graduating in 1959, he applied for a post with the Colonial Office. His application was successful, but first, before being posted, he was sent for a year to study law and languages at Cambridge. One has the sense that this year was largely a waste of time. In any event, at the end of it, with a letter of confirmation in hand, he proposed and married Sue, a registered nurse at Radcliffe Infirmary, Oxford. It was a "rash act", as he tells us in the preface, for, in those days it required the permission of the Governor to marry and bring a wife to North Borneo on a first appointment. As students of colonial history will know, anti-marriage rules were virtually universal in colonial Southeast Asia down to the 1920s. Clearly, in North Borneo, they lingered on even longer. Luckily, the Governor was sympathetic.

From the perspective of the present, it seems remarkable, but, in 1960, newly appointed officers were allowed a full month's travel time in which to reach Sabah. Sensibly, the Fieldings made the long steamship trip from Southampton their honeymoon. Arriving in Jesselton (by way of Singapore) aboard the S.S. "Kunak", they are packed off almost at once to Tambunan, in the Interior Residency. Tambunan and the Fieldings prove to be a perfect match. The district was then one of the most inaccessible in Sabah. As A.D.O., David's enthusiasm for improving farming methods and building rural schools found ample outlet. With seemingly inexhaustible energy, he is soon traveling from village to village, acquainting himself with the people, listening to what they have to say, and, from time to time, writing reports to the Resident. In one of these, included in the book, David describes a tour, made partly by bamboo raft, to Kuala Rompon on the Pagalan River, to meet a group of Ranau Dusun then opening land for wet rice cultivation.

In Tambunan, the A.D.O.'s house is spectacularly situated atop a hill commanding a panoramic view of the entire valley. However, a series of bachelor officers had left it a veritable hovel. But Sue soon has it in hand, bringing domestic order not only to the interior, but adding chickens and a flourishing vegetable and flower garden to the surrounding compound. The house soon draws a steady stream of visitors. Among their regular callers is Father Connolly, a kindly priest who, for twenty-five years, has lived totally absorbed in the life of his Tambunan Dusun flock. Sadly, we learn in the "Epilogue" that, in 1965, Father Connolly was compelled to retire and, pining, he died three months after his return to England. The Fieldings' first Christmas in Sabah is celebrated with an "open house", followed by a memorable Christmas dinner with mincepies and Christmas bread, a goose with stuffing, applesauce, new potatoes, a Christmas pudding, wine, and candles.

For all this, the Fieldings are rewarded by being uprooted from Tambunan and moved, six months later, to Sandakan. Although a promotion, it is "really demoralising", David observes in a letter home, "—you just get to know a place and then, like a pawn, they shift you...—you can't see any projects through in six months and I leave two schools, four bridges and a new hospital hanging in the air" (p. 135). On the very day of their first wedding anniversary, their baggage is shipped off. Sandakan is a cosmopolitan port city and here the job of District Officer is utterly different than that of a Tambunan A.D.O. No more bamboo-rafting; instead, here, he writes home, it is "digesting files, [and] dreaming up a reply to the latest letter" (p. 147).

Unlike Tambunan, Sandakan has a resident European community. Remarkably, a British suspicion of "foreigners" seems to have reached even into this remote corner of empire. The community includes a polyglot assortment of Continentals, and even a down-at-the-heels outcast, "one G. Byer", a familiar figure often seen "tooling" about town "on his scooter", who owns the "Water Boat", "an old barnacled hull...which fills up with water and chugs laboriously out to the ships at anchor" (p. 192). Here, its owner earns a precarious living by selling freshwater to ship captains. Being the center of a Residency, in Sandakan gradations of prerogative and status are on full display. "The Resident", David observes in a letter home, "is driven by a liveried chauffeur in a Wolsey sporting a huge embossed crown on top and coats of arms on the doors... his private car, a Jaguar, has the registration S.1" (p. 153). By contrast, he notes, his own sole means of transport is his humble "Mini". It is galling. In addition, there is the official paperwork: "The D.O.", he quips in a letter home, "will then complete F.S. 15 in quadruplicate and forward one copy to the Resident". Much in the spirit of Noel Coward, weekends, among the colonial expatriates, are given over to sports and other forms of strenuous activity. "Sunday, I am...playing cricket for the Chartered Bank! Our opponents...[are the] Hongkong and Shanghai bankers!" (p. 149).

Yet, Sandakan is not without surprises. Ever on the lookout for exemplary farming methods, David discovers a thoroughly up-to-date citrus, pig, and poultry operation. In a letter home, he writes, "I found the young Chinese proprietor sitting out in the evening twilight listening to a Tchaikovsky symphony on his battery record player" (149). Thus begins a lasting friendship between the Fieldings and the Lam family. At the end of July, 1961, having completed a year of service, the Fieldings take their first local leave, which they spend climbing Mt. Kinabalu. By this time, among colonial officers the air is filled

with talk of Independence and the creation of Malaysia. But, as he notes, old habits persist and in an atmosphere of increasing unreality, official secrecy prevails. There are also rumors in the air of a transfer to Jesselton; fate, however, has something much more interesting in store than toiling in the Secretariat's accounts department.

The Fieldings' next assignment, they learn, is Semporna, on the southeast coast of Sabah, "a pirate stronghold, ...remote and inaccessible...connected only by sea". After Sandakan, Semporna brings back, they write home, "that precious sense of being thankful that we came to Borneo" (p. 203). "Believing Tambunan was Shangri-La, this exquisite place must be Paradise" (p. 206). The steamship that carries them to Semporna is, fittingly enough, the S.S. "Kunak", the very ship that first brought them to Sabah. They arrive at the end of August so that David can take over from Mr. Peter Regis, the previous District Officer, who is being sent to England for further studies. They are instantly drawn into a hectic, two-week round of parties. "Semporna is situated", Sue writes in a letter to her parents, "right on the sea, overlooking a large bay of shallow water about 5 miles wide, and many tall, queer-shaped islands dotted around in the distance. The wharf, just to the right of the house, is made entirely with coral...The town is slightly bigger than Keningau, but no other Europeans; the communities however seem to be openly harmonious... It is more of a closely knit, gathered together town... Our house, perched right on the sea edge, is halfway between the pier and the town, which lies off to our left, starting with a village over the water" (p. 207). The Fieldings remain in Semporna for the next two years, until they return to England.

Having arrived in Semporna myself, scarcely a year and a half after the Fieldings departed, I must admit to a strong personal interest in all that they have to say of this remarkable district. Youngsters from the nearby Bajau Laut settlement of Bangau-Bangau are frequent visitors to their house, and years later the Fieldings would be fondly remembered. David quickly became an enthusiastic sailor with his own boat, a small European-styled sailboat, which naturally endeared him to the seafaring people of the district. In races, however, his European-rigged sailboat was no match for the local *lepa*. In their very first pages on Semporna, the Fieldings answer what had always seemed to be an insoluble question: namely, how did the melody of "Clementine" become part of the local Bajau musical repertoire? Here, we learn the answer, that the wife of Peter Regis taught the Semporna Girl Guides to sing the "We are Girl Guides" song to the "Oh My Darling" melody. Part of the attraction for the Bajau Laut was the slight hint of risquéness in the English chorus. Mr. Regis himself was a legendary figure. The Fieldings tell one story of how a group of rough Japanese tuna fishermen, on a visit to Semporna town, made provocative gestures towards Mrs. Regis, who was Asian, and how her husband had them all at once arrested and taken to the padang, where they were given a public lecture on civility.

Writing of the local people, David Fielding observes, "The Bajaus here are...very different from the Tambunan Dusuns to work with. 'Difficult' is a fairly tolerant description" (p. 218). For Sue, "...the gaiety, charm of manner and beauty of these Bajau children leaves me spellbound" (p. 207). "What would probably make you gasp most", she writes in a letter home, "are the spectacularly colourful costumes of...the Bajau. The men wear tightly tapered trousers laced or buttoned up the calf, with a small, circular cuff at the ankle and close fitting, black or white long sleeved waistcoats braided with gold

and adorned with coins or gold buttons over a collarless white shirt, then a finely patterned, handwoven scarf is wrapped and folded around the waist...The women, too, wear glittering sarongs, tight, shiny waistcoats with large gold coins as buttons" (p. 203). Two years later, such costumes were rarely seen, at least on men. My own memory, living, by contrast, with the Bajau Laut (or sea people) is just the opposite, of how little clothing people wore. Particularly, this was so at sea. The Fieldings' comments are a useful reminder that, in the old days, when the sea people depended on shore villagers for such traded cloth as they were able to obtain, the contrast between them must have been very striking, indeed.

"The wharf", David writes, "[is] the key to Semporna's cash economy, for it is here that the long, sleek craft from the Philippines, powered by two or three 40 h.p. outboards come two or three times a week to collect cigarettes imported from Hongkong, smuggling them under cover of dark, across the Sulu Sea, at the hazard of their naval patrols and their own pirates, back into their own country" (p. 195). While, perhaps, a key to Government revenues, cigarette smuggling only marginally influenced the lives of most ordinary people in the district, for whom the harbor was, rather, the center of everyday commerce. Nevertheless, smuggling, officially called "barter trade", generated considerable wealth, and had, according to David Fielding, "the amazing economic advantage of satisfying all participants. Everybody does well out of it" (p. 204). Certainly, the government did well out of it, collecting 10 percent duty on what were otherwise untaxed cigarettes, chiefly American, brought in from Hong Kong specifically to supply the smuggling trade. Whether it was conducive to the development of a local political culture of financial rectitude is another matter. With Independence, and negotiations between Malaysia and the Philippines, this "barter trade" was gradually phased out, although, of course, more informal smuggling persists. In any case, by 1965, when I arrived, the profits from smuggling were totally eclipsed by those of logging, and the trading companies that participated in cigarette smuggling were rapidly moving into the much more lucrative timber business. Not surprisingly, given the massive volume of cigarettes that then passed through Semporna, the town, remote as it was, drew the occasional representative of a foreign tobacco company. "Three Americans staying in town at the moment are agents for Salem cigarettes. One of them has the inevitable tall blonde wife who talks the hind legs off a donkey...Sue is going bicycling with her today which should be amusing for the Bajaus are fascinated by her over the knee Bermudas" (p. 249).

Later David describes a visit to a Japanese fishery on Si Amil Island, where local fishermen catch and smoke tuna for export. Here he meets the new Japanese manager, "who has replaced the previous one who was killed in the most recent pirate raid" (p. 208). Tragically, before the Fieldings leave Semporna, this second manager is also killed, this time accidentally by a ricocheting bullet during another raid. When I arrived, this fishery was only a memory. Its place had been taken by a Japanese cultured pearl fishery, located closer to Semporna town, although, by 1990, this, too, was abandoned after its manager was also killed by raiders. Toward the end of *Jewel in a Jade Rainbow*, the Fieldings' letters describe a second season of pirate raids and the difficulties of convincing a skeptical government of the dangers that local people faced. At it height,

they are forced to keep a loaded rifle fixed to their bedroom wall, and their letters convey the sense of the edginess that permeates the town and outlying villages.

With the approach of Independence, in April 1962, David leads a Semporna delegation to meet Lord Cobbold and his Commission in Tawau. Afterwards he helps organize voter registration and in 1963 the first District Council elections. He also helps set up and coordinate Semporna's first major land development scheme, financed in part with timber revenues. In the book he describes a number of local personalities, both Chinese and Bajau, but clearly David is most taken with the young District Chief at the time, who shared his enthusiasm for school construction. Now Governor of Sabah, Tun Datuk Seri Panglima Haji Sakaran bin Dandai writes a brief, but apropos, foreword to *Jewel in a Jade Rainbow*.

The dramatic high point of *Jewel in a Jade Rainbow*, much like Oscar Cook's earlier account of Semporna (in his *Borneo: Stealer of Hearts*), is a cholera epidemic. Sue, with the government doctor in Tawau, initiates a massive inoculation program (but only after the temporizing medical department director fortuitously goes on leave) in which the Division medical team is mobilized and manages, in the end, to reach every island and village, inoculating the entire District population of some 18,000 persons. The death toll is over 50, but clearly it might have been much worse. Soon afterwards, Sue suffers a stingray wound. This becomes dangerously infected, and she herself must be sent to Tawau for medical treatment. "My room", she writes, while convalescing, "is about fifteen yards from the seawall, under a row of casurina trees" (276). Two years later, I spent a week recuperating from Dengue fever in almost certainly the same hospital cottage, beside the seawall, with a view of Sebatik Island, Celebes Sea, and, in 1965, during Konfrontasi, at dawn, strings of Bugis copra vessels being towed by patrol boats into Tawau harbor.

With Malaysian Independence, the Fieldings return home and, like those they leave behind, begin a new life. (Clifford Sather, *Cultural Anthropology*, University of Helsinki, Helsinki, Finland)

Environmental Challenges in South-East Asia, edited by Victor T. King. (1998) Nordic Institute for Asian Studies, Man and Nature Series, No. 2. Richmond: Curzon Press

This volume is the product of a session held at the 1995 conference of the European Association of South-East Asian Studies. As such, almost all the contributors are European, mainly British and Dutch, working on a great variety of social-environmental issues and interactions throughout Southeast Asia. Because of the wide-ranging topics, I will focus on the three chapters that deal explicitly with Borneo, although the other chapters will provide valuable comparative materials for the Borneo scholar.

Han Knapen's article (Chapter Four) on the influence of lethal diseases on the demographic history of Borneo is the result of extensive archival research in the Netherlands and Indonesia. Given the depth of materials for southern Borneo, this chapter is devoted primarily to that area. Knapen looks at how a number of lethal diseases (e.g. malaria, smallpox, cholera, and dysentery) kept the population of Borneo low in historical times. Furthermore, the occurrence of these diseases was affected by local environmental conditions. One example is malaria which was relatively absent from coastal areas, only

to arrive in force after efforts to alter the local ecology such as through the expansion of irrigated rice cultivation.

Knapen also considers the consequences of warfare for demography. He contends that because of Borneo's relatively scattered settlement patterns and the abundance of edible forest products, destruction of economies during war and the resulting hardships were not as great in Borneo as elsewhere in Southeast Asia. He comes away with the conclusion that lethal diseases were the most important factor in limiting the populations of Borneo in the past. Whether or not this conclusion is justified is a matter that can be resolved with more archival research. In any case, Knapen has contributed greatly to our understanding of human demography in Borneo by having identified and documented extensively at least one of the important influences on human demography in Borneo.

Not to detract from his commendable work, there is one minor item that stands in need of correction. In Footnote 28 (pp. 93-94), Knapen refers to an anonymous report in the Dutch periodical, *De Indische Gids*, about the 1902 Cholera Expedition in Sarawak. (This was a Brooke punitive expedition against Iban "rebels" in the upper Batang Lupar that ended in a disastrous outbreak of cholera.) Knapen appears to have misread the report, writing that it claims the people against whom the punitive expedition was aimed deliberately fouled the water (a claim which, he notes correctly, is not true). However, having read the same report, I can say that there is no suggestion in it that the upriver Iban were instrumentally involved in the cholera outbreak. Perhaps Knapen intended to cite another report that makes that claim.

The next paper on Borneo (Chapter Seven) is that by Michael Parnwell and Victor King on the effects of environmental changes on the Iban population of Bintulu, Sarawak. In a wide survey of some thirteen longhouses, they compare a range of the environmental conditions produced by logging, population pressure, and government development schemes and how these influence rates of male out-migration. Following from Parnwell's extensive work on labor migration elsewhere in Southeast Asia, they note that people have two choices in dealing with environmental degradation and natural resource depletion – local adjustment and out-migration. They then proceed to document how the Iban in their survey make both of these choices, providing circumstantial evidence of a link between environmental degradation and population migration. The authors deal with a lot of information from different angles (at the levels of the longhouse and household), and they make clear the great difficulty in separating out environmental influences on migration decisions as well as the great complexity that goes into adjustments to environmental change.

Their work on this complex topic is important, but there are some things that stood out in my reading of the article. The first concerns field methods. A short description of how they went about collecting the survey data, how long they spent in the field, etc., would have helped greatly in evaluating both the analysis they present and the conclusions they draw. An example of where this would have helped is their claim that the average fallow period was just under four years in the study area. This is obviously a serious matter, but one is left to wonder how long these people have been farming such short fallows. How were the data on fallow length collected that allows the authors to reach this average figure? Was the average calculated from data on several years or over a decade of farming? Another example is their calculations and cross-tabulations of

migration and environmental factors (pp. 160-163). The lack of any information on how they collected their data leaves me wondering about the validity of their statistical treatment and thus about the validity of the conclusions they draw from it.

Another point is the persisting failure in studies of Iban *bejalai* (the male journeys for prestige and wealth) to connect with wider studies of labor migration. The authors indirectly address this here, but make a curious error in defining *bejalai*. Citing a study by Philip Morrison of Bintulu Iban, they note that "labour migration was gradually superseding ... the tradition of *bejalai*" (p. 144). Later on, they contrast *bejalai* with contemporary labor migration (p. 164), obviously meaning that the one was not the same as the other. In my experience of the way Iban use the term, *bejalai* refers to any journey away from home for prestige and/or wealth that includes the possibility of an eventual return. Other more specific terms may also be used, such as *bekuli* or *belelang*, but *bejalai* is the more encompassing one. This includes the past journeys into the interior to collect valuable forest products as well as what we regard as circular labor migration, even if the men in question are gone for months or years.

Then there is the rather tantalizing interview excerpt toward the end of the chapter (p. 165). In it an Iban woman explains that with her husband away in the logging camp, she has to do male tasks in farming (in addition to those regarded as female tasks). She says that she cannot do labor exchange with a man, but only with another woman. This statement is especially interesting because it totally reverses the customary principles of Iban labor exchange – a day's work for a day's work, no matter the work, no matter the gender. Thus, in most circumstances, women can get men to fell trees for them in exchange for other work such as slashing underbrush or weeding. The woman's statement leaves me wondering what had happened to the usual labor exchange mechanisms. If this was more than just an isolated case, it would underscore Parnwell and King's conclusions, but they leave it unexplored, an unfortunate omission for such an important topic.

The third article (Chapter Eleven) by Keith Sutton and Julia McMorrow concerns land use change in the Lahad Datu area of eastern Sabah. The authors make use of GIS-derived data and a questionnaire survey of sample communities to show the association between logging/plantation development and the declining importance of forest products in the rural economy. They also document an increased reliance on cash-producing crops (promoted through government programs) at the expense of rice cultivation, and they cite survey data showing a mixed perception of local well-being as a result of economic changes. The authors note a high degree of concern for the environment and criticism of logging. But they appear to accept the survey data at face value and do not take into account the influence of "environmentalist" rhetoric on local responses to questionnaires given to them by outsiders who might appear sympathetic to such responses. The rigorous analysis of GIS data could have benefited from more rigorous fieldwork.

Noteworthy chapters beyond the scope of Borneo include that by Freek Colombijn (Chapter Three) on Dutch colonial perceptions of the Sumatran highlands. He argues that the Dutch came to develop West Sumatra with a Javanese model in their heads, a model which was ultimately derived from that most artificial of landscapes, the Netherlands. Researchers working in the Dutch archives on Borneo would do well to consider how the Dutch perceived Borneo, as Colombijn does here so instructively. In addition, Chapter Twelve on the sustainability of a fishery in southern Thailand by Awae Masae and J.

Allister McGregor would make a useful case to compare with the freshwater fisheries throughout Borneo, such as those in the upper Kapuas of West Kalimantan or up the Mahakam from Samarinda. The same goes for Chapter Eight on marine resource use in Bali by Norman Backhaus, given Borneo's miles and miles of coastline.

Borneanists interested in logging and deforestation would benefit from Gerhard van den Top's detailed study in the Sierra Madre of Luzon (Chapter Nine). Historical and modern adaptations to environmental change are ably covered by Christiaan Heersink (Chapter Five on south Sulawesi), Thomas Psota (Chapter Six on southwest Sumatra), and Esther Moonen (Chapter Ten on northern Luzon). Chapters Thirteen and Fourteen add to the burgeoning field of tourism studies with contributions on eco-tourism in three countries by Michael Hitchcock and Sian Jay and the impact of tourism on the Indonesian island of Siberut by Gerard Persoon and Henry Heuveling van Beek. The former study makes mention of tourism in Sabah.

Raymond Bryant's piece (Chapter Two) on the resource politics of colonial Southeast Asia makes the important observation that colonialism, development, and resource exploitation were uneven throughout the region. This might also be said of the book itself. Although all of the chapters make valuable contributions, they also leave a number of things unanswered or unaddressed, which is probably inevitable for such a wide-ranging set of studies. Because of that, the points I have made above should not be taken as criticism so much as encouragement to continue the research and refine the analyses on these topics that are so critically important to the people of Borneo and the rest of Southeast Asia, as Zawawi Ibrahim makes clear in the epilogue (Chapter Fifteen). (Reed L. Wadley, International Institute for Asian Studies, Leiden University, Netherlands)

Vernon L. Porritt. *Bapak Guru Orang Bisaya. A Pioneer in Social Experimentation in Sarawak: Ro Bewsher, 1910-1998*. Special Issue of the Centre for South-East Asian Studies, University of Hull, ISBN 0-903122-08-1, 1999, iv + pp. 52.

Dr. Vernon L. Porritt's *Bapak Guru Orang Bisaya* (Father-Teacher of the Bisaya People) covers in outline the life of Ro Bewsher who served the Colonial Administration in Sarawak from January 1947 until May 1962. He had first seen Borneo towards the close of the Brooke era when, as a missionary of the Borneo Evangelical Mission, he had been posted to Limpasong in the upper Limbang district of Sarawak's Fifth Division. His educational and agricultural work among the Bisaya during the years leading up to the Japanese Occupation entitles him to the book's sub-title, "A pioneer in social experimentation in Sarawak".

Bewsher resigned from missionary service at the end of the Japanese Occupation, and then took his idealism with him into Government service, working with a zeal which others sometimes felt to be obsessive. He could never relax. There was always more to be done, and after a while a better way of doing it; vegetables to plant rather than flowers. He faced great personal tragedy at various times, and this may well have contributed to the grim determination with which he confronted the trials of social experimentation.

Porritt's book is made up of 21 pages of biographical detail, followed by 15 photographs. Then come seven Appendices covering a further 20 pages. By far the most interesting of these is the fourth, entitled "The Rural Improvement School (RIS) of

Sarawak: An Experiment in Rural Adult Education". It was Bewsher's own brain-child which he took personal charge of for just over two years. The text reports Murry Dickson as approving the BEM's readiness to release Bewsher for this work, but he had in fact resigned from the Mission in 1944.

The RIS enrolled married couples, and was important in the recognition it gave to the importance of women in Dayak society; a society in which the more macho men tend to be more prominent. The school was established in a "longhouse environment", and within a few months Bewsher was becoming more critical of it as inimical to progress; a view to be shared by others. It is of interest that one of the finest modern longhouses is to be found at Mamut in the Subis, inhabited by the immediate descendants of Sergeant Barat and his followers who migrated from an infertile Undup in the mid-30s to develop themselves in a more fertile Sibuti. Yet it still remains true that one bug-ridden family in a longhouse can have all the other ninety and nine clean families scratching within a month or two.

In a letter to the Chief Secretary in September 1948, Bewsher accused the Government of retaining the longhouse system for administrative convenience. It reveals an attitude which those who knew the man were to experience from time to time; an impatience which resented the leisurely pace of the mills of God. Did he really think that the Government had but to issue a decree to have all Dayaks living in detached houses?

Bewsher's personal association with the RIS ceased in 1953, after which followed an interlude as a Divisional Education Officer before he became Secretary and Executive Officer of the Community Development Committee, and, as such, practically responsible for all community development in the Colony.

The Community Development Committee was a body composed of "relevant administrative and departmental heads" which, translated, means, "people who knew that their real work lay with their departments". It cannot really be said that Sarawak ever had an official development policy. Administrative and departmental heads might agree on the desirability of raising living and educational standards, or of the need to modernize agricultural practices, but they then returned to their departments, and it was left to such as Bewsher to try to do something with what was available. Inevitably this led to the promotion of a number of schemes headed by altruistic fanatics whose work had faced them with areas of social or economic deprivation. It was not always recognized that under such leadership it was not so much a community which was being developed but rather certain individuals within a community. Individuals are, basically, base; or put theologially, "prone to sin". The instructed were meant to act as leaven among their fellows. Many did, but others were seduced by commerce or politics. The wastage is evident.

It is not surprising, therefore, to find that with two years of taking executive control, Bewsher was accusing the Government of but "tinkering with Community Development" and spending over a million dollars to little purpose. Sir Anthony Abell too, suggested that there had been faults in planning and execution as well as in policy.

What exactly did Bewsher and others expect to see? It was impressed upon those in charge of schemes that they should try to bring the peoples of their "backward" district up to the level of their more progressive neighbors so that all could take advantage of the

medical, agricultural and educational services offered by the government. Integration not separation was the objective.

It is not easy to see how development during the Colonial era could have been judged statistically: how to decide just how many families now had enough to eat when, without help, they might have gone hungry, or how many were now relatively healthy when, without aid, they might have been sick. It is easy enough in these days of a hard-headed Malaysian approach, when economically deprived families are resettled in fertile areas and put to work, with transport and processing facilities on the spot, to produce gallons of red palm oil or tons of cocoa. Those who work hard prosper, the less industrious get less, and the lazy may starve, but the government always gets something. Bewsher, Abell, White, and Barcroft would find it far easier to judge present day development.

Many thought that Bewsher's most valuable contribution to community development came towards the close of his career as a Sarawak Officer when he became the Agricultural Extension Training Officer at the newly established center at Tarat. Selected men and women were given a 12-month basic agricultural and home economics course, followed by a 6-month course on how to teach this to others. Teams from Tarat were then sent to longhouses, scheme areas, communities which had requested help with projects. These teams were invaluable in building upon interests which had been aroused initially by earlier community development schemes, or by the more progressive minds within a community. It was a branch of development which pleased everyone, even the Master himself.

Finally, a few small points:

1. On page 7, there is an allusion to a "Book of Romans, No. 12", which some may recognize more easily as "The Epistle to the Romans, Chapter 12".
2. On page 50, correct to "...41... Rev. Patrick Rowley".
3. Page 17. The O.E.D. defines "worldly" as "...concerned with or devoted to the affairs of this life such as the pursuit of wealth and pleasure." The border ranges of upper Sarawak never seemed particularly full of sybaritic delights. (The Rt. Rev. Peter H.H. Howes, 7 Tower Place, York YO1 1RZ, UK)

C.S. Godshalk, *Kalimantan*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, Inc, 1998, ISBN 0-8050-5333-9.

Plundering the Archives for a Good Story

Let me begin with an anecdote.

At a party I am listening to an acquaintance talk about the historical novel she is writing, set in the colony of Van Diemen's Land in the 1830s. As the narrative is being sketched it becomes apparent that the story involves historical events and characters separated by a yawning gulf of both time and space.

"But surely", I mildly remonstrate, "you can't have the recently widowed Jane Franklin giving evidence to the committee on penal transportation. Sir John Franklin wasn't acknowledged as irrevocably lost until 1855. That committee was in 1839."

"Oh that doesn't matter", she airily replies, "I need to move things around because there are too many gaps in the historical record for it to work as a story. Besides", she adds, "I'm not a historian like you. I am writing a novel and can do what I like."

"But a novel is an exercise of the imagination to construct a parallel world which is complete in itself", I persist, trying not to sound exasperated. "Why do you have to have known people and real historical events? Why can't you just make up a story?"

Apparently the answer is so self-evident I should not have needed to ask.

"And lose all the fabulous material I found in the archives? No way."

Actually, historians also like to believe that we are engaged in narrative art, wresting fascinating tales from the incomplete and problematic source material. We have the great advantage of the wonderful and intriguing stories which can be unearthed among the tattered letters and dusty ledger books, but the trade-off is that we are constrained by the material record. We are not at liberty to move our characters around in time and space, nor to merge several people into one. What we do not know we are not free to make up. It is a considerable challenge to write a piece of history so that it can give the same narrative pleasure as a novel. For that reason I should be allowed my pique that novelists who lack imagination plunder the archives for stories which they then feel at liberty to embellish and manipulate.

Is this what G. S. Godshalk has done in her first novel, *Kalimantan*, published by Little Brown in 1998? You be the judge.

The novel's blurb tells us this much:

"One hundred and sixty years ago, a young Englishman founded a private raj on the coast of Borneo. The world that resulted boasting stone quays, elegant gardens, churches, and musical levees, eventually encompassed a territory the size of England, its expansion campaigns paid for in human heads."

We all recognize this story and can put a name to it. It has been the subject of many books. Some of these books—a rather selective collection—have been acknowledged as sources for Godshalk's book.

As *Kalimantan* unfolds, the young Englishman is rewarded by the Sultan of Brunei with the rajahship of a part of the north coast of Borneo, after helping to put down a local rebellion. He forms a very close friendship with the Sultan's handsome and clever nephew, who is later murdered in a brutal palace coup in Brunei. Another close friend, an admiral in the British navy, helps him quell any likely Malay or Dayak opposition. He seeds likely young Englishmen into forts throughout the hinterland and ruthlessly extends his control over vast areas by using Dayak headhunters to subdue the upriver tribes. And so forth.

Godshalk's hero is not called James Brooke, as we might expect, but Gideon Barr. And there are some small but significant differences. Gideon Barr has a powerful attachment to Borneo because it is the place that his adored mother is buried. And he does not have a sexual interest in boys, preferring instead the high-born Malay wife of his murdered friend. (It's true that a highborn Malay mistress kept in a place away from the Astana belongs to the Brooke story, just not to James Brooke's story.) So we should not be surprised to find that Gideon is in need of an English wife and goes to England to court his widowed cousin, whom he finds to be too old for child bearing and pops the question instead to her young daughter, Amelia. It follows that Amelia's experience as the Ranee

should correspond in almost every colorful and specific detail to that described by Margaret Brooke, wife of the second Rajah, in her two books of autobiography, although there are one or two incidences drawn from the Ranee Sylvia's autobiography.

The Ranee finds her husband heartless. There are miscarriages and her children—a girl and twin boys—die cruelly of cholera. Upon her return to England, she gives birth to another son, and leaves Barr ageing and alone in his Borneo kingdom. He does not lose one of his eyes, mind you, although he is cruelly disfigured by smallpox. The real power in the raj is Barr's ruthlessly efficient cousin, Dickie Hogg, who has his own fiefdom upriver where he has made himself the ultimate Dayak chief. Not for Hogg a harem of Dayak maidens and a highborn Malay wife. In this book he is consumed with a wordless, naive passion for the wife of an Anglican clergyman.

Every significant event we know about happens in this book, albeit not in its actual historical order: disgruntled Chinese from the kongsi at Bau attempt to raze the town but are routed by Dickie Hogg and his murderous Dayaks; Barr is forced to a trial by the British who accuse him of massacring natives; there are several visits from a naive young naturalist whose seminal ideas are pinched by Charles Darwin; a Dayak *bala* is disastrously decimated by cholera. And so forth. There are lots of familiar minor events as well. Indeed, I found reading *Kalimantan* utterly disconcerting as I constantly noted the sources from which this event or that occurrence, or even a certain conversation, had been drawn. By no means all of these sources have been acknowledged. Silence attends the use of certain contemporary material. It is clear to me that Bob Reece, John Walker, and, I confess, Cassandra Pybus, have supplied the author with key insights and interpretations that she did not imagine for herself. So very little of the world created in this book has been imagined.

What Godshalk is least able to imagine is how this raj of Gideon Barr might be a Malay state, nor the complex interaction between the English Rajah and the Malay, Dayak and Chinese which gave him his kingdom and allowed him to keep it. Instead, we are presented with a picture of the Englishman, cunningly advised on the wily ways of the Borneo natives by his friend, Admiral Kilcane, sweeping all before him. There are well-intentioned gestures toward a more complex and racially inclusive worldview, as the response of a Chinese leader when Barr lectures him on morality: "Our junks traded here when his kind lived in caves". This is an easy cliché. Likewise the notion that the Dayaks regard the English woman's capacity to order the small universe of her garden with such awe, they consider her to be a witch. The suggestion is very potent that it is the English capacity for order which has allowed them to tame this part of Borneo and make it their own. So closely does Godshalk cleave to the anglocentric sources she cites, that she cannot help but construct Barr's raj as a British drama for which the Malay and Dayak have colorful, and sometimes engaging, walk-on parts.

In all fairness, I must allow that *Kalimantan* is about "love in absurd conditions", as the blurb goes on to say. It is in the realm of the heart that Godshalk allows her imagination the greatest play. And yet it is here I feel my disappointment with this book most acutely. In merging uncle and nephew into one, I feel she has shortchanged herself and the reader. It is easy to see why she has done it. In her bitterly documented story of her marriage to Charles Brooke, the Ranee Margaret has a compelling story of the failure

of love. Godshalk wants to give this story to James, rather than Charles, since James Brooke's experience is the focus of her narrative. How uninspired of her.

Surely there is a poignant and compelling story of love, with all its failures and treacheries in James Brooke's passion for young stable boys and midshipmen; boys who would always grow up to be no longer the object of desire, but still able to blackmail him or make continual demands to be set up in life. Take the story of Reuben, the stable boy he sought to call his long lost son, who caused such a devastating and lasting schism with his family. (Here I must disagree with John Walker on this point at least. I am confident that Mrs. Savage was engaging in wishful thinking about Reuben being her brother's bastard.) How vulnerable this transgressive desire must have made James Brooke, and how foolish it rendered him. Equally it seems that it is so much a necessary part of the Brooke story that it is the ruthlessly efficient nephew who has to marry the silly English girl in order to keep Sarawak. What did it cost him to give up the unique life that he had made for himself; to shed his Malay wife and his old allies; ultimately to abandon the hybrid son on whom he had once set Sarawak's future? Here are stories of the heart for the imagination to run wild with, rather than Raneë Margaret's carefully constructed autobiography, with all its evasions and rationalizations. Or so it seems to me. In those matters of the heart where Godshalk does give her imagination free reign, the totally fictional courtship of the solid English nurse and knockabout ex-convict, for example, the book comes into its own. There are not enough of them.

In the review of *Kalimantan* in the *New Yorker*, the book was called "ravishing". On the covers of various editions it was praised to the skies by Beryl Bainbridge, John Fowles, and Richard Ford. Certainly Godshalk can write very elegant and evocative prose. If she were to trust her imagination to dream up her own wonderful stories, she'd write a fine book which might yet live up to these exalted commendations. (Dr. Cassandra Pybus, Research Fellow, University of Tasmania, author of *White Rajah: A Dynastic Intrigue*, University of Queensland Press).

Tan Sri Datuk Amar Stephen K. T. Yong. *A Life Twice Lived: A Memoir*. Kuala Lumpur: Published by the author, 1998. ISBN 983-99457-0-X, 283 pages. [available from Borneo Adventure Sdn. Bhd, 55 Main Bazaar, 93000 Kuching, Sarawak, fax 80 82 422 626]

This book, published by the author, is a lively account of Stephen Yong Kuet Tze's recollections of the highlights of his childhood, upbringing, and subsequent life as a businessman, lawyer, and prominent politician. It is the classical story of a bare-footed urchin from a small rural settlement who becomes a person of influence and standing, in this case Deputy Chief Minister of Sarawak (1970-1974) and later, Minister of Science, Technology and the Environment in the Federal Government of Malaysia (1982-1990).

In 1892, his father migrated from the ancestral home near the eastern border of Guangdong province in China to Sarawak, then an independent state, in search of a better life. By the time Stephen was born on 2 June 1921, his father had established a tailoring and general trading business in a small kampung, Simunjan, on the Sadong River, where at that time there was a coal mine. One of a family of two stepsons, one stepdaughter, two brothers, and three daughters, Stephen was more in empathy with his mother, the mainstay

of the family, than his father, who was "bad tempered and rough after drinking brandy" (p. 23). He attended primary school in 1929 and 1930, after which his education was interrupted for three years when his father suffered a stroke. His father died in 1933 and his mother at considerable self sacrifice sent him to school in Kuching, where he completed his secondary education at St. Thomas's School in 1941 just before the Japanese occupied Sarawak.

His future father-in-law was comparatively wealthy, having been given a generous gratuity for his help in developing a rubber estate and later buying a small but successful gold mine. He gave Stephen the management of his two river ferries plying between Kuching and Siniawan during the early days of the Japanese occupation. Subsequently, all river ferries, including those of Stephen's future father-in-law, were placed under the control of Koksai, a Japanese conglomerate. In turn, Koksai appointed Stephen as their manager in charge of all the river ferries. His efforts to speak Japanese and his "facial features [that] strongly resembled those of the Japanese" (p. 77) helped him to stand up to the Japanese and avoid many of the vicissitudes that many Chinese suffered during the occupation. Stephen married Gin Yian in Kuching in October 1944 in a classical wedding that was for that era a rather lavish wedding party (pp. 85-6). In early 1945, working on rumors of the imminent defeat of the Japanese, Stephen prudently obtained indefinite sick leave from Koksai. He then became involved in pig farming and remunerative smuggling up to the time of the Japanese surrender in Kuching on 11 September 1945.

By then twenty-four years old, Stephen ventured into imaginative but sometimes dubious business ventures until, after a couple of brushes with the law and developing an interest in the legal system, he became a legal clerk with Mark Morrison & Co in 1949. Obtaining entry to Nottingham University in 1950, he graduated in 1953 and returned to Sarawak where as the first local lawyer he was "highly regarded by the Chinese community" (p. 134). He quickly became the unofficial spokesman of a majority of the Chinese community in dealing with the British administration, Sarawak having been ceded to the British Government on 1 July 1946. After helping to resolve a student strike in 1955 in a Chinese Secondary School in Kuching, he became the Secretary-General of the Board of Management for the Chinese Schools, the beginning of twenty-three years honorary service with Chinese education in Sarawak. In 1955 he established his own highly successful legal firm in Kuching, providing the foundation for his entry into politics.

In 1956, Stephen was elected to the Kuching Municipal Council in the first elections ever held in Sarawak. He was a founder member of Sarawak's first political party, the Sarawak United People's Party (SUPP) that was registered in 1959. Stephen was the party's Secretary-General from the date of registration to 1982, when he was appointed the party's President, a post he held until his retirement in 1990. The SUPP sought independence for Sarawak as a necessary preliminary before considering joining the proposed Federation of Malaysia. However, tainted with infiltration by what Stephen describes as "left wingers", the SUPP lost the battle and Malaysia became part of Malaysia on 16 September 1963. After spending seven years in the political doldrums of an opposition party, the leaders of the SUPP elected to join a coalition government and Stephen became the Deputy Chief Minister of Sarawak from 1970 to 1974. Stephen's Memoir records that his initiative led to the surrender of the communist insurgents in the

Second Division at Sri Aman in 1973 (p. 211). He lost his parliamentary seat in the 1974 election, but regained it in the 1979 election, with the help of, amongst others, Taib Mahmud who was then embroiled in a feud with his uncle, the Chief Minister of Sarawak, Abdul Rahman Yakub. In 1981, Taib Mahmud, by then State Minister of Land and Mines, invited Stephen to consider "taking over the Chairman position of the Kuching Municipal Council and to run it like a Federal Territory" (p. 242-3). At the suggestion of Taib Mahmud, in 1982 he took over the post of Federal Minister of Science, Technology and the Environment after he was returned as a Member of Parliament (p. 243). Following a serious illness in 1989 and loss of his seat in the 1990 state elections, he announced his retirement from politics at the age of sixty-nine.

The "historical" section of the Memoir (pp. 1-9) is devoted to Stephen's Hakka ancestry that he traces back to 1073 BC and a famous forebear who lived during the Han Dynasty (206 BC—AD 220), whose integrity and honesty is commemorated by his descendants to this day. The story of Stephen's immediate forebears and his own upbringing up to the completion of his secondary education (pp. 10-63) is a case history of the hardships facing migrants from China, their struggle to establish themselves, and their finally becoming the major economic force in Sarawak. His ventures and adventures during the Japanese occupation and immediate post-war period (1941-1950) are covered with surprising candour and openness, unusual but very commendable in a memoir.

The section of the Memoir after he became the Secretary-General of the SUPP in 1959 will no doubt be of most interest to many readers. Here it must be stressed that the Memoir is Stephen's version of events and contains his views, some of which are highly contentious. Also, as a memoir rather than an autobiography, it is selective rather than comprehensive. His legal training has no doubt tempered his choice of material and hampered his covering sensitive matters to which he must have been privy during his political career. In short, little is revealed of "behind the scenes" activities that are an integral part of politics.

We are not told of any action by or disquiet in the SUPP on the well-publicized use of logging licences for political purposes revealed at the time of the struggle for power between Abdul Rahman Yakub and Taib Mahmud (*Sarawak Tribune*, 15 December 1977 and 25 March 1987). There is reference to the selection of *bumputera* partners by government officials having been plagued with nepotism (p. 193), but no mention of any steps taken to expose it through the party's publicity machine. A hint of abuse of political power for financial gain is given in his comment that "some ministers had become rich during their terms of office" (p. 269). Once again there is no mention of the SUPP taking steps to expose such ministers. Some would argue that only by exposure and following the "*Four Know Halls*" principles of Stephen's ancestors (pp. 4 and 5) can such practices be prevented from becoming endemic in any society.

On communism, Stephen's work in the 1960s and 1970s did much to alleviate conditions for political detainees and his policies when Deputy Chief Minister resulted in many communists and their followers in the Second Division giving up their armed struggle in the early 1970s (pp. 205-13). Had Stephen been given responsibility for the Third and Fourth Divisions as he requested and military solutions eschewed in favor of political solutions, it is possible that the armed insurrection there would have come to an end much earlier than 1990, when the last insurgents finally surrendered.

Stephen writes that the "key issue leading up to the Insurgency had to do with an end to colonialism" (p. 180), whereas the declared aim of the communists was not to eliminate colonialism but to "attain the highest ideal of mankind—communist society" ("Subversion in Sarawak", Sessional Paper No. 3 of 1960). This is supported by the communist-led insurgency continuing for twenty-seven years after Sarawak ceased to be a British colony following the formation of Malaysia on 16 September 1963.

Stephen opines that "the military actions unleashed on Sarawak were both inappropriate and unnecessary" (p. 181). Yet between 1963 and 1966 Sarawak faced the synergy of communist-led insurgency threatening internal security, and Indonesian armed confrontation along a 1,000 kilometre border with Kalimantan. The position was further complicated by communist infiltration of the SUPP – its first executive secretary was a communist and its first publicity chief was the head of the Clandestine Communist Organisation of Sarawak (p. 183). Until Sukarno's reign in Indonesia came to end in Indonesia in 1966, there was little room for political solutions and no obvious alternatives to "military actions" to securing internal security and protecting the border.

The SUPP refusal to acknowledge that it was infiltrated by communists in its early years and its refusal to take any action resulted in the party being in the political doldrums during that crucial era. Thus its ability to influence events was severely limited in the critical years leading to, and in the early years following, the formation of Malaysia. This was finally realized in 1969 when, against much internal opposition as it constituted a fundamental change in the party's philosophy for many members, the party hierarchy agreed to join the government as the only way to implement its program (p. 200).

In a political system where all major political parties are in a power-sharing alliance, unless the alliance breaks down there is only one way to share in that power and that is by becoming part of it. Some could argue it was an extremely astute move by Tun Razak to offer the SUPP a seat at the table of power as it removed the only effective opposition in Sarawak from the public arena and placed it behind the closed doors of internal negotiations between party leaders. In a win-win-win situation, the alliance governments at federal and state level were made more invulnerable at the ballot box, any possibility of an opposition state government being elected in Sarawak was virtually eliminated, and a rather vocal opposition voice was effectively muted.

There are glimpses in the Memoir of the inherent tensions between the Chairman of the SUPP, Ong Kee Hui, and Stephen, its Secretary-General, (pp. 230 and 239) that reflect their disparate backgrounds: Ong Kee Hui's comparatively privileged background versus Stephen's humble origins, Ong's mildness and acceptance by the establishment versus the legalistic tail-twisting of the establishment by Stephen. That they subsumed their differing personalities to lead the SUPP effectively until they retired is either a reflection of their mutual need of each other to retain their leadership and power or a reflection of the strength of their political beliefs. Certainly the party benefited from this alliance by surviving several very serious crises outlined in the Memoir.

Considering the work that Stephen had done in improving amenities in his electorate, alleviating the conditions of the internees in the 1960s, promoting the cause of Chinese education, and helping bring communism under control through political persuasion, it is understandable that he was deeply hurt when he was not re-elected in 1974. He does not record in his Memoir that his hoped-for return to power was blocked

by Chief Minister Yakub (Chin, *Chinese Politics in Sarawak*, 1996, p. 149) and appears to have had some difficulty in becoming reconciled to his loss of power. Somewhat naively, he assumed that as the Secretary-General of the SUPP he would continue to have access to and a say in Supreme Council (Cabinet) matters and decisions (pp. 219-24). Adroitly helped by Taib bin Mahmud in the 1979 elections (p. 234), the subsequently successful contender for the role of Chief Minister, Stephen was elected and quickly rewarded politically with the post of Federal Minister for Sarawak (p. 243).

The power of the federal government in state politics is very evident in the Memoir, such as in the "coup against Stephen Kalong Ningkan" (pp. 187-8), meeting the Prime Minister to ask for help in resolving SUPP concerns over Chief Minister Yakub's style of government (p. 227), and accepting what was in Stephen's own words an "inequitable agreement [that] amounted to a give-away of our [Sarawak's] natural resources", 5% as royalty on oil and gas extracted in Sarawak (p. 216). His explanation of why the latter occurred only reinforces the public feeling in Sarawak at the time that their interests had not been well served by their political representatives.

Thus to sum up, dependent on the reader the memoir can be an amusing and entertaining account of events in Stephen's life, a political treatise on his achievements, a slight lifting of the veil around political manoeuvring to gain and hold power, and revelations of nepotism and abuse of power that bedevil all political systems but have to be ruthlessly eliminated if they are not to become endemic. That Stephen has retained his own high standards in his political career is something of which he can be proud. But the memoir leaves a sense that on occasion the interests of the public of Sarawak could have been better served by its political leaders. (Vernon L. Porritt, Visiting Research Associate, Division of Social Sciences, Humanities, and Education, Murdoch University, Perth, Western Australia).

Bob Reece. *Masa Jepun. Sarawak Under the Japanese 1941-1945*. Kuching: Sarawak Literary Society, 1998, ISBN 983 9115 06 5, large format (A4), pp. xix + 254, illus.

This is a very welcome book. The Japanese Occupation in Sarawak has been largely neglected by historians: partly because of the paucity of documentary sources; partly because it was a painful experience which its survivors were anxious to put behind them; and partly because historians' interests have lain within the period of Brooke rule, or the post-war transition to independence within Malaysia, and consequent political, social and economic developments. Most writing on the Occupation period has been Euro-centric; the experiences of European detainees and prisoners of war, accounts of military operations and the decision to transfer rule from the Brookes to the British Colonial office for which the parlous state of post-war Sarawak provided a justification. In that Dr. Reece has drawn on material from these sources, some of his account is familiar, but extensive evidence from local and Japanese sources provides a dimension previously lacking and the Occupation is treated as a period of historical interest and importance in its own right.

Skillfully drawing upon interviews with Europeans, Japanese and Sarawakians, written accounts and surviving official documentation, Reece has provided as complete and balanced an analysis of the period as can be expected. For the older generation who lived through it, the Occupation has often been a source of embarrassment, when loyalties were in conflict, motives were mixed, and fear, greed, and opportunism caused many to

act in ways they later preferred to forget. Collaboration is a pejorative word, and yet many felt that they served their people best by accepting office under the Japanese. There is evidence of some who exceeded that role. Dr. Reece's strength is that he has brought together the experiences of individuals of all races to demonstrate the complexity of human relationships in a period of upheaval and change.

The structure of the book emphasizes Reece's thesis. He acknowledges that, while Sarawak and the rest of British Borneo had strategic significance and important oil reserves, there were few major, notable events during the Occupation. He is primarily interested in the impact the Occupation made upon the country and its people and its significance for the future. In his own words, "[W]hile it provides a broad overview of the period, this book is more a thematic exploration of group and individual experience than a detailed history of invasion, administration and re-conquest. Although it seeks to examine the aims and achievements of the Japanese administration in its own terms, as well as by other standards, its purpose is to indicate how the diverse peoples of Sarawak reacted to and were affected by a relatively brief period of rapid and unprecedented change. After one hundred years of 'White Rajah' rule, it was the Japanese occupation which ended Sarawak's isolation and insulation from the outside world once and for all" (p. xiii). In this he succeeds.

Reece follows both chronological and thematic approaches. Thus the story opens with the celebrations of the centenary of Brooke rule on 14 September 1941, which were accompanied by the proclamation of a Constitution. Reece's assessment of the Brooke achievement is fair. "For all its shortcomings in areas such as education and health, Brooke rule had protected the people of Sarawak from outside economic subjugation. It had provided an informal and easily accessible system of administration which took the line of least resistance to indigenous customs while preserving individual liberty. It was a system that Sarawak people referred to as *perentah*, or good government, rather than *keraja'an*, with its connotations of hierarchical and formalised authority." (p. 8). Nevertheless he recognizes that there was dissatisfaction in some quarters.

Although the incipient threat from Japan was recognized, this benevolent autocracy tolerated the few Japanese nationals within its borders, despite suspicions that some might be gathering intelligence. However, defense arrangements, for which the North Borneo territories were dependent upon the British, were belated and inadequate. Contingency plans made by the Sarawak government included raising local forces and preparations for guerilla warfare in the interior. An air of futility hangs over these activities and Reece provides interesting insights drawn from the correspondence of J.B. Archer.

Reece describes the Japanese conquest of British Borneo, with Kuching falling in December, the fates of the Europeans who stayed or fled towards Dutch territory, and of the Punjabi Regiment, and events in Kuching and Sibiu. Some of the underlying resentment towards Brooke rule came to the surface and ugly incidents occurred. Reece also analyzes the rumors surrounding the activities of the Rajah and of Gerard MacBryan, his controversial Private Secretary.

The core of the book consists of the chapters covering the Occupation itself, the attitudes, behavior, administration and policies of the Japanese regime and the strategies and choices of those who lived under it. Local and Japanese sources provide evidence of a society in which there were tensions, but also cooperation and wary goodwill. Reece is

aware of the role played by personalities across a spectrum of behavior, and recognizes that to many, incorporation in the Japanese empire was not as dire an experience as it was for those interned and mistreated. It is also clear that from mid-1943, with the war going against the Japanese, conditions worsened, dissatisfaction increased and Japanese rule grew harsher.

Reece recognizes that Japanese attitudes and behavior in some respects accorded with the cultures of Sarawak, in others was at variance; and that Japanese officials could be arrogant or sensitive. Reece examines the personalities of men like Marquis Maeda, who moved his headquarters to Kuching in 1942, his successor Setsuo Yamada, and Shoichiro Suzuki, who, as Deputy Commissioner of Police at Simanggang, developed close and friendly relations with the Iban. Emotive issues like the role of the *kempei-tai* (military police), and the *jikeidan* (local vigilante organization) as instruments of social control, and of the *Kyodo-hei* (local militia) are treated dispassionately. In the latter, with NCOs drawn from the families of the Malay elite and Iban rank and file, there were echoes of Brooke practice; in this case the Malays were less enthusiastic than the Ibans.

The Japanese attempted to win the cooperation of the local population of all races. Given the history of Sino-Japanese relations and the support of the Sarawak Chinese for the Chinese war effort, it is not surprising that Japanese policy towards the Chinese was punitive, suspicious, and retaliatory. Nevertheless, they hoped to acquire a degree of cooperation and, after banning all existing Chinese associations, created the *Kakeo Kokotai*, or United Overseas Chinese Association, to that end. As Reece points out (p. 118), the personal experiences of Japanese officers could influence their policies and behavior. Thus Chief of Staff Manaki deplored the massacres of Singapore and pragmatically regarded the Chinese as possessing useful skills; while Staff Officer Tsunao Yano, who had served in central China, was convinced that the Chinese could never be trusted and refused to make use of them. Unfortunately, Yano's views tended to prevail, although the Chinese in Sibu were, until 1944, shielded to some extent by the relatively liberal policy of Major Takeda.

The Malays were regarded by the Japanese as to some extent the victims of both the Brookes and the Chinese, but their attitude was ambivalent. While younger and less privileged Malays were susceptible to Japanese propaganda, the pan-Malay aspirations of some members of the *Persatuan Melayu Kebangsaan Sarawak* or Sarawak Malay National Union, created in 1939, were regarded with suspicion by the Japanese, who needed also to remain on good terms with the existing Malay elite within the government service. Relations with the Iban were also conducted along Brooke lines, and with wary circumspection. Reece's study of these relations is one of the fascinations of the book.

Also fascinating are the chapters on economic policy and the innovations resorted to as the war turned against the Japanese and local products and manufactures had to substitute for imports. The Japanese effort to replace shipping losses with wooden craft made at the Brooke Dockyard foundered, literally, when the ship carrying marine engines for them was torpedoed in 1944. On the other hand, the restoration of the oil field was, in Reece's words, an "altogether impressive achievement" (p. 148), as was their destruction of it when they left. To further these and other efforts, the Japanese brought in labor from their empire, successful in the case of Chinese skilled carpenters for the boatyards at

Kuching and Sandakan, a humanitarian disaster in the case of Javanese for the plantations of North Borneo and the building of roads, airfields, and defenses.

Local ingenuity produced a wide range of products from natural sources. In the interior there was a resurgence of traditional skills and hunting which was reflected in a cultural revival, "the final high point of Iban poetic and shamanic expression" (p. 158) and an unintended boon to post-war anthropologists.

The miseries, hardships, and oppression of the last months of the war have colored memories of the occupation ever since. Reece places these in overall perspective, along with the experiences of the Japanese. His account of the military operations undertaken by Force Z provides the indigenous and Japanese perspectives previously lacking, and the liberation of Kuching and the Batu Lintang Camp is vividly seen through the eyes of the liberated, as is the troubled period immediately following.

Reece sees the main significance of the period in the shake-up given to society caused by population movement and occupational change; along with an awareness that the Japanese had promised much and achieved little and that the people should look to themselves. The older generation had been to a large extent compromised by their collaboration with the Japanese, yet the latter had demonstrated what an Asian people might achieve. The main impact was psychological and as new leaders emerged, Sarawak would never be the same again.

One problem with the book, of which the author is aware, is his discussion of the Japanese role in Brunei and Sabah. The Japanese governed northwest Borneo as a unit and Reece is logically compelled to refer to events in these territories as they affected Japanese policy and actions within Sarawak, but unable to give them the full attention they deserve. One looks forward to a history of *Borneo Kita* in which the Japanese Occupation in all three territories is as fully treated.

The book is attractively presented and well-illustrated with many photographs from private sources and facsimile reproductions of documents and posters. In other ways, the publishers have not served the author altogether well. In addition to the acknowledged errata there are numerous typographical errors. Nevertheless, this is a very welcome addition to the literature. We are fortunate that it has appeared at a time when Ooi Keat Gin's collection of documents of the Occupation period has also become available.¹ As an experienced journalist and historian who has made substantial use of oral testimony in the past, Reece allows his witnesses to speak for themselves. His long association with Sarawak since the 1960s has provided him with insights and understanding which humanize his account. As one who was in the region for many years, this reviewer often heard people speak of the Occupation. I am thankful that Bob Reece has had the initiative to record such reminiscences for posterity.

Masa Jepun is available from Perayaan Books, Dam End Farm, 17 Kelfield Road, Riccall, York YO19 6PQ, UK, and for Australia and New Zealand, from Masa Jepun, 15 Holland St., Fremantle, W.A. 6160, Australia. (Graham Saunders, East Asian Studies Department, University of Leeds).

¹Ooi Keat Gin, ed., *Japanese Empire in the Tropics: Selected Documents and Reports of the Japanese Period in Sarawak, Northwest Borneo, 1941-1945*. Ohio University Press: March 1998.

W. Batty-Smith MBE. *Sarawak. The Rajah's Officers, 1841-1946*. Nigel Batty-Smith, Charnage Wiltshire, UK, ISBN 0-9535722 0 X, 1999, i + pp. 104, map. L15

This little volume is certain to be useful to anyone seriously interested in Sarawak's century of Brooke rule. The main body of the work consists of a listing, in alphabetical order, of all of the senior officers who served in the Brooke Raj from 1841 to 1946, the dates of their service, the positions they held, and often other details concerning their service careers. The information on which it is based derives chiefly from the Civil Lists, Government Gazette, and Sarawak Gazette.

The volume opens with a brief two-page "Introduction" which highlights features that, in the author's view, make Sarawak "unique in the manner in which it was governed" (p. 1). Part of its uniqueness, the author suggests, was due to its miniscule number of serving officers. In 1900, just past midway in its history, Sarawak was administered by a total of 38 expatriate officers, only 23 of whom were actually involved in what the author calls "the day-to-day running of the country" (p. 1). The others performed mainly "support" functions, as the author terms them, such as audit, education, medical and health, post and telegraph, or public works, or were engaged in "field-based functions" such as forestry, agriculture, and lands and surveys. Reflecting the profound changes that began to overtake Sarawak during its final half century, by 1940, the last year for which complete records are available, the number of administrative officers had increased by only 50 percent, but the number of "supporting" officers had grown by no less than 450 percent (p. 1). Regrettably, no mention is made, even in passing, of the contribution of junior staff or of native officers.

Implied in the author's account is a perception of the caste-like priority of the administrative officer over all others. Also implied is a commonly accepted view, virtually universal within the Sarawak civil service of the time, that a Brooke officer enjoyed close rapport and an intimate practical knowledge of the indigenous peoples he administered. The everyday business of government was conducted in local languages and all cadets were required to pass language exams, or face dismissal, and to become a District Officer "it was necessary to be fluent in both Malay and at least one Dayak language", and "to be able to read and write in Jawi" (p. 1). Long service was the ideal and during the early years, Sarawak cadets often entered the service at a remarkably young age by modern standards, not a few of them in their teens. From this, the author asserts that a "young officer who joined as a cadet grew up with the indigenous young men of the same age", with the result that, "after 15 years or so", when he had come to hold a more senior position, he and his indigenous contemporaries, the latter having similarly risen in the "tribal hierarchy", naturally "held each other in mutual respect" (p. 2).

There is, no doubt, much romantic mystification in all this. Yet it is hard not to agree with the author that there was something unique about Brooke rule. Certainly, given the tiny number of expatriate officers, and the sheer physical size of the country, notions of European "hegemony", when applied to Sarawak, require carefully scrutiny, and, even now, there is much that remains to be learned regarding the sources of Brooke legitimacy from the point of view of local understandings and responses. Officer frequently traveled days to remote longhouses to hear disputes, or to make arrests (the latter rarely resisted),

and, as the author observes, "at one time the Rajah had seven convicted murderers working in the Astana gardens". However, his conclusion from this that "expatriate officers were held by the indigenous population...in absolute respect" represents a considerable overstatement (p. 1). From my own experience in working with elderly Iban informants in the Saribas region, an area often characterized as having been especially "loyal" to the Brookes Raj, it is well off the mark. To begin with, notions of "absolute respect" were culturally alien to the conditions of longhouse life a century ago. Even in turn-of-the-century Saribas, there were pockets of strong anti-Brooke sentiment, as well as individual instances of resentment over past government decisions or the actions of individual officers. Moreover, Iban oral narratives are often acutely observant of European foibles, and a number of officers appear as in anything but a flattering light. Among them, Demetrius Bailey, for example, is still remembered as a singularly pompous, ill-tempered, dictatorial figure. While some officers were, indeed, popular, so too, it must be said, were several Japanese officers stationed in the district during the Japanese Occupation. By 1941, many young mission-educated Saribas Iban were becoming disaffected by what they saw as a lack of opportunity in a conservative state where aristocratic Malay families were openly favored for administrative service, while Chinese monopolized river transport and cash crop markets on which the Iban were becoming increasingly dependent. In the Skrang, and at Betong, some of this ill-feeling flared into the open during the weeks that followed the Japanese invasion of Sarawak.

Following this short Introduction, a second section of some twenty pages provides a brief outline of the organization of the Brooke civil service and government departments. The first part of the section treats the principal administering officer of the state, who was normally the Rajah himself, assisted by the Rajah Muda or Tuan Muda. In the Rajah's absence, the Rajah Muda or the Tuan Muda usually acted on his behalf, or a committee assumed temporary responsibility headed a the senior administrative officer, usually the Chief Secretary or First Division Resident. Absences were fairly frequent and sometimes extended over substantial periods of time. In this regard, the author provides a useful chronology of the principal administering officers, including those who acted on behalf of the Rajah, and the dates they served. A second section deals with the office of the Chief Secretary. The first to hold the equivalent of this appointment was Thomas Williamson, who came to Sarawak in the *Royalist* in 1839. He was succeeded by A. C. Crookshank, a cousin of James Brooke, who held the position, with minor breaks, from 1846 to 1873. Crookshank was a central figure in the formative years of the Raj and his story, and that of the web of kinship and personal ties that linked together members of the early Brooke government, is told by J.H. Walker in "A Confusion of Crookshanks (sic): Personalities and Power in the Lives of the Early Brookes" (*Borneo Research Bulletin*, 28, 1997).

It was not until 1912 that the historically familiar five administrative "Divisions" of Sarawak were created, each Division headed by a Resident, assisted, as the author explains, by from one to five additional officers. The title of "District Officer" was introduced only in the 1920s. Prior to this, officers occupying an equivalent administrative position were known as "Residents Second Class". "Outstations" were, from the 1920s onward, in the charge of a District Officer, a Junior Officer, or a Native Officer. Following the creation of the administrative divisions, the Resident of the First Division also customarily assumed the duties of Chief Secretary, until 1932, after which a

separate position of Government Secretary was introduced. The author lists, in chronological order, all of those who occupied these positions, including acting officers, through the duration of the Brooke Raj.

The next five parts deal briefly, again in chronological order, with the Residents and acting Residents, Division by Division. An eighth section treats the position of the Treasurer. The financial side of the Brooke Raj has yet to be seriously examined, partly because of the absence of adequate records. Most early financial documents were lost when Kuching was burned during the attack of Chinese miners in 1857. In addition, early Brooke financial operations appear to have been somewhat ad hoc and were complicated by the Government's involvement in trading operations, something for which it was later criticized. The next part treats the medical department. Although a surgeon accompanied the *Royalist*, no regular medical service existed in Sarawak for most of its early years. Such medical care as was available was provided by Bishop McDougall, who established, as the author notes, the first dispensary in Sarawak. Dr. John Cruickshank was appointed in May 1860 (again, see J.H. Walker, "A Confusion of Crookshanks") and was followed by a regular succession of medical officers, whose names and dates of service are listed. Despite these appointments, it must be said that by 1941 Sarawak had fallen behind much of the British colonial world in its medical facilities. The absence of a section on "education" points up another deficiency of the Brooke era.

Section ten treats the "Sarawak Rangers" and section eleven, the police, listing Commandants, chief "Constables" and "Inspectors of Police". In 1879, following the construction of Kuching fort, one of the principal tasks performed by the Sarawak Rangers was the somewhat quaint one, no doubt dear to the heart of the expatriate community, of firing a canon upon the arrival of the mail from Singapore. Section twelve deals with the Public Works Department. Clearly, like the police, public works came near the bottom of the civil service pecking order, and, as the author notes, records of the department's operations are incomplete and its origins obscure. During the early Brooke years, various serving officers were assigned responsibilities for roads and bridges, and for maintaining public works, as additions to their other duties. The beginning of the Public Works Department dates to 1882, when an officer was placed in charge of roads and public buildings, and in 1924, the title of Director of Public Works was created. Ironically, today, it is the public buildings and monuments of the Brooke era that are, in many respects, its most visible and enduring legacy.

The Sarawak Post Office came into existence, the author tells us, in 1864, when the senior Treasury Clerk was appointed "Postmaster" by the First Rajah. Sarawak stamps bearing the head of Sir James Brooke were first issued in 1869. However, they could be used on letters only from Sarawak to Singapore. There, Straits Settlement stamps were necessary for letters going beyond Singapore. Sarawak entered the International Post Union in 1897, after which letters could be sent directly from Sarawak to all parts of the world. The brief section that follows deals with the Sarawak Museum. In 1878, the author notes, the Rajah encouraged his officers to begin collecting ethnological specimens in order that they might be placed in a museum he intended to build. Initially, these acquisitions were listed in the *Sarawak Gazette* and, as they were collected, they were stored in various temporary locations. In 1886 the government purchased H. Brook Low's collection of material culture from the Rejang, which came to form the original nucleus of

the present Sarawak Museum collections. The building of the Museum itself was much delayed, but was finally completed and the building formally opened by Sir Charles Brooke in 1891. The author ends with a list of curators. Finally, he concludes with a list of civil service officers who served on the Council Negri.

The main body of the work then follows. As already indicated, this consists of a listing of all officers who served in the Senior Sarawak Civil Service from 1841 to 1946. In addition, the service record is also included of those who chose to continue in the colonial government that followed. The author takes note of inconsistencies in the Civil Lists and Gazettes; in addition, he notes that some officers simultaneously held more than one position. In his listing, he includes the dates of leaves, as well as of active service, except for those of less than one month duration. For some officers, he includes also dates of birth and death and, in many cases, a record of military and administrative service outside of Sarawak. Several Brooke officers went on to notable careers elsewhere, including, among them, William Crocker, Alfred Hart Everett, and Edward Gueritz, each of whom later became the Governor of North Borneo.

In the main listing of officers, the author also includes occasional incidental information. Thus, we learn, for example, to take one officer at random, that Francis John Digby Cox, who served as a senior officer in the Brooke government from 1884 until 1906, took only one leave of absence during his 22 years of service, and that, at one time, in 1904, he was removed from his post at Lundu because he piqued the Rajah by failing to greet him or attend his departure when the latter had visited Lundu—"courtesies", the author tersely observes, "to which the Rajah was accustomed" (p. 44)—and in punishment he was briefly assigned to the Magistrate Court of Requests in Kuching, until, five months later, he was returned to duty at Bau.

The volume concludes with a list of Sarawak Consuls at Brunei and Labuan, Sarawak Consuls at Jeddah (later known as "Pilgrim Officers"), and British Consuls. For a time, the Governor of the Straits Settlements held the position of Consul-General for Borneo, while the occupant of the British Consul's position was later termed the "British Agent" for Sarawak. Sir Charles Brooke, near the end of his rule, created a Sarawak State Advisory Council in England, which served as a purchasing body and information office representing Sarawak's interests with the British Government, and the author ends by listing, again in chronological order, successive Council appointees and their dates of service.

The Rajah's Officers is distributed by the author and may be ordered by writing directly to: W. Batty-Smith MBE, Thorpe House, Stalbridge, Dorset DT10 2LR, UK (see "Announcements"). (Clifford Sather, Cultural Anthropology, P.O. Box 59, FIN-00014 University of Helsinki, FINLAND)

Michael Hopes, Madrah and Karaakng, *Tempu: Myths of the Benuaq and Tunjung Dayaks*. 167 pp. Published by PUSPA SWARA and the Rio Tinto Foundation. Jakarta, 1997.

Michael Hopes, *Ilmu: Magic and Divination amongst the Benuaq and Tunjung Dayak*. 190 pp. Published by PUSPA SWARA and the Rio Tinto Foundation. Jakarta, 1997.

Michael Hopes is an Australian anthropologist who has done over two years of fieldwork with Benuaq Dayaks in the Middle Mahakam region of East Kalimantan. The two books reviewed here (both of which are also available in Indonesian) provide valuable and for the most part previously unavailable information on the indigenous religious beliefs of the Benuaq, and their neighbours the Tunjung, who have adopted many aspects of Benuaq religion. The information also largely applies to several culturally and linguistically related Dayak peoples in the eastern parts of the province of Central Kalimantan, from where the Benuaq themselves as well as their religious traditions are said to have originated. As about half of the population of the Benuaq and some of their neighbors still adhere to the traditional religion, nowadays referred to as Kaharingan, which today is recognized as an official religion, *agama*, in Central Kalimantan, but not in East Kalimantan, the subject of the books is also of great contemporary significance. The relative neglect of the area dealt with in the Borneo ethnographic literature adds further to the value of these books. They should also be of comparative interest for scholars with research interests beyond Kalimantan.

The first of the books, written in collaboration with Madrah, a Benuaq Dayak, is a compilation of seventeen origin myths (*tempu*). These myths are sung in verse in the context of various rituals, which are still frequently performed in many areas of East and Central Kalimantan. The myths are mainly based on transcribed recordings of performances by Karaakng, a widely known ritual expert. In the book they are presented in the form of easily read narratives. In an introduction, the author describes the general features and social functions of the myths and provides background information on the religious beliefs and culture pervading them. The second book presents magic and techniques of divination, most aspects of which are also of continuing significance. The book is divided in chapters dealing with particular forms of magic and divination, including diagnostic techniques used in curing rituals, bird augury, spells, use of magical oils etc. Except when describing the techniques themselves, all chapters include some discussion of the cultural logic and contexts involved. (Kenneth Sillander, Swedish School of Social Science, P.O.Box. 16, 00014 University of Helsinki, Finland)

ABSTRACTS

Abdoellah, Oekan Soekotjo. 1997, Pemahaman adaptasi masyarakat transmigran: pendekan antropologi ekologi, *Prisma*, 26, no. 7.

So far there have been few anthropological studies of the way in which transmigrants adapt themselves to their new living and working conditions. The present

author has studied the transmigration village of Barambai, originally a Banjar settlement in the tidal part of the coast of Kalimantan Selatan in the *kabupaten* Barito Kuala. The original Banjarese inhabitants lived mostly from the rice which they cultivated in the peat ground along the banks of the rivers. The transmigrants, a mixture of Central Javanese from Banyumas and Balinese from Nusapenida, set to work to create *sawah*. Five years later this *sawah* had become largely infertile as a result of leaching of the acidity owing to the heavy rains. Most of the transmigrants proved adaptable. Taking advantage of the improved transport system to the regency capitol, which offered them a readily accessible market, many changed to growing cassava, vegetables, and fruit, and animal husbandry. Some chose to migrate again, either within Kalimantan or back to their original homes. Parents encourage their children to go to the cities and towns in search of a better education. The Javanese are more likely to migrate in search of other work than the Balinese, who prefer to adopt the strategy of economic diversification where they are. The author urges that more attention be paid by anthropologists and ecologists to the various strategies of adaptation put into effect by transmigrants (Rosemary Robson-McKillop).

Adelaar, Alexander. 1995, Asian roots of Malagasy: a linguistic perspective. *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde*, 151 (3): 325-356.

This article gives an overview of developments in the study of the linguistic history of Malagasy. It is also a critical evaluation of Otto Christian Dahl's 1991 book *Migration from Kalimantan to Madagascar* (Oslo: Norwegian UP), addressing the issues of Malay loanwords, the arrival of Islam in Madagascar, and the putative role of Bangka in the migration of Southeast Borneo speakers from Kalimantan to Madagascar. Finally, the article adduces arguments for loanwords from South Sulawesi languages in Malagasy (author's abstract).

Baier, Martin. 1995, The enigma of the Apo Kayan: megalithic sculptures and sarcophagi in the Apo Kayan area (study of a journey to the south-east of the Apo Kayan in July-August 1994), IN: Victor T. King and A.V.M. Horton, eds., *From Buckfast to Borneo*. Hull: Centre for South-East Asian Studies, pp. 469-488.

The Apo Kayan plateau in East Kalimantan is still very isolated. Since the 1920s, when they were first discovered, the stone carvings of sarcophagi which are found there have fascinated Europeans. The present-day inhabitants, Kenyah, attribute them to the now extinct Ga'ai people. The Punan Aput attribute them to the Be-o-u, a tribe unknown to anyone other than the Punan Aput. The sculptures consist of plain sarcophagi and stone pillars and posts showing human heads or figures, in some cases with explicit genitalia. There is a general tendency to classify them as megalithic, but in Indonesia that may be little indication of their true age. The author tentatively suggests that they were correlated with death rituals or perhaps with acts of penitence (Rosemary L. Robson-McKillop).

Blust, Robert, 1997, Nasals and nasalizations in Borneo. *Oceanic Linguistics*, 36 (1): 149-179.

This paper discusses the phenomena of nasal harmony, nasal prelosion, and nasal postprelosion in various languages of Borneo, including Uma Juman, a dialect of Kayan, Ngaju, Narum, a member of the "North Sarawak" group, Land Dayak (Bidayu), Bonggi, and Tunjung. The major purposes of the author are: (1) to show that the languages of Borneo are unusually rich both in phonological processes relating to nasalization and in typologically unusual nasal segments, (2) and to relate these data, at least in a preliminary way, to general linguistic theory. He concentrates on one of the less well-described nasal phenomena, mentioned at the beginning of this abstract. He notes in passing when these phenomena have been noted in other Austronesian languages, even in the case of nasal prelosion, seeking other examples from elsewhere in the world (Rosemary L. Robson-McKillop).

Brosius, J. Peter, 1995, Signifying bereavement: forms and context in the analysis of Penan death-names. *Oceania*. 66 (2): 119-146.

Death-names are a characteristic of most central Borneo societies. These are, in fact, titles which are given to a person on the death of a close relative. Paradoxically, the most complicated system exists among the Western Penan hunter-gatherers. The author argues against the detached, formalistic descriptions which have so far obscured the essential properties of death-names. A more appropriate entry point would be one which is rooted in death and bereavement, framing the terms of reference to the principles employed by the Penan themselves. This involves the dilemma between the pull of the effective position and the problem of curse avoidance (Rosemary L. Robson-McKillop).

Calumpang, H.P. and E.G. Menez. 1997, *Field guide to the common mangroves, sea-grasses and algae of the Philippines*. Makati City, Philippines. ISBN 971 569 197 8, vii, 197 pp. Illus.

A brief introduction on a popular level, with keys. Very useful when visiting the beaches and reefs of the Philippines (and Sabah) (source: Flora Malesiana Bulletin).

Djohani, Rili Hawari. 1996, The Bajau: future marine park managers in Indonesia? IN: Michael Parnwell and Raymond L. Bryant, eds. *Environmental Change in South-East Asia*. London: Routledge, pp. 260-268.

The author explores the potential role and contribution of local peoples to the management of the marine environment and resources, focusing on the sea-faring Bajau people of the Indonesian Archipelago. She examines how their skills, knowledge, and experience might be utilized in the simultaneous conservation and controlled development of Indonesia's coastal and marine environments, possibly through the establishment of marine parks. Their stewardship of the marine environment might provide the Bajau with a buffer against external pressures which are at present threatening their established way of life. The Bajau were once a widespread boat-dwelling people of Southeast Asia, but if present trends continue, the sea nomad culture will eventually disappear. More and more Bajau people have settled along the coasts of Sulawesi, Kalimantan Barat, Nusa Tenggara Timur, and Halmahera. This change in lifestyle has brought environmental issues to the forefront: gradually the Bajau have traded their boats for temporary, and later more

permanent, settlements. The author discusses Bajau fishing methods, marine cosmology, and the possibility of Bajau stewardship. She argues that the Bajau living in and nearby (proposed) marine reserves could play a significant role in park planning and management building upon their intimate knowledge of and affinity with the sea (Drs. Youetta M. de Jager).

Dove, Michael R., 1996, Process versus product in Bornean augury: a traditional knowledge system's solution to the problem of knowing. IN: Roy Ellen and Katsuyoshi Fukui, eds., *Redefining Nature*, Oxford: Berg, pp. 557-596.

The practice of augury in Borneo has received at least a passing mention from nearly every natural scientist or ethnographer to visit the island since the 19th century. The author suggests that the dramatization of augury of what is a lack of purpose is the key to understanding the role that augury plays in a purposeful human society. He argues that augury makes comprehensible in human terms the natural system's lack of purposiveness, instead of extending human purposiveness to the natural system. In contrast to the approach of Freeman, who reifies the natural setting of augury, treating nature as available for use in expressing ideas about society, the author departs from the viewpoint that nature and nature-culture relations are compelling in their own right. The dichotomy between nature and culture reduces to the problem of ego and "other". The author presents his interpretation of the augural system, drawing on data from a number of Bornean peoples, including the Kantu' of West Kalimantan, who cultivate rice and assorted other crops in swiddens to meet subsistence needs, and rubber and pepper to meet market needs. He has included data on all omens observed and honored during the stage of site selection. Comparative data on augury were gathered in other parts of Borneo (Drs. Youetta M. de Jager).

Gellert, Paul K. 1998, A brief history and analysis of Indonesia's forest fire crisis. *Indonesia*, no. 65: 63-85.

Lost in a haze of smoke, paradoxically Indonesia lost some of its international invisibility in 1997 when it was afflicted by forest fires whose smoke caused problems throughout the whole region. At first sight there would seem to be little connection between the fires, which could be seen as a natural crisis in the wake of El Nino, and the subsequent financial crisis in 1998. Nevertheless, the author of this article argues that the two are inextricably linked. Both crises seem natural but have, in fact, been generated by the particular political economy of natural resource-based development in Indonesia over the last three decades. The first is a consequence of the pattern of forest exploitation over the past thirty years, recently culminating in the over-rapid conversion of much of Sumatra and Kalimantan into oil-palm plantations. Concomitantly the financial crisis is the outcome of the unfettered deregulation of the banking system and of private investment generally to finance the resource-based development. The argument is divided into four parts. He first reviews the interaction between natural and anthropogenic causes of earlier forest fires in East Kalimantan. After this he summarizes the data on the 1997-98 fires. The third section is a survey of the history of timber and forestry development from logging to industrial tree and agricultural tree crop plantations. The final section is

devoted to the politics of blame and accountability, which continue to thwart the development of alternatives. This article was written before the events of May 1998 in Indonesia (Rosemary Robson-McKillop).

Gerke, Solvay. 1997, Ethnic relations and cultural dynamics in East Kalimantan: the case of the Dayak lady. *Indonesia and the Malay World*, no. 72, pp. 176-187.

The author describes her encounter with a Dayak lady, in every sense of the word, whom she met at the latter's *warung* near a transmigration settlement in the Kutai District of East Kalimantan. She was a lady of Tunjung Dayak descent, who many years ago had married a Malay man from Kutai and had adopted Islam. She could vividly recall the lifestyle of the Tunjung Dayaks, a group settled in four villages in the middle Mahakam area, during her childhood some fifty years earlier. Her story is revealing of cultural differences between the Kutai Malays and the Dayaks. A process of assimilation has been going on for centuries but the way each group views this is very different. The Malays see it as an irreversible, one-way process, whereas the Dayaks see each group as being of equal status. Somewhat paradoxically, given the indubitable Malay feelings of superiority, the longhouse and Dayak symbols have been adopted as symbols for the province. The author uses the Dayak lady's story in a somewhat unorthodox way to try to contextualize important events in it, in order to seek a meaning not only for them in themselves, but to transpose this to the wider socio-cultural complex of Kalimantan (Rosemary Robson-McKillop).

Goor, Jurrien van. 1995, A.W. Nieuwenhuis (1864-1953): explorer of Central Borneo. IN: Victor T. King, ed., *Explorers of South-East Asia*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, pp. 229-280.

Aton Willem Nieuwenhuis (born on 22 May 1864 in Papendrecht), who was a medical officer in the Dutch East Indies army stationed in 1892 at Sambas, West Kalimantan, was the first Dutchman to cross Borneo from the west to the east coast, from Pontianak to Samarinda, in 1896-97. He reported his exploits in two massive volumes: *Quer durch Borneo: Ergebnisse seiner Reisen in den Jahren 1894, 1896-97 und 1898-1900. Unter Mitarb von M. Nieuwenhuis* (Leiden, 1904-07). Following a description of the history of Dutch presence in Borneo, the author discusses the three expeditions into areas which had not yet been brought under Dutch rule: the first, led by Professor Molengraaff in 1893-94; the second in 1896-97 which is discussed in a large part of this article; and the third in 1898. The article includes a list of Nieuwenhuis' main publications (Drs. Youetta M. de Jager).

Hall, Kenneth R., 1995, Upstream and downstream networking in seventeenth century Banjarmasin. IN: Victor T. King and A.V.M. Horton, eds., *From Buckfast to Borneo*. Hull: Centre for South-East Asian Studies, University of Hull, pp. 489-504.

In the sixteenth century the importance of the port of Banjarmasin increased enormously with the flourishing of the pepper trade. The initial impetus came from Chinese merchants who found their access to the pepper markets in Sumatra inhibited by

Europeans and by the monopolistic practices pursued by Aceh. The main purpose of this essay is to examine the interactions between upriver and downriver populations, which he believes have previously been skewed in favor of the downriver people. He argues that the importance of the upriver populations, who, after all, produced the resources in demand with the foreign traders, has been underestimated. Also previously overlooked has been the aspect of cultural dialogue, an idea assiduously cultivated by the downriver elites. This idea of community building was given extra emphasis by the growing influence of Islam (Rosemary L. Robson-McKillop).

Hall, Kenneth R., 1996, The textile industry in Southeast Asia, 1400-1800, *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient*. 39 (2): 87-135.

Taking Banjarmasin, which flourished in the pepper trade of the period, as his example, the author discusses the regional and indigenous textile trade of Southeast Asia in the 16th and 17th centuries. His primary source is the *Hikayat Banjar*. He reviews the multi-purpose significance of cloth, which bore a rich indigenous legacy while functioning as the point of reference for revised political, economic, and cultural transactions in the area during a period of great change, marked by the rise of Islam and the coming of the Europeans. Cloth proved to be the binding factor which regularized the interactions of the upstream and downstream orders (Rosemary L. Robson-McKillop).

Hawkins, Mary. 1996, Is rukun dead? Ethnographic interpretations of social change and Javanese culture. *Australian Journal of Anthropology*, 7 (3): 218-234.

The Javanese concept of *rukun* or harmony is allied to helpfulness and a strong feeling of reciprocity. In the literature it has been transferred from the cultural sphere to the economic sphere, in which all sorts of traditional practices are also said to have been supported by the concept. Logically, with the enormous changes in economic patterns, *rukun* should have had to have taken a back seat, but the author argues that such a view of social and economic change in Java is theoretically and empirically flawed. *Rukun* is a central ideological concept in the way Javanese contextualize and comprehend their lives and adjust their social behavior. Contemporary Javanese are just as likely to interpret the "modern" world in terms of *rukun*. In her argument the author uses fieldwork of other anthropologists in the Yogyakarta area of Central Java as well as her own fieldwork among Javanese transmigrants in South Kalimantan. *Rukun* is reinterpreted to suit the times (Rosemary Robson-McKillop).

Hidayat, Herman. 1997, Pemberdayaan ekonomi masyarakat melahui program HPH Bina Desa Hutan: studi kasus desa Muara Gusik, kecamatan Muara Kedang, kabupaten Kutai, Kaltim. *Analisis CSIS*, 26 (5): 443-463.

The instruction from the Ministry of Forests no. 691/kpts-II/1991, which was amended by no. 691/kpts-II/1995 makes very clear that whoever has the right to manage a forest (*Hak Penguasaan Hutan* (HPH)) or for industrial (logging) purposes (*Hutan Tanaman Industri* (HTI)) must take responsibility for "guiding" all the people who live in the area in which he is carrying out his business. To begin with, the attitude of these village people to the law was relatively positive. However, it has generally proved a

failure because it is far too top-down oriented. To test this hypothesis, the author did fieldwork in a forest village in the *kabupaten* Kutai, East Kalimantan. Many of the programs of the PT ITCI (International Timber Corporation Indonesia) ignore the needs of the people and instead of improving *sawah* and irrigation, and taking good care of the natural resources of the forest (source of secondary income for the people), they have built village administrative buildings, a cooperative office, a small mosque, and sports facilities. All these are highly approved by the authorities, who then have no compunction about issuing an extension of the exploitation license. The author is convinced that had the people been consulted, with more "bottom up" input, the whole picture would have been rosier (Rosemary Robson-McKillop).

Hoskins, Janet. 1996, Introduction: headhunting as practice and as trope. IN: Janet Hoskins, ed., *Headhunting and the social imagination in Southeast Asia*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, pp. 1-49.

In her introduction to this volume, which documents and analyses headhunting practices and shows the persistence of headhunting as a trope, the author discusses the contributions of ethnographers of seven regions: i.e. the Philippine Highlands, Sarawak, Brunei, and South Borneo, and the Indonesian islands of Sulawesi, Sumba, and Timor, in a comparative perspective, focusing on the changes in the imagery of headhunting, and explaining why contemporary indigenous peoples fear their new predators in the form of government officials, Western missionaries, Japanese businessmen, and tourists. She follows seven themes: (1) headhunting, slavery, and trade; (2) headhunting and state formation; (3) heads as political symbols; (4) heads as gendered symbols; (5) headhunting and human sacrifice; (6) "headless" headhunting rituals; and (7) headhunting scares and rumors as part of the "culture of state terror" that emerged after pacification and transformed the meaning of the headhunter in Southeast Asia. The author suggests that the symbolic extensions of headhunting motifs into an indigenous counter-mythology that forms a critique of colonial conquest and post-colonial development is unique to Southeast Asia (Drs. Youetta M. deJager).

Hurst, Philip. 1990, Indonesia. IN: Philip Hurst, *Rainforest Politics*. Kuala Lumpur: S. Abdul Majeed, pp. 1-45.

This article focuses on the problem of deforestation in Indonesia; its environmental consequences, economic and social costs, forest policy, forest legislation, government policy on shifting agriculture, conservation areas and national parks, causes of forest degradation, forest management, shifting cultivation, future outlook, and the case studies of logging in East Kalimantan and of Siberut, an island in the Mentawai group off the west coast of Sumatra (Drs. Youetta M. de Jager).

Ishikawa Noboru. 1997, Rubber booms and peasants on the border: a case from Western Borneo. *Minzokugaku Kenkyu*, 61 (4): 586-615.

This article (in Japanese) surveys the peasants in the international border area between what is now Indonesian West Kalimantan and Malayisan Sarawak at the time of two different rubber booms, one in the 1930s and one in the 1950s. The article focuses on

the exclusion of peasants from the state-led commodity production system. Turning to manipulative strategies and showing great resilience, locals engaged in cross-border rubber smuggling and persevered with non-capitalistic swidden rice cultivation. The concentration on a transnational border area is deliberate because of the scope such an area offers. Rubber cultivation in Sarawak was delayed because Brooke did not encourage it, which meant that it lagged behind other areas in Southeast Asia. By the 1920s, the Lundu area in southwestern Sarawak was also swept along in the rubber boom. With the rubber restrictions of the 1930s, a flourishing smuggling trade developed between Sambas and Lundu, which enjoyed a new lease of life in the wake of the economic chaos in Indonesia in the 1950s. The article closes with an ethnographic study of the peasant villages along the border. Coastal villages, which once relied on coconut plantations, functioned as smuggling lairs. Interestingly, with the decline of the coconut industry, the Malays have turned increasingly to swidden rice, giving lie to the theoretical premise of linear capitalistic penetration that presupposes local peasants as a passive periphery to the modern world system (adapted by Rosemary Robson-McKillop).

Kato, Tsuyoshi. 1997, Dynamics of the frontier world in insular Southeast Asia: an overview. *Tonan Ajia Kenkyu*, 34 (4): 611-621.

The project "Dynamics of the Frontier World in Insular Southeast Asia" was a three-year project carried out principally by researchers from the Center for Southeast Asian Studies in Kyoto, with backup from other Japanese universities and Southeast Asian academic institutions. In this introductory chapter, the author details the plan of the project which was divided into two sections. There is a joint research section in three major riverine systems of Indonesian Kalimantan to examine how rural and urban frontiers have developed and how they have interacted within the geographical unit. There is also an individual research section carried out by the participants in their own selected localities. As he himself does not have an article in this collection, he also devotes some space to his own research on the Minangkabau in two migrant villages: one in Riau and the other in Negri Sembilan. He also recounts an interesting experience: the discovery of a Minangkabau village, Kudangan, on the border between Central and West Kalimantan, in *kabupaten* Kotawaringin Barat, Central Kalimantan, until recently a very isolated area. The villagers claim to be the descendants of a Minangkabau culture here: Datuk Perpatih, who had come from Pagarruyung when most of Kalimantan was "still under the sea". The genealogy in fact goes back 22 or 23 generations. Descent is traced patrilineally, not matrilineally, and rather than being Muslim, most of the village, formerly *Kaharingan*, are now Christian. Their language is similar to Minangkabau or Malay. There are other detached pieces of information which, put together, add up to enough to stimulate speculation about an ancient Minangkabau population movement in the frontier world of Insular Southeast Asia (Rosemary Robson-McKillop).

Knapen, Han. 1997, Koortsachtig koppen tellen in de binnenlanden van Zuidoost-Borneo (1700-1900), *Spiegel historiael*. 32 (10-11): 444-449.

Borneo is one of, if not the, most thinly populated areas in Southeast Asia. There has been a tendency to attribute this to the bloodthirsty urge of the Dayaks to go

headhunting, for which they were constantly prepared to make war. After having given an interesting run-down of what were probably the true mechanics of headhunting in Kalimantan, the author attributes the low density of population to the presence of diseases both endemic and epidemic. The endemic disease was malaria which claimed the lives of many of the babies who had not had time to build up a resistance. The epidemic disease was smallpox which recurred about every six years. The threat of these diseases was also an important factor in delaying the economic exploitation of the hinterland of the island. The bibliography, separated from the main text, appears on page 481 (Rosemary Robson-McKillop).

Knapen, Han. 1998, Lethal diseases in the history of Borneo: mortality and the interplay between disease environment and human geography. IN: V.T. King, ed., *Environmental challenges in South-East Asia*. Richard: Curzon, pp. 69-94.

In this analysis of the cultural factors that shape the pathological picture of Borneo the author discusses diseases that, prior to the twentieth century, were of paramount importance from a demographic and human ecological point of view, i.e.: malaria, smallpox, cholera, and dysentery. He discusses their arrival in Borneo and the internal spread over the island related to different ecological zones. The local people tried to protect and cure themselves in their own way. Furthermore, the author quantifies mortality and morbidity, and considers the effects of Western and local medicine. Finally, he discusses to what extent the diseases constrained or shaped human livelihood in Borneo in the past (Youetta L. de Jager).

Kunanayagam, Ramanie and Ken Young. 1998, Mining, environmental impact and dependent communities: the view from below in East Kalimantan. IN: Philip Hirsch and Carol Warren, eds., *The politics of environment in Southeast Asia*. London: Routledge, pp. 139-58.

The authors examine the growth and internal dynamics of the fringe communities that spring up around large-scale resource projects in remote areas. Starting off with a brief history of the settlement, Teluk Lingga, adjacent to a new coal mine in the regency of Kutai, East Kalimantan, and a sketch of the social composition of Teluk Lingga, they present a discussion of the company's role in the area, and explore the ways in which it has become enmeshed in the political as well as the economic life of local communities. They examine how the state acts to regulate the local communities and to manage relations with the company. This dual authority framework is the context for analysis of the community's orientation towards local resources, principally land and water, and the evident imperfections that exist in the institutional means available for negotiating the claims on resources, principally land and water, of the interested parties, and complex problems with obvious environmental implications that these disputes create. They argue that the failure to draw upon the knowledge of villagers through meaningful participation inhibits the development of sound policy formation. Contrary to the assumptions of technocratic approaches, democracy is important to development and environmental protection (Youetta L. de Jager).

Lapian, Adrian B. and Nagatsu Kazufumi, 1996, Research on Bajau communities: maritime people in Southeast Asia. *Asian research trends*, no. 6: 45-70.

Bajau or Bajo is the name generally given to the maritime boat people of Eastern Indonesia, who call themselves Sama. This article reviews their history and then moves on to examine recent research trends since the 1960s when serious, long-term anthropological fieldwork on the Bajau began. Very recently their language has attracted a great deal of attention. So far the groups who live in the eastern part of the Archipelago have been little studied, but a definitive work by Zacot who spent two years with the Bajau of Nain Island and Torosiaje in North Sulawesi is due to appear very soon. The authors of this article want to see the creation of a database, a special study of social change since the 1970s, a closer look at social and economic history, attention paid to environmental studies, and a greater chance for the Sama-Bajau to express their own ideas. The article concludes with a very detailed bibliography (Rosemary Robson-McKillop).

Lockard, Craig A., 1998, *Dance of Life: Popular Music and Politics in Southeast Asia*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii, pp. 328.

This book provides broad cultural and historical frameworks of role and impact of popular musicians and their music on contemporary politics in Southeast Asia, particularly Indonesia, the Philippines, Thailand, Singapore, and Malaysia—including, in the latter case, Sabah and Sarawak. Written in a lucid and engaging style, *Dance of Life* is an important contribution to the growing literature on popular culture, a subject too long snubbed by most Asianists (John A. Lent).

MacAndrews, Colin. 1998, Improving the management of Indonesia's national parks: lessons from two case studies. *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies*. 34 (1): 121-37.

Since the 1970s, Indonesia has moved quickly to protect its rich biodiversity. By the mid-1990s about 8.2 per cent or 19.4 million hectares of total land and coastal areas had been placed under protection. Thirty-four key locations have been designated national parks, twenty-eight of them terrestrial and six marine. As yet the management of these areas has proved less than adequate. This is due partly to funding, partly to staffing levels which do not permit proper surveillance, and partly to the rapid development of the economy and of uncontrolled tourism. In Indonesia national parks fall under the authority of the *Direktorat Jenderal Perlindungan Hutan dan Pelestarian Alam* (Directorate General of Forest Protection and Nature Conservation) of the Ministry of Forestry. This article examines the way by which the management of Indonesia's national parks can be improved. To illustrate the problems involved the author chooses two examples on which to base his arguments. The first of these is the Bukit Baka-Bukit Raya National Park in Kalimantan and the Marine National Park Bunaken in North Sulawesi (Rosemary Robson-McKillop).

Mittersakschmüller, Reinhold and Heide Leigh-Theisen. 1997, *Patterns of life: a gateway to understanding Indonesian textiles*. IN: Jill Tilden, et al., *First Under Heaven*. London: Hali Publications, pp. 44-59.

Both in ritual and in the everyday life of the community, textiles have always played an important role. The authors discuss a wide range of imagery characteristics of different social groups all over the Archipelago. Most of the antique Indonesian textiles, and fabrics produced in the 20th century, have small, detailed patterns which bear information about the cultural context of the object. They contribute to the formation of identity, and place the wearer within a continuum of time and space. The patterns are not just portrayals of nature and human beings, but of actual reality. Following an outline of the historical and religious background of the production of textiles for gift exchange, the authors focus on textiles from Roti, Sumatra (Minangkabau), Lampung, Palembang, Bali, Java, East Sumba, Timor, Sulawesi, and Borneo (Iban, Dayak). Among the key themes are the ship and the abstracted human figure (Youetta L. de Jager).

Ngo, Mering 1998, *Dekat dengan hutan, jauh dari kekuasaan: marginalitas struktural Orang Bukat dan Punan*. *Prisma* 27 (1): 61-74.

The Bukat and the Punan are hunters and gatherers who live in the headwaters of the Mendalam, Bungan, and Kapuas Rivers in the *kabupaten* Kapuas Hulu in West Kalimantan. The Bukat, who number only some 153 persons, inhabit one hamlet, while the Punan are spread over two. Over the last quarter of a century most of them have become either Roman Catholic or Protestant. These people have only lived in this area for the last eighty years or so, having been moved in from even more remote places by the Netherlands Indies colonial government which was keen to exact taxes on their main source of livelihood: the gathering of non-timber products in the forest. The Punan were especially famous for collecting birds' nests, which were exported to China. Since 1983 there has been some schooling available, but only to the third year of primary school. This is largely attributed to the fact that the children are not particularly interested. The problem facing these people is not confined to their own circumstances, but is one which is facing any number of such small groups scattered throughout the Indonesian Archipelago. Large timber companies, both legal and illegal, have moved in with the backing of outside capital and are destroying their habitat and sources of income. Taking account of the social structure of the people and the way they organize their lives, the author proposes a step-by-step plan which will enable them to continue their lives, yet put them in a position to resist some of the pressures emanating from the world beyond their own group (Rosemary Robson-McKillop).

Nierop, Trudi van. 1994, *Maleiers, Dayak en Javaanse koelies: reacties op westerse invloeden in Z.O.-Borneo (1900-1942)*. *Jambatan* 12 (2): 47-85.

From roundabout 1900, Western institutions, namely the government, businesses, and missions both Roman Catholic and Protestant, began to make their presence more strongly felt in Southeast Borneo. In late colonial times, the residency covered almost half the island, taking in the present provinces of East, Central, and South Kalimantan. There were three main population groups: Malays, Dayaks, and the Javanese who were imported

as coolie laborers. In the article the author looks at the way in which these various groups each reacted differently to the socio-economic changes which were triggered off by the increased Western presence up to the time of the Japanese occupation. Although there were shifts in area, all three groups remained discrete, without showing any sign of wanting to form a united group (Rosemary L. Robson-McKillop).

Nizwar Syafa'at, Shaiful Bahri, D.S. Swastika. 1997, *Alokasi lahan optimal untuk calon transmigran pada pengembangan padi dengan pola sawit dupa di lahan rawa satu juta hektar di Kalimantan Tengah*. *Ekonomi dan keuangan Indonesia*, 45 (2): 263-285.

There are plans afoot to develop one million hectares of swampy ground in *kecamatan* Kapuas Murung in Central Kalimantan. Surveys have shown that 65 per cent or 650,000 hectares are suitable for rice fields. The idea is to turn this into sawah, using transmigrants, both local and from other islands. The problem is to determine how much land should be allotted to each farmer using the *sawit dupa (satu kali wivit dua kali panen)* system. To try to establish this, the authors apply the Linear Programming method. The results show that the optimal size for land holdings is 1.75 ha, with 0.25 ha allocated to home garden activities, including land for housing. This means the total land allocation per transmigrant is 2 hectares. The calculated household income from paddy activities is Rp. 3,039,434 per year. This can be supplemented with income from other sources such as perennial crops like rambutan. The income from such crops plus that from non-agricultural activities is estimated to be able to reach Rp. 1,439,667 per year (Rosemary Robson-McKillop).

Poffenberger, Mark. 1997, *Rethinking Indonesian forest policy: beyond the timber barons*, *Asian Survey*, 37 (5): 453-469.

Subjected to the scrutiny of this paper is the current highly concentrated structure of political and economic power controlling the forest industry in Indonesia. This is a reflection of the political and economic dynamics of the country and of the larger global market in which it operates, and is a pretty effective mirror of the timber industries in other tropical countries. Recently the World Bank has voiced an uneasiness about the strong political currents in forestry and the inequalities in the sharing of forest benefits, which have led to political unrest in the outer islands. The author predicts that any shake-up likely to occur will only benefit the larger companies, with smaller enterprises losing out. The most likely scenario is that the military will have the biggest say. It is possible that the unrest now being generated will cause the military to stop and think, making them reconsider their support to the small, select group of entrepreneurs who now enjoy their patronage. Sustainable development must be based on a reasonably equitable popular participation, especially in the forestry sector where the lives of millions, perhaps as high as 65 million, depend on forest resources (Rosemary L. Robson-McKillop).

Reece, Bob. 1995, *Carl Bock (1849-1932): explorations and travels in Sumatra, Borne, and Siam*. IN: Victor T. King, ed., *Explorers of South-East Asia*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, pp. 194-228.

Carl Alfred Bock was born in 1849 in Copenhagen, the son of a well-to-do merchant family. In 1875 he decided to pursue a career in natural history. In early August 1878, on his first collecting trip for the Zoological Society in London, he found himself on board a Dutch steamer bound from Batavia for Padang, together with 700 European mercenaries hired to fight in the Aceh War and a number of convicts. He collected specimens at Paio; at Ayer Angat, near Muara Labu, and at Lolo and Ayer Mancur. On his return to Batavia he was commissioned to explore the interior of southeastern Borneo. The author discusses the travels and publications of Carl Bock, in particular those about Borneo and the Dayak. In 1881 he went on a journey into northern Siam and the semi-autonomous Lao states. The article includes a bibliography of works by Carl Bock and reviews of Bock's works (Drs. Youetta M. de Jager).

Riedey, J.O. and S. Page and G. Sieffermann, 1995, Tropical peat swamp forests of Southeast Asia: ecology and environmental importance. *Malaysian Journal of Tropical Geography*, 26 (2): 131-142.

In contrast to boreal and temperate peat, tropical peat is formed from forest trees. Most tropical peatlands are sub-coastal and formed at about sea level. So far the ecology and environment of tropical peat has been little studied. This paper draws together the existing information about the lowland tropical peatland of Southeast Asia. There are new research data on its age and evolution during the Holocene. The characteristics and geochemistry of the main peat and soil types are analyzed. There is a review of forest zonation and vegetation structure. The paper ends with a discussion of the effects of exploitation on this resource and its natural resource functions. In this analysis particular attention is paid to Kalimantan (Rosemary L. Robson-McKillop).

Schartzberg, Joseph E., 1995, Bornean and Sumatran tribal cosmologies. IN: Victor T. King and A.V.M. Horton, eds., *From Buckfast to Borneo*, Hull: Centre for South-East Asian Studies, University of Hull, pp. 505-520.

There are terrestrial maps, maps of the heavens, of the seas, and in Southeast Asia there are cosmographic maps setting out the journey that the soul has to take in the afterlife, and maps used for divination. Surviving maps are found on bamboo, paper and other media. Among the most interesting are those used in mortuary cults, especially those practiced in Borneo and Sumatra. In this article the author concentrates on maps produced by the Ngaju Dayak, depicting the three worlds of their belief system. There is one made by the Ot Danum, as well as one made by the Madang of Sarawak. In his discussion of these maps, the author draws attention to the geographical specificity of the mortuary chants. He then turns his attention briefly to divination, comparing divination charts of the Kayan and the Iban with those produced by the Batak in Sumatra. He concludes his description by stating that these groups of people happen to have been thoroughly studied and, because of the activities of missionaries, much of their material culture has been preserved in museums. The richness of their symbolism may well be echoed in the cultures of other, less intensively studied groups in Indonesia (Rosemary L. Robson-McKillop).

Soedjito, Herwasono and Kuswata Kartawinata. 1995, Long-term ecological research in Indonesia: achieving sustainable forest management. IN: Richard B. Primack and Thomas E. Lovejoy, eds., *Ecology, conservation, and management of Southeast Asian rainforests*, New Haven: Yale University Press, pp. 129-139.

The understanding of forest dynamics, which is the key to sustainable forest management, requires baseline data derived from long-term ecological studies of all types of natural forests. In Indonesia few long-term ecological studies exist. Because time is limited, conservation efforts must use all available scientific information. The authors describe Indonesian forests, review Indonesian ecological studies, and discuss human resources relevant to ecology and forest management. They also describe how these forests might be sustainably managed: enhanced conservation of biodiversity and natural forests must follow the promotion of sustainable use of forest resources. Process and context should be taken into account; it is the processes that generate or maintain the species, communities, ecosystems, or landscapes, and the spatial and functional context that must be maintained. The Kayan Mentarang Project in East Kalimantan is a good model. Finally, they argue that permanent ecological research stations should be built in Indonesia. Permanent plots for ecological studies differ from other natural areas because they are managed, they can be used as a control for other landscape studies as well as for basic studies on the functioning of ecosystems, and they can be considered field laboratories for experimental ecological research (Youetta M. de Jager).

Somer Heidhues, Mary. 1997, Chinese identity in the diaspora: religion and language in West Kalimantan, Indonesia. IN: Sri Kuhn-Saptodewo, Volker Grabowsky, and Martin Grossheim, eds. *Nationalism and cultural revival in Southeast Asia*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, pp. 201-210.

Departing from the viewpoint that identity is a kind of vessel, whose contents may vary over time, yet which signifies to members the essentials of their ethnicity, the author discusses the nature and development of Chinese identity in West Kalimantan, which has been home to a substantial minority of ethnic Chinese since the late eighteenth century. Following an outline of the background to the ethnicity of the region, she explores two facets of identity, namely language and religion, showing how they may change without a "loss" of identity. She also deals with the issue of state intervention in ethnic identities, and examines the issue of "lost" identity. A tendency shows in the discussion of Southeast Asian Chinese minorities to reify identity, especially Chinese identity, and to see it as a cultural whole. The concern with identity loss reflects a contradiction between the view of Chineseness as external, reified, and holistic, and the cultures ethnic Chinese experience in their personal lives. If identity is seen as an object, instead of a dynamic process, it can be "lost". Ethnic identities are constantly changing, and multiple identities are not contradictory or schizophrenic. They represent complex personal biographies (Youetta M. de Jager).

Sukardjo, Sukristijono. 1995, Structure, litterfall and net primary production in the mangrove forests in East Kalimantan. IN: E.O. Box, et al. eds., *Vegetation science in forestry*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, pp. 585-611.

Analysis of tree composition, litterfall, and potential net primary production at high salinity, fringing sites, and at moderate-salinity riverine and inland sites of five mangrove associations in Apar nature reserve (128,000 ha) in East Kalimantan, based on findings from research between 1983/1984 in support of the development and implementation of a management plan. At fringing sites, *Rhizophora apiculata* B1 was the dominant tree. It had a more even distribution from the shoreline inland and from site to site. *Avicenna officinalis* L. was the dominant tree at the riverine site. *Ceriops tagal* (Perr.) C.B. Robin dominate the inland areas of the riverine site. The fringing mangrove forests had basal areas of 17.72 m²/ha and 15.18 m²/ha at two sites and complexity index of 19.53 and 10.39 calculated for trees with an average diameter of breast height of more than 2 cm. For the riverine forests, these figures were respectively 19.47 m²/ha and 14.53, and for the inland forests, 24.19 m²/ha and 37.57 m²/ha at two sites and 14.92 and 69.71. The litterfall varied from 20.50 to 29.35 dry t/ha year, with the higher values at the inland plots. The estimated potential of net primary production of the mangrove forests during the period of study was 40.44 to 43.93 kg C/ha/day at the fringing sites, 42.93 kg C/ha/day at the riverine site, and 44.25 to 45.49 kg C/ha/day at the inland sites. The high productivity of the mangrove forests at Apar nature reserve is directly related to the high fishery productivity in the area (Drs. Youetta M. de Jager).

Tomascik, T., A.J. Mah, A. Nontji and M.K. Moosa. 1997, *The ecology of the Indonesian seas. Part I. Ecology Indon. Series 7*, xiv, pp. 1-642, illus.

Introduction; geology, physical oceanography and meteorology; introducing coral reefs; geological history of reefs; coral reef origins: the theories; Scleractinia: the reef-builders; non-scleractinian Cnidaria; Foraminiferida; environmental factors; coral reefs: natural disturbances, growth and development (source: Flora Malesiana Bulletin).

Tomascik, T., A.J. Mah, A. Nontji and M.K. Moosa. 1997, *The ecology of the Indonesian seas. Part 2. Ecol. Indon. Series 8*, vi, pp. 643-1388, illus.

Fringing reefs; patch reefs; barrier reefs; atolls and raised islands; coral cays; seagrasses; mangroves; the pelagic system; marine and coastal biodiversity, resource management; anthropogenic threats; key to Indonesian seagrasses; bibliography and index (source: Flora Malesiana Bulletin).

Tsing, Anna Lowenhaupt. 1996, *Telling violence in the Meratus mountains*, IN: Janet Hoskins, ed., *Headhunting and the social imagination in Southeast Asia*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, pp. 184-215.

The author explores the politics of violence and minority status at local and regional levels. She examines Meratus talk about violence, starting with stories of soldiers and revolutionaries. Next, she turns to nineteenth-century Kalimantan headhunting to shed light on the context in which Meratus stories of power and fear developed. Without records or even tales of particular raids in southeast Kalimantan, the author relies on general descriptions of headhunting in order to help clarify regionally available political models of violence which helped shape Meratus appropriations and responses. Her own experience in a relatively recent headhunting scare brings the discussion back to the

present, as the regional history of headhunting informs Meratus understandings of current state tactics of administration. In the final section she turns to the ways Meratus constitute themselves as potential survivors as well as victims of such tactics. She examines how violence is used rhetorically in contemporary community politics, and particularly how a storytelling style allows witnesses of violence to establish their bravery in retrospect (Drs. Youetta M. de Jager).

Vickers, Adrian. 1997, 'Malay identity': modernity, invented tradition, and forms of knowledge. *Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs*, 31 (1): 173-211.

What is "Malayness"? Is it an essentially colonial construction? If its genealogy can be determined, will this provide alternative models of nations and states? In this article the author surveys some of the recent discussions of colonial constructions of identity and suggests how the study of literary texts allows a view of a more complex and ambiguous "Malay" identity. Such an identity has to be discovered in different ways with reference to literature, geography, and language. It was always interacting with the European presence in the region, but it must not be forgotten that it was also continually reacting with other indigenous ("ethnic") groups in the area. This means that it was not a colonial "invented tradition", it was a local construction onto which colonial forms of hegemony were imposed. In his search, he examines older forms through the term *Malay/pasisir*, used in opposition to *Javal/dataran*, offering his own interpretation of this concept. He looks at colonial and post-colonial Malay identity as well as post-colonial critiques and colonial invented traditions. He suggests using literature to question colonial authority, quoting Maier who thinks that Malay identity should be redrawn retrospectively. Another very pertinent problem is defining the "space" of the Malay world, and where do the concepts of "Malay" and "Javanese" disperse and where do they coalesce? He looks at kingdoms like Banjarmasin in Kalimantan and Barus in Sumatra. He also pays some attention to the Malay language, stressing the various levels at which and contexts within which the language exists (Rosemary Robson-McKillop).

Wibosono, Sonny Chr. 1998, *Emas di Kalimantan Barat: ethnohistory untuk arkeologi*. IN: *Pertemuan Ilmiah Arkeologi VI, Batu, Malang, 26-29 Juli 1992*. Jakarta: Pusat Penelitian Arkeologi Nasional, pp. 109-121.

Although there are remains of the trenches dug by Chinese gold miners in Kalimantan Barat, physical reminders of the once thriving Chinese *kongsi* communities, the author argues the importance of supplementing this evidence with that to be gleaned from written sources. In fact, there are quite a few Chinese, Dutch, and Malay sources, plus travel accounts by travelers like the Englishman Earle who visited the area in its heyday. He believes that ethnohistory should be given more scope in piecing together the past of various Indonesian regions (Rosemary Robson-McKillop).

Yamada, Isamu. 1995, *Aloeswood forest and the maritime world. Tonan aja kenkyu*. 33 (3): 463-468.

Aloes wood, one of the most valuable forest products of the Southeast Asian forest, is a chemical reaction to fungi or to wounds by various species of *Aquilaria*, most notably

Aquilaria malaccensis. The author, who has done a great deal of research in Borneo, has collected all sorts of information about the harvesting and trading of this commodity. The Penan and Dayaks sell their harvest to Chinese traders, who then sell it to merchants from Arabia, Bangladesh, and China. Although the bulk comes from Indonesia and is shipped out through Jakarta, Singapore is the main international center of this trade (Rosemary L. Robson-McKillop).

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All contributions should be sent to Dr. Clifford Sather, *Borneo Research Bulletin*, Cultural Anthropology, P.O. Box 59, FIN-00014 University of Helsinki, FINLAND.

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Please submit all contributions both on a computer disk using a standard, current word processor and double-spaced on paper. 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 follow: (Smith 1950:36-41). For publication and capitalization refer to Bibliographic Section.

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