

NOTES FROM THE EDITOR

At the end of this last year, we received news of the passing of two persons whose life's work did much to further Borneo studies. Both, in addition, were warm personal friends.

Datin Amar Margaret Linggi, the wife of Datuk Amar Leonard Linggi Jugah, died on November 20th, 2006, in Singapore, after a long and courageous struggle with cancer. Datin Amar Margaret devoted much of the latter part of her life to the preservation, revitalization, and promotion of Sarawak's Iban cultural heritage. With her husband, she took an active part in the work of the Tun Jugah Foundation, personally helping to create its main exhibition hall, display areas, and spacious weaving gallery. Dear to her heart were both her family and Iban *ikat* weaving, where she leaves a lasting legacy. By providing financial support to contemporary women weavers, organizing textile exhibitions, competitions, and, in other ways promoting their work, she helped breathe new life into this extraordinary artistic tradition and reverse its declining attraction to younger Iban women. Unlike most private and museum collectors, who tend to purchase older works, thus removing them from local longhouse communities, Datin Amar Margaret supported and encouraged contemporary weavers, particularly those of exceptional ability. She made the Tun Jugah Foundation's weaving gallery an important center where women weavers might gather, demonstrate and refine their skills, and teach one another. Datin Amar Margaret also wrote insightfully on Iban weaving. Beginning as an exhibition catalogue, her book, *Ties that Bind: Iban Ikat Weaving* (2001), continues to provide a unique guide to Iban weaving. Reflecting her practical turn of mind and concern with the transmission of technical skills to future generations, the work serves as an invaluable manual, or source-book, not only for scholars, but also, equally, for aspiring weavers, describing in detail, as it does, the entire weaving process, from the initial preparation of cotton, through the making of dyes and mordants, to the final art of setting up the loom and weaving itself.

Datin Amar Margaret had a natural grace that allowed her to move comfortably through all levels of society. She made many friends in the course of her all-too-brief lifetime, and the affection in which she was held was clearly evident in the overflowing crowds that gathered for her funeral at St. Joseph's Cathedral in Kuching.

Vinson Sutlive, the former editor of the *BRB* and a close friend of the Linggi family, opens the Memorial section with a fitting tribute to Datin Amar Margaret. On a personal note, my wife and I will miss her warm and generous presence.

On December 4th, 2006, Professor Rodney Needham, while under hospice care, died in his Oxford flat, in England, at the age of 83. In addition to being one of the foremost social anthropologists of his generation, a renowned teacher, and a prolific translator of anthropological works from Dutch, German, and French, including several closely connected to Borneo, such as Robert Hertz's classic essay "On Death" and Hans Shärer's admirable *Ngaju Religion*, he was also the first academically-trained anthropologist to carry out fieldwork among Borneo hunter-gatherers. In 1951–1952, he undertook pioneering research in Sarawak among both the eastern and western Penan, resulting in his Oxford D. Phil. thesis.

Although he never completed a full-length monograph on the Penan, he published a number of ethnographic essays, including works on death- and friendship-names, as well as several comparative contributions to hunter-gatherer studies based on his Penan fieldwork. The Penan also made appearances in his lectures and more general writings. Although he soon moved on to eastern Indonesia, and to other topics, his interest in the Penan and Borneo never ceased,

and, indeed, later in life, he returned to his D.Phil. thesis and began to write a book on the Penan. Sadly, he ceased writing it, he told my wife, Louise, and me, shortly after his wife's death, when he moved to his flat at 76 Holywell Street, so that, at the time of his death, the manuscript remained unfinished.

Although he was considered "difficult" by more than a few of his university colleagues, Professor Needham maintained an enormous circle of friends with whom he regularly corresponded. His gracious, witty, and meticulously composed and hand-typed letters were always a delight to receive. He supported the BRC until his death and was a regular contributor to the Council's funds. He was also a regular reader of the *BRB* and each year, by letter, he generally commented on papers that attracted his interest. These often had something to do with the Penan, as, for example, in Volume 33 (2002), Quentin Gausset's excellent essay on the management of birds' nest rights in the Niah Caves. For the last *BRB*, he commented on my own essay, calling my attention to the ways in which percussive sound, or verbal allusions to percussion, signal important transitions in the performances of the Iban *manang* I described. He could be flirtatious and was fond of writing separately to Louise. In one of his last letters, he mentioned how her descriptions of our Oregon garden, with its conifers and rhododendrons, recalled for him memories of Nepal.

Rodney, in the course of his scholarly career, trained an astonishing number of graduate students. In his inaugural lecture, delivered in May 1977 (published as *Essential Perplexities*, 1978, Clarendon Press, Oxford), on the occasion of his appointment to the Chair of Social Anthropology, he mentioned that, thanks to his predecessor, Professor Evans-Pritchard, 132 graduate students were then registered in social anthropology, making Oxford, "the largest centre of post-graduate social anthropology in this country [UK] and apparently the largest in any university anywhere." In a footnote, he added that these numbers also gave the department the worst staff-student ratio of any British department of anthropology and the worst for any department at Oxford. The result was both a burden and a legacy.

Rodney Needham was born into the generation who came of age during World War II. In his own case, the horrors of war, which he experienced firsthand while fighting as a British officer with Gurkha troops in Burma, left an indelible mark. He was wounded in the Battle of Kohima, and would certainly have died had it not been for the bravery of the Gurkha troops in whose company he was fighting. Once, in a conversation, he remarked to Louise and me that as a young man in Burma he had had to witness things which were beyond his years to bear, including, after one engagement, stacking the corpses of young Japanese soldiers, like cordwood, for mass burial. He developed an intense bond with his Gurkha comrades, and until his final days, he always remembered and spoke of them by their individual names. Again, in his inaugural lecture, which, of all his writings, comes closest, I think, to being autobiographical, he makes what, under the circumstances, was a remarkable acknowledgement to, as he put it,

the immeasurable obligation under which we have been laid by those who preserved western civilization, ...in particular, the tens of thousands of men of the Brigade of Gurkhas who were killed or mutilated or crippled... in the defence of the freedoms by which we live today. Oxford is theirs as it is ours, and in what we make of it, and of the priceless liberty of thought that is its life and justification, we are perpetually and unrequitably beholden to them.

He clearly never forgot that obligation, and there is no question that his wartime experiences and the bonds he formed with his Gurkha comrades left a profound mark. They seem to have carried over, too, to his relations with the Penan. In 1951–1952, the eastern Penan with whom he worked were then still fully nomadic and traveled for months at a time in the rainforest many days', or even weeks' walk, from the nearest government station or clinic. His was fieldwork under the most arduous of conditions. Jayl Langub tells me that, among a small and dwindling number of elderly Penan who were children at the time, his lone presence among them, as "Tuan Lidem," was a source of wonderment that is still remembered to this day. When I conveyed Jayl's words to him, in Oxford, that he was still warmly remembered in the Baram, he was greatly pleased.

Among the longtime friends that Rodney kept in touch with until his death is Mrs. Joella Werlin, who, although not an anthropologist, was one of Rodney's first B. Lit. students at Oxford. Mrs. Werlin now lives in Portland, Oregon, and I am grateful to her for allowing me to quote here from a copy of a letter which Rodney shared with her. This letter, which runs to five type-written pages, was sent by Rodney to Professor (now Emeritus) Lionel Caplan at SOAS in response to Caplan's *Warrior Gentlemen*, a book about relations between British and Gurkha soldiers. In his letter, Needham, significantly, wrote: "...allow me to say that only among Gurkhas...and among eastern Penan have I experienced what it can be to live equally with other men, at the same level of life and with nothing hidden and in extreme dependence one upon another."

I shall certainly remember Rodney as a gracious host. Despite ill-health, he delightfully entertained Louise and me during several visits we made to Oxford during the last five years of his life. He frequently lunched and entertained guests, including ourselves, at a pub around the corner from his flat called "The Turf." Here, he was a much-admired presence and was given a special place of honor, near the window, with initials carved in the beam above it, "GDPN," "Good day, Professor Needham!"

Rodney expressly asked that his personal papers be destroyed upon his death and that no obituaries or memorials be presented for him. At the risk of his everlasting displeasure, we will nonetheless publish a memorial in his honor in the next issue of the *BRB*. One of Professor Needham's former students, whom he held in special regard, Professor Kirk Endicott, has agreed to write a memorial, sharing with us his memories of Rodney as a teacher. In addition, Mrs. Werlin tape-recorded an interview with Rodney in February 2000 in which he answered questions about his fieldwork with the Penan. With the kind permission of Mrs. Werlin and of Professor Tristan Needham, Rodney's son and literary executor, we will publish excerpts from this interview, together with Kirk Endicott's remembrances.

Finally, it should be said that Professor Needham's objections to obituaries had nothing to do with vanity. It reflected, instead, a profound sense of human impermanence. This sense was most clearly expressed in the final pages of the published version of *Essential Perplexities* (1978:28–29). Here, after reviewing various answers that have been given to the question of "What is Man?" and, in the process, tracing the origins of anthropological inquiry, which, not surprisingly to those familiar with his writing, he connects to the skeptic philosophers, he notes that man has now in his hands the power to obliterate civilization. Needham saw little reason to doubt that, before long, he will do just that, making "an end to everything, so that hereafter we shall be as though we had never been." Quoting from of *The Wisdom of Solomon*, he concluded, "Reason, the careful art by which we interpret the quandary of our existence...will become extinct in the ultimate reduction to ashes:"

And our name shall be forgotten in time, and no man shall remember our works; and our life shall pass away as the traces of a cloud, and shall be scattered as is a mist, when it is chased by the beams of the sun, and overcome by the heat thereof.

Sadly, just as this volume goes to press, we have learned of the death on 12 January 2007 of Professor Robert Barrett, a brilliant psychiatrist and anthropologist, and a good friend of your Editor and of many others in Sarawak and Australia. A memorial to Rob will also appear in the next issue of the *BRB*.

In This Issue

The Research Notes, Review Articles, and Brief Communications that follow range, as in previous issues, over most of the island of Borneo, and treat a wide variety of topics, from pre-colonial history, more recent politics and biography, to indigenous migrations, material culture, and local observations of wildlife. Often slighted in the past, West Kalimantan receives, once again, as in recent issues of the *BRB*, special attention here.

Included near the end of the present volume is a report on the Borneo Research Council's Eighth Biennial Conference, which was held on 31 July– 1 August, 2006, in Kuching, Sarawak, under the joint auspices of the Institute of East Asian Studies, Universiti Malaysia Sarawak, and the Borneo Research Council. Our thanks go to Dr. James Chin, Director of the Institute of East Asian Studies, for organizing the conference and for helping to make it the notable success that it was.

Professor Sutlive, as noted, begins our Memorial section with a tribute to Datin Amar Margaret Linggi. In the two memorials that follow, I pay final respects to two dear friends of my own early years in Sarawak, Henry Gerijih anak Jabo and Dindu anak Saga. A. V. M. Horton concludes the Memorial section with an extended memorial essay for a number of persons associated with Brunei Darussalam whose deaths occurred during 2006.

Over the last seven years, a number of Research Notes have appeared in the *BRB* that have discussed the history of early states in what is now West Kalimantan. In Volume 30 (1999), Stephanus Djuweng, in a paper entitled "Dayak Kings among Malay Sultans," argued for the existence of a Dayak polity, which he called the *Kerajaan Ulu Are* (or *Aik*), 'Kingdom of the Headwaters,' and described as centered in the village of Sengkuang, in the Sandai District of Ketapang Regency, using mainly oral tradition and other contemporary sources as evidence. In a brief companion piece in the same issue, Bernard Sellato set Djuweng's material in a wider historical context and made a persuasive case for the existence of Indianized, pre-Islamic states in West Kalimantan, including an interior Dayak polity on the upper Pawan and Simpang Rivers, that, Sellato suggested, controlled an important overland trading route that formerly connected Sanggau on the Kapuas with Sukadana near the coast. With the coming of Islam and the beginning of European penetration, this polity lost its strategic significance, and remained "Dayak," while other local polities and more powerful coastal and riverine states took on, to varying degrees, the formal trappings of Muslim sultanates. Using Djuweng's essay as an example, Sellato stressed the potential value of oral tradition as a source of historical insight and concluded his paper by noting that, while a good deal is known of Borneo's larger kingdoms such as Banjarmasin and Brunei, "research in the history of petty kingdoms...may be just as rewarding to the student of...state formation..., ethnicity and cultural and social change" (1999:111–12). Indeed, a number of subsequent papers have shown this to be the case and have followed up on Sellato's call for further archival and ethnohistorical research.

In Volume 32 (2001), Reed Wadley and Andrew Smith, for example, enlarged upon these issues, drawing in particular on Dutch colonial accounts and early maps of the West Kalimantan region. As they noted, later Dutch colonial rule had the paradoxical effect of rigidifying Malay/Dayak ethnic distinctions, which, in earlier times, had been far more permeable, enhancing in the process the authority of Malay elites, while disempowering local Dayak populations. In the following year, in Volume 33, Smith and Wadley returned more specifically to Stephanus Djuweng's original essay and suggested that the "Kingdom of the Headwaters" was more a symbolic than a political confederation. In a companion paper, "Re-emergence of the Raja Hulu Aiq," John Bamba of the Institut Dayakologi in Pontianak described the current political situation in the Ketapang Regency. Here, elements of a "spiritual kingdom" persist, and Bamba described in his essay the present head and principal claimant of this "kingdom," the *Raja Hulu Aiq*, and the various symbols of spiritual authority he possesses. He also looked at recent attempts, during the current era of political decentralization, to reassert the Raja's claims to authority against a background of contending economic and political interests, pointing up, in his conclusion, how these paralleled efforts by local Malays to reassert the former ritual and political authority of past Malay sultanates in the region. As Bamba noted, these efforts, coming in a time of comparative freedom, while strengthening ethnic identities, also threaten to "further crystallize ethnic segregation" in a province already known for ethnic strife (2002:73).

In the same issue of the *BRB* (Volume 33, 2002), Andrew Smith opened a new avenue of research by drawing attention to the writings of a number of lesser-known early travelers to West Kalimantan. In the following year, he followed up this essay with another, "Captain Burn and Associates: British Intelligence-Gathering, Trade and Litigation in Borneo and Beyond During the Early Nineteenth Century" (Vol. 35, 2004). In this essay he described the life and times of a British country trader, Captain Joseph Burn, who wrote what is perhaps the most detailed English-language account of early nineteenth century West Kalimantan.

Burn's account took the form of a lengthy report, composed of letters, submitted in the early months of 1811 to Thomas Stamford Raffles in Malacca on the eve of the British invasion of Java. Although known to historians and occasionally cited in the past, the letters themselves have never before been published. Instead, their content, until now, has been best known in secondhand form through John Leyden's "Sketch of Borneo" [1811] from J. H. Moor, ed., *Notices of the Indian Archipelago and Adjacent Countries*, 1837 (reprinted in 1968 by Frank Cass & Co, London).

As our first Research Note, Bob Reece and Andrew Smith present extended excerpts from this extremely valuable account. First, however, they establish the historical context of Burn's letters and their significance as historical documents. Drawing on Smith's previous Research Note, they also present what is known of Captain Burn himself, the circumstances of his writing the report, and the nature of the letters themselves, which are now preserved as part of the Raffles Collection in the British Library, London. Adding greatly to the value and accessibility of these excerpts, Reece and Smith provide extensive annotations and, with the aid of a map, plausible identification of the various locations described by Burn.

As far as the general history of Borneo is concerned, Burn's account, as Smith noted in his 2004 essay, was of special consequence in that it influenced Raffles and helped convince him of the commercial possibilities of the island. Following the return of Java to Dutch rule, Raffles continued throughout the remainder of his life to actively advocate British involvement in Borneo. After his death, this involvement finally materialized, of course, in the form of Sarawak and British North Borneo. But, for students of Borneo, Burn's account provides, as

Reece and Smith note, our earliest description of the upper and middle Kapuas. It also gives a remarkably detailed picture of regional trade, local commodities of trade, centers of power, and political connections and alliances at the time of its writing. In addition, Captain Burn, like Raffles himself, had an observant eye for local peoples, customs, history, and the natural world.

As Smith observed in his earlier *BRB* paper, and again notes here, there are still other unpublished and, as yet, little-known reports dealing with nineteenth century West Kalimantan, particularly in Dutch and German, and it is hoped that the present Research Note will spark the future publication of still others.

Reed Wadley's Research Note that follows, "*Abang* in the Middle and Upper Kapuas," is closely linked to that of Reece and Smith and similarly deals with West Kalimantan history. Bob Reece, in a lengthy paper, a summary of which was presented at the 2006 BRC conference in Kuching, has argued that the honorific title *Abang*, used among the Sadong and Sarawak Malays of western Sarawak, had its origins in pre-Islamic West Kalimantan, deriving initially from a new class of leaders that arose from the union of Hindu-Javanese traders and local Dayak women. Using both Dutch archival and local oral sources, Wadley finds support for Reece's argument and clearly demonstrates the early and pervasive use of this honorific in the Kapuas. He also notes the apparent early importance and relative ease of north-south trade connections in western Borneo before the imposition of the modern political boundaries separating West Kalimantan from Sarawak.

The two brief Research Notes that follow both deal with personalities associated with later Brooke Sarawak. In the first of these, "Some Sarawak Curiosities in the British Library," Bob Reece tells us of some interesting discoveries he made during a recent visit to the British Library in London. Among these is an oratorio-like text written by Mrs. Harriette McDougall for musical accompaniment with hymns, called "The Sarawak Mission: A Service in Song." Of quite a different nature are a set of pamphlets denouncing the collusion of allegedly corrupt Borneo Company agents and the Second Rajah. In the next Research Note, A.V.M. Horton gives us a brief account of the long and remarkably industrious life of the co-author, with C. A. Bampfylde, of *A History of Sarawak under its two White Rajahs, 1839–1908* (1909), the Reverend Sabine Baring-Gould, novelist, hagiographer, hymn-writer, and collector of folksongs.

The next Research Note deals with a more recent period of Sarawak's history. Here, Vernon Porritt writes of Tim Hardy and the Sarawak Special Branch during the period from 1961 to 1968 that bracketed the end of British colonial rule and the first years of Malaysian independence. Drawing not only on newspapers and other published sources, but most especially on Tim Hardy's own unpublished memoirs, Porritt gives us an unusually vivid, but also illuminating, account of undercover activities, police and military actions, and political maneuverings during a particularly tumultuous time marked by a communist insurgency, an armed uprising in nearby Brunei, Confrontation, the transition to independence, detention camps and forced resettlement.

In the next Research Note, Mika Okushima, following up on an earlier *BRB* paper, presents the first part of a two-part essay describing the historical migrations of Kayanic speaking peoples through much of northern and northeastern Borneo. The second part, which is scheduled to appear next year, will deal more directly with the Kayanic epics and oral historical narratives on which her present reconstruction is largely based. In this paper, Dr. Okushima also discusses dialect differences as evidence of past contacts and population movements.

In the Research Note that follows, "Baskets from the Forest," Valerie Mashman provides an illustrated inventory of the baskets produced over the last century by the Kelabit community

of Long Peluan, located near the southern edge of the Kelabit Highlands, and discusses their varied uses and the materials from which they are made. She also describes the effects of recent change on local basket-making, including the construction of logging roads, the loss of forests and hence of basket-weaving materials, changes in farming practices, education and the resulting migration of the young to urban areas, increased access to cash income and conversion to Christianity. Some particularly interesting developments she notes are the emergence of baskets as symbols of ethnic authenticity for urban Kelabit, evangelical Christian revival and basket designs, growth, even in interior Sarawak, of a commercial market for baskets, and a long-term, but changing, basketry connection between the Long Peluan Kelabit and their Penan neighbors. Reflecting the increasingly iconographic, rather than functional role now played by baskets, a Long Peluan artist, Mashman tells us, now sells paintings of baskets in the Miri Heritage Center.

In a final Research Note, "Wildlife Diversity on the Peripheries of Danau Sentarum National Park, West Kalimantan," Reed Wadley presents data on faunal diversity collected in the course of a study of hunting carried out in 1993–1994 among a community of Iban living at the edge of the Danau Sentarum National Park. Danau Sentarum was the subject of an entire issue of the *Borneo Research Bulletin* (Vol. 31, 2000). The present paper provides important base-line data, particularly, as Wadley notes, in light of an increasing human population and the high level of illegal logging that has taken place in the area since the study was carried out. Of particular interest, the Iban community Wadley studied has managed to preserve most of its older-growth upland forest from logging, creating, at least for the time being, a refuge area for wildlife displaced from surrounding areas that are undergoing logging.

Concluding this volume of the *BRB* are two Review Articles. In the first of these, A.V.M. Horton assesses the contribution to Brunei historiography of the distinguished historian of Southeast Asia, Dr. D. K. Bassett, who until shortly before his death, in 1989, was Director of the Centre for South-East Asian Studies at the University of Hull. As Horton notes, Brunei was by no means the primary object of Dr. Bassett's scholarly interests. Nonetheless, or, perhaps, even because of this, his interpretations of Brunei history were particularly original and invited reassessment of some long-held positions, for example, Horton observes, notions of the former "glory" and "decline" of the Brunei Sultanate and the historical objectivity of Brooke accounts of Brunei.

In the second Review Article, Michael Heppell looks at three recent publications on Iban textiles. As he notes in his opening paragraph, the appearance of three books in as many years clearly establishes Iban weaving as a subject of significant interest. And rightly so, for Iban textiles have "a range," he tells us, "without equal in island Southeast Asia, [while] their beauty is undeniable." Here, Heppell explores recent interpretative debates and assesses our knowledge of Iban weaving as represented by these publications. An earlier version of Dr. Heppell's essay first appeared in *Moussons* (2005, Vol. 8:143–53). Here we are grateful to our colleague, Bernard Sellato, for permitting us to republish it in its present revised and expanded form.

Next, Otto Steinmayer, our resident classicist and man of letters, sends us, from Sarawak, another of his "Letters from Lundu." In this one he tells us of the passing of his father-in-law, "Grandfather-of-Sam" (*Aki' Sam*), who died earlier this year in Lundu at the age of 87. In doing so, he gives us a brief, but affectionate picture of an elderly man who was always happy to share his reminiscences with a fellow "praiser of times past."

Jayl Langub and Jérôme Rousseau, in the Brief Communication that follows, describe ten historic paintings depicting scenes from the Kenyah *mamat* ceremony and their official

presentation by Professor Rousseau to the Sarawak Museum in September 2006. The ten paintings were the work of Jalong Liban, an accomplished Kenyah artist of Long Nawang, East Kalimantan, and were originally commissioned by Tom Harrisson and painted in 1966. In 1974, Harrisson made a gift of the paintings to Professor Rousseau, who, in view of their historical and ethnographic significance, chose to present them to the Sarawak Orang Ulu community. Jayl Langub recently transported them from Canada to Sarawak. Here, representatives of the community decided that they should go to the Sarawak Museum. In a formal handover ceremony, they were received by the Museum's Director, Sanib Said, who promised members of the Orang Ulu community that they will be put on permanent exhibition in the Museum's new painting gallery.

In the next Brief Communication, Junita and Paolo Maiullari describe some Katingan Ngaju hats used in connection with curing rituals. Finally, Herwig Zahorka, another frequent contributor to the *BRB*, describes the chemical and toxic properties of Borneo blowpipe dart poison and the delicate process required to produce it. He also addresses some past misunderstandings about the nature of this poison and its botanical source, *Antiaris toxicaria*.

Finally, because of the length of this issue of the *BRB*, your Editor has reluctantly had to postpone the appearance of an excellent paper by Eva Marie and Roger Kershaw on Brunei Dusun augury entitled "Messengers or Tipsters? Some Cautious though Concluding Thoughts on Brunei-Dusun Augury." The paper, an important contribution to a topic of perennial anthropological interest in Borneo, will lead off the Research Notes section of Volume 38.

Thanks and Acknowledgments

Once again I take this opportunity to thank all of those who assisted me during the year with article reviews, provided editorial or technical assistance, or contributed news items, announcements, comments, suggestions, or bibliography. The list, as always, is a long one, but here I would like to acknowledge in particular Jenny Alexander, George Appell, Martin Baier, Dee Baer, Ian Chalmers, James Chin, Beatrice Clayre, Traude Gavin, Antonio Guerreiro, Christine Helliwell, Michael Heppell, A.V.M. Horton, Roger Kershaw, Han Knapen, Jayl Langub, Paolo Maiullari, Ooi Keat Gin, Vic Porritt, Bob Reece, Jérôme Rousseau, Menno Schilthuizen, Bernard Sellato, Kenneth Sillander, Andrew Smith, Otto Steinmayer, Vinson Sutlive, Reed Wadley, and Herwig Zahorka. I am grateful, too, to Mrs. Joan Bubier, our Production Editor, for the work she did in preparing the present volume for publication and to the BRC staff in Phillips, Maine, for, once again, overseeing its printing, distribution, and mailing. In this connection, too, Alan Morse provided invaluable help with the reproduction of photographs. In his role as Book Review Editor and compiler of our annual abstracts and bibliography sections, I am especially indebted to A.V.M. Horton. As always, Dr. Horton has also been a regular correspondent throughout the year and a frequent source of news items, memorials, and information on recent publications. Finally, a special thanks goes to my wife, Louise Klemperer Sather, who, as our Assistant Editor, again carefully read through all of the papers, reviews, announcements, and brief communications that appear in this volume. Her editorial skills, patience, and close attention to detail have been an invaluable help and have preserved us from innumerable errors and lapses of style.

The Ninth Biennial BRC Conference, "Borneo on the Move," Universiti Malaysia Sabah campus, Kota Kinabalu, 29-31 July, 2008

Initial planning has begun for the BRC's Ninth Biennial Conference to be held in 2008. As was announced during the keynote address at the Eighth Biennial Conference in Kuching, the

Universiti Malaysia Sabah has generously offered to act as our conference host. Billed “Borneo on the Move: Continuity and Change,” the Ninth Biennial Conference will be jointly organized by the Kadazandusun Chair and the School of Social Sciences, Universiti Malaysia Sabah, and will be held on the modern UMS campus in Kota Kinabalu. The proposed conference dates are 29–31 July, 2008. Further information and a call for papers will appear in the next volume of the *BRB*.

Some Useful Websites

Once again, readers are reminded of the Borneo Research Council’s website at: www.borneoresearchcouncil.org. Here can be found news and information on the Council’s various activities and publications. In addition, Otto Steinmayer oversees an internet Borneo Discussion list to which anyone with an interest in Borneo is welcome to participate (see Notes from the Editor, *BRB*, vol. 36). Information on the list can be found at http://mail.ikanlundu.com/mailman/listinfo/borneo-l_ikanlundu.com.

Recently, Professor Jay Crain, Department of Anthropology and Asian Studies, California State University at Sacramento, has written that he has posted the final draft of his *Kemaloh Lundayeh-English dictionary* on a webpage maintained by the CSUS department. The URL, he informs us, is: <http://www.csus.edu/anth/Lundayeh%20Studies/lundayeh%20studies%20index.html>.

Finally, readers are reminded, too, of Professor Robert Winzeler’s Borneo dissertation website (see Notes from the Editor, *BRB*, vol. 35). The site address is: <http://www.library.unr.edu.dataworks/Borneo.edu>.

Member Support

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

ENDOWMENT FUND:

Ms. E. Kim Adams, Antiquarian Booksellers “Gemilang,” Ms. Charity Appell, Dr. Jay B. Crain, Dr. Michael R. Dove, Dr. Michael Heppell, Professor H. Arlo Nimmo, Dr. Anne Schiller, Dr. & Mrs. Otto Steinmayer, Dr. & Dr. H. L. Whittier, Dr. Robert L. Winzeler, and Dr. Patricia Yamaguchi-Matusky.

GENERAL FUND:

Dr. Jennifer Alexander, Antiquarian Booksellers “Gemilang,” Dr. Adela Baer, Dr. Martin Baier, Dr. Jay B. Crain, Dr. Carol J. Colfer, Ms. Katherine Edwards, Dr. Richard Fidler, Ms. Judith Heimann, Mr. John W. McCarthy, Dr. Howard McKaughan, Mr. John D. Pearson, Dato Seri John Pike, Dr. & Mrs. Clifford Sather, Dr. Graham Saunders, Dr. Kenneth Sillander, Dr. & Mrs. Otto Steinmayer, Dr. Jack Stuster, FR Brian Taylor, Dr. Phillip Thomas, Dr. Reed Wadley, Mr. James Wickes, Dr. W. D. Wilder, Mr. William Wilkinson, Dr. Leigh Wright, Dr. Patricia Yamaguchi-Matusky, and Mr. Herwig Zahorka.

We thank each of these individuals for their generous support.

About the Authors in This Issue

Michael Heppell studied Iban social control, including the socialization of children, in the Batang Ai region of Sarawak (1972–1974), leading to a Ph.D. in anthropology (1975, ANU). Later, he spent one year (1981) doing an ethnographic study of the Jakug Bidayuh in West

Kalimantan, three months with the Buket on the Balui in Sarawak, and many years doing various consultancies in the four Kalimantan provinces, from which stemmed an interest in Dayak art. Dr. Heppell is the author, most recently, of *Iban Art: Sexual Selection and Severed Heads* (Amsterdam: KIT, 2005).

A.V.M. Horton has been a regular contributor to the *Borneo Research Bulletin* since 1985; a Fellow of the Borneo Research Council since 1988; and Book Review Editor/Current Bibliographer, Borneo Research Council, since August 2003. He was a postgraduate student of the late Dr. D. K. Bassett from 1978 through 1986.

Valerie Mashman obtained a Masters in Social Anthropology from the University of Kent at Canterbury. Together with Lucas Chin, she edited *Sarawak Cultural Legacy* and has written widely on Sarawak indigenous material culture.

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Bulletin. His most recent *BRB* publication was “Anthony Richards and the Search for Lawai: Myths, Maps, and History” which appeared last year in Volume 36 (2005).

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MEMORIALS

DATIN AMAR MARGARET LINGGI 1949-2006



News of the premature death of Datin Amar Margaret Linggi on November 20, 2006, was received with denial and shock by friends and colleagues who were as deeply saddened as were the members of Margaret's own family. In a very real sense, those of us who were privileged to know her as she welcomed us as friends into her home, and emerged as a colleague and a dynamic force for cultural preservation, feel that we have been adopted as members of her extended family.

Margaret Linggi was born in Julau in Sarawak's Third Division on October 20, 1949. She was the daughter of the late Temenggong Banyang anak Janting, and grew up in a traditional longhouse, whose members had some time earlier converted to the Christian faith in the Roman Catholic tradition. Her early childhood experiences imbued her with a love of Iban society and culture, which persisted throughout her later education in primary and secondary schools, and university. A person of deep faith and broad perspective, Margaret wove the dominant values of her traditional culture — cordiality and hospitality, and respect, to all — and Christian faith — love of God, love of others — into the rich tapestry that was her life.

Five days short of her 20th birthday, she married Datuk Amar Linggi Jugah, a union that was to produce two sons, one adopted, and two daughters. It is no exaggeration at all to note that her family was the center of her life. Margaret was unreservedly devoted to her

children, and her enormous capacity for compassion and generosity of spirit were nowhere more evident than in her parenting. Margaret and Linggi were to greatly enrich each other's lives — the two literally becoming one in “Limar” — and resulting in the remarkable successes they achieved together in business, politics, and in cultural preservation.

With three children in the United Kingdom, at various levels of their studies, Margaret determined to extend her own education. And so, in the 1990s, she took courses in Britain's Open University. She was ever the keen learner, and was persistent and tireless in grasping the nomenclature and concepts of courses in the sciences, natural and social.

At about the same time, nascent interests she had nurtured in Iban culture came to full flower. She had worked with her sister-in-law, Siah anak Tun Jugah, and other weavers, and in 1993, was initiated as a weaver. The setting and *rite de passage* for her initiation best reveal the two worlds in which she lived: The setting, the splendid foyer of her thoroughly modern home, in which were the collected heirlooms of her family, provided the background; while the ritual, a traditional blessing upon her, invoked the presence of a weaver-spirit.

Even before completion of the 12-story Tun Jugah Center in Kuching, Margaret already had involved Iban women in weaving, encouraging them to continue this ancient craft. With the opening of the Center, she and her family created a stunning museum room, preceded by a weaving gallery. A back-strap loom, material, and instruction were available to any woman who wanted to take up the art of weaving. As in this endeavor, Margaret was thorough. She showed no hesitation to get “down and dirty,” collecting tree barks, roots, and leaves for the manufacture of natural dyes. She mastered the technique of preparing the mordant bath for treatment of raw cotton, and of weaving the challenging designs.

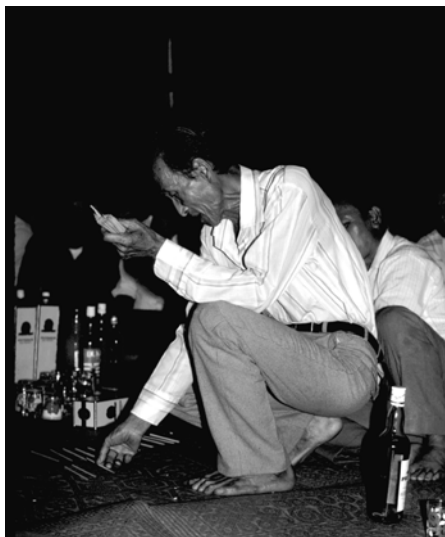
In 1998, with the joint sponsorship of The Tun Jugah Foundation and a grant from the National Science Foundation, Margaret led a team of six weavers, and two male companions — Datuk Amar Linggi and Robert Menua Saleh — to Williamsburg, Virginia, for an exhibition at The Muscarelle Museum of The College of William and Mary. Seventy fabrics from her own collection were displayed throughout the Museum, and each day, the weavers demonstrated each of the stages of preparing a loom, tying in designs, and weaving. The exhibition was a smash hit, attracting visitors of all ages, and the weavers, under the direction of Margaret, are still remembered by friends of the College as charming and gracious. The catalogue for the exhibition, *Ties That Bind*, later became the basis for a much expanded volume she authored with the same title.

It was at about this time that Margaret was first diagnosed with the cancer that a decade later would take her life. As concerned as she doubtlessly was for her own health, Margaret was much more concerned to protect her mother from the knowledge that she was suffering a malignancy. She received the best medical care available, spending extensive periods in Singapore. But despite the ablest doctors and most powerful medications, she passed quietly, surrounded by her family.

Kumang Lenta, “The Beautiful Princess”, now rests from her labors.

(Vinson H. Sutlive, Professor Emeritus, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia, USA)

HENRY GERIJIH ANAK JABO 1917-2004



Henry Gerijih reciting a genealogy at a Paku wedding, using *daun apong* — tobacco wrappers — to indicate generations. Photo: Clifford Sather, 1988.

Henry Gerijih anak Jabo passed away on the night of June 11, 2004, at the Bau District Hospital and was buried, according to his wishes, in the ancient Ulu Paku cemetery at Nanga Pejok, Saribas. His death marks the final passing of a remarkable generation of Iban writers, most of them, like Henry, from the Saribas region, whose works, originally published by the Borneo Literature Bureau, captured in print something of the rich wealth of Iban oral literature, storytelling, and epic and ritual poetry. A widely admired bard in his youth, a great storyteller, and throughout his life, soft-spoken and scholarly by temperament, Apai Jatan (or Apai Chendang), as he was known to family and friends, will be greatly missed by all who knew him.

Henry Gerijih was born on the 15th of June, 1917, at Nanga Samu Longhouse, Ulu Paku, the son of Jabo anak Gurang, who, before he settled down to marry and raise a family, had been, like his father Nakoda Gurang before him, an active trader in early colonial Sabah. Later, during Henry's youth, Jabo took up pioneer rubber planting and became, during the last ten years of his life, the Nanga Samu headman (or *tuai rumah*). As the son of a prosperous family, Gerijih was educated at St. Andrew's School, Nanga Anyut, Paku, and at St. Augustine's School, Betong. Following his graduation, and after a short term of apprentice teaching in 1949, he was trained as a primary school teacher at the Batu Lintang Teacher's Training College in Kuching, and beginning in 1951, he taught at a number of mission schools in the Sri Aman Division. His final posting was to St. Christopher's School, Debak, from which he retired in 1973. Following his retirement,

Gerijih and his wife, Indun anak Libau, returned to the Nanga Samu Longhouse where they continued to live until the last year of Gerijih's life. In failing health, Gerijih and Indun moved to Bau to join their adopted son, Chendang.

In his youth, Henry Gerijih studied with a number of notable Paku bards (*lemambang*) and became, at the age of 18, a member of a troupe of bards led at the time by the redoubtable Lemambang Luat anak Jabu, also of Nanga Samu, and considered by many to have been the most learned Paku bard of his generation. Although later, after becoming a teacher, he gave up active singing, Gerijih never lost his interest in the bardic chants. Indeed, following his retirement, he resumed this interest and performed several times in smaller Gawais. By this time most Paku troupes had, however, disbanded, owing to a lack of younger bards, including that of Lemambang Luat. In later years Gerijih was regularly called upon to preside over public prayers and offerings whenever major ceremonial events were held in the Paku and to recite the genealogies (*tusut*) of couples during local engagements and wedding ceremonies. In his home area of the Ulu Paku, Gerijih was widely recognized as the last great *tukang tusut*, or genealogist, of his generation. Much of his genealogical knowledge was written down in notebooks which he continually amended and added to until his death. Like his cousin, Benedict Sandin, Gerijih, too, had an encyclopedic knowledge of Saribas oral history, much of it gained from the same sources.

During his years as a primary school teacher, Gerijih published six books with the Borneo Literature Bureau: *Satangkai* (1963), *Kumang Betelu* (1963), *Raja Langit* (1964), *Aur Kira* (1965), *Raja Berani* (1967), and *Brave Mujong* (1966). The first five, written in Iban, are literary retellings of traditional Saribas Iban oral epics (*ensera*). The sixth, published in English, consists of a brief compilation of mousedeer stories and a longer folktale, "Leader of the Birds." In the 1990s, the first three of these books were translated and reprinted in Bahasa Malaysia by the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka (see below). In addition, I recorded two collections of Saribas Iban comic fables (*ensera Apai Alui*) told to me by Henry Gerijih in the late 1970s and early 1980s (Sather 1984, *Apai Alois Goes Hunting and Other Stories*, Kuching: Persatuan Kesusasteraan Sarawak, and Sather, 2001, *Apai Alui Becomes a Shaman and Other Iban Comic Tales*, Kota Samarahan: Universiti Malaysia Sarawak) and discussed a rice origin myth which he had related in 1988, comparing it with several different published versions, in an essay on Iban rice myths and ancestry (Sather 1994, "The One-Sided One: Iban Rice Myths, Agricultural Ritual and Notions of Ancestry," *Contributions to Southeast Asian Ethnography*, 10:119–50).

In recognition of his achievements, Henry Gerijih was awarded the Bintang Bintara Sarawak in 1974 and in 1996 he was invited to present the second Tan Sri Datuk Gerunsin Lembat Memorial Lecture sponsored by the Tun Jugah Foundation. The title of his lecture, presented in Kuching on the 23rd of July, 1996, was, fittingly, "Tusut/Jerita Iban" ("Iban Genealogies [and] Historical Narratives").

I am grateful to have known this wise and kindly man and to have been able to record a tiny fraction at least of the vast repertoire of stories he knew, treasured, and told so well.

Published Writings of Henry Gerijih

1963a *Kumang Betelu* (Iban). Kuching: Borneo Literature Bureau.

1963b *Satangkai* (Iban). Kuching: Borneo Literature Bureau.

1964 *Raja Langit* (Iban). Kuching: Borneo Literature Bureau.

1965 *Aur Kira* (Iban). Kuching: Borneo Literature Bureau.

1966 *Brave Mujong* (English). Kuching: Borneo Literature Bureau.

- 1967 *Raja Berani* (Iban). Kuching: Borneo Literature Bureau.
1990 *Kumang Bertelur* (Bahasa Malaysia translation of 1963a). Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.
1994 *Raja Langit* (Bahasa Malaysia translation of 1964). Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.
1995 *Satang kai* (Bahasa Malaysia translation of 1963b). Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.

Note: In writing this memorial, I am grateful for the help of Stanley Jugol Sandin, Anthony Samuel, Jantan Umbat, and, in earlier years, of Henry Gerijih himself who supplied most of the background information on his family, early years, and career as a teacher. Additional biographical information can be found in *The Encyclopaedia of Iban Studies*, Volume 1, and in “The Storyteller” (pp. x–xi) in my *Apai Alui Becomes a Shaman and Other Iban Comic Tales* (Clifford Sather, Editor *BRB*).

**DINDU ANAK SAGA
1927-2004**



Many scholars who worked in Sarawak during the 1960s and 70s will remember *Ibu* Dindu as the wife of Benedict Sandin, the Government Ethnologist and Curator of the Sarawak Museum from 1966 through 1973.

Dindu was born on the 17th of April, 1927, the second daughter of Saga and Simba of Nanga Samu longhouse, Ulu Paku. She died of respiratory failure in the early morning hours of the 11th June, 2004, at the Sarawak General Hospital, Kuching, and was buried near the grave of her husband in the Batu Anchau Cemetery, Ulu Paku, Saribas.

Like Benedict Sandin himself, Dindu was a descendant of the great 19th-century Paku Iban war chief, Linggir ‘Mali Lebu.’ She and Benedict were married in a traditional *melah pinang* ceremony at Samu longhouse on the 2nd of August, 1953, and more formally in St. Thomas’ Cathedral, Kuching, on the 26th of August, 1957. Their marriage followed the 1951 death in childbirth of Benedict Sandin’s first wife. As a result, Dindu not only assumed the role of mother to Benedict’s four surviving children, but she also adopted his second eldest son, David Panggau, as her own. Later, as a young man, David married Rinya, the only daughter of Henry Gerijih whose memorial immediately precedes this one. By a sad twist of fate, Dindu and Gerijih died within 24 hours of one another on the same day: 11 June, 2004. News of Gerijih’s death reached those who had gathered to mourn Dindu the following day.

For both Benedict and Dindu, the early years of their marriage were eventful times. Recruited by Tom Harrison, Benedict first joined the staff of the Sarawak Museum in 1952. The following year, he and Dindu were married. A year later, in 1954, Benedict took up a one-year UNESCO fellowship in anthropology and museum studies at the University of Auckland, New Zealand, while Dindu remained in Kuching with their children, who were then attending school. Shortly after his return to Sarawak, Benedict was promoted to the newly created position of Research Assistant, and he and Dindu purchased a house on Nanas Road. The next two decades were the most fruitful of Benedict’s scholarly life.

In 1966, Benedict succeeded Tom Harrison as the Sarawak Museum Curator, and the Sandin family moved into the Curator’s House on Pig Lane. Later, in 1971, anticipating his eventual retirement, Benedict commissioned the construction of a bungalow for Dindu and himself close to his natal longhouse at Kerangan Pinggai in the Ulu Paku. Retirement came in October 1973. By this time, their children had married and begun families of their own, and he and Dindu celebrated retirement by going on an around-the-world trip, crossing the Atlantic on the Queen Elizabeth II. Always elegantly dressed, Dindu favored in public the beautifully hand-embroidered *baju kebaya* that were the traditional fashion of Saribas Iban married women of her generation. “While in Europe and America,” Benedict told me later, “Dindu wore traditional Sarawak dress, which attracted much friendly interest.”

And well it might. A great beauty in her youth, Dindu remained throughout her life an exceptionally handsome woman. Full of charm, she also had a keenly observant eye, sharp wits, and a retentive memory. In many ways more practical-minded and fully at home in a purely Iban milieu than her husband, she was a considerable asset to him, not only in creating a supportive home life, but also in his work as well, and Benedict often relied on her judgments and ability to recall facts. Despite their foreign travels and a relatively cosmopolitan, urban home life in Kuching, Dindu remained little affected by it all, and her primary concerns were always firmly rooted in her immediate family, in children and grandchildren, and in her friends and kin in the Paku. A year after his retirement, Benedict took up a year-and-a-half appointment as a Senior Fellow at the Universiti Sains Malaysia in Penang. Here, Dindu joined him for a time, but finding little in Penang to hold her interest, she soon returned to the Paku. She much preferred the companionship and conviviality of longhouse life, and as soon as Benedict died in 1982, she sealed up their bungalow and moved to his family apartment in the Kerangan Pinggai longhouse. Here, despite repeated appeals by her stepchildren to join them, she remained for the rest of her life.

Dindu was an exceptionally accomplished weaver. In later years, she was never without a supply of finely split *bemban* reeds, even in Kuching. From these, she wove a variety of

objects, but mainly fine, intricately patterned *tikai bebua* mats. Wherever she and Benedict lived throughout their life together, her beautiful mats covered their floors whenever guests arrived. She was also skilled at beadwork and was an expert embroiderer, who taught the art to many of the younger women in the Paku. She was also an exceptional hostess who looked after my family and me whenever we stayed at Kerangan Pinggai. In later years, when I stayed on my own at the longhouse to work, I always hung my mosquito net on Dindu's section of the longhouse gallery. In the mornings she brought out coffee and fruit, and later in the day called me into the *dapur* to share meals and conversation. I greatly enjoyed these occasions. They provided a chance to talk over events of the day and frequently to share a joke. Oftentimes, I would be away for much of the day, for example, accompanying a family during farm work or interviewing someone in another longhouse. When I returned, she was always curious to know what I had been told and her comments aided me immensely in placing whatever I had learned, or thought I had learned, in its proper context of local life histories, personalities and individual motives. Dindu was also an excellent cook. Her pickled bamboo shoots were a particular favorite of mine, a fact she soon discovered, and she never failed to have some on hand whenever she knew I was coming to the longhouse.

The last time I saw *Ibu* Dindu was at Kerangan Pinggai during the 2003 Gawai Dayak celebrations. The custom in Kerangan Pinggai is that each year, by rotation, a different family acts as the principal Gawai hosts. In 2003, the honor fell to Dindu. My wife, Louise, and I joined her stepson, Stanley Jugol Sandin, his wife Betty Munjie, and their children in traveling to Kerangan Pinggai, where, on his stepmother's behalf, Stanley skillfully assumed the public role of *tuai gawai*. For me, this return brought back memories of earlier Gawais I had shared with the Sandin family when Benedict was still alive. Although by now frail and in ill-health, Dindu laid out the bedding for my wife and me and saw to it that we had a private sleeping place to ourselves in the *sadau* (loft). Always a perfect hostess, no one could prevent her, frail as she was, from climbing the steep staircase to make certain that we had everything required for our comfort.

Dindu's passing is a grievous loss, most especially to her immediate family. For me, she was, by word and example, an important part of my anthropological education. Far more, of course, she was also a delightful person, and I, too, grieve her loss and will greatly miss her (Clifford Sather, Editor *BRB*).

NEGARA BRUNEI DARUSSALAM: OBITUARIES 2006

Introduction

This memorial, comprising obituaries of Bruneians or other persons having had some connection with the sultanate, updates the one published in this space last year. The terminal date for inclusion is 31 December 2006.

Among Malays, the principal fatalities were one nobleman of *ceteria* rank and one permanent secretary. The roads were as athirst for blood as usual; and a five-year-old died from drowning. The usual detachment of Commonwealth military personnel, mostly connected with the Confrontation Era, exited the stage during the year.

The deaths took place in 2006 or in late 2005. A postscript is added, however, in respect of a former Commissioner of the Royal Brunei Police Force and an Indonesian foreign minister who died in 2002 and 2004 respectively.

Bruneians

Yang Amat Mulia Pengiran Setia Jaya Pengiran Haji Abdul Momin bin Pengiran Othman (1923–2006), who returned to the mercy of Allah on 9 March 2006, the eighty-third anniversary of his birth (*PB* 15.3.2006: 16), was an NBD nobleman of *ceteria* rank who gave distinguished public service for six decades as an educationalist, civil servant, and diplomat. Prayers at his residence in Kampong Sungai Akar on 10 March 2006 were attended by HM Sultan Hassanal Bolkiah and other members of the royal family. Flags were ordered to be flown at half-mast (*PB* 15.3.2006:16). He was survived by seventeen children (*BBO* Sa.11.3.2006: h3.htm).

Born in (*berasal dari*) the Kampong Bakut Cina section of Kampong Ayer on 9 March 1923, his early education was at the Jalan Pemancha Malay School in Brunei Town between 1934 and 1939 (*PB* 15.3.2006:16). His working life was divided into three main parts: first, as a teacher between 1939 and 1961 (*PB* 4.10.1995:14); secondly, in government service in other departments from 1961 until 1992, when he “retired.” He was recalled to office, thirdly, as a long-serving Ambassador to Indonesia (e.g., *PBA* 4.1.1995:14; *PB* 24.5.2000:16); during that time he was signatory, at Jakarta on 7 January 1999, to the agreement establishing diplomatic relations between NBD and North Korea (*PBA* 3.2.1999:5).

The start of his career was fractured because of external circumstances. Beginning as a trainee teacher at the Malay School in Brunei Town, he matriculated as a student at the Sultan Idris Training College (SITC) in the Federated Malay States in 1941, but had to flee to his homeland following the outbreak of the Pacific War. He resumed duty at the Malay School in the Brunei capital, returning to the SITC in 1946–1948 after the resumption of peace (*PB* 15.3.2006:16). He became an Assistant Head Teacher, Grade II, in 1952; a Head Teacher in 1959; a School Inspector, no date; and Private Clerk (*Kerani Sulit*) to “the Sultan”¹ in 1961 (according to *PB* 15.3.2006:16).

He was notable for being “one of the intellectuals who proposed that Islamic religious education should be given in Malay and English schools in the sultanate, i.e., before the formation of Islamic religious schools on a systematic basis in 1956” (*PBA* 4.4.2001:5*; *BBO* Sa.11.3.2006:h3.htm). What is more, he was a Member of the Scholarship Committee (Departments of Education and Religious Affairs), which involved him in selecting pupils for Government English Schools in Brunei and for the Al-Junied *madrasah* in Singapore.

On *Hari Guru* (Teachers’ Day) in 1995 he won a lifetime achievement oscar (*Anugerah Guru Berbakti*), comprising a certificate, a cash prize of NBD\$12,000, and a gold medal. A prime mover in the *Persekutuan Guru-Guru Melayu Brunei* or Brunei Malay Teachers’ Association (founder member, President, Secretary-General, Treasurer), he was awarded a commemorative medal on the occasion of the golden jubilee of the society in 1989 (*PB* 4.10.1995:14). A primary school in Kuala Belait has been named after him (*cf.* *PB* 18.10.2000:11).

¹ This would refer to Sultan Omar Ali Saifuddin III, presuming non-anachronistic use of terminology.

More significantly, in recognition of his achievements he was bestowed a *cetera* title, *YAM Pengiran Setia Jaya*, on 14 March 1969 (*BGG* 10.5.1969: 118; *cf.* Brown 1970:200, No 47). He also held a whole host of subordinate awards, *viz.* DK DSNB SLJ PSB CVO POAS PHBS (*TD* 97:190), plus the PJK (*cf.* *TD* 2005/6:186) and the Selangor Silver Jubilee Medal (*cf.* *PB* 15.3.2006:16). He was, moreover, a member of various state bodies, such as the Privy Council and the Islamic Religious Council. Towards the end of his life he was a nominated member of the revived Legislative Council between 6 September 2004 and 31 August 2005 (*GBOW ON* F.10.9.2004; *BBO* Th.1.9.2005:h1.htm).

A member of Sultan Omar Ali Saifuddin III's entourage during the *haj* of 1962 (Abdul Aziz Juned 1990:8), he received a *Tokoh Bakti Hijrah* award in 1422/2001 (*PB* 28.3.2001:16; *PBA* 4.4.2001:5*). At one time or another he was Deputy President of the *Persatuan Kesatuan Islam Brunei*, or Islamic Unity Association (*PB* 1.1.1992:13), and a Board Member of the Sultan Haji Hassanal Bolkiah Foundation (*PB* 12.2.1997:10; *PB* 13.9.2000:5*; *PB* 21.3.2001:11; *PB* 20.11.2002:13).

If the *Pengiran Setia Jaya* comfortably surpassed the allotted Biblical lifespan, a most untimely departure during the year was that of **Dato Paduka Awang Haji Sulaiman bin Haji Ismail**, a Permanent Secretary at the Prime Minister's Office from 20 May 2005 until his death aged only forty-eight, on Friday 15 December 2006. He held concomitantly the post of Deputy Secretary in the Cabinet Ministers' Council from 1998. His residence in Kampong Tanah Jambu was visited personally by HM Sultan Hassanal Bolkiah on 15 December 2006 to express condolences to the family (*BBO* W.20.12.2006:h6.htm; *PB* 20.12.2006:16*).

Joining the civil service in 1982 (*PB* 20.12.2006:16*), he rose to become a Senior Administrative Officer in the Prime Minister's Department between 1 October 1995 and 23 January 2003 (*PB* 11.10.1995:9; *TD* 97:203a; *BBO* F.24.1.2003:h2.htm), when he was promoted Deputy Permanent Secretary (one of two), a post which he occupied for the next twenty-eight months (*BBO* F.24.1.2003:h2.htm; *BBO* F.20.5.2005:h2.htm). He was awarded his *datoship* late in life.²

The number of **road fatalities** in Negara Brunei Darussalam fell from thirty-four in 2004 to thirty (*sic*) in 2005 (according to *BBO* Th.9.3.2006:h2.htm) or from thirty-eight (*sic*) in 2005 to thirty-two in 2006 (according to *BBO* F.12.1.2007; apparent inconsistency in original sources). One of the fatalities in 2006, at any rate, was **Awang Hafifi bin Haji Abu Bakar (d 2006)**, who died when "slippery conditions" along the Tutong-Jerudong highway caused his car to crash near the Maraburong prison on 14 March 2006. Aged "in his twenties," he worked for the No 33 Squadron (Air Regiment), Penanjong Camp. He was the eldest in a family of seven from Kampong Tungku (*BBO* W.15.3.2006:h3.htm).³

Mohamad Mohsin @ Khalil bin Awang Sofri (d 2006), a five-year-old child, drowned in Kampong Setia 'A', Kampong Ayer, on 14 December 2006 (*BBO* Sa.16.12.2006:h4.htm,

² The first month of 2007 witnessed the departure from the stage of Dato Paduka [cr 1989] Awang Haji Yaakub bin Abu Bakar (1947–2007), Deputy Minister of Culture, Youth and Sport from 20 September 2004 until his death in Singapore on 20 January 2007, aged fifty-nine (*BBO* M.20.9.2004:h2.htm; *GBOW ON* Sa.30.10.2004; *BBO* Th.19.5.2005:h8.htm; *BBSO* Su.21.1.2007:h1.htm).

³ Police reports indicated that forty-seven accidents, mostly car collisions, were recorded in the first week of 2007 (*BBO* F.12.1.2007).

citing RTB).⁴

One notable event during the year was the acquittal in mid-November of **Richard Chia Kok Hiong**, a car salesman aged in his early fifties, who had been on trial for the murder in mid-December 2004 of a family of three at Kampong Serusop. He had maintained his innocence all along (*BBSO* 19.11.2006:h2.htm; cf. *BRB* 2005:19).

Commonwealth Military Personnel

Lieutenant-Colonel Michael Hugh Argue (1947–2006), MC 1982, MBE 1986, was a Parachute Regiment officer who spent part of his career “on attachment to 22 Special Air Service Regiment in Cyprus, the Middle East, Malaysia and Brunei” (*DT Sa*.9.9.2006: 23*).

Brigadier Ian Hamilton “Buzz” Burrows MC OBE (1930–2006), who won his MC in Malaya with the élite 22 SAS Regiment in 1956, later saw service in Borneo during the Confrontation Era (*DT Sa*.21.10.2006:27*). Born on 11 November 1930 at Christchurch in New Zealand, he was trained at Duntroon and commissioned into the Royal New Zealand Infantry in 1953. He rose to become Commander of New Zealand Forces in Southeast Asia. Following his retirement in 1985, he was Colonel Commandant of the New Zealand SAS for ten years (*DT Sa*.21.10.2006:27*).

General Sir Roland Kelvin Guy GCB CBE DSO (1928–2005) served in Malaysia during the Confrontation with Indonesia. He was born on 25 June 1928 and died on 13 December 2005 (*DT F*.10.2.2006:27*).

Colonel John Kenyon MC (1921–2006) was a military adviser in the Far East Land Forces under General Sir Nigel Poett [who held the appointment in 1961–1963] (*DT F*.1.12.2006:29*⁵).

Turning now to the Royal Navy (UK), **Commodore John Ambrose Fergusson “Shorty” Lawson (1929–2005)** commanded the destroyer HMS *Barrosa* in the Far East and, from 1974 to 1975 the frigate HMS *Charybdis*. Born on 27 March 1929, he reached the last post on 25 November 2005. His father, Commander Harold Lawson, was second-in-command of the battleship HMS *Prince of Wales* when she was sunk by Japanese torpedo-bombers off Malaya in 1941 (*DT F*.27.1.2006:25*).

Vice-Admiral Sir Charles Mills KCB (1914–2006) “became flag officer, second-in-command of the Far East Fleet, where, with his small staff, he was involved in the end of confrontation with the Indonesians and Britain’s discreet help to the Americans in Vietnam.” He died on 27 July 2006, to be survived by his widow and two daughters (*DT Th*.14.9.2006:27*).

⁴ **Hajjah Salbiah binti Ahmad**, 68, who appealed via the *Borneo Bulletin* in March 2006 for members of the public to help repair her dilapidated house at Kampong Pancur Papan in Tutong District, died on Saturday 9 December 2006. An anonymous donor duly emerged. “We are so happy that she died peacefully seeing her house fully repaired,” said her daughter, Dayang Surayah binti Zakaria (*BBSO* Su.10.12.2006:h18.htm).

⁵ As a footnote mention might be made of **Major Christopher John “Cuth” Adami (1933–?2006)**, an “Army officer who encouraged the early career of Idi Amin and found his vocation as a restaurateur in Ibiza.” Eton-educated, his Army service also took him to Borneo, but no details are given. The precise date of death is not stated either (*DT Sa*.25.3.2006:29*).

Commander Donald Swift (1915–2006) “was [1945] navigator of the light fleet aircraft carrier *Vengeance* during her post-war deployment to the Far East, which included repatriating members of the Australian army from Labuan, off Borneo, to Sydney” (*DT F.28.7.2006:27**).

Turning now to the Royal Air Force (UK), **Squadron Leader Richard Norman Vimpany MBE (d 2006)**, who served in Borneo in 1964–1965, died aged eighty-three on 21 July 2006 at Polegate,⁶ near Eastbourne in East Sussex (*DT F.28.7.2006:26f #2ff*).

Group Captain George Herbert Westlake DSO (1918–2006) co-ordinated operations at HQ Far East Air Force during the Indonesia Confrontation campaign (*DT Th.25.1.2006:25**).

The British Connection

Brigadier John Dennis Profumo CBE, fifth Baron Profumo of the late kingdom of Sardinia (1915–2006), a “[g]ifted minister whose career was ruined by scandal but who redeemed himself through charity work” (*DT Sa.11.3.2006:29**), was a Member of Parliament in the United Kingdom between 1940 and 1945 and again from 1950 until 1963. Born on 30 January 1915 (*ST 30.1.2005:1:20*), he breathed his last on 9 March 2006. Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1957–1958, he became PUSOS for Foreign Affairs between November 1958 and January 1959. He was then Minister of State for Foreign Affairs (1959–1960) and Secretary of State for War from July 1960 until his resignation in June 1963, i.e., during the Brunei Revolt and its immediate aftermath.

During the Second World War, he attained the rank of Brigadier, and served as Chief of Staff to the British Liaison Mission to General MacArthur in Japan (*DT Sa.11.3.2006:29; WW 2006:1831*). Married to a famous actress, Valerie Hobson (1917–1998), his will was proved at more than £3,000,000 (US\$6m) (*ST 23.7.2006:1:11**). His son, David, wrote *Bringing the House Down: A Family Memoir*, published in 2006.

Another British government minister whose career was “ruined by scandal” was **the Hon. Mr. Antony Claud Frederick Lambton (1922–2006)**, sixth Earl of Durham had he not disclaimed the title. He was author of *The Mountbattens: The Battenbergs and Young Mountbatten* (1989). Born on 10 July 1922, he died on Saturday 30 December 2006 (*DT Tu.2.1.2007:25**).

Sir Peter Henry Berry Otway Smithers (1913–2006), “Tory MP, botanist and intelligence officer,” first saw the light of day on 9 December 1913, and “shuffled off this mortal coil” on 8 June 2006. He was Parliamentary Private Secretary (1952–1956) to Henry Hopkinson⁷ (Minister of State at the Colonial Office) and then (1956–1959) to Alan Lennox-Boyd (Secretary of State for the Colonies).⁸ He later took up Swiss citizenship (*DT Sa.10.6.2006:23*; WW 2006:2099*).

John Campbell Bonner Letts OBE (1929–2006) died on 25 March 2006 knowing that the British Empire Museum in Bristol, which he had been instrumental in founding, was attracting 120,000 visitors a year. “The day it was opened by the Princess Royal in 2002,”

⁶ The best people (not mentioning any names) have lived in that illustrious township at one time or another!

⁷ Later, Lord Colyton (1902–1996).

⁸ Later, (1960) Lord Boyd of Merton (1904–1983).

his obituary ran, “the normally reserved Letts gulped back tears of pride. For twenty-five years the project had been hampered by the torpor, timidity and downright obstruction from a leftist Establishment aghast at the mere mention of ‘empire’” (*DT* Sa.1.4.2006:27*).

Rosemary Slater (*née* Murray-Duncan), “widow of Jack Slater, ex-Malayan Police and Royal Brunei Police” (probably Dato Setia [cr 1965] Alexander John Waterfield Slater, acting Commissioner of the RBPF 1963–1964 and Commissioner 1964–1966), died on 15 November 2006, aged eighty-four. Mother of Janina, she rendered wartime service in Burma (*DT* Tu.21.11.2006: 24g #5).

Miscellaneous

His Majesty King Taufa’ahau Tupou IV of Tonga (1918–2006) attended the sultanate’s independence celebrations on 23 February 1984 (Siddique 1985: 100; Whicker 2000: 28). He reigned from 16 December 1965 until 10 September 2006.

Pramoedya Ananta Toer (1925–2006), author of the Foreword to Poulgrain 1998 (pages vi–xxiii, one version in Malay, one in English), was perhaps Indonesia’s leading writer. Banned in his own country, his works have been translated into twenty foreign languages (Poulgrain 1998:bc).

Yang Berhormat Datuk Dr. James Peter Ongkili (1939–2006), the Malaysian historian and politician, died on Monday 20 March 2006, aged sixty-seven, having been wheelchair-bound for almost the last decade of his life. Believed to have suffered a stroke in the early hours, he was survived by his widow, Datin Margaret Ganduong, 68, and six children. The Funeral Mass was due to be held at St John’s Church, Tuaran, at 1100h local time on the Wednesday (*BBO* W.22.3.2006:b3.htm).

Born on 13 March 1939 at Tambunan, he was educated at St. Francis Xavier School in Keningau and La Salle Secondary School in Jesselton. He took B.A. (Hons) and M.A. degrees from the University of Queensland and was awarded a Ph.D. by the University of Malaya (*BBO* W.22.3.2006: b3.htm). He was a member of the faculty at Kuala Lumpur from January 1969 until 1976, when he moved into politics. His works include *The Borneo Response to Malaysia 1961–1963* (1967), *Modernization in East Malaysia 1960–1970* (1972), “Pre-Western Brunei, Sarawak and Sabah” (*SMJ* 1972), and *Nation-Building in Malaysia 1946–1974* (1985).

The Harvard-educated American reporter, author and documentary-maker, **Peter Bradford Benchley (1940–2006)**, was famous for *Jaws*, published in 1974 (*WD* 2000:108). In Negara Brunei Darussalam, however, he was also known for his television series on the Amazon, broadcast by RTB in 2001–2002 (e.g. *PBA* 10.10.2001:14; *PBA* 17.10.2001:14; *PBA* 24.10.2001:14; *PBA* 31.10.2001:14; *PBA* 26.12.2001:14; *PBA* 2.1.2002:14; *PBA* 9.1.2002:14; *PBA* 16.1.2002:14; *PBA* 23.1.2002:14; *PBA* 30.1.2002: 14; *PBA* 6.2.2002:14).

Heinrich Harrer (1912–2006), a controversial Austrian mountaineer, was editor of *Borneo: Mensch und Kultur Seit Ihrer Steinzeit* (1988) or “The People and Culture of Borneo since their Stone Age.” Born on 6 July 1912, he died on 7 January 2006, aged ninety-three (*ST* 8.1.2006:1:24). Having competed in the discipline at the 1936 Winter Olympics, he became a skiing instructor in the notorious *Schutzstaffel* (“protection squad”) in 1938–1939: Simon Wiesenthal “did not consider Harrer to have been guilty of wrongdoing” (*DT* M.9.1.2006:21*). In July 1938 Harrer (and colleagues) made the first ascent of the North Face of the Eiger (Switzerland). He was interned in 1939 by the British authorities during an expedition to India. He escaped in 1944 into Tibet, where he became a

friend of the Dalai Lama. He documented his experiences there in a best-seller entitled *Seven Years in Tibet* (1953). He continued his mountaineering activities after that time, for example in North Borneo. As a golfer he was Austrian national champion in 1958 and 1970 (DTM.9.1.2006:21*).

Mark Jay Keffer (d 2006), an NBD-based Canadian, aged forty-two, was shot dead by an assailant in Thailand on Boxing Day 2006; his wife and two Bruneians were wounded during the same incident (BBO W.27.12.2006:h2.htm).

Postscript: Obituary 2002

Dato Setia James Richard Henry Burns (1916–2002), Commissioner of the RBPF from 12 August 1966 until 1975 (BGG 24.9.1966:220; BB 31.5.1975), died in the United Kingdom on 26 December 2002. A “highly respected and compassionate man” (BBO Sa.29.7.2006:h34.htm), he was appointed *YD Pehin Datu Pahlawan Di-Raja* on 19 April 1973 (WKNB 12.5.1973:202). Educated at Eastbourne College, he joined the FMS Police in 1937, rising through the ranks: Assistant Superintendent, 1940; Superintendent, 1950; Assistant Commissioner of Police, Federation of Malaya, 1953; Senior Assistant Commissioner, 1957 (Kirk-Greene 1991: 52). He amassed an impressive collection of medals: DSNB DSLJ CBE JMN PHBS KPM CPM PJK. Plus the PSPNB in 1971 (BGG 25.8.1973:399).⁹

Postscript: Obituary 2004

Dr. Subandrio (1914–2004), Indonesian surgeon and diplomat, was successively Ambassador to the United Kingdom (1950–1954) and to the USSR (1954–1956). He was then Foreign Minister between 1957 and 1966 (i.e., during the *Konfrontasi*), concurrently Second Deputy First Minister (1960–1966), and Minister for Foreign Economic Relations (1962–1966). Convicted in October 1966 of complicity in an “attempted communist coup,” his death sentence was commuted in 1970. He was pardoned by President Suharto and released on 15 August 1995 (IWW 1998-9:1489). Vickers (2005:227) gives the date of death as 2004. The possibility has been raised (Poulgrain 1998:252) that there was “some understanding or link between Subandrio and British intelligence.”

⁹ He was survived by his widow, Rosamund, who died in February 2003 (according to BBO Sa.29.7.2006:h34.htm). There were four children. **Diana**, married to Ronnie Thomas; **Richard**, married to Lyn Thomas; **George**, married to Jane Brooks, all of whom now reside at Perth, Western Australia. **Bill** (d September 2005) married to Eleanor, lived in Scotland. Jane Burns (*née* Brooks), who was employed by the Brunei Department of Agriculture in 1976, and her son, Chris, visited NBD in July 2006. Mrs. Burns currently works for the Australian Indigenous Health Information Network; Chris is at school. While in Brunei in the 1970s Jane learned to sail; her father, Dennis Brooks, was Commodore of the Brunei Yacht Club. “Brunei “has changed so much and it is almost unrecognisable,” she remarked. George Burns was a flying instructor with the Royal Brunei Flying Club. Dennis Brooks, who was an air traffic controller in Brunei, now lives in Abu Dhabi (according to BBO Sa.29.7.2006:h34.htm). Ronnie and Lyn Thomas were offspring of Rex and Ruth Thomas, who are now both deceased; Rex worked in the Government Stores, no date given (BBO Sa.29.7.2006:h34.htm).

Abbreviations

*	monochrome photograph.
#	paragraph.
24f #3ff	page 24, column six, paragraph three from foot of page.
BBO	<i>Borneo Bulletin</i> (online).
BBSO	<i>Borneo Bulletin Sunday</i> (online).
bc	back cover.
BGG	<i>Brunei Government Gazette</i> .
BRB	<i>Borneo Research Bulletin</i> (Phillips, Maine).
CBE	Commander of the Order of the British Empire.
CPM	Colonial Police Medal.
CVO	Commander of the Royal Victorian Order.
DK	<i>Darjah Yang Utama Kerabat Diraja</i> / Royal Family Order, awarded by one sultan to another or to a member of the sultan's family (or to a Head of State).
DSLJ	<i>Dato Seri Laila Jasa</i> .
DSNB	<i>Dato Setia Negara Brunei</i> /Order of Setia Negara Brunei, instituted 1959, second class; carries style <i>Dato Setia</i> .
DSO	Companion of the Distinguished Service Order (UK).
DT	<i>The Daily Telegraph</i> (London).
F	Friday.
ff	from foot (of page).
GBOW ON	Government of Brunei Darussalam Official Website, online news.
GCB	Knight Grand Cross of the Bath.
HMS	Her/His Majesty's Ship.
IWW	<i>International Who's Who</i> (annual).
JMN	<i>Johan Mangku Negara</i> (Malaysian order of chivalry).
KCB	Knight Commander of the Order of the Bath.
KPM	King's Police Medal.
M	Monday.
MBE	Member of the Order of the British Empire.
MC	Military Cross.
MP	Member of Parliament.
NBD	Negara Brunei Darussalam (1984–); previously known as “Brunei.”
OBE	Officer of the Order of the British Empire.
PB	<i>Pelita Brunei</i> (Bandar Seri Begawan).
PBA	<i>Pelita Brunei</i> (Aneka section).
PHBS	<i>Pingat Hassanal Bolkiah Sultan/Sultan Hassanal Bolkiah</i> (Coronation) Medal (est. 1968).
PJK	<i>Pingat Jasa Kebaktian</i> / Loyal Service Medal.
POAS	<i>Pingat Omar Ali Saifuddin III</i> / Sultan Omar Ali Saifuddin III Medal.
PSB	<i>Darjah Setia Negara Brunei Yang Amat Bahagia Darjah Keempat</i> / Order of Setia Negara Brunei, fourth class.
PSPNB	<i>Pahlawan Negeri Brunei</i> Order, first class (BGG 4.11.1961:214).
PUSOS	Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State.
RBPF	Royal Brunei Police Force.

RTB	<i>Radio-Televisyen Brunei.</i>
Sa	Saturday.
SAS	Special Air Service (NZ/UK).
SLJ	Order of <i>Seri Laila Jasa</i> (Brunei), third class.
ST	<i>Sunday Times</i> (London).
TD	<i>Panduan Telefon Negara Brunei Darussalam / The Telephone Directory of Brunei Darussalam.</i>
Th	Thursday.
Tu	Tuesday.
UK	United Kingdom.
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.
W	Wednesday.
WD	<i>The Writers Directory</i> (annual; St James Press, Detroit and elsewhere; subsequently published by Thomson Gale, Detroit and elsewhere).
WKNB	<i>Warta Kerajaan Negeri Brunei / State of Brunei Government Gazette.</i>
WW	<i>Who's Who</i> (London).

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RESEARCH NOTES

JOSEPH BURN AND RAFFLES'S PLAN FOR A BRITISH BORNEO

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Early in 1811, "J. Burn" sent lengthy letters from Pontianak to Thomas Stamford Raffles in Malacca that are preserved in the British Library, London, as part of the Raffles Collection.¹ Raffles was at that time stationed in Malacca as "Agent to the Governor-General with the Malay States," appointed by Lord Minto, Governor-General of India for the English East India Company, and his duties involved taking steps to help protect British shipping in the region and planning the forthcoming British invasion of Java. With Minto's support, Raffles developed a strong interest in the commercial possibilities of Borneo, an island whose inhabitants and resources were still largely unknown to Europeans.

The English had soon followed the Dutch to the East Indies and established "factories" or trading posts first at Sukadana early in 1613, at Sambas in 1614, and at Banjarmasin in 1615 and again in 1639, but these were all short-lived. Another abortive attempt was made to found a factory at Sukadana in 1693–1694. Banjarmasin received more determined attention in the first quarter of the 18th century and again from 1738–1749; these initiatives failed respectively because of the behavior of the factors (traders) and interference by the Dutch. The English East India Company's most ambitious venture, the settlement at the island of Balembangan off the northeast coast in 1773, was an ignominious failure.² As putative Lieutenant-Governor of Java, Raffles was intent on opening up the whole of Borneo to British trading interests now that Dutch power in the area had receded, but his first need was for reliable, first-hand information about commodities which might be profitably exploited. Borneo's reputed wealth

¹ Mr. Burn's Account of Pontianak, 12 February and 12 March 1811, British Library, India Office Records, Private Papers, Raffles Collection, MSS Eur 109, pp. 1–151. The extracts reproduced here are by kind courtesy of the British Library.

² For Sukadana at the end of the seventeenth century, see Edgell (1935). A comprehensive account of most of these trading ventures can be found in Willi of Gais (1922).

in gold and diamonds, together with jungle produce such as camphor, meant that it was a high priority. At the same time, he was anxious for good intelligence about piratical marauders whose activities were increasingly placing passing British ships at risk now that the Dutch naval presence off Borneo had been withdrawn. Raffles was determined to bring some measure of control over Borneo's pirate-infested coasts — preferably through diplomacy with the various Malay rulers, but by means of the Company's men-of-war or the Royal Navy if need be. Regarding Pontianak, Banjarmasin and Brunei as the island's principal trading ports, he was concerned to reduce the power of Sambas where the Sultan's co-operation with piratical raiders had made it a threat to Pontianak, which he saw as the natural emporium for the Chinese goldminers of Monterado.

Captain Joseph Burn

Raffles's correspondent "J. Burn" was Captain Joseph Burn, a country trader who first visited Pontianak from Madras late in 1806 during a voyage of the *General Wellesley* that was to cause many civil actions in Penang.³ He sold cargo (mainly textiles) to Sultan Abdul Rahman al-Kadri of Pontianak and then proceeded on his way to Sulu. Little cargo was sold there and the ship returned via Macassar to Pontianak. Before arriving there it ran aground on a shoal off the Karimata Islands, but was refloated with very little damage.⁴ Burn left the ship at Pontianak to dispose of more cargo. However, the Sultan confiscated this and refused to pay. Burn apparently stayed there until about June 1808, apart from a trip back to Penang in mid-1807. He was certainly in Pontianak in February 1808 when — as stated in a letter to Raffles — Sultan Abdul Rahman on his deathbed asked him for forgiveness for cheating him of the cargo. Back in Penang in July 1808, Burn was sued for illegally disposing of part of the remaining cargo after the *General Wellesley* had returned to Penang in October 1806, commanded by Burn's partner, Captain David Dalrymple. The latter was in fact the person responsible but was out of reach of the law, having left in the *General Wellesley* for the South Seas, where he later died. Burn was briefly jailed as a debtor but was released after handing over to his creditor bonds for personal cargo in Pontianak and, as security, one from the Sultan that related to cargo belonging to a major stake-holder in the voyage, Thomas Parry of Madras. It is reasonable to surmise that Burn soon returned to Pontianak to avoid possible entanglement in further civil actions. These duly eventuated when the *General Wellesley* finally returned to Penang from China in December 1809 and was sequestered. Vying for proceeds from its sale and other assets of Dalrymple's estate, the numerous mortgage-holders and creditors sued each other and John Hewitt, Penang Court Registrar and Administrator of the estate in numerous cases. Burn was both a defendant and plaintiff and unfortunately how the outcomes impinged on him is not known because available records are incomplete.⁵ Nevertheless, there is no evidence that he appeared in Penang for the trials and there is some evidence to the contrary: the *Prince of Wales Island Gazette*, correcting an earlier report of Burn's death, noted on 30

³ Smith (2004) has given an account of Burn's career from 1803 to his death in 1814 or 1815, although gaps still remain.

⁴ Smith (2004) was wrong in saying that the grounding occurred on the outward voyage.

⁵ Smith (2004) provides by no means a full account. For a list of cases unresolved by August 1810, see "List of Causes on the Plea, Equity and Ecclesiastical Sides commenced and disposed of in the 2nd Term of the year 1810," Straits Settlements Factory Records, British Library. The whereabouts of the early Penang Court records, if indeed they still exist, are not known to the present authors.

June 1810 that he was “in perfect health” in Pontianak.

Although it has been suggested that Burn was sent to Pontianak by Raffles as his representative,⁶ the (apparent) end of the court proceedings as given above is sufficiently close to the dates of Burn’s letters to Raffles to suggest that he was already residing in Pontianak in a private capacity. Nor is there any evidence that his appointment was of an official nature, although Burn may well have styled himself “British Commercial Agent.” The first pages of Burn’s first letter of 12 February refer to receipt of a letter from Raffles, carried by Captain Lambert, another country trader, and are couched more in terms of a response to a personal request for information rather than a letter sent as an official communication to the East India Company. Perhaps Burn was associated with the merchant Alexander Hare, then based at Malacca, as suggested by Gibson-Hill.⁷ Alternatively, perhaps he was employed by Sultan Kassim al-Kadri, Sultan Abdul Rahman’s successor, who was later said by John Leyden to be Burn’s “principal associate.” In fact, it is not clear that Raffles, who was reporting directly to Lord Minto, could have appointed him to a position in Borneo prior to the invasion of Java, as any such appointment ought to have come under the authority of the Government in Penang.

As late as October 1812 the Penang Government wrote to Sultan Kassim in Pontianak on behalf of Thomas Parry in Madras. It said that Burn had disposed of Parry’s cargo in 1807 with no cash return to Parry and that since then Burn had been living in Pontianak (i.e., there was no reference to the court case in 1808). It asked if Burn had received the proceeds. Also, what were the “circumstances that rendered it necessary” for him to live in Pontianak? The Sultan should be aware of “the impropriety of countenancing the residence” of Burn.⁸ No reply has been found. Parry would probably have written to Penang in mid-1812 and this letter from Penang suggests that the Government officials there still considered Burn to be of bad character. Raffles apparently had a different opinion, though he would have been well aware of the court proceedings and had probably met Burn in Penang in 1808. Apart from supplying the information in the letters, Burn helped Raffles in April-May 1811 by assisting in a survey of the coast of West Borneo, the preferred route for the British invasion fleet.⁹ By September 1812 he had moved on from Pontianak, and was commanding the *Olivia*, a brig owned by Alexander Hare and chartered as a supply vessel by the Government of Java. In this capacity he assisted in the aftermath of the plundering of the disabled *Coromandel* in the Karimata Islands by the piratical Pangeran Anom of Sambas and eventually moved on to Kupang, Timor, where he died as Resident in 1814 or 1815. This last appointment — presumably arranged by Raffles as Lieutenant-Governor in Java — shows that his earlier transgressions had been forgiven.

Burn’s Letters: An Overview

Located as he was at Pontianak, the estuary of the mighty Amazon-like Kapuas which wound its way down westward more than a thousand kilometers from the interior of Borneo,

⁶ G. Irwin, *Nineteenth Century Borneo: A Study in Diplomatic Rivalry*, Singapore: Donald Moore, 1955, p. 65.

⁷ C. Gibson Hill, “Documents relating to John Clunies Ross, Alexander Hare and the early history of the settlement on the Cocos-Keeling Islands,” *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 25/4 (1952), pp. 7–300. Lack of shipping records for Malacca, unlike Penang, is a problem in sorting out this possible connection.

⁸ Straits Settlements Records 1800–1867, Public Record Office, London.

⁹ Lady Sophia Raffles (1830, I:40–41); see also, Smith (2004).

Burn was well-placed to collect information about its population and resources. He was evidently on intimate terms with Sultan Kassim al-Kadri (for whom he may have acted as a kind of private secretary in order to provide some income) and was able to use this friendship to gain access to the many Pontianak-based traders who plied the vast waterway. Once Burn was aware of his project, Burn told Raffles in March 1811, the Sultan had “sent for every person he thinks can be of service and strictly lays them under strenuous injunctions to adhere strictly to the truth ...” Dismissing the Malays and Bugis as unreliable informants except for basic commodity prices and prone to repeat the tallest of tall stories (“their intelligence is rather circumscribed,” he noted tartly), Burn focused on the Arab traders who had gathered around the sultanate since its establishment by the Arab adventurer, Syed Sharif Abdul Rahman al-Kadri, with Bugis and Dutch assistance in 1770. He had been impressed not only by their practical knowledge as commercial entrepreneurs but also by their intelligence. No doubt he saw them as most closely approximating to Europeans in their physical appearance and way of life as men of commerce. In some cases, he noted, they had actually recorded their observations in the interior. Indeed, they were “vain” to communicate what they knew, “as they imagine their name will be made conspicuous elsewhere.” The Sultan himself kept a book in which he had recorded the dates of the earliest Portuguese and Dutch settlements in Borneo which he had evidently obtained in Batavia from Dutch records. The enterprise and tenacity of the Chinese obviously impressed Burn, but he had a poor opinion of their technological skills and regarded them as “of the worst class” and “a low thieving set.”

One of these Arab traders was Sheikh Osman, who had resided in Borneo for more than twenty-five years and had actually settled not far from the town of Sanggau where the gold-rich Sekayam River flowed into the Kapuas. It was probably after the former’s return to Pontianak in March 1811 that Burn was able to produce two essays entitled “The Foundation and Establishment of Pontiana” and “Anecdotes of Pontiana,” together with a comprehensive and detailed account of the various upriver *negeri* which added substantially to the information he had provided Raffles in his initial letter of 12 February. From the information provided by Sheikh Osman and other informants, including a certain Syed Abdillah, it is clear that Burn pursued his questioning in systematic categories: geographical location, name of ruler, population size and ethnic breakdown, commercial production and potential together with tax income, and political relations with the now dominant state of Pontianak. At the same time, his interests were not exclusively economic. His careful descriptions of birds and animals reveal a man who was fascinated by the exotic diversity of the tropical environment in which he found himself. He also revealed a keen interest in anthropology, notably in the jungle-dwelling Punan whom he linked with the Batak people of Sumatra and those of the Andaman Islands. Whether he believed the popular stories about orang utan seizing and making off with native women is not absolutely clear but he seems to have been properly sceptical. On the other hand, it was with some satisfaction that he related his own pet *orang utan*’s near-fatal revenge on its Chinese tormentor.

Burn’s account is notable for being the first we have of the middle and upper Kapuas until the descriptions by officials of the Dutch colonial government.¹⁰ Burn described the settlements

¹⁰ Tobias, Hartmann, van den Dungen Gronovius and Müller traveled to the upper Kapuas region in the early 1820s. They were followed in the 1830s by Henrici, and in the 1840s by von Gaffron. The latter returned in the 1850s, and was Assistant-Resident at Sintang from 1854 to 1856 (see von Gaffron 1856). Material from their reports was used by Veth (1854–1856),

from Tayan as far as Selimbau, above which he believed there were none “of any consequence.” This omission of *negeri* further upriver was probably due their insignificance as trading centers and his informants’ lack of knowledge. Consequently, he omitted Piasa and Jongkong (known as Ulak Lamau until 1868), and of course Bunut which was not founded until 1815. The principal ones he dealt with were Sanggau, where, significantly, Syed Abdul Rahman had originally intended to settle, and Sintang, which was “of much importance and is supposed to be a very old settlement.” His final section dealt with Landak, an old-established state which was relatively close (six days’ paddle) to Pontianak in the Kapuas delta and which the Sultan himself had visited on a number of occasions, despite the reputation of its people as great poisoners. Landak’s proximity to the coast and its great wealth in gold and diamonds had meant that its Sultan had been able to exchange his subordination to the Sultan of Sukadana and Matan (the ancient kingdom destroyed by the Dutch with the assistance of Syed Abdul Rahman in 1786) for the suzerainty and protection of the Sultan of Bantam in Java. In 1811, the Dutch still had nominal political authority over Landak but had taken no steps to assert it.

Of all the Kapuas states, only gold-rich Sanggau had seriously challenged the new dominance of Pontianak but this had been answered in early 1778 when a force led by Syed Abdul Rahman’s ally, Raja Ali Haji of Riau, destroyed the town and took away its guns (Matheson and Andaya 1982:155). The substantial gold and *padi* production of both Sanggau and Sintang meant that their rulers could exercise considerable political leverage and thus preserve some of their old autonomy by prohibiting the export of both commodities, but the fact that these were their own principal source of tax income meant that they could not exercise this power indefinitely without damaging their own interests. When it came to warfare, Burn noted that the Malays valued guns more for show than effect and were generally unskilled in their use. Nevertheless, he urged Europeans not to underestimate the courage and prowess of Malays and Bugis in their fighting *prahu*, even if they did “prefer treachery to an open attack when they can put it in practice.”

An intriguing aspect of Burn’s account of Sanggau is his reference to a square brick fort built there about 150 years earlier by the Portuguese, according to Malay records, but long since abandoned. There are no references to Sanggau in Portuguese accounts of their activity in Borneo. Portuguese interest would probably have been in gold and diamonds, and there would thus have been good reasons for trying to keep this secret from European competitors. It seems very unlikely that an incursion in the mid-1600s that was substantial enough for a fort to be built would have escaped the attention of the Dutch or English in the region, or writers such as the Dutch missionary Valentijn (1726). However, about 100 years earlier there had been a Portuguese expedition to the Kapuas, led by Dom Manuel de Lima. This was certainly suppressed from Portuguese histories of the period and is recorded only on maps (Smith 2001:40–43).

The general picture of the middle and upper Kapuas constructed by Burn from his local

Posewitz (1892), and Enthoven (1903), but much is still unpublished. Enthoven himself had traveled extensively in the region between 1886 and 1895. For a discussion of von Gaffron’s and Enthoven’s accounts, see Reed L. Wadley, “*Abang* in the Middle and Upper Kapuas: Additional Evidence,” *Borneo Research Bulletin*, 2006. Two American missionaries, Nevius and Youngblood, toured the Kapuas in the later 1830s (Anon. 1856). The journey down the Kapuas in 1852 by the intrepid Ida Pfeiffer also deserves a mention (Pfeiffer 1856).

informants was of a vast and well-inhabited hinterland rich in gold, iron ore and jungle produce such as beeswax and *tenkawang* oil and with cultivated crops such as cotton and gambier, but also notable for its production of Dayak-cultivated *padi* which had enabled Pontianak to end its dependence on imports from Java. Arab, Chinese, and Bugis traders were evidently extremely active on the river and were able to supply the salt, cloth, and iron needed by the Dayaks. The political picture is of small Malay Muslim elites exercising dominance to a greater or lesser extent over populous tribes of Dayaks who in some cases (notably Sanggau) had married into the ruling dynasty and thereby (although Burn does not suggest this) given it greater legitimacy. At the same time, there was little evidence of Dayaks being converted to Islam and giving up their pork diet. The most important source of Malay dominance was the rulers' monopoly of the trade goods upon which the Dayaks depended, together with their control over Chinese goldminers by means of a royalty system. Burn noted with some emphasis the way in which the Malay rulers of Sambas had been overwhelmed by the Chinese after making too many concessions to them and how the Sultan of Landak was determined to avoid this fate.

Raffles had high hopes for Borneo as a bastion of British influence in the event of Java having to be returned to the Dutch at the end of the war in Europe. As the Dutch appeared to have abandoned their interest in Borneo before the British invaded Java, it had seemed to Raffles that it was in Britain's strategic interests to establish a strong presence there as quickly as possible. On the basis of the information supplied by Burn in various letters and accounts from Pontianak, he was able to tell his superior, Lord Minto, in mid-1811: "The immense island of Borneo, even the shores of which are imperfectly known, contains in its interior a more numerous agricultural population than has generally been supposed."¹¹ Outlining its various natural products, he went on to describe it as "not only one of the most fertile countries in the world, but the most productive in gold and diamonds."¹²

John Leyden, who aspired to be Raffles' secretary when the latter became Lieutenant-Governor of Java, also brought Burn's information into the public domain when he based his *Sketch of Borneo* largely upon it. This was written by Leyden between June and August 1811, during the voyage of the British invasion fleet from Malacca to Java. Leyden died very soon after arriving in Java and the *Sketch* was first published in Batavia by Raffles in 1814. It was reprinted by J.H. Moor in a collection of articles about the Indian Archipelago published in Singapore in 1837, together with John Hunt's somewhat less reliable "Sketch of Borneo, or Pulo Kalamantan," originally published by Raffles at Benkoolen in 1820, which also borrowed from Burn. Although Bastin (1961:121–22) credited Hunt with being Raffles's chief informant on Borneo, it is clear that Burn's earlier contributions of information were of crucial importance. It can be seen, then, that Burn was a vital player in Raffles's grand but ultimately thwarted scheme — one which James Brooke pledged himself to revive three decades later in the prospectus of his projected voyage to Borneo.¹³

¹¹ S. Runciman, *The Three White Rajahs*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961: 31, citing Lady Sophia Raffles's *Memoir*.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ "Proposed Exploring Expedition to the Asiatic Archipelago, by James Brooke, Esq.," Appendix I, in H. Keppel, *The Expedition to Borneo of H.M.S. Dido ... 2 Vols*, London: Chapman & Hall, 1846, I, Appendix I: i–xv.

Burn's Reports

We provide here substantial excerpts from Burn's reports to Raffles, retaining his original spelling, punctuation, use of capital letters, etc. Some words are not easy to read, and a few are illegible, as indicated. Place names that Burn mentions are identified and shown in Figure 1. In a few cases, the names have been read differently from the corresponding names as given by Smith (2004).

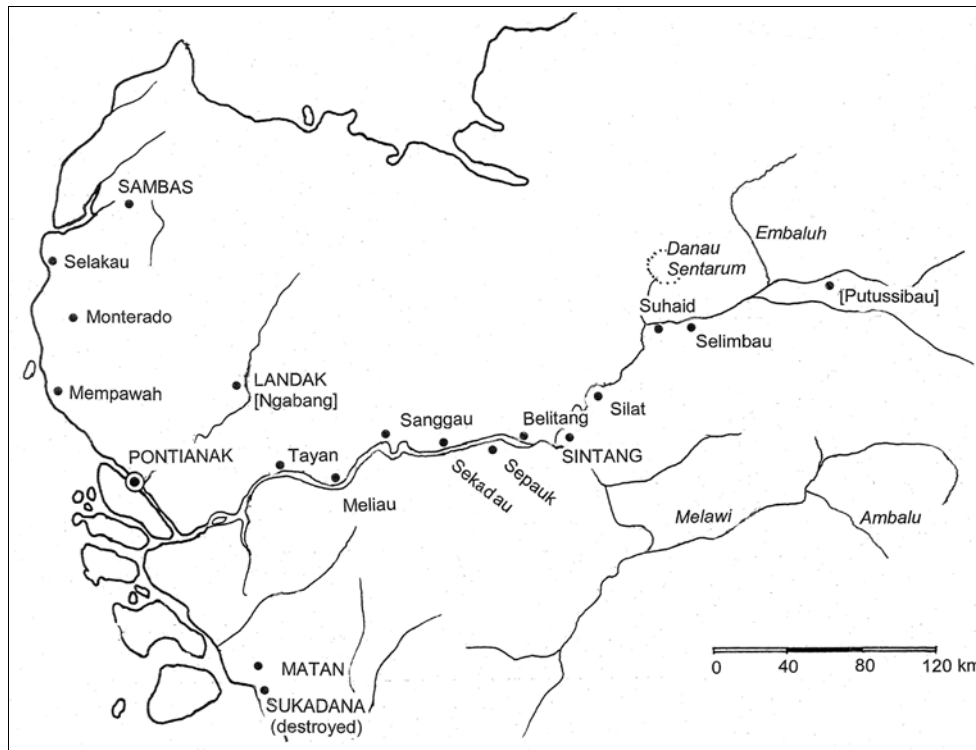


Figure 1. Sketch map of the River Kapuas and adjacent areas, showing present-day names of places mentioned by Burn. To aid orientation some other place-names are also shown in square brackets. Sultanates are in capital letters and geographical features in italics. Rivers have many more bends than are shown here.

1. Burn to Raffles, 12 February 1811.

The first letter starts by acknowledging the receipt of a letter from Raffles, in which the latter asked for information about the fate of vessels captured by local pirates. Burn told Raffles that one of these, the *Commerce*, had been burned by “Pangeran Samewda” of Sarawak, a relative of the Sultan of Sambas. Burn also said that he had not received a “publication” that would have “greatly assisted” him. This may be a reference to the outcome of the legal proceedings in which he was involved. Extracts now follow, in the order in which

they were written.

[Of the Dayaks] their manner when they come from the Interior of Pontiana appear to me the mildest of any species of people I ever saw. They look up to the Suldaun and Arabs here as a very superior order of beings. I have repeatedly seen the Sultan employ some hundreds of them, in daily cutting and dragging trees, collecting Rattans from the Woods and other kinds of hard labour, without any other reward than a daily ration of some Rice and Salt for a month or six weeks, after which period they generally left him, but if they remained for some Months he generally gave each of them a coarse handkerchief with a [illeg.] of Salt (which is of great value in the interior of Borneo) and the headmen had the honor of exhibiting their war dance before the Suldaun which they accompanied with the [illeg.] hoop, a wild chilling and savage scream in concert and then departed. He often told me it was the only way he could obtain any service from them, that he frequently endeavoured to encourage by a daily small pay which always put an end to their exertion and had a bad effect, making them indolent.

... There is a place called Sango [Sanggau] a long way above Pontiana on the banks of the same river, but the exact distance I cannot determine as the Malays compute more by time than any other method. I think however it is about 230 or 250 miles above Pontiana. This place, Sango, is famous for producing the best Gold Dust in the Island of Borneo. At Sango there is a Tribe of Dyers [Dayaks] amounting to about 8,000 and there is still the remains of a small square built Fort of Brick, which the Malay records say was built by the Portuguese about 140 or 150 years ago, that the Portuguese had a settlement here for many years, but why they abandoned it they know not. The head of this Tribe styles himself a Raja[,] he is a Mahomedan of Malay origins, his name is Pangeran Paiko, his progenitors having intermarried with the head Family of this Dyer tribe. This Raja has a Court of his own, he has made himself independent of the Suldaun of Pontiana, but remains on terms of friendship with him. This Pangeran Paiko seems a man of considerable abilities. He has got about 500 Chinese settlers and about 1000 of the Malays but all his Dyers still remain Pagans, they however pay him Tribute — cultivate Paddy even for exportation in considerable quantities, which is now very cheap (both paddy and rice) collect Beeswax, rattans and Gold Dust and are faithful and obedient to him. He himself is educated as well as most of the Malay Rajas generally are but he considers it as policy to keep his Dyers in their primitive state of ignorance. The riches of this Raja are said to be considerable and when any dispute arises betwixt him and the Suldaun of Pontiana he generally lays an embargo on trade and the exportation of Gold Dust until he obtains his terms which are never unreasonable. There is also another tribe of Dyers near to Mompawa [Mempawah] but they have no chief of any consequence and look up to the Suldaun of Mompawa [Mompawa being subject to Pontiana] as their head. These two tribes are the only people of that description I have seen, though there is a great many of them particularly about Banjermassin where they are very numerous. There is also in the inland parts of Borneo another race of People who live in the hills, and said to have woolly heads and very dark skins something similar to the description of the Battas of Sumatra and also in their manners and customs are said to be connected but at present I am not sufficiently prepared to speak with correctness on that subject, as there is now absent from Pontiana two or three intelligent Merchants who are daily expected here, and whose absence I regret much, particularly one Arab named Shaik [sic] Osman, a most intelligent and well informed man who has been often farther into the interior of Borneo than any other man I ever met with. He has resided here about 25 Years and has acquired considerable property by trading in the Interior, and has formed a small kind of settlement of his own up the river near to Sango. Further

communications on the Dyers and also the inland inhabitants of Borneo you may expect from me at some future period as well as the different Books which you mentioned as most of them are promised me [i.e., by the Sultan of Pontianak].

The Island of Borneo.

The principal Sultauns or Rajas on the island of Borneo are those of Borneo Proper [Brunei], Banjermassin and Succadana. All the others are of late origin and usurpers to that Title. The [illeg.] Raja of Succadana is of Malay origin, now removed to a place called Mattan, near to Succadana. Succadana was formerly a place of great trade but now gone to decay. Many ships formerly frequented that place but not for many years past. The Cause is chiefly owing to the oppression of the Rajas to the Buggis Merchants, and to others who resided and frequented the Part, but left it when they found each other more to their advantage and partly to their quarrels with the Dutch who at one time sent an expedition against Succadana, burned and destroyed it, and carried off whatever property they could, which was but little. The present Sultaun of Pontiana often told me of this expedition, he himself being present and aiding and assisting them the Dutch, though he is now friends with the Raja of Mattan. I saw the present Raja of Mattan on a Public visit to this place about three months ago, but though he remained here about 15 days, he only had two interviews with the Sultaun, and both these times he was intoxicated with Opium which he daily uses in immoderate quantities, and altogether seems to be sunk in debauchery and despised by every one, but he does not behave with cruelty to his Subjects

[This account ends with a description and drawing of the famous huge "diamond" that was owned by the displaced Sultan [Burn: "Raja"] of Sukadana and which the Dutch had unsuccessfully sought to buy. It was later found to be rock crystal (Smith 2004).]

2. *"The Settlements above Pontiana," enclosure in Burn to Raffles, 12 March 1812.*

Tayan

Tayan is about four days journey by water above Pontiana [where] there is a tribe of Dyers called the Tayan Dyers, their numbers do not exceed 8,000. The Raja of this place stiles [sic] himself Raja Palembang [Penambahan], he is of Malay extraction and has about him 200 Malays and a few Chinese; this place produces some Gold but is famous for having plenty of Iron Ore, and Iron Stone, which is found in the rising of the hilly ground, and may be procured without much trouble of digging, as it generally lays about in large and small pieces, and may be had in any quantity. The Chinese obtain what they want of it, smelt it and form it into the thin potts [sic] and used by them as boilers, and also into a short kind of Gun only used by them in saluting on fasting days, but they have not yet acquired the Art of rendering it malleable and forming it into Bars, except in short pieces and all that I have seen of it is very brittle. They frequently inquired if I could teach them the art of forming it into Bars, of which they either are ignorant about the means, or merely [illeg.]. I imagine the whole of the Chinese who quit China to settle in Borneo, are of the very worst class, and consequently ignorant of the arts except in a very small degree, and when first they are landed here they are necessitated to indent themselves for a given time to defray the expense of their passage, after which they are free, and many of them acquire considerable property, some return to China, but very few, they generally settle here, procure wives and have familys, but they become much addicted to gambling and the use of Opium. They are in fact a low thievish set even to each other. Tin ore

has lately been discovered at this place. I have seen some Specimens of it melted into Tin but they have not yet begun to manufacture it in any quantity for Sale; the Raja was here a few days ago (at Pontiana). He has concluded a written treaty with the Suldaun of Pontiana by which he has made over his district to him with all his Dyers for his assistance and support against another Raja more powerful than himself who has mollested [sic] him. The Suldaun tells me he is highly satisfied with his new acquisition and means to commence collecting Tin immediately. The Raja of Tayan however still reserves to himself the internal regulation of his district, and also sufficient for supplying his own consequences.

Mellyow [Meliau]

From Tayan to Mellyow the distance by water is about one days journey. The Chief of the place is a Malay, stiles [sic] himself Pangeran Mellyow. He has about 45 or 50 Malays but no Chinese. His tribe of Dyers amount to about 1,000 only, they are called the Mellyow Tribe. This place produces some Wax and a species of Gambier, but of a different kind from which is produced at Rhio. It is to be understood that all the places above Pontiana produce Rice not only for their own consumption, but also for exportation. Pontiana, however, is an exception to this Rule as it is mostly supplied from the Interior, and at one time (not many years ago) was mostly supplied from Java but now they have not the smallest occasion for Rice from Java or anywhere else but the Interior of Borneo which is daily improving not only in the cultivation of Rice but also in many other necessaries of life, for which they formerly depended upon Java. This is in consequence of the difficulty of keeping up a regular intercourse lately with Java on account of the war existing between the English and Dutch by which means they have been necessitated to cultivate a greater quantity of Land. The present Pangeran Mellyow is now on a visit to Pontiana. He is a very old man and possessed of but little property. His authority extends not beyond his own district, but he pays tribute to noone. He is considered not of sufficient consequence either to excite the envy or dislike of the other Rajas.

Sango [Sanggau]

From Mellyow the distance is about 5 days by water. Though I have formerly said something about this place and the Raja, it may be well to keep on the regular detail. The Sango tribe of Dyers originally amounted to about 8,000 but since last I wrote you the Sultan has sent for a particular statement and account of the place, it is found that they are increased by others that have joined them, and they amount to upwards of thirty thousand (30,000). Their Chief is of Malay extraction, intermarried with the head Dyers family many years ago. He is called the Pangeran Paiko, but also assumes the title of Raja. He has about him 5 or 600 Chinese and about the same number of Malays. This place produces annually of Gold Dust about 2 Piculs, but frequently much more. The Sango Gold is of a very superior quality and bears a higher price than most of the other Gold hereabouts; a Picul of Gold Dust is in excess of 1,100 Bunkals, one Bunkal is the weight of two Spanish Dollars. The Sango Gold is worth 24 Span. Dollars per Bunkal, consequently the value of two Piculs amounts to 52,800 Sp. Dollars. A few diamonds are also found but they are very small, their weight not exceeding from 2 to 4 carats each. Sango produces Wax, but the yearly quantity is not easily ascertained, though I have known from two to three hundred piculs brought down here at one time by the Country Traders. It also produces abundance of Rice, great quantities being exported. Coffee thrives here well, but they do not cultivate much of it; the soil of Sango is dry and it is rather hilly country, but the Valleys are of a fine rich mould, quite the reverse of Pontiana which is low, soft and very marshy, and totally a Jungle except where it has been cleared by the Chinese. Sango produces nearly all the Fruits of India. Derians [sic] are to be found growing

in the Wood spontaneously in the greatest abundance [and] many different kinds of Plantains are cultivated with Shaddocks [illeg.] or Tomatoes, Mangoes, Mangosteens, Pineapples in the greatest abundance. Guavas, in plenty, and fine Oranges with plenty of Limes, Lemons, Jacks, Cucumbers of various sorts and excellent Pumpkins, Yams, and great quantities of [illeg.], and as I said before, nearly all the fruits of India, together with many others introduced from China by the Chinese. [Garden?] herbs thrive well from China, and sweet Potatoes, but I have seen no Real Potatoes here, except which have been sent from Java, but I imagine they would thrive equally well here as on Java. There are many other Fruits and Roots which I imagine to be peculiar to Borneo as I do not recollect to have seen them anywhere else. Sugar Cane does not thrive well at Sango, though it succeeds remarkably well at some of the other settlements and at Pontiana. Rice is the only Grain they cultivate and that flourishes in the greatest luxuriance. Sango has also acquired from Java a breed of Cattle but except a few which they keep the others have become wild in the Woods, but not very numerous, as the Dyers frequently destroy them, but they have no Horses, neither Bullocks nor Horses being originally in any part of Borneo. There is at large plenty of Deer in the Woods but in a wild state, but very easily got at and killed. There is also numerous droves of wild Hogs, they are to be seen together in many hundreds at a time, and do great mischief to the Plantations and Paddy Fields. There is also Rhinoceros in the Jungle, but they are most frequently seen singly but very seldom two together. They describe this Animal to run very fast in a direct line but he turns himself with much difficulty, by which means they kill him without much danger. If he happens to kill any one he in a short time rasps him to pieces with his Tongue which is very rough, but he feeds on grass and vegetables; their flesh is by the inhabitants of Borneo held in the highest estimation as a Medicine and sovereign cure for most distempers, and bears a very high price even the smaller parts of him. There is also the small Tyger Cat, but no real Tygers or Elephants are to be found in all Borneo. There is the Musk, or Civet Cat, one of them I have now in my possession. They are very numerous. Bears are about Borneo and particularly about Sango but they are all of a remarkable small size. There are Musk rats and the common or Ship Rat, the Porcupine also. The quills of this Animal are about six inches long, when he is full grown. I have been advised that they will shoot or throw their quills to the distance of 20 feet, but the wounds they inflict are not dangerous. I never saw this myself but on the contrary one of these Animals have got into the habit of coming frequently into my Room at night in search of Fruit and pestered me much. I more than once got between him and the door, shout at him, and endeavoured to kill him as he was very mischievous, but I never saw him throw his quills. At last my Servant killed him and though this Animal was very large he did not shoot his quills. The species of Apes and Monkeys are various and numerous, some of them I have seen very large indeed. They have also the famous Orang Otang [sic] said to be found nowhere else but in Borneo. I have at different times got them as presents from the Suldaun and others, but these were generally small and puny, the full grown ones being too strong and vicious to be caught alive. Strange things are related of them by the Malays. The Suldaun has assured me that they frequently carry off the Female Slaves, which indeed is known to be a fact. There is now at Mompawa one of the Sultan's female slaves who was carried off by the Animal about 14 Months, but at last made her escape from him. The Suldaun has often related to me the circumstances with all the particulars belonging to it, and never failed to conclude without the following observation: 'I imagine the Europeans will not believe this, it is a fact however, and very true, and if you wish it I will send down to Mompawa for this Woman that you may see and examine her'. I always told him that his Authority was sufficient, and that I did believe him. Many very respectable people have assured me that it is a very frequent thing in the

Interior. I could say much on this subject, and relate a great many particulars relative to this extraordinary Animal when it is in its wild state, by information obtained from various quarters, and which all agree, but I rather decline it, having so much the appearance of Fiction. I had one of them in my possession for a long time. The capacity of that Animal seemed indeed far beyond that of what I saw of any other Animal taken from a wild place. Though I gave him very little attention he soon got attached to me. He was frequently set at liberty but always returned in a short time and seemed to be perfectly sensible when he had done any sort of mischief which frequently was the case, but then generally it was in his own defence, the Malay boys often mollesting him. He would defend himself with a short stick when he was provoked. This stick I permitted him to keep for his amusement until one day when he was irritated and provoked by a Chinaman who have frequently done so before, he by some means struck the Chinaman so severely on the Head as to cut him to the Scull, indeed at first I did imagine he had fractured him, but to me and those he knew were as gentle and obedient as a Spaniel but remarkably shy to strangers. The different species of birds are few at Sango and indeed all over Borneo, but they have plenty of Ducks and Teals domesticated, the wild kind of hawks, and the White headed Kite, which Kite is the Deity of all the Dyer tribes, and universally worshipped by all of them. Also a bird about the size of starling, its colour is varigated [sic] alternately black and white. This bird has loud, short and very shrill note, when it begins to chant at break of day the note is very sweet. The bird is consulted by the Dyers, when they are about to undertake a dangerous expedition, their leader attending to its whistling by which he pretends to prognosticate whether they ought to proceed or not, that is on their expedition. There is also a species of starling, Paddy Birds, Snipes in great plenty, some Curlews, Land Larks, Wood Pigeons, very large, the Turtle Dove, and a few others in the Woods, one of the resembling a small Pheasant, and another called by the Malays the Ingam. The Ingam is about the size of a large Raven, and black except under the throat and belly when it is white. It makes a most remarkable loud hollow short noise, or in short notes, but resembling the blowing of a Conch Shell, and hears at a very great distance. When they pair, the Female builds her nest in the cavity of some tree, and then lays two Eggs, and begins to sit. The Male then continues to build the nest in a very strong and neat manner which is finished by covering in the Female, except a small opening for her Head. During the term of incubation the Male attends and feeds the Female. This bird although a very remarkable one is not held in any kind of estimation by the Dyers, all of them worshipping the white headed Kite which appears to me to be the same as the white headed Braminy Kite which I have frequently seen at Madras. There are also various kinds of Parroquets, and a species of Jungle Fowl much resembling the Domestic Fowl, but much smaller. All the Males are of a reddish colour but some of them approaching to Blue and the Female Grey. These are all that I have seen or have any account of except the King Fisher, and some Swallows and some smaller Birds. There are also Bats, but not numerous. There is no account of either Crow or Sparrow, nor do I believe they are in Borneo, indeed the different Species of Birds and Animals in Borneo are but few indeed, and it appears to me very singular that there should be no Elephants, and yet the small Island of Sooloo which is at not great distance from Borneo has plenty of them in a wild state. Snakes are common, some of them remarkable large and some of the small kind are venomous. The large kinds are not so, but I never have seen the Cobra.

The Woods are stocked with wild Boar, but they are much smaller than our domestic one, and was it not on account of the extreme indolence of the Malays enormous quantities of Wax might be collected. This account of the Animal productions of Sango will nearly serve for all the island of Borneo, except Banjermassin and some other places, particularly about the Straits

of Macassar such as Pasier [Pasir] and Kootee [Kutei] where Birds Nests are produced. The Swallow which I have seen here is not of that species.

The Raja of Sango exacts a duty of 6 Reals or 12 Rupees for every Bunkal of Gold Dust that is collected at his district, but it is so unattended to, and they can make payment of his duties so rarely, that he does not upon an average one year with another receive more than two or three thousand Dollars yearly for Gold Dutys, though at the abovementioned rate he ought to get at least 13,000 Dollars. The Dutys on Rice and the other produce he collects with greater care, though it is impossible to say what it is, but as he is himself a great Trader, he gets much money that way. They have the Smallpox at Large generally once in 6 or 7 years, though great precautions are taken to prevent it, it generally carries off 20 in the hundred. They have no kind of knowledge of using either the Vaccine or the common mode of Inoculation. The dialect of the Sango Dyers is different from the other Tribes. I have at the moment 5 or 6 of these people squatted round me and two of the Leaddo [Ledo] tribe also, but they both declare that they cannot understand each other except in the Malay tongue, and yet these two Tribes are only situated a short distance from each other, when at their respective districts. Sango was many years ago destroyed by the father of the present Sultan of Pontiana. He burned the Chief Town, destroyed its Fort and carried off the Guns, but afterwards granted them a peace, the Rajah having escaped into the Woods. The Raja of Sango has since again put his place in order, built a Fort in the Malay style, and has a number of very fine brass Guns mounted, besides Transomes. The Malays are however in the use and practice of Great Guns wonderfully ignorant when compared with the Europeans. They always prefer the largest of the longest Guns they can procure, though at the same time they have only occasion to fire across a narrow river, never considering these things. Indeed their Guns serve more for Show than any real defence they could make with them and of this they themselves are very sensible, particularly against Europeans.

It must be confessed however that the Malays and the Buggiss are very expert and experienced at making not only a defence in their armed Proas and Fighting Boats, but also display a great deal of Courage and fight most desperately against each other with Spears and Crisses, more so indeed than Europeans think they are capable of, but they always prefer treachery to an open attack when they can put it in practice.

Scadoo [Sekadau]

From Sango to Scadoo the distance by water is only about three days journey. The River is still broad and deep, generally from 8 to 20 fathoms. The Chief there is called the Pangeran Scadoo, and is of Malay origin. The Scadoo tribe of Dyers do not exceed 10,000. The place produces some Gold and Rattans with Rice and Wax etc etc but the place is itself of little importance. The Soil is also very indifferent, and in the estimation of the Malays the District is considered inferior to others.

Spaw [Sepauk]

From Scadoo to Spaw the distance is two days by water. The chief is a Malay stiled Pangeran Spaw. His tribe of Dyers amount to about 1,000, Malays about 50, Chinese 100. This place produces annually [sic] about 50 Bunkals of Gold Dust, value about 1,200 Dollars, and some wax. The place also produces some cotton. The cotton shrub or tree was first imported into Borneo from Java. The Soil of the place is generally marshy, and the place altogether of very little importance.

Billiton [Belitang]

From Spaw to Billiton it is only one days journey by water. The chief here is called Pangeran Billiton. He is a Malay. The tribe of Billiton Dyers are about 6,000. Malays about 100, but no Chinese. This place produces some Gold and abundance of Rice, some Cotton, wax and kind of oil called by the Malays Tenkawan. This oil is obtained from the Trunk of a tall tree which is extracted by expression. The Oil thus obtained is run into Bamboos, and it then becomes hard as tallow and of a greenish colour but has little smell. Great quantities of this oil is brought to Pontiana from the Interior as well as this place. It makes candles with a small mixture of wax but they do not burn clear, but I think it would answer many uses for which Tallow is used, for even in this hot climate it retains it hardness, and the Malays always use it in the bottom of their Proas, in preference to any other. From this place Billiton by water, but through the windings of branch of the River about one Month's journey but by land from Billiton only 7 days, commences the high and hilly country which is inhabited by that singular race called the Poonans, and are supposed by many to resemble the Battas of Sumatra, but I have never perfectly ascertained that they have the smallest resemblance to them, or indeed to any Tribe I ever heard of; and are no doubt the Aborigines of Borneo, if the Dyers are not, though I rather should imagine that both of them are, original inhabitants of Borneo. I have seen several Arab traders who at different times have seen some of these people, and they all declare (although I have examined them specially on this subject without their knowing, my intention was so) the same in their accounts of this Tribe. An Arab trader called Syed Abdilla told me that he purchased a Female from some Dyers of this race of People. The Dyers had caught her by accident, but she could understand nothing of the Dyers language or any other but her own, which is perfectly different from any language known in Borneo. Her manners were perfectly wild and savage, as they all are, very much resembling the natives of the Andemans when they are first caught by the Europeans, and indeed these people are caught much in the same way as the Andemans are, by accident. These Poonans go perfectly naked as the natives of New Holland do, but they are not cannibals, as it is believed by some people they are. They cultivate no Rice, but have plenty of Sago. They are particularly cautious and timid in their intercourse with the other Tribes of the Dyers, and the up country traders which is carried on in the following manner and has been described to me by some of the Arab Traders. The Poonans require nothing but Salt, boiling potts, and iron Parangs, or large knives used by the Dyers, whoever wishes to dispose of these articles, but particularly Salt, which is in great request by the Poonans, the seller of the salt deposits his salt on the ground near to the [illeg.] and haunts of the Poonans, he then beats with a stick for a considerable time on a tree or [illeg.] which is preferable and then departs to a considerable distance. The Poonans if they are feeling satisfyd all is safe will in the course of a day or more come and take away the salt and what is very singular never fail to leave in its place some Gold Dust which is very rare but also valuable contained in short pieces of Bamboo. They all agree that the Poonans are faithful in making the Deposit for what they take. The seller generally obtains at the rate of 75 to 80 dollars for his Salt per picul by this Singular trade but it is attended with an immense trouble and also very great danger and risk, the Dyers in the neighbourhood often attacking the traders when off their Guard, but they never do [illeg.]. Who these people are they cannot be accounted for, unless it is the Dyers being in the habit of carrying them off or what is more probable putting them to death in order to produce their heads, according to the custom of the Dyers, for these Poonans are almost defenceless, being perfectly naked, and also ignorant of the use of the blowstick or Soompit [*sumpit*], which is very formidable in the hands of the Dyers for I have seen them repeatedly strike down even small birds from the trees with the

blowstick or Soompet, though they only used for this purpose small balls of stiff clay not even hardened, but firming them at the time they use them, but with the small poisoned Arrows they must be almost infallible against the Poonans. The number of this Race of People cannot be known. I have made every possible inquiry but cannot attain any other information than this, that they are imagined to be very numerous. These Poonans are as fair and even fairer than some of the Dyers and Malays, which is very different from what I have heard of the Battas of Sumatra. It may be necessary perhaps for me to remark that I have always found that the Arabs the best informed and the most intelligent people of any that I have conversed with. Some of them have even provided to me their written remarks and observations taken when they were in the Interior, and they are generally not only willing but vain of communicating what they know and the intelligence they obtain from others, as they imagine their name will be made conspicuous elsewhere. As for the Malays, and also the Buggiss, their intelligence is rather circumscribed and very defective. They can understand what one article can be purchased for, and what they can obtain for another, at the different parts they frequent in the Interior, but when the questions are extended any further beyond these subjects it frequently excites their laughter and always their surprise, but if I endeavour to obtain any intelligence from them of History relative to the different Countrys where they might be acquainted with it, I have found them relate the most ridiculous Fictions which they themselves have heard and implicitly credit, and are very superstitious. The Suldaun has given me every assistance; he is a well informed man himself and possessed of most retentive memory. He has sent for every person he thinks can be of service and strictly lays them under the most strenuous injunctions to adhere strictly to the truth, but the most difficult things to obtain is the dates of what happened long ago, as the Malay records are very defective in the respect, however he has lately (a few days ago) produced a book of his own writing, and in this book he has the dates of all the Portuguese settlements and also the Dutch when they were on Borneo which he tells me he obtained from the records of the Dutch East India Company when he was at Batavia many years ago, by which it appears that the Portuguese settled on this side of Borneo I imagine about the same time they had settlements in Java.

Sintang

From Billiton to Sintang the distance by water is about 6 days journey.¹⁴ This is a place of much importance and supposed to be a very old settlement. The chief here is called the Suldaun of Sintang his tribe of Dyers are very numerous and exceed 60,000. The Suldaun is of Malay extraction, he has about him upwards of 1,000 Malays, and about 700 Chinese. This tribe of Dyers is called the Sintang Tribe. They are esteemed the finest Tribe of Dyers on the whole Island of Borneo, though they are far superior in numbers to some of the others particularly the Banjermassin tribe which is very numerous. They are not only fairer in their complexion, but their noses are not so broad and flat as the others, but their noses are described to me more pronounced than any of the others, and not so much of the Malay features. The Sintang Tribe also speaks a Dialect which is but little understood by their neighbours. They are also free from the scaly scurf on the skin which many among the other Tribes have, and has a very disgusting appearance. They are also less savage in their manner, but take them in general their chief customs and Religion is the same. The Female Slaves of this Tribe are highly prized by

¹⁴ This seems a long time for quite a short distance by water (see Figure 1). In general, however, times given by Burn are self-consistent.

the different Malay Rajas but it is difficult to obtain them. I never saw any of this Tribe at Pontiana, they all pay tribute to their Suldaun and are much attached to him. Sintang produces annually Gold Dust about 4 Piculs, but often much more, and is of an excellent quality, 4 Piculs being worth about 100,000 Dollars, upwards. It also produces Cotton. Many of these Dyers have learned to fabricate a very coarse kind of cloth from this Cotton which is worn by the men in lieu of the coarse fringed stuff used by the other Tribes and by the Women in the Fashion of a short petticoat which however does not reach to the knee, but no other covering do they use. Many of them have also learned to Trade and they endeavour to imitate the Malays and the Arabs in some of their Customs, but the Malays, Arabs and Chinese always engross the whole Trade to themselves where they can. Salt has a very high price and indeed all over the Interior of Borneo. The salt is all imported from Java and other places, and the Rajas constantly make a monopoly of it, well knowing that it is one of the necessaries of life which cannot easily be dispensed with as the Opium can and often has been when attempted to be raised in the same manner. Salt here is often up to the price of 200 Dollars per Coyan, and the Sintang Coyan is only 30 Piculs. Sintang produces great quantities of rattans, and Rice is in the greatest abundance. The price of Rice does not exceed from 15 to 20 Reals per Coyan. The Soil is very dry in some places and very rich. They have got a breed of Bullocks and also of Buffaloes, which are numerous and still increasing, but they have not any horses. From Sintang to the River of Banjermassin, they have an inland communication, and Trade to that place. They also do the same with Borneo Proper, partly by means of the different branches of the river and partly by an inland communication which the Malays are always associate. The Animal and Vegetable productions are nearly the same as Sango, but from every information which I have yet obtained and particularly from an Arab Syed who resided many years at Sintang, it appears to me to be a very superior place to any of the others on this River and abounds with all the Borneo productions, Diamonds and Birds Nests excepted. The Suldaun of Sintang and the Suldaun of Pontiana seem to take little notice of each others transactions, but they are not on bad terms, being perfectly independent of each other.

About ten days journey inland from Sintang is a Tribe of Dyers called the Mintoaree Tribe, but they are tributary to and acknowledge the Suldaun of Sintang. These people have the Lobes of their Ears perforate when young, and extended to an unusual size by some instrument of wood they keep in them with a spring which extends them. They are all universally Tattooed all over their body. They amount to about 10,000 but their manners differ little in other respects from the Sintang Dyers. They cultivate Rice and collect some Gold. There is immense quantities of Rattans in the Woods but they do not collect them. Their dialect is very easily understood by the Sintang Tribe. This Tribe of Mintoaree Dyers have lately been attacked and dispersed by the Banjermassin Dyers, called the Beeajoo [sic] Tribe.¹⁵ This quarrel took place on account of their waylaying each other and cutting off each other heads according to their Customs. They have left their District and joined themselves to another Tribe called the Ambaloo [Ambalu or Embaluh?¹⁶] Dyers, which took place very lately.

¹⁵ Smith (2004) suggested that "Mintooree" (here "Mintoaree") refers to the Mendawai River in what is now Central Kalimantan. Its source is in the Schwaner Range.

¹⁶ For this place Smith (2004) suggested "Embalah," meaning Embaluh (sometimes called "Embaloh"). The river enters the upper Kapuas about 30 km. west of Putussibau. Given the preceding passage, another possibility is Ambalu, a district centered on the upper Melawi River. The Ambalu River has a source in the Schwaner Range not far from the Mendawai over

About 12 days journey in another direction from Sintang by land is a large Lake about 120 Miles across but in which direction I cannot exactly discover, as the main River has acquired many serpentine windings both below and above Sintang. Around this Lake is a Tribe called the Ambaloo Dyers. They are and acknowledge themselves to be tributary to the Sultaun of Sintang. Their number amounts about 12,000. They are also industrious, cultivate Rice and collect some Gold. This Lake has a communication with the Main River, and has immense quantities of Fish of various kinds and excellent of their kind. This tribe is also Tattooed, and their Dialect differs but little from Sintang Dialect. The other Tribe called the Mintoaree Dyers are now settled amongst them since they have been dispersed by the Banjermassin Dyers called the Beajoo Dyers.¹⁷

Seelat [Silat]

From Sintang to Seelat the distance by water is three days journey. The Chief of this place is called Palambahan Seelat. He is of Malay extraction. His tribe of Dyers are only about 2,000. He has about him about 350 Malays and 50 Chinese. This small Tribe are nearly the same as the Sintang Tribe, and speak their Language. The place produces little Gold, some Wax, and Rattans. The place has a fine dry Soil. The Chief Palambahan bears a very high character. His place of residence is up into a branch of the Main River. The People of Seelat are famous for building most excellent Proas and boats which they sell for the purpose of carrying inland Trade. Some of the Proas will carry 10 Coyans of Rice. Rattans grow here in the Woods in the greatest plenty but they do not collect them.

Seyat [Suhaid?¹⁸]

From Seelat to Seyat is one days journey. The Chief here is called Kiau Toa, which is an inferior kind of Title. He is of Malay extraction. His Tribe of Dyers consist of about three thousand, and a few Malays, but no Chinese. These Dyers are nearly the same as the Seelat Dyers. This place produces a little Gold and Wax, but the place altogether is of but little consequence.

Seelimboo [Selimbau]

From Seyat to Seelimboo the distance is two days by water. The Chief is a Malay and has the title of Kiau Seelimboo. He has about 50 Malays, but no Chinese and his Dyers are not above 1,000. The place produces little Gold but there is the greatest plenty of Wax if it was collected. However about 1,000 Piculs of it yearly comes to Pontiana.

the watershed.

¹⁷ The lake is obviously Danau Sentarum and associated seasonal lakes and swamps. Smith (2004) read this "Ambaloo" as "Ascarbaloo" but did not suggest a location; the difference is again a reflection of Burn's handwriting. Assuming that "Ambaloo" is more accurate, this time Embaluh, to the east of the lake, is appropriate. It is confusing that Burn apparently mentioned locations in two different directions from Sintang as the places where the "Ambaloo" Dayaks lived and the "Mintoaree" Dayaks settled.

¹⁸ "Seyat" was read as "Sogat" by Smith (2004). Suhaid was suggested as the location. There seems no alternative, especially as Burn did not otherwise mention Suhaid, an old established settlement ruled by Malays. However, Suhaid is much closer to Selimbau than to Silat (Figure 1), so the travel times given by Burn's informants do not fit well.

At Seelimboo the River has very much the appearance of large Lake, the land not being in sight from one side to the other, and the motion or Current of the River is barely perceptible. It is only one fathom deep in some places, but 4 to 5 fathoms in others. The River or Lake here abounds with immense quantities of excellent Fish. About 100 Piculs of Cotton is also produced, which is all manufactured at the different places on this River. The River above Seelimboo has no Settlement of any consequence, but many small Tribes of Dyers who are but little known. The River which is known by the name of the Pontiana River, takes its rise from a range of very high Mountains, that are not inhabited. These Mountains are a considerable way above Seelimbo. On the other side of these mountains another River takes its rise which falls into the Sea at Pasir [Pasir] in the Straits of Macassar, and is also inhabited about its Banks by different Tribes of Dyers, mostly of the same description of those on the Pontiana River.

From Seelimboo to the River which falls into the Sea at Banjermassin the distance by land is only about Seven days to the Tribe of Dyers which is distinguished there by the name of the Beeajoo Dyers, who are said to extend all the way down to Banjermassin. This Tribe called the Beeajoo Tribe are known to be the most numerous and warlike Tribe in all the Island of Borneo. They also have much more of the Malay features than the Sintang Dyers, and some of [the] other Tribes. They were for long time under the Raja of Banjermassin, but they have lately begun to rebell [sic], but many of them are still obedient to the Raja. Their obedience is in consequence of the Raja of Banjermassin having seized and forcibly sent over 500 of these People to Java for the purpose of converting them into Seapoys, in obedience to an order from Marshal Dandaels. They are now become very troublesome, even attacking and taking many of the Trading Proas, sallying out suddenly from the small creeks that are about that River as they pass up and down and murder the Crews as they take them. According to the Custom of the Dyer Tribes, these Banjermassin Dyers are armed with the Parang and the Soompet with the poisoned arrows which are most formidable weapons in the hands of these people.

The Settlement of Landaw [Landak]

Landaw is about 6 days journey from Pontiana by river. This place is situated up a branch of the River which joins at Pontiana, but it runs up from Pontiana in nearly a NE direction. This is a very ancient settlement but its original settlers cannot be traced. The Chief is called the Pangeran Landaw. He is a Malay and related to the Sultaun of Pontiana by the mothers side. He at present has under him about 200 Malays, 40 or 50 Buggiss, 100 Chinese and about 300 Natives of Bantam. His tribe of Dyers amount to about 5 or 6,000, but there is [sic] many other Tribes around him of which he takes little notice, not wishing to subject them to him. Landaw is a remarkably sickly place but particularly so to strangers as they at first are generally attacked with the Jungle Fever. The place produces annually Gold Dust to the value of about 11 to 12,000 Dollars, with some Rice, and the Fruits are nearly on a par with the other settlements. It has been repeatedly and [illeg.] ascertained that the Earth could produce more Gold than any other place in Borneo yet known if it is allowed to be collected, but the Raja will not permit it, except in a very small degree. The Chinese have made many attempts to get permission but without success, and they have even attempted repeatedly to force themselves into the place, and have lost many of their people in these attempts. Though the Rajah had but a small number of subjects at this present time to what he has many years ago, he still by some means or other sets them all at defiance. This aversion on his part arises from his jealousy of the Chinese, well knowing that his own force is but small, and having seen what the Chinese did at a place called Montrado and Slackau [Selakau], which is at a short distance to the north

of Mompawa. This place Montrado which is now incorporated with Slackau was formerly under the Raja of Sambas, who at first permitted the Chinese to settle and collect Gold there; they for [a] long time [were] paying him Regular dutys, but when they increased to the number of thirty thousand, they finding Sambas declining from the Raja's own bad conduct in cutting off the Country ship commanded by Captain Drysdale many years ago, and the subsequent attack made on him by the Honourable Company Cruiser, and the Chastisement he received from him at that time which he so deserved for his treachery in cutting off Capt. Drysdale, the Chinese at Montrado and Slackau rebelled, being at the same time partly assisted and instigated by emissaries from Pontiana, and gave the Raja of Sambas battle repeatedly in their own way, so that they are now nearly independent, only sending the Raja of Sambas occasionally a trifling sum not exceeding 1500 Dollars in the course of 12 Months and some years nothing. The Rajah of Landaw having seen all this makes him particularly averse to the Chinese, and he never will allow more than a small number to remain at Landaw.

Landaw is also famous for producing Diamonds but these in a great measure are restricted from the same causes. He will only allow permit a few people on who he thinks he can rely to search for them, and that only in particular places where they are known to be less plentiful than others. The value of the Diamonds however that are yearly found within these restrictions amounts to about 50,000 Dollars. About 25,000 Dollars are annually sent to Java for same but of late years they have brought a very low price from what they did formerly. The other half are generally kept by the Finders or dispensed with at some other market, but they generally keep many as family property.

The Raja has the sole right of claiming all Diamonds found above the weight of 4 carats, but if they do not exceed that weight they exclusively belong to the finder but then the Raja pays to the Finder part of their value. Thus, if the Diamond found is the weight of 5 carats, the Raja pays the Finder 20 Reals per ct, or 40 Reals, though he will again get for it 100 Reals or 200 Rupees. If it is 10 carats, he pays the Finder 200 reals or 400 Rupees but he may again get for it 1,000 Reals. If the Diamond is 16 carats he pays 500 Reals but may get 2,000 Reals for it. The value of the Diamonds increasing very fast as they get heavier that is if they are of a good water, but many are found there of Reddish and Yellowish tint, and these are of but little value. All those under the weight of 5 Carats though their water may be very good are of low value, and exclusively belong to the Finder. If the Diamond is 2 carat weight it is worth 16 Reals, and if 3 Carat weight no more than 30 Reals, if 4 carat weight value about 50 Reals. Few of the Diamonds here exceed the weight of 16 Carats and seldom 30 carats. At this place however was found the large one which is now in the possession of the Raja of Mattan the weight of which is 367 Carats, and allowed to be of the first water. I formerly sent you a detailed account in my first Letter by Captain Tait.

Above Landaw this branch of the River gets very small. There is one Settlement above it, but it is inhabited by Dyers who communicate and mix with those of Mompawa, and even all the way down to the north east as far as Sambas, being all nearly connected to each other, but still divided into various and distinct Tribes, but they are not numerous. The different Rajas claim no kind of Tribute from them though they will often come and assist the Rajas by what work they are capable of and on these occasions their rewards are but trifling indeed. The People of Landaw are notorious for taking off people by poison, but particularly strangers who attempt to settle amongst them, or whoever they are jealous of. The present Sultaun of Pontiana has told me, that whilst the Dutch resided at Pontiana he frequently went to Landaw with someone or another about their dutys and other transactions, that he took wonderful precautions to guard against this perfidy, would not eat or drink from those of whatever they

sent him, described the various ways in which they apply their poison and said he constantly lost some of his people by this. Every time he went there, many of his own Relatives had been poisoned by them and when these people visit Pontiana they are watched and observed with particular care. The Suldaun lately lost one of his sisters that way, the Landaw people being always bribed for such purposes, and it only required a few Dollars to purchase such a Service from a native of Landaw.

The Raja of Landaw was formerly under and tributary to the Suldaun of Succadana and Mattan but being either oppressed or imagining himself to be so by the Mattan People they rebelled; at that Period Landaw was much more powerful place than at present. The war was supported for a long time with great animosity and mutual retaliations of cruelty by both partys. At last the Raja of Landaw finding he could not hold out against the Force from Mattan sent against him, made application to the Suldaun of Bantam imploring his assistance and protection offering him any terms he might require for such assistance as would effectually avert the revenge of the Mattan people, who he knew would grant him no Mercy. The Sultan of Bantam demanded the sole right of purchasing all the Diamonds to be found in his District at a stated low price and some other stipulations, to all of which the Raja of Mattan was excluded, and the Raja of Landaw agreed to; the Suldaun of Bantam then sent a fleet of War Proas to Landaw with (it is supposed) about 2,000 men, and soon compelled the Raja of Mattan to withdraw his Force and grant them a Peace and Independence. The Sultan of Bantam, however thus became Master of the place, kept possession of it and compelled the Raja of Landaw to acknowledge him as his Superior and the District to belong to the Sultan of Bantam. He also left a Force at Landaw to secure his new acquisition. When the settlement of Pontiana was first founded by the father of the present Suldaun, which was in the Year of the Hegira 1185 or in the way of the Christian era 1770 the Landaw people again applied to the Suldaun of Bantam, imagining and probably with good reason that they must soon be subject to Pontiana. The Suldaun of Bantam imagining that he could not defend the place against the rising power of Pontiana which was much dreaded from the formidable character the new Suldaun then bore, made over the settlement of Landaw to the Dutch East India Company for the sum of thirty thousand Sp. Dollars (over 30,000) since which period Landaw has belonged to the Dutch. The Dutch Government in the Year of the Hegira 1191 answering to the Christian Era 1776 sent a Force to Pontiana, established a Resident there, afterwards assisted the Suldaun of Pontiana in destroying the famous settlement of Succadana and also in consequence Mompawa and subjecting it to Pontiana. The Dutch established a Resident at Mompawa and for the space of 14 years did they continue to collect and impose dutys on Pontiana, Mompawa and Landaw, until they finally withdrew. But still the Settlement of Landaw belongs to the Dutch never having given up their Right of it to the Raja of Landaw though they had made no demands on any of these places for many years.

The present Marshal Daendels still corresponds and exchanges mutual presents with the Suldaun of Pontiana. The Suldaun has given me a sight of his presents and also read the Marshall's letters to me. The present Suldaun is a man of much knowledge of the World in comparison to some of the Malay Rajas. He at one time during his fathers lifetime went on a visit to the Governor General of Batavia and visited the different Malay Rajas on Java and also went to Banjermassin and other places, being absent for three years. His visit to Batavia he told me was to lay open to the Governor and Council of Batavia the impositions and the peculations of the Dutch at Pontiana and at Mompawa, and in consequence of his representations he got the Resident recalled and another put in his situation, but he says they still continued the same practices, cheating both the Company and the Malays. He has often detailed to me the methods

by which the Dutch Residents enriched themselves at the expense of the Company, and the various modes by which they oppressed the Malays, taxing every single item of consumption even to the Fisherman and the Fish when landed for sale in the Bazar [sic], and at last insisted when extracting a duty of 5 dollars annually [sic] for every Slave in the place. It appeared however that this Tax on Slaves was by order of the Governor General, but when the Suldaun went to Batavia he got it withdrawn. The Dutch had been in the habit of sending large Sums of Span. Dollars to Pontiana for purchasing Gold Dust in the Interior. With these Dollars the Resident would purchase it for 12, 16 and 17 Doll per Bunkal, Dollars always being in demand in Borneo, but charged it to the Company at 22 per Bunkal. Gold Dust always bears a high price in Java, from 27 to 28 and 30 Dollars per Bunkal. This is in consequence of the natives of Java using such quantities worked up into ornaments for their Wives and Female Slaves. The Dutch also following this example in that respect and in much the same fashion, and also the Chinese on Java who are people possessed of great property and influence in consequence of it.

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ABANG IN THE MIDDLE AND UPPER KAPUAS: ADDITIONAL EVIDENCE

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In his recent paper on the *abang* honorific (denoting royal blood for men) among Sarawak and Sadong Malays, Bob Reece (n.d.) contends that its use most likely originated in pre-Islamic West Borneo as a new class of leaders arose through unions between immigrant Hindu-Javanese traders (linked ideologically to Majapahit and its many tributaries) and local Dayak. Use of the honorific *abang* became institutionalized over the generations and was retained as Islam made its slow ascent of the Kapuas.¹ Reece argues that the middle Kapuas kingdom of Mangkiang-Sanggau (or simply Sanggau in West Kalimantan) might be the origin of the honorific, given the frequency of *abang* in royal genealogies and its close connection through intermarriage, legend, and tributary claims to Sarawak. In this paper, I present additional evidence on *abang* from the middle and upper Kapuas (Figure 1) that supports Reece's argument for a Kapuas origin, based on both Dutch and oral historical sources.

Following a Dutch hiatus in interior West Borneo of over 20 years, in 1856 Assistant Resident H. von Gaffron journeyed along the middle and upper Kapuas to re-establish relations with the various Malay rulers, sign new contracts with them, and make treaties with leaders of the large tribal blocks such as the Iban (Batang Loepars), Kayan, Embaloh, and Taman. As part of his report, von Gaffron included descent lines of the Malay rulers from Sintang to Jongkong.² I reproduce these here, as von Gaffron reported them, with the original Dutch spelling and reference to the *abang* honorific highlighted. We should not assume, however, that these all represent direct father-son (or -daughter) successions, which they do not, as von Gaffron provides very shallow genealogical information.³ The title *abang* is evident here, interspersed with other (perhaps less archaic) royal titles such as *pangeran*, *panambahan*, and *radin*, but seems more prevalent in the far upriver kingdom of Selimbau.

¹ The spread of Islam into the interior was indeed slow: In 1823, Hartmann observed of the "poor" upper Kapuas rulers, that they were far from the teachings of Mohamed ("Deze arme vorstjes verre af zijn de leer van Mohamed") despite their claims to being Muslim; Register der Handelingen en verrigtingen van de Provisionele Gezaghebber ter Westkust Borneo, C. Hartmann, Pontianak, 23 mei 1823 t/m 13 augustus 1825, Department of Historical Documentation, Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde.

² Algemeen Verslag, Afdeeling Sintang, 1856, submitted by H. von Gaffron, 28 February 1857: West Borneo Inventory No. 45/Doc. No. 17, Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia (ANRI), Jakarta.

³ What is most curious about these lists is that they do not match up well with subsequent records (e.g., Enthoven 1903); whether the result of changed names or bad information, it is impossible to tell.

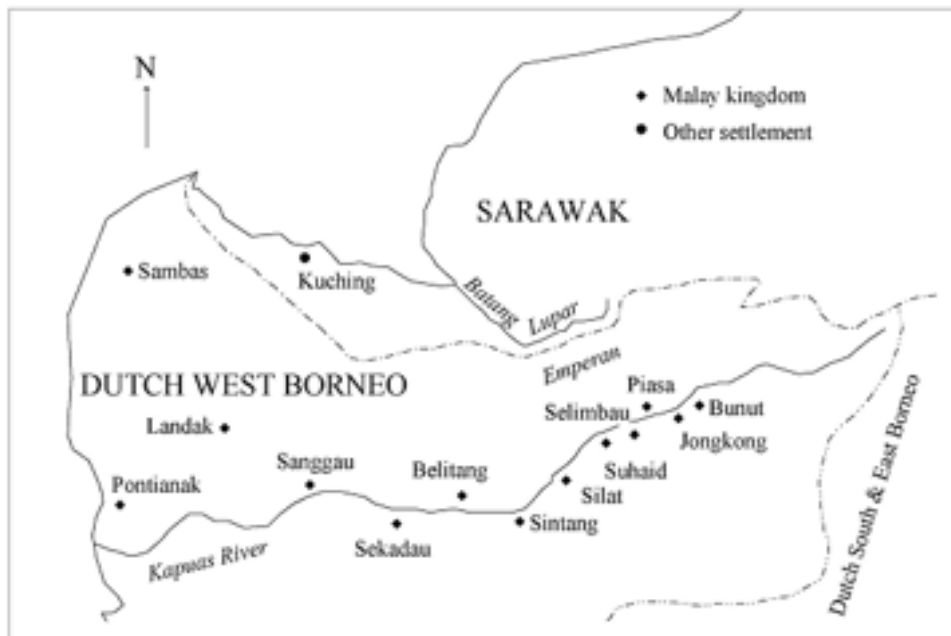


Figure 1. Middle and Upper Kapuas Malay Kingdoms

Descent Line of Sintang Rulers

1. Djarak Joeantie (Pattie Anoem)
2. **Abang Saman**
3. Djebaijer [son-in-law of No. 2 from Java]
4. **Abang Soer**
5. **Abang Tamelang**
6. Pangeran Pandeling
7. Pangeran Toengal
8. Pangeran Praboe
9. Pangeran Soeta Natta (Sulthan)
10. Sulthan Tikaij
11. Sulthan Muhamd Samsuedin
12. Pangeran Ratoc
13. Pangeran Dipattie
14. Panambahan Kasoema Nagara

Descent Line of Silat Rulers

1. Panambahan Titie
2. **Abong Maas Toetie**/Pangeran Anoem [transcription error of *abang*?]
3. Panambahan Bago
4. Panambahan Mitjoek
5. Pangeran Anoem
6. Pangeran Ratoe

Descent Line of Selimbau Rulers

1. **Abang Tadjock**
2. **Abang Tadjock** [sic]
3. **Abang Maas**
4. **Abang Paijong**
5. **Abang Djamal**
6. **Abang Kana**
7. **Abang Kladu**
8. Poetrie Kambang [married to **Abang Telu**]
9. **Abang Kaloedjoe**
10. **Abang Koendan**
11. **Abang Paijong**
12. Pangeran Soema
13. Pangeran Muhamed

Descent Line of Jongkong Rulers

1. Kiai Patie Oedah
2. Radin Nathar
3. Radin Martha (died in 1855)
4. **Abang Abdoel Arab**

Enthoven's (1903) later, more detailed account of the Kapuas Malay kingdoms also cites numerous rulers and nobles with *abang* honorifics. For example, the founder of Bunut (the youngest kingdom from 1815) was Abang Barita, a Malay trader from Selimbau who was descended from Embaloh blood and married to a daughter of the Selimbau ruler. (Interestingly, von Gaffron reports the founder of Bunut as Adie Soetrie, perhaps his title prior to taking the subsequent name.) He was succeeded by his son-in-law, Abang Soerjia, in 1855; the latter's own son, Abang Oetih followed in 1859, succeeded then in 1876 by his son, Abang Tella, who was on the throne until his banishment for misdeeds in 1884. His son, Abang Tanah, was chosen as the next ruler (1903, I:94–97). Most of these rulers took on quite highfaluting titles upon ascending to the throne — Panembahan Adi Pakoe Negara (Abang Barita), Pangeran Adipati Mangkoe Negara (Abang Soerija and Abang Tellah), Pangeran Adipati (Abang Oetih), and Pangeran Ratoe Adi Pakoe Negara (Abang Tanah) — suggesting that the older *abang* honorific was fine for “everyday use” but just no longer in style when one got to the throne.

Of Jongkong (known prior to 1868 by its place name, Ulak Lamau), Enthoven (1903, I:127–31) confirms von Gaffron's account, with Kiai Patie Oeda (the chief at the time of the first Dutch expedition upriver in 1823) having the fore-title of *radja*; he was succeeded

by his son, Radin Nata, and the latter, having no son of his own, was succeeded by his grandson, Abang Abdoel Arab, the issue of Radin Nata's daughter, Dajang Mesinto, and a Muslim Palin Dayak named Abang Boedja. (Both Radin Nata and Abang Abdoel Arab used *pangeran* as their fore-title.) Abang Abdoel Arab's oldest son, Abang Oenang, took the throne in 1864, along with the title, Pangeran Soleiman Soerija Negara. Upon Abang Oenang's death in 1886, his oldest son, Abang Alam, still a minor, took the throne under three regents — Raden Soema, Abang Ali, and Abang Kijoeng. (Enthoven makes no mention of Radin Martha, "number three" on von Gaffron's list, perhaps because of a short, unmemorable reign or an error in one or the other's information.) The "everyday" nature of *abang* is borne out in the Jongkong genealogy that Enthoven records, with the sons of Abang Oenang listed as Abang Alam, Abang Osman, Abang Noeh, and Abang Obal, ranging in age from 20 to 13 years (1903, I:130–131). This would seem to make *abang* the male equivalent of the ubiquitous upper and middle Kapuas female honorific, *dayang* (long used by the nearby Iban as a term of endearment for girls).

Von Gaffron does not remark on the kingdom of Piasa, perhaps because of its historical small size and largely inferior status compared to Jongkong and Selimbau. Enthoven (1903, I:135–38), however, cites the official Piasa history (*salasila*) as claiming its founder, Raden Djaka Lemana, traced his origins from a princess of Majapahit. Enthoven's sources in Selimbau said that Raden Djaka Lemana had come from Labai Lawai, said to be the earlier version of Sukadana (but see Smith 2005). When the first Dutch treaty was signed with Piasa in 1823 during Hartmann's trip, the ruler was Abang Soewara (whose title was Kijai Dipati Martapoera and who was the twelfth ruler according to its official history). He was succeeded by his eldest son, Abang Noeh, who in 1859 took the title, Pangeran Osman Dirdja Kesoema Negara, and reigned until his death in 1896. Abang Noeh's illegitimate son, Abang Santoek, was installed on the throne by the Dutch because they had little faith in the legitimate heir, Abang Bijak, who was both grandson of Abang Noeh and son of Abang Tella, the banished Bunut ruler.

The next kingdom downriver (as Enthoven's account begins in the Kapuas headwaters) is Selimbau. Enthoven (1903, I:156–63) traces its founding to a Dayak chief named Goentoe Badjoe Bindoeh; no date is given but this may well have been in the early 1700s. Following the founder were a string of Dayak chiefs — Adji, Abang Tedong, Abang Djambal, Abang Oepak, Abang Boedjang, Abang Ambal, Abang Tella, Abang Parah, Abang Goenoeng, Abang Teding, and Abang Mahidin who was the first chiefly convert to Islam. Abang Mahidin was succeeded by Abang Tadjak, the first ruler to take the title *raja* and who took the honorific, Soera di Laga Pakoe Negara. (This would appear to be the first ruler on von Gaffron's list.) His heir was his grandson, Abang Genah, who was succeeded by his own son, Abang Tadjak (the second on von Gaffron's list perhaps).

Next in line were Abang Keladi and Abang Sasap, followed by Abang Tella (who, in 1823, made a treaty with Commissioner Hartmann, the first Dutch official to travel that far up the Kapuas). His successor, Pangeran Hadji Mohammad Abas (von Gaffron's number 13), reigned for 48 years from 1830 and was much loved by Dutch officials from the frequent praise I have read in the archival documents. It was he (or Abang Tella — Enthoven is not clear here) who helped both Undup and Kantu' resettle along the Kapuas after continual raiding from the Skrang and Saribas. He was succeeded in 1878 by his son, Panembahan Hadji Moeda Agong Pakoe Negara, whose own son, Hadji Mohammad Osman, stood as heir to the throne in 1890. This history would also seem to confirm both the "everyday" use of *abang* and its relative antiquity in pre-Islamic West Borneo (and

subsequent diminishment under increased Islamic and Dutch influence, at least among the rulers themselves).

Interestingly, Enthoven makes no mention of Pangeran Soema, who is number 12 on von Gaffron's list. He may well have been Abang Tella, the mother's brother of Pangeran Hadji Mohammed Abas, under an official title. Then there is the appearance of Abang Mohammad Djalaloedin, the ninth ruler, under whose reign Selimbau was sacked twice by huge Iban forces. Enthoven provides no dates here, but locates the first sacking at Pelembang where the capital had been since its founding. Von Gaffron's list is not much help, given either informational errors or name changes. However, from the oral histories I have collected from the Emperan Iban, I would place the attacks in the very late 18th or very early 19th centuries as they seem to have occurred under the leadership of Temenggong Simpi' Pala', one of the premier Ulu Ai'/Emperan *tau' serang* (war leaders) and the first Iban *temenggong*. (Simpi' Pala' is said to have magically stretched his blowpipe across the Kapuas to provide a bridge for the Iban attack.)

These particular details are important because in both local Iban and Malay oral histories of the sacking of Selimbau, the boy-heir to the throne is said to have been captured. As was Iban custom with child war-captives, a family adopted him and gave him the name Minsut. When he was an adult, the Selimbau Malays asked that he return to take the throne. They paid a ransom of two large ceramic jars filled with gold, and Minsut took the throne to become Pangeran Suma Raden Dra Abang Berita (Wadley 2002:323). Could Abang Tella, Pangeran Soema, and Minsut then have been the same person? The possibility is certainly intriguing though entirely speculative without additional evidence.

The Emperan Iban-Selimbau connection to the term *abang* is further established through an old wooden measuring bowl (*kulak*), an heirloom of a household in a community of Kecamatan Batang Lupar (Figure 2).⁴ The bowl, measuring 15 cm. in height and 20 cm. in diameter, is said to have been given to a household ancestor by the *raja* of Selimbau. According to the household's oral history, the *jawi* script is said to read, "*Ini gantang Apang Jali, tulih abang amat raja Selimbau* (this is the measuring bowl of Apang Jali written by [his] true *abang*, the ruler of Selimbau)." *Apang* they took to mean a Malayized version of the Iban *apai* or 'father,' which would indicate the recipient as Jinak, widely referred to as Apai Jali after his eldest son. Jim Collins (personal communication) indicates that *apang* is an old Kapuas teknonym equivalent to the Iban *apai*.⁵ Here, it is the ruler of Selimbau who is portrayed as the relative superior through reference to his royal *abang* status, though Jinak was a well-known leader and *manok sabong* (literally, 'fighting cock' or war lieutenant) under the sponsorship of such *tau' serang* as Ngumbang and Temenggong Rentap (the second one of that name). Another interpretation of *abang* is the more prosaic meaning of elder brother or elder brother-in-law, which might reflect an attempt by Selimbau to mitigate future hostile relations with their long-time neighbors, sometime enemies and allies, and new economic competitors by emphasizing a fictive kinship relation or perhaps even referencing the Minsut story.

⁴ This item is strictly an heirloom and was not used in the collection of rice taxes; the Emperan Iban at this time were taxed directly by the Dutch authorities and had never been under the jurisdiction of Selimbau or any other Malay polity (Wadley 2004).

⁵ Collins notes that variants *apa* and *apa'* are in widespread use among non-Ibanic languages throughout West Kalimantan, and I have heard *apa'* among Emperan Iban in address to adult males in paternal or avuncular roles.

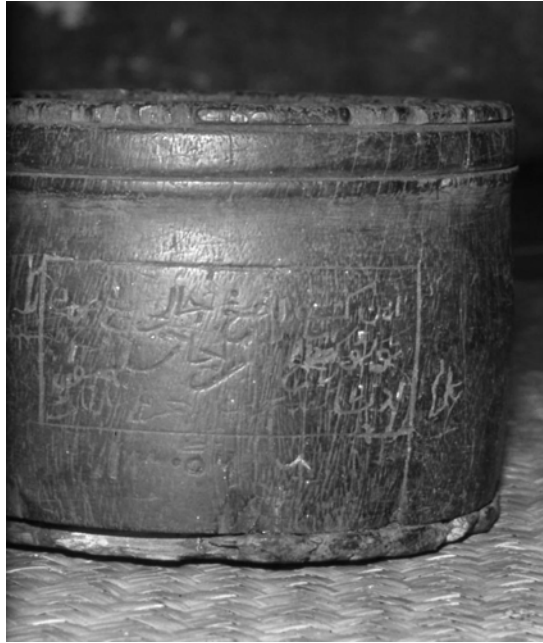


Figure 2. Kulak Apai Jali: Apai Jali's Measuring Bowl
(photo by R.L. Wadley, 2000)

To decipher the *jawi* script, I sent both a photo of the bowl and a rubbing I made of the script (Figure 3) to Michael Laffan (Princeton University) and Annabel Gallop (The British Library) to see what sense they could make of it. Though hard to read because of worm holes and stylistic flourishes, they were able to discern the following clearly enough:

Line 1: *Ini gantang Apang Jali yang mem...* [here is the measuring container of Apang Jali who ...]

Line 2: *t.w.s.w.k [tusuk?] ... ng raja Selimbau* [... ruler of Selimbau]

Line 3: *adanya ...* []

Date: *1306* [AD 1888/89]

According to Gallop (personal communication), this follows the style of metal household containers seen in Brunei of the same period, and the “mem...” might refer to *mempunyai* or *memerintah*, indicating territorial jurisdiction. The date of 1888 solidifies this possibility: In the middle of that year, the Dutch held a formal peacemaking ceremony between Selimbau and Emperan Iban who had settled along the lower Leboyan River (see Wadley 2003:101). Because of ongoing disputes over access to commercial forest products involving both sides encroaching on the claims of the other, the Dutch brokered a

settlement in which the boundary between them was set as the left bank of the Leboyan (looking downriver). At the time, Jinak's people had begun moving into the lower Leboyan from the Lanjak area following the devastation of the Kedang Expedition of 1886 (Wadley 2001, 2004). Following this peacemaking, more Iban moved into the lower Leboyan and more Malays moved more permanently into the Lakes, creating conflict as well as opportunities for intermarriage (Wadley 2003). Unfortunately, no *abang* is detectable in the script to confirm that part of the oral history.

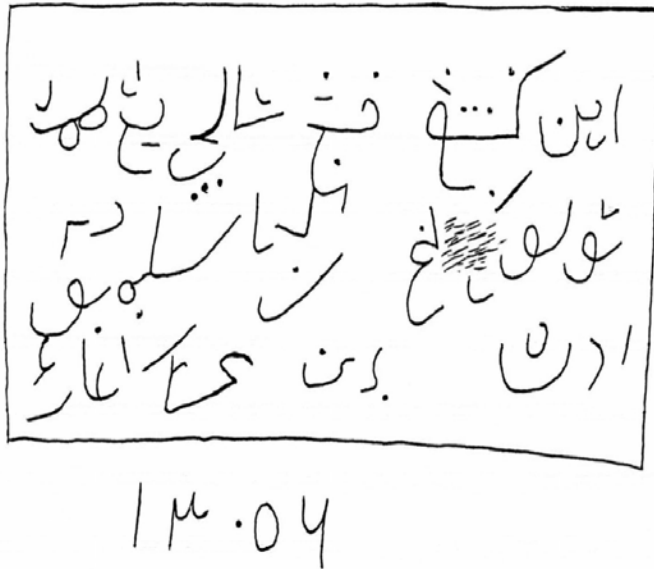


Figure 3. *Jawi* Script: Rubbing from Measuring Bowl

Moving downriver from Selimbau, Enthoven (1903, I:178–80) traces the founding of the Suhaid kingdom (ignored by von Gaffron) to a certain Ripong, at about the time of Abang Tadjak's reign in Selimbau. Pangeran Soema di Laga Mangkoe Negara ruled there for around 75 years, having made the first treaty with the Dutch in 1823, and was succeeded by his son, Kesoema Anom Soerija Negara. No use of the term *abang* occurs in this short history, but it is likely to be there under the surface, given its ubiquity in neighboring and closely related kingdoms. This is much the same for Silat (1903, I:190–91), the next kingdom downriver: Various titles of *pangeran*, *pangeran ratu*, and *pangeran perabu* are evident, but not of *abang*, which accords with von Gaffron's list but may reflect a lessened effort to collect such details on the part of both men. The term *abang* certainly persists among lesser Malay nobles throughout the region, such as in the case of Abang Merdjoenit

who, based in Semitau, was the Dutch government's point man for local affairs, both Malay and Dayak, in the late 19th century (1903, I:221). He appears frequently in Dutch archival correspondences in relation to the ongoing Batang Loeper (Iban) problems of the period.

Generally regarded as the most powerful mid-river kingdom (at least in the nineteenth century), Sintang does not exhibit many instances of *abang* in its official genealogy as recorded by Ethnoven (1903, II: 540; agreeing with von Gaffron on this), though its line of early rulers are more often than not titled *adi*. This is not the case, however, for Sekadau and Belitang, which were generally considered to have been under Sintang's authority. In these two territories, *abang* is replete throughout their overlapping genealogies (1903, II:671–85). The same can be said for Sanggau, the kingdom to which Reece makes his link: Established by a Dayak leader, Babai Tjinga (who married a Hindu-Javanese woman named Dara Nanti from Sukadana), Sanggau was ruled by numerous *abang*, including Abang Awal (the fifth ruler and first Muslim ruler according to Reece's sources), Abang Djeni (sixth), Abang Oedjoe (eighth), Abang Sembilan Hari (ninth), Abang Saka (tenth), and Abang Angan (sixteenth); numerous lesser nobles titled *abang* are also present throughout the genealogy (1903, II:712–13).

This brief account of the use of *abang* in the middle and upper Kapuas River confirms Reece's contention that the existence of the honorific in Sarawak may be tied closely to its ubiquity in the Kapuas drainage. The close, but largely unexplored, links between north coast polities and those along the Kapuas would suggest sharing of a number of other cultural elements as well — other honorifics, perhaps, like *dayang* and *adi*. Indeed, the low-lying watershed (now the international border) and broad rivers on the south side have promoted considerable north-south intercourse, a fact which led the Dutch to worry about the influence of James Brooke on their territorial claims (Wadley 2001).⁶ Within the middle and upper Kapuas kingdoms, with the exception of Sintang and Silat, *abang* occurs frequently, especially as a title for “everyday” use. It seems to have been pushed out in favor of increasingly more elaborate monikers over the years, under the influence of both Islam and Dutch succession ceremonies that seemed to favor such things. In addition, the retention of *abang* among lesser nobles into the late nineteenth century would seem to confirm the “everyday” nature of the term and its decline among the rulers.

Acknowledgements

The research on which this paper is based was funded by the International Institute for Asian Studies (Netherlands, 1998–2001) and sponsored in Indonesia by the Center for International Forestry Research (2000). Thanks to Bob Reece, Jim Collins, Michael Laffan, Annabel Gallop, and Oona Paredes (for putting me in contact with Laffan and Gallop).

⁶ These geographic facts — the low-lying watershed and broad rivers on the south side — appear to have been one of the keys to the development of over a dozen small polities along the Kapuas, no one of them being able to control the entire river system or even large stretches of it. Points of access to the north coast and what is now Central Kalimantan were numerous and hard to monitor. It was not until the Dutch brought steamships in the 1860s and started regular patrols that this native advantage began to disappear.

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SOME SARAWAK CURIOSITIES IN THE BRITISH LIBRARY

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A recent expedition to London turned up some interesting finds in the British Library printed books and other collections which I think are worth putting on record.

One rare item which I have never seen mentioned before is Mrs. Harriette McDougall's *The Sarawak Mission: A Service of Song*, London: Church of England Sunday School Institute, n.d. [1878]. 34pp. As far as I know, there is no copy in the Sarawak Museum Library or in the Bishop's House in Kuching. The little pamphlet is in fact a kind of oratorio consisting of text (presumably to be read aloud) and accompanying hymns. I shall pass over the hymns, other than to quote something highly appropriate from the prolific hymn writer I. D. Sankey, "Here Am I, Send Me":

If you cannot cross the ocean,
And the heathen land explore,
You can find the heathen nearer,
You can help them at your door.
If you cannot give them thousands,
You can give the widow's mite,
And the least you give for Jesus,
Will be precious in his sight.

There is more than a little irony in this, as it was Harriette herself who had persuaded her husband, Francis Thomas McDougall, to undertake the responsibility of establishing the SPG (Anglican) mission in Sarawak in 1848 and who, after returning to England in broken health in 1864, may well have reflected at times on the relative ease of assisting "the heathen nearer." If Frank McDougall had had his way, he would no doubt have become a successful London surgeon and Harriette a society matron famous for her charitable work, her musical soirees and landscape paintings and her large brood of children — rather than the two hardy survivors of almost a dozen pregnancies.

The text is by way of being a brief but comprehensive history of the Borneo Mission. The most detailed section is devoted to Lundu, where the part-Singhalese priest, Edward Gomes, was posted in early 1853 and whose Dayak Sebuyau responded enthusiastically to the Christian view of the world. Harriette's account is notable for its identification by name of the early Lundu converts and its description of how their musical ability was used by Gomes and McDougall in bringing them together with other Dayak converts at places like Banting, so that they might "learn to know and love each other." Given the ancient antagonism between the Dayak Sebuyau and the Dayak Balau, this was no mean challenge.

From his letters to the SPG and from other sources, it is clear that McDougall privately despised Gomes, referring to him as "that halfcaste" and suspecting him both of embezzlement

and of being in league with the Rajah. However, Harriette's warm and homely description of Gomes's relationship with the Dayak boys at his Lundu school suggests that she, for one, had formed an appreciation of his good qualities. Gomes' conversion of the local *manang*, Bulang, must have been a vital step in the creation of a Christian community at Lundu. And it was the coming of Christianity which she saw as enhancing their skills and dedication as agriculturalists. They literally reaped the rewards of abandoning heathenism:

At the foot of the blue hills of Lundu live a tribe of Dyaks, who were formerly the most determined enemies of the pirates of Sakarran and Sarebas. The chief of this tribe was a devoted admirer of Sir James Brooke, and one of his earliest friends, long before he became rajah of the country. The man was enlightened enough to follow the counsels of the English Resident, and the missionary stationed at Lundu. His two eldest sons were killed in the pirate fight of 1849, by Lingi, the Sakarran chief, and only Callon, the youngest, remained as heir to the Orang Kaya Pemancha. The next year Lingi paid a visit to Sarawak, with many followers, apparently to pay his rice tax, *really* to see if he could not take the heads of Sir James Brooke and his officers. In this he was foiled by the watchfulness of the Malays. The day Lingi left Sarawak to return home the Lundus arrived, and hearing he was still in the river, entreated to be allowed to follow him, and take his head. 'They would never take another head, but just Singi's [sic] who had killed Callon's brothers!' They were refused, of course, and it was indeed a mark of their love for Sir James Brooke that they obeyed, for what could be more natural than their cry for vengeance, as at that time they knew nothing of Christian forgiveness? In 1853 Callon gave his own boy, Langi, to Mr. Gomes, the missionary, to bring up. This lad came to Kuching, the capital, with eleven other candidates for baptism before Whit Sunday, 1854. The church at Lundu was not yet completed, so they were all baptized at the mother church at Kuching, on that Whit Sunday, the first fruit of the Lundu Church, and a very delightful time it was. Everybody in the Mission House enjoyed hearing these men and boys singing their hymns and chant in Dyak, before they went to bed at night. All wild people love music, and learn poetry much more readily than prose. Mr. Gomes, therefore, wrote or translated many hymns for their use, and taught them tunes and chants which they were never weary of singing. After Whit Sunday, they accompanied Mr. Gomes and Bishop McDougall to Banting, that the converts of these different rivers might learn to know and love one another. The Linga Dyaks had learnt the same hymns, but knew no tunes for them but their own wild strains, and admired the superior melody of the Lundus very much. However, when Mr. Chambers, their missionary, was married they were also instructed, and proved in the end as good musicians as the Lundus.

Among the Lundu converts was a Manang, or charm doctor, an important person, who renounced his evil practices, and became a catechist to his tribe. Bulang was an honest man, and found it difficult to follow a profession of imposture, even before he was a Christian. Pamoulin, an old man, was another of this little band. He was very rich, and his wife was so

angry at his conversion that she declared she would leave him if he was baptized, and take half of his property with her as her share. Pamoulin said very quietly, 'If she will go, she must. She is only a woman, and her judgement in the matter is not likely to be good.' I fear this might be said of Dyak women, who are far behind the men in intelligence because they are so superstitious.

Bugai, Bulang's brother, was, perhaps, the most intelligent of the party; he has long been a teacher to his people. The rest were lads, who were devoted to Mr. Gomes, followed him about, slept under his sofa at night, and never left him. The good old chief was too ill to come to Kuching at that time. He was to have been baptized on the return of the party to Lundu, but, alas! died in their absence, a Christian in heart, though not outwardly received by the Church.

In 1856 Bishop McDougall went to Lundu and consecrated the pretty wooden church.

The mission has since sent out branches to Sedema and Lara, in the hill country beyond. These tribes now have their churches and schools. Lundu is a lovely place, the fields and gardens which delight the eye all along the banks of the river bear witness to the superior cultivation of their land since the people learnt the wisdom of their English teachers, and the school and church bells day by day tell of their progress in the knowledge of God and CHRIST.

Harriette also gave more economical accounts of the other missions at Lingga and Undup, describing how Buda, the son of a notorious pirate chief, had put himself under the instruction of Chambers at Banting in 1863 before working as a catechist, and that William Crossland at the Undup had used his medical knowledge to good effect. She believed that a good sign of the impact of the Banting mission on the Dayaks was the abandonment of their old custom of burying the live child with the mother when the latter had died giving birth. Buda's enthusiasm gave rise to the people of Seruai longhouse on the Krian building themselves a school chapel.

There is no evidence that Harriette's "service of song" was ever performed, although is quite likely that this did happen during the time when the Bishop was attached to Winchester Cathedral as Dean for a few years from 1872. A record of the McDougalls' time in Sarawak can be found in the two books published by Harriette, *Letters from Sarawak; Addressed to a Child*, London: Grant & Griffith, 1854, and *Sketches of Our Life in Sarawak*, London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1882. Harriette's brother, Charles Bunyon, also published many of their letters in *Memoirs of Bishop McDougall ... and of Harriette His Wife*, London: Longman, Green & Co., 1884.

One anecdote which did not appear in any of these writings is of some interest. Harriette noted in her narrative that in 1859, the year of the "Malay Plot" to unseat the Brookes and kill the missionaries, one of the principal conspirators, "used frequently to come to the Mission House, and ask the Bishop's little daughter to tell him fairy tales, and pretended to be their intimate friend ..."

Another rare item is the anonymous *A Few Months in Borneo*, London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, n.d. [1867?]. The Library's entry gives it a subtitle: *Being a few short sketches from the journal of a Naval Officer, edited by M.B.B.*, but this information

does not actually appear on the flyleaf of the book itself. It appears to have been written by J. A. Sewell, a former naval officer recruited by James Brooke to manage the plantation which his friend and patron Baroness Angela Burdett Coutts had promised to set up in Sarawak to foster agriculture. Arriving at Kuching in late 1864, Sewell oversaw the establishment of the estate between the Quop and Sarawak rivers and the felling of the thick forest there. In February 1865, fifty Boyanese laborers arrived from Java with another Englishman, E. J. Martin, to provide the necessary plantation labor (Coutts had stipulated that Chinese labor should not be employed) and Sewell began to experiment with gambier, pepper, and mulberry trees for the cultivation of silkworms. A private operation, the Borneo Sugar Company, was already established somewhere in the Kuching area but was under-capitalized and doomed to failure, according to Sewell, who advised the Sarawak government against rescuing it. He suggested instead that the Sibu area was much more suitable for sugar and that a mill should be established there.

Sewell met the Italian scientists Odoardo Beccari and the Marquis Doria and made an expedition with them to Peninjau, where Wallace had camped some years earlier, as well as a longer one up the Rejang beyond Kanowit. However, in the process he contracted a debilitating fever (probably malaria) and had to return to England at short notice, leaving Martin (who was by then the British Honorary Vice Consul in Sarawak) to manage the plantation. Although Charles Brooke (who was responsible for the supervision of the estate in the Rajah's absence) was also keen on silkworm production as well as pepper, gambier, and cocoa production, he became frustrated with the lack of progress and by June 1869 the experiment was in disarray with Martin having to sell the equipment in order to pay wages. Charles Brooke's correspondence with Coutts during the mid-1860s is held by the British Library as part of the last of ten bound volumes of letters between James Brooke and the Baroness (and her companion, Mrs. Hannah Brown), from the time of his retirement to Sheepstor in Devon in mid-1859 until shortly before his death in June 1868. Apart from his anonymous book, Sewell also left an interesting watercolor and pencil drawing of the "Interior of my Bungalow Sarawak 1864" and "My boy Baboo" which was part of the large collection of Sarawakiana acquired by Malaysia's Arkib Negara from the London antiquarian bookseller, John Randall, some years ago. The British Library's own collection of pictorial material from Sarawak is absolutely insignificant, consisting of one c. 1860 etching from a drawing of Santubong Mountain made somewhere near Matang by the geological surveyor H. Williams in the style of Frank Marryat.

The British Library also holds the four books, or rather pamphlets, self-published by one Archibald Allison in the late 1890s: *The Real Pirates of Borneo* (Singapore: Kim Yew Hean Press, 1898), *How the Church Mission People are Treated in the East* (Singapore: Kim Yew Hean Press, 1898), *Singapore Law and Lawyers* (Singapore: Yu Sing Press, 1899) and *Freedom Struggle with Oppression* (Penang: International Press, 1900). Allison was a Scots mining engineer who came to Sarawak in January 1882 to work for the Borneo Company Ltd. and was sent to the mercury mines at Tegora near Bau where he later took charge of operations until he was discharged in early 1893. He then worked for the new coal company in Labuan but appears to have been dismissed in early 1898. This prompted him to write *The Real Pirates of Borneo* as an exposé of the corruption that he claimed to have discovered within these companies, and which he attributed to Alfred Hart Everett and his brothers E. E. Everett and H. H. Everett, John Robertson (Manager of the Central Borneo Company) and the Singapore accountant and lawyer, St John Hughes. He claimed that the Everetts and their friends had

broken up the old coal company at Labuan in order to float the Borneo Minerals Company as part of a regional scam. Indeed, he wrote,

there has been a combination at work throughout the Malay peninsula and surrounding islands and that by their actions many of the old Native and other trading firms have been broken up, their money, mines and concessions were taken possession of by the Officials in Labuan and their agents and friends in other parts making money through the transfer of property and the floating of other companies.

Allison brought an unsuccessful action against the Borneo Company in the Court of Queen's Bench in London and was later declared bankrupt in Singapore and his book suppressed with Sarawak government support. Charles Bampfylde, a Sarawak official who was in Singapore for the court case there, described him to the court as "undoubtedly of unsound mind, and appears to be suffering from the well known mauia [sic] of imagining [sic] himself the victim of unscrupulous persons."

Bampfylde was a level-headed character and his opinion cannot be dismissed lightly. However, he was also a loyal servant of the second Rajah who for some reason had declined to listen to what Allison had to say. One of his accusations, which suggests how the Everetts and Robertson found favor with the Rajah, was that they wrote reports to the *Straits Times* and other Singapore newspapers deliberately maligning the Sultan of Brunei's government. Charles Brooke had not yet given up his ambition to absorb what was left of the sultanate, together with North Borneo, and any vilification of Brunei rule would have been warmly welcomed by him.

Allison had only praise for Rancee Margaret and the harmony which her presence and her love of music brought to the little European community in Kuching. However, he was something of a religious bigot and his deep suspicion of the Roman Catholic Church led him to see nothing but evil in its establishment in Sarawak, something to which Margaret's return to her earlier Catholic faith was no doubt connected. Although he did not suggest it, we might also wonder if this may also have been a reason for Margaret's and Charles' subsequent estrangement and effective separation.

Allison tried hard to join in the lives of the fifty or so Chinese and native workmen whom he supervised at Tegora. Keenly interested in music and poetry and himself composing numerous ballads, he appreciated Malay *pantun* and repeated a popular one which obviously took his fancy:

The butterfly that soars on high,
Above the sand and the Ocean brine,
I told you once and once again,
I say don't touch the wine.

There is no indication of whether Allison had succumbed to drink by 1898, but it was not an uncommon fate for the European employees of the Borneo Company. He certainly does not appear to have fathered a family by a local wife, which was another occupational hazard. Nicholas Tarling, who has looked most closely at the period in question in *Britain, the Brookes and Brunei* (1971), follows Bampfylde and Robertson in dismissing Allison as "mad." If this were so, it seems at least plausible that his condition was brought on by the barrier of silence

his accusations received from the Rajah, the Borneo Company, and, it seems, everyone else. A good deal of research would have to be done to establish whether there was any truth on his side. Whatever happened to him after he published his last blast in Penang in early 1900 is a mystery. Nevertheless, he remains 19th Century Borneo's most prolific pamphleteer.

REVEREND SABINE BARING-GOULD: “SQUARSON DILETTANTE” (1834–1924)

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In 2003 a contributor to the *Borneo Research Bulletin* “noted for the first time” that S. Baring-Gould, who wrote a history of Sarawak with C. A. Bampfylde,¹ was also the “author” of the hymn “Onward! Christian Soldiers.” Indeed he was.² The main purpose of this Research Note is to provide some supplementary data about the eminent clergyman.

The Reverend Sabine Baring-Gould M.A. JP (1834–1924) was a famous example of the “squarson dilettante” (Cannadine 1990:257).³ First and foremost an Anglican cleric (Rector of Lew Trenchard from 1881 until his death more than four decades later), he was also a theologian, hagiographer, novelist, linguist, and collector of folk songs. What is more, he became a “local archaeologist and antiquarian of note” (Cannadine 1990:257); and in his spare time he managed to restore the parish church and rebuild the manor house. A wealthy landowner, he was master of no fewer than eight thousand acres. After his death on 2 January 1924, probate was proved at £16,132 11s 6d, which would have made him a millionaire (or thereabouts) by today’s values.

Tough-minded and determined, fully capable of standing up for himself, he was born at Exeter in the West Country (well-known for its associations with the Brooke family)⁴ on 28 January 1834, the elder son of Edward Baring-Gould (d. 1872)⁵ and Charlotte Sophia⁶ (d. 1863)⁷, daughter of

¹ Charles Agar Bampfylde FRGS (1856–1918): Sarawak Civil Service, 1875–1903 (except for a spell in North Borneo, 1882–1884). Rajah Charles Brooke’s “Political Agent” in England, 1903–1912. Member of the Sarawak State Advisory Council, 1912–1918. Has a road named after him in Kuching (*MBRAS* 1999:1, No.16).

In the “Preface” to Baring-Gould and Bampfylde (1909:viii), Rajah Charles refers to Bampfylde as “my friend” and “my old and much-esteemed officer”; Baring-Gould, for his part, is “the distinguished author.”

² But the music was composed by Sir Arthur Sullivan (1842–1900) of “Gilbert and Sullivan” fame (London Oratory 1998:446–47; Mayhew et al. 1989:No. 420).

³ “Squarson” (squire-parson) is a jocular term referring to a “clergyman who is also squire of his parish” (*OED*).

⁴ The first two rajahs had associations with Somerset. James lived at Bath, whilst Charles was born at Berrow, a mile or two north of Burnham-on-Sea, Bridgwater Bay; James retired to live on the edge of Dartmoor, whilst Charles had his base at Cirencester (Payne 1986:16, 117, 119, 135). The third Rajah, by contrast, was born in London.

Illustrations of Berrow Vicarage and Chesterton House (Cirencester) appear in Baring-Gould and Bampfylde (1909), pages 307 and 424 respectively.

⁵ Captain Edward Baring-Gould, Squire of Lew Trenchard, had been invalided out of the East India Company’s armed forces in 1830.

⁶ According to *WWW 1916–1928:52*. The *ODNB* 78 gives “Sophia Charlotte” as does Baring-Gould himself in his memoirs (1923:3).

⁷ Baring-Gould 1923:314.

Admiral Francis Godolphin Bond (1765–1839).⁸

The young Sabine was educated at King's College, London (1844–1846) and Warwick Grammar School (1847), and then by tutors and travel. In 1853 he matriculated at Clare College, University of Cambridge, which awarded him a Bachelor of Arts degree three or four years later (subsequently upgraded to M.A.) and, in 1918, an honorary fellowship. Upon leaving university he hoped to become a clergyman, but in the face of parental opposition, he became a teacher instead. During this period he taught at Lancing College and Hurstpierpoint College, both in Sussex, and elsewhere.

In 1866 he met Grace Taylor, “a beautiful Yorkshire factory girl aged sixteen,” whom he married two years later over family objections on both sides. She predeceased Sabine in 1916. Meanwhile, the marriage was blessed with fifteen children, comprising five sons, nine daughters, and another daughter who died in infancy. One of the sons, Julian (1877–1929),⁹ was a member of the Sarawak Civil Service from 1897 to 1920, and served as Resident of the Third Division from 1911 to 1920 (Pringle 1970a:149n).¹⁰

Meanwhile, following a volte-face by his parents, Sabine was able to enter the church after all (1864). His clerical career may be recapitulated briefly enough. Ordained a priest in 1865, he held various posts in Yorkshire until in 1871, at the recommendation of Prime Minister Gladstone, he was appointed to the crown living of East Mersea in Essex. He appears to have remained until 1881, when he succeeded his uncle at Lew Trenchard.¹¹

“Onward! Christian soldiers” (1864) was written at Hurstpierpoint College (several miles north of Brighton) and has become a staple of the repertoire. In August 1941, for example, when Churchill met Roosevelt to sign the Atlantic Charter in Newfoundland, this was one of the hymns he chose for a joint religious service held on board HMS *Prince of Wales* (Paxman 1999:39), the same warship that was to be sunk a few months later by the Japanese off the coast of Malaya.

Baring-Gould's other hymns include “On the Resurrection Morning” (1863); “Through the night of doubt and sorrow” and “Now the day is over.” He also produced English versions of Basque carols such as “Gabriel's Message” (*Birjina gaztettobat zegoen*) and “Sing Lullaby” (*Oi Betleem!*) (London Oratory 1998:62–63; Keyte and Parrott 1992:641–45). According to Keyte and Parrott (1992:645), “Baring-Gould had a remarkable gift for providing English texts of real poetic merit for foreign carols. They are not necessarily translations, but contrive to capture the atmosphere of the originals with great accuracy. For ‘Oi Betleem!’ he produced an entirely new text which is ... effective for ... its mingling of a lullaby for the infant Christ with anticipation of his Passion and Resurrection.”

⁸ Born 23 January 1765; died 26 October 1839.

⁹ Purcell 1957:99, 122; *Sarawak Gazette*, 1 December 1929:212.

Julian married Joan Ramsden and the couple was blessed with three sons and a daughter (Dickinson 1970:186).

Dickinson adds (p. 88): “Sabine's second son, Julian, was sent straight from school to work in an arsenic mine near Tavistock, and from there he went to serve under that extraordinarily picturesque Devonian, Rajah Brooke, who had made himself ruler of Sarawak. Julian married and had three sons and a daughter. The eldest son died in infancy and both the other two were killed in action during the second World War.”

Another son of Sabine, Henry, died of fever on a plantation in Malaya (*ibid.*).

¹⁰ He also suffered a demotion on one occasion (see Naimah Talib 1999:29).

¹¹ Lew Trenchard (alternatively hyphenated or contracted into a single word), is situated in Devon about six miles East of Launceston on the A30.

Baring-Gould was also a noted collector of folk-songs, although he was frequently horrified at the double meanings in the lyrics he transcribed. It is his censored version of "Strawberry Fair," Keyte and Parrott (1992:645) relate, "that has preserved the innocence of generations of schoolchildren."

A list of his publications, some of which remain in print, takes up the better part of a whole column in *Who Was Who 1916–1928*:52–53. His first work dates from as early as 1854 (*The Path of the Just*) and he was still active in 1923 (*Early Reminiscences 1834–1864*). A further volume of memoirs appeared post-humously in 1925. The *ODNB* states that during his seventy-year career as a writer he produced no fewer than forty novels, sixty theological volumes, twenty-four guide and travel books, plus sundry general interest books. The eclectic mixture embraces works on *Iceland* (1862) and *Napoleon Bonaparte* (1896), *Dartmoor* (1900) and *St Paul* (1897). Other topics attracting his attention included myths, ghosts, werewolves, Old Testament characters, ecclesiastical art and literature, the mystery of suffering, the Seven Last Words, the parish church, the Resurrection, old country life, the Caesars, Wales, Devonshire characters, family names, and much else besides.

His first novel, *Through Flood and Flame* (1868) is held to be partly autobiographical. His *Lives of the Saints* (1872–1877), which was placed on the Index of Prohibited Books, contains 3,600 entries in fifteen volumes, twice reprinted before the First World War. With J. Fisher he collaborated on a four-volume *Lives of British Saints* (1907–1913) (Attwood 1965:19–20; Farmer 1992:xxv). These works are used by hagiographers to this day, although they need to be supplemented by subsequent research.

In short, there is plenty more to the Reverend Sabine Baring-Gould than his joint history of Sarawak and his hymn "Onward! Christian Soldiers." A fair amount of primary and secondary material relating to his life, as listed in the *ODNB*, is available. It might be worthwhile to pursue this matter further.

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Who Was Who 1916–1928.

TIM HARDY: SPECIAL BRANCH, SARAWAK, DECEMBER 1961–MARCH 1968

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Part of Tim Hardy's unpublished memoirs give a fascinating insight into their author and into Sarawak's Special Branch from 1961 to 1968, revealing snippets of information now hidden away in inaccessible archives.¹ All un-attributed quotations are from his memoirs, which are quoted from extensively to retain the memoirs' original flavor. For clarity, in those quotations the term "O" used by Tim Hardy and the Sarawak communists is replaced by SCO (Sarawak Communist Organisation), the term initially used by the Sarawak Government. The views, opinions, and versions of events given by Tim Hardy in his memoirs and hence in this paper are given without demur or necessarily acquiescence. This foreword, the introduction, and the endnote are, it should be noted, not taken from and are independent of Tim Hardy's memoirs.

Introduction

The Special Branch (SB) in Sarawak, a section of the Constabulary, was formed in June 1949 to collect intelligence on secret societies and subversive activities.² At that time there was a vocal anti-cession movement within the Malay community seeking to overturn the cession of Sarawak to Britain by Rajah Charles Vyner Brooke on 1 July 1946. But this movement quickly faded into irrelevancy after 3 December 1949, when a secret group within the anti-cession movement assassinated Duncan Stewart, Sarawak's second British Governor.³ Also at that time communist ideology was being propagated openly and the impact of communism principally among the Chinese community was to occupy much of the resources of the Special Branch for the next fifty years. Attempting to curb the spread of communist propaganda, in January 1951 the Special Branch raided the office of the Chung Hua Kung Pao, a Chinese newspaper that promoted communism, leading to its closure. On 5 August 1952 a raid from Indonesian Kalimantan by a group purporting to be the Sarawak Peoples Army raised concerns of communist militancy. By the end of 1961, a proposed anti-communist federation of the states of Malaya, with Singapore, Sarawak and British

¹ As there are two persons with the name of Hardy in the memoirs, to avoid confusion, Hardy of the Special Branch is always referred to as Tim Hardy, and ex-MCP member code-named Hardy as Mr. Hardy.

² On 5 August 1948 the Colonial Secretary had warned all British colonies of the threat of communism.

³ The Special Branch had failed to uncover the secret group consisting of members of the Pergerakan Pemuda Melayu (PPM-Malay Youth Movement), which was proscribed after the assassination.

North Borneo as states with special rights, was moving forward rapidly against growing opposition from all left-wing forces in those countries, supported vociferously by Indonesia.

Tim Hardy arrived in Sarawak at this time as the Deputy Head of the Special Branch, becoming the Acting Head two weeks after arrival.⁴ He was born on 18th June 1922 in Nottingham, England, joined the British Territorial Army on 31 August 1939, and was mobilized three days later immediately after war was declared on Germany. On 5 June 1944 he was parachuted into Normandy with the 6th Airborne Division, one of the advance parties in the liberation of Europe. He also took part in aborted Operation Zipper to liberate Malaya on 9 September 1945. After the end of World War Two, he returned to civil life in England, joining the Malayan Police in Malaya as a cadet in 1950. There he served as an Intelligence Officer from 1951 to late 1956, followed by service in Tanganyika (1957–1961) in a similar role, before taking up his appointment in Sarawak.

Settling in as Deputy Head of the Special Branch

On a series of familiarization tours, meeting officials, community leaders, and members of the general public throughout Sarawak, Tim Hardy found a general consensus that the Constabulary's 1,465 personnel was adequate for peace-keeping. The Constabulary included a 271-personnel paramilitary Field Force to deal with civil disturbances and any internal militancy.⁵ But underlying the tranquility Tim Hardy quickly learned that elements of the Malay community, principally the BMP (Barisan Pemuda Sarawak — Sarawak Youth Front) and the SCO (Sarawak Communist Organisation) had a common cause: resistance to Sarawak joining the proposed Federation of Malaysia. With the situation further complicated by Indonesian President Bung Sukarno's threats to crush Malaysia, Tim Hardy writes that "Early 1962 wasn't, therefore, the best of times to walk into the office of Sarawak's security intelligence chief."

The Sarawak Communist Organisation (SCO)

Tim Hardy soon decided his main interest was in the young Chinese who were turning to communism. He empathized with their "dream of creating a high-minded 'government of the proletariat' that would distribute Sarawak's wealth equally and without regard to race or class." But concluded their cause was doomed to failure for many reasons. He wrote that few Chinese would become fully committed to the cause and neither the Malays nor the indigenes would give their support. And "what support there was ... came not from its advocacy of Maoism ... but from its uncompromising opposition to plans to federate the country within Malaysia, a prospect that left the majority of Chinese fearful of Malay domination." Further, an agrarian Sarawak "just wasn't the right territory on which to wage a proletarian revolution."

Tim Hardy also reasoned that Indonesian President Sukarno, although "he approved of Sarawakian opposition to both colonialism and to the Malaysian concept," would "have seen an independent 'communist'-dominated government in Kuching in its racial [Chinese], not political, clothes and he'd have moved like lightning to have crushed it."⁶ At that time, Tim Hardy points out, Sukarno's ambition was for a Jakarta-centered empire of Indonesia, Malaya, and the Philippines and "he was ordering Chinese in his own country to remove the outward signs of their racial identity by adopting Indonesian names."

⁴ Tim Hardy was promoted to Assistant Commissioner of Constabulary, head Special Branch, Sarawak, the third-ranking police officer in Sarawak in mid 1965.

⁵ Commonwealth forces based in Singapore were responsible for the defense of all British territories in Southeast Asia.

⁶ The communist movement in Sarawak was predominantly Chinese (Porritt 2004).

Special Branch Sources of Information on the SCO

Tim Hardy reports that the Special Branch obtained almost all its information about the SCO from

documents either recovered from imperfect hiding places, purchased for cash from informers, confiscated during police raids or intercepted on their way through the SCO network. There were clandestine newsheets, samizdats, ... 'rolled slips' (...sealed with wax to ease their transportation within one of the courier's body orifices), study notes ... journals, diaries, self-criticism statements, 'work plans,' letters, periodicals and even love letters ...all of it hand-written ... How could one not admire such ingenuity and zeal?

The Danger Within — A History of the SCO

To answer pressure for authoritative information on the communist threat in Sarawak from the governments involved in the formation of Malaysia, the Governor of Sarawak ordered a definitive paper on the SCO. The task fell to Tim Hardy, who spent almost three months collating information and writing the draft, which was ready by November 1962. Marked secret, the paper was circulated to responsible agencies in Canberra, Jesselton (now Kota Kinabalu), Kuala Lumpur, London, Singapore, Washington, and Wellington. A few months later, the Sarawak Information Service published an abridged version entitled *The Danger Within: A History of the Clandestine Communist Organisation in Sarawak*.⁷ This remains one of the most authoritative papers on the early development of the SCO.⁸

Pressure for Action against the SCO

With the United States, London, Kuala Lumpur, and Singapore all asking what anti-communist measures were being taken, the Special Branch came under increasing pressure. Indicative of the division in "official" attitudes at this time, Tim Hardy and others argued that since weapons were not readily available in Sarawak, threats of an armed uprising had little substance. But Chief Secretary A. R. Snelus, considered extremely "hawkish" by Tim Hardy, held that the close rapport between Chairman Mao and President Sukarno, and their opposition to Malaysia also shared with the SCO, would result in Sukarno giving the SCO all the weapons it needed.⁹

Arrests of SCO Leaders in 1962

Tim Hardy records that Roy Henry, the substantive head of the Special Branch who returned to duty in June 1962, viewed the SCO as a movement that was breaking the law and had to be dealt with accordingly, not as "a mentally stimulating political phenomenon that threatened only lightly." By then the Special Branch had uncovered the identities of many of the SCO's politburo, including leading figures Wen Min Chyuan, his wife Wong Fuk Ing, and Bong Kee Chok. Tim Hardy writes: "Ergo, on 22nd June 1962 the three [amongst others] were arrested and deported to China. And that, we thought, was that."

The Cobbold Commission on the Formation of Malaysia

The British-Malayan Cobbold Commission toured Sarawak in July 1962, subsequently reporting that the majority of Sarawakians supported the concept of a Federation of Malaysia.

⁷ The time is overdue for release of the unabridged version and all other records involving the SCO to at least 1973 when the SCO and the Sarawak Government signed a Memorandum of Understanding.

⁸ Tim Hardy objected to the title as too melodramatic but was overruled.

⁹ Snelus retired on 16 September 1963 immediately after Malaysia was formed.

Jakarta, Beijing and Moscow sneered at Cobbold ... there was to be a 'Maphilindo' (a federation of Malaya, the Philippines and Indonesia), a 'Beijing — Jakarta Axis', and then Pakistan joined in by voicing Islamic misgivings over Malaysia while Moscow condemned 'neo-colonialism' ... consequently, Roy Henry continued to pit ninety percent of special branch against the SCO leaving only half a dozen Malay 'detectives' to look out for signs of unease among the non-Chinese population. In the corridors of power there were whispers about a worse case scenario: an invasion from Indonesian Kalimantan coinciding with a SCO uprising internally ...we weren't playing games any more."

The Brunei Uprising: 8 December 1962

Tim Hardy felt that at this time Brunei had "grossly over-fleshed military and police services backed up by an outsize special branch" and the Sultan "was hopelessly out of touch." He records that "a mercurial Brunei Malay/Arab," A. M. Azahari, dreamt of restoring the Sultanate to its former glory of an Islamic empire covering the whole of North Borneo and was by then "receiving assurances of Indonesian assistance to restore Malay Muslim — not Malaysian — domination over what was called 'British' Borneo [Sarawak and British North Borneo — now Sabah]." Tim Hardy also records that in November 1962, their man in Limbang began to hear tales of armed uniformed men in the Temburong jungle just on the Brunei side of the border. He sent a Special Branch officer to inform the Brunei Special Branch and

The director of Brunei special branch, an aloof, old-school-tie Englishman, showed our man the door, saying that he wanted no help from Sarawak, thank you very much. The 'information' he said was mendacious; the only armed and uniformed men in Brunei were the Sultan's own and none were deployed in Temburong.

The armed uniformed men in the Temburong jungle turned out to be Azahari's recruits training to take over Brunei, Sarawak, and British North Borneo.

Armed insurgency erupted on 8 December 1962, Tim Hardy writing that

two or three hundred 'soldiers' of the self-styled 'Tentera Nasional Kalimantan Utara' (National Army of North Borneo) overran police posts and oil installations throughout Brunei and were virtually on the point of seizing Bandar Sri Bagawan [Brunei town] itself when they stopped to await further instructions from their commander-in-chief, A. M. Azahari. The commander however had taken off for Manila there to await the call to return in triumph as Brunei's viceroy ... The rebels, who could easily have gone on to raise their flag above the capital's clock tower, instead sat down to wait for orders that never came.

A battalion of British soldiers shipped hastily from Singapore found the Tentera [army] sitting in wayside coffee shops, sleeping in the grounds of the grand mosque and bathing in the river ... They were sitting ducks. Hardly a shot was fired.

The rebellion was at an end almost as soon as it had begun. Not much blood and not a drop of oil had been spilled ... It was a bizarre little overture to Sukarno's *Konfrontasi* of Malaysia.¹⁰

¹⁰ During the uprising, Azahari's army and followers took over Limbang and Bekenu in Sarawak and Weston in British North Borneo. Four local policemen and five British Marines lost their lives in the occupation and reoccupation of Limbang.

The Immediate Aftermath of the Brunei Uprising

Tim Hardy writes: “complacency suddenly gave way to uproar.” Emergency Regulations were introduced immediately. There was a rapid build-up of military forces and “for the first time since the end of the Japanese occupation, armed soldiers were seen on the streets of Kuching, Sibul and Miri.” The Special Branch had identified only one notable Sarawakian, Ahmad Zaidi, who may have been connected to the uprising and “as he was one of the most senior local officers employed by government, [he] was considered politically, to be out of reach.” Therefore the Special Branch concluded the Tentera Nasional did not present any real threat to Sarawak. And as far as the Special Branch knew, the SCO had not been involved in the uprising nor “had they any guns.” Nevertheless, there was a chance that the SCO “would be armed by Sukarno ... we had to do something about it.” Tim Hardy comments that

To its great credit the colonial government resisted calls for the imposition of martial law. And its successor, the Malaysian government similarly dismissed all appeals for it. Sarawak was to remain under civilian/political control, a factor that was to prove decisive.

The First Detention Camp

The first response to the perceived threat was construction of “the ‘Across River’ camp” to house up to 75 detainees. Tim Hardy recounts how

that old veteran champion of human rights ... MP Fenner Brockway, flew out from England to look at it and said ‘Heaven forbid that I should ever be a detainee anywhere in the world, but if it were so to be then I’d choose to be detained here in Kuching.’

The Special Branch then began picking up SCO suspects and, as Tim Hardy feared, was quickly “buried under a mountain of paper: arrest and search warrants, seized documents by the hundreds, [and] orders for detention” from which “for the next five years we were unable to dig ourselves.”

Ahmad Zaidi

As noted earlier, the Special Branch had identified only one prominent person, Ahmad Zaidi bin Muhamed Noor M.A. (Edinburgh), the Education Officer to the Second Division, as having close links with Azahari, the C-in-C of the Tentera Nasional Kalimantan Utara. Tim Hardy records Zaidi being stranded in Indonesia in 1942 by the Japanese Occupation, joining the Indonesian “liberation movement (not as much anti-Japanese as anti-Dutch),” and his appointment as a Captain in Sukarno’s Tentera Nasional Indonesia. Special Branch intelligence suggested “Zaidi would have preferred Indonesian domination of Sarawak because he considered the 1960s Malaya to be neo-colonialist whereas Sukarno’s Indonesia, unruly as it was, was at least a truly independent, proud Asian state.”

As Tim Hardy points out, Zaidi was the President of the Barisan Pemuda Sarawak (Sarawak Youth Association) — “one of the largest open political organizations in the state” and had “considerable influence within the Malay community.” Tim Hardy and Hamdan Sirat, another Special Branch officer, were charged with interviewing Zaidi in Simanggang finding not a firebrand but “a dignified, courteous intellectual living modestly in a house packed floor-to-ceiling with books on philosophy, religion and politics including a section on Marx for ... which ... we could have arrested him.” Zaidi hinted that he would welcome a transfer to Kuching and “hinted strongly that he’d stay politically silent.”

But when they were leaving, Tim Hardy writes that Hamdan courteously stooped to close the door of Zaidi’s car, and noticed in the glove box “a document in Indonesian printed on the cheap parchment favored by underground organizations” which was “Zaidi’s

commission as a ‘General’ in Azahari’s Tentera Nasional Kalimantan Utara.” Zaidi immediately acknowledged the document’s authenticity and “after some decorous parleying it was mutually agreed that Zaidi return with us to Kuching” where he lived with Hamdan under mild house arrest. A subsequent secret agreement was reached with the government, under which “he would be allowed to ‘escape’ across the border into Indonesia where he’d lie low until the end of *Konfrontasi* ... in return for government financial aid to his family.”¹¹ Tim Hardy records that both sides honored the agreement and that Zaidi later became a convert to the Malaysian concept, returning to Sarawak in 1968, where by “1974 he was State Minister for Housing and Development and in 1985 he moved into the Brookes’ old Astana as Governor of Sarawak.”

Indonesia’s Armed Confrontation with Malaysia

Sukarno’s threats against the formation of Malaysia were backed up by deployment of Indonesian forces along Sarawak’s 1,600-kilometer border with Indonesian Kalimantan, which was countered by a build-up of British forces. In early 1963 Chinese youths began to cross the border into Indonesian Kalimantan clandestinely to take to arms, with Indonesia exaggeratedly claiming in July that 1,000 had been given military training. Tim Hardy writes that

The once niggardly treasury came up with staggering amounts of *ringgits* to pay for thousands of new constables, prison warders, propagandists and for the raising of an Iban vigilante corps to be known as ‘Border Scouts’ ... The rhetoric on both sides became so offensive that *Konfrontasi* [confrontation between Sarawak and Indonesia] became unavoidable.

Armed *Konfrontasi* began on 12 April 1963, when about 30 armed raiders from Indonesian Kalimantan overran the police post at Tebedu, a border post about 60 kilometers south of Kuching, “murdering several constables and looting the place. From that moment on anyone still harboring dovish views was well advised to keep them to himself.” Responding to the first armed incursion, “a British army general was appointed Director of Borneo Operations” and “State Emergency Executive Committees were convened in Sarawak and North Borneo.” Overdue for leave, in mid-1963, Tim Hardy left Sarawak for a three-month’s holiday in Sussex.

Rapid Expansion of Intelligence Services: July–October 1963

By the time Tim Hardy returned in October 1963, Sarawak was a Malaysian state. He records that his small group at Badruddin Road was “already outnumbered by newcomers brought in ... to help cope with *Konfrontasi*, most of them Brits with South East Asia connections.” London provided five “Military Intelligence Officers (MIOs), army officers trained for ‘intelligence’ work.” The “intelligence community ... which, as always, accompanied the diplomats (Britain appointed a Deputy High Commissioner, America a Consul) also arrived,” so the Special Branch had to deal with “MI5, MI6 and CIA people” who “had to declare themselves” and “were forbidden to do anything without” the blessing of Special Branch. Tim Hardy found the most effective help came from Kuala Lumpur, which provided “seasoned special branch officers” who had taken part in dealing with communist insurgency in Malaya and “ex-Malayan Communist Party cadres.”

Special Branch Assessment of the Strength of the SCO in Late 1963

Tim Hardy found the army officers in the military’s intelligence corps “more a millstone

¹¹ Two “official” biographies (Ritchie 2000, Sanib 1991) give less plausible accounts of how the late Tun Zaidi, while under Special Branch surveillance, managed to leave Sarawak secretly on 15 August 1963 with an SCO escort.

... than a helping hand” as “virtually unemployed on purely military matters on the Indonesian border to which they were supposed to be limited” they “frequently turned their attention” to the SCO. Under pressure to provide an estimate of the SCO’s strength, Tim Hardy argued even the SCO did not know, as “an underground organization wasn’t going to keep membership records, was it,” so how could the Special Branch be specific? Finally, approached by Colonel Farrar-Hockley, Chief of Staff to the Director of Borneo Operations, Tim Hardy presented his oft-repeated case that he was unable to give a realistic estimate of the SCO’s strength, but, finally conceding the military also had a case, proposed that “we settle for an inspired guess — say two thousand.” The Joint Intelligence Committee duly reported that “the local special branch assess active communist strength in Sarawak to be 2,000” and as Tim Hardy writes, “we had a figure and we lived with it,” never knowing its accuracy or otherwise.

Assessments of the SCO’s “Armed Struggle” in 1963

On 19 April 1963, the Sarawak Government issued an order that all arms and ammunition held by non-natives in the First and Third Divisions had to be handed in immediately, indicating official fears of the SCO turning to guerrilla warfare. Of this period, Tim Hardy writes that early in 1963 the Special Branch “began to confirm the disappearance from their homes of maybe hundreds ... of young Chinese.” The Special Branch “assumed they’d taken to the jungle en route to Indonesian Borneo where they’d be trained and armed by Sukarno for participation in *Konfrontasi*.” This was “the worst-case scenario: the Indonesian army raiding from without, communist guerrillas making trouble within.”

But Special Branch thought that this would mean “an ultimately decisive drop in” the SCO’s “already weak mass support.” This was supported by a copy of a report that came into the hands of the Special Branch in Miri, in which the SCO’s Fourth Divisional Committee “advised the politburo to consider the racial consequences of going into ‘armed struggle.’” The report held that the Chinese would “be the losers” as the ‘armed struggle’ would become a racist struggle because they would be blamed for any bloodshed as “the only people who supported the SCO.” As Tim Hardy points out, government’s issue of shotguns to “Ibans in remote long houses” clearly showed no mass insurrection was feared.¹²

Tim Hardy surmises that from the SCO leadership’s perspective there was “good reason for believing that Lenin’s ‘revolutionary situation’ already existed in Sarawak and that the time, therefore, was ripe for ‘armed struggle,’” since “some local revolutionary fervor” had been aroused by “Azahari’s nearly successful coup in Brunei”: President Sukarno was threatening to “pitch a hundred million Indonesians into *Konfrontasi*”; Manila was claiming “a bounteous slice of Malaysia” (Sabah); Pakistan was objecting to the Malaysian concept; “Moscow, Beijing, Havana and the rest of the socialist brotherhood” were waging a “diplomatic onslaught against Malaysia”; there was a “solid core of anti-Malaysian sentiment” in Sarawak; and “anti-colonialism [was] still being generated by Afro-Asian-Latin American countries.”

Driven by “their slavish adherence to the gospel according to Mao Tse Tung,” Tim Hardy held “it was inevitable that the SCO should reach for the gun.” Without any “liberated territory” as a base and without reliable weapons, “most of the SCO’s ‘soldiers’ sought refuge and support in Indonesian Borneo,” where “inevitably ... they were forced into servitude to the Indonesian military.” Of those who stayed in Sarawak, mainly in the Third Division, Tim Hardy writes they “fared little better.” They believed that the “peasant masses would turn to the SCO for protection” against the “hirelings of imperialism,” the mainly British soldiers “then entering Sarawak in numbers.” However, the indigenous

¹² In 1962 the Chinese made up 31.5% of the 780,000-plus population of Sarawak, and the Ibans 31.1%.

population in “the longhouses greeted the white strangers [British soldiers] with open arms,” whereas SCO insurgents were “unable to go near a longhouse for fear of being informed against.” Thus the SCO insurgents “had to grub down in appalling conditions on the edges of urban areas from which they could cadge food.” Also they lacked the weaponry “to take on either the army or the police,” their ingeniously-crafted home-made shotguns being “more likely to damage their owners than their intended targets.”

Indonesian Incursions

“What we’d feared most,” a SCO-led insurrection supported by Indonesian military “didn’t materialize.” In early 1964 there were an estimated twelve Indonesian army battalions along the Sarawak and Sabah borders facing a lesser number of “British, Australian, New Zealand and Malaysian troops,” who were “vastly superior ... in fire-power, air and sea support, equipment, supplies, medical services, food quality, leadership and, crucially, morale.” Tim Hardy reports that “only one of the six Russian helicopters in Indonesian Borneo was ever able to fly and even then only when fuel was available which wasn’t often.”

In the twelve months following the raid on Tebedu, 120 incidents were recorded along Sarawak’s border with Indonesian Kalimantan.¹³ Tim Hardy reports the raid on 29 September 1963 as “the most daring and successful penetration, an incursion of about 100 miles into the 3rd Division by a crack Komando unit” that, “murdered a good many unsuspecting” security personnel.¹⁴ He also tells of a “bizarre attempt to infiltrate the Sarikei area of the 3rd Division by sea” on 3–15 January 1964 by Indonesian irregulars who “got no further than the mangrove on the beach.” Then on 27 June 1965 “there was an attack by Indonesian soldiers guided by SCO guerrillas upon the police post at the 17th mile bazaar on the Kuching-Serian road, killing among others the brother of the Chief Minister.” Finally, an attempted incursion that began on 4 June 1966 by a Komando unit “aimed perhaps at Kuching airport ... only to be easily and bloodily driven off.” Tim Hardy records that “by far the most common Indonesian offensive activity ... was ... to move close to the border, lob a few mortar bombs ... and then scarper fast.”

Signals Intelligence

British military intelligence-gathering equipment played a major role in the military response to Indonesia’s armed confrontation along the 1600-kilometer border with Indonesian Kalimantan, and Tim Hardy writes that the British brought in the latest signals intelligence system, “Sigint,” to intercept Indonesian military communications. Indonesian field “wireless packs” were “second-world-war” vintage using “old fashioned crystals ... which, in defiance of all military rules, they never altered.” Tim Hardy was told that changing the crystals weekly virtually eliminated any chance of interception. The result was that the British were able to listen to Indonesian army communications in the field throughout *Konfrontasi*.

Operation “Claret”

Tim Hardy writes that “with ‘Sigint’ locking on targets with pin-point accuracy, our military ached to have a go.” In April 1964, the Commander-in-Chief Far East reported that Indonesia had adopted new infiltration techniques “to secure a threat in combination with the SCO” and advocated pre-emptive action (Dennis and Grey 1996:214–16). After

¹³ Department of Information (1965:47–66).

¹⁴ For a full account of this raid in which 8 Border Scouts, 2 Gurkhas, and 2 policemen were killed, see Harold James and Denis Sheil-Small, *The Undeclared War: The Story of Indonesian Confrontation 1962–1966* (1979:81–85). In the subsequent follow-up operations by Commonwealth forces, 34 Indonesians involved in the raid were killed.

deliberation, “London and Kuala Lumpur authorized a super-secret military operation code-named Claret” that permitted military incursions up to 2,000 yards into Kalimantan, with the proviso that the incursions were “unattributable” and no trace was to be left that could prove territorial violation.

After that “*Konfrontasi* was turned on its head because it was our soldiers ... not the Indonesians ... who did most of the border crossing.” “Small bands of lightly armed, well-briefed soldiers would dart across the border [and] shoot a few Indonesian soldiers whose location had been fixed by Sigint.” The early raids “were conducted with all the restraint the politicians had insisted upon.” “Jakarta didn’t make a row about the violations,” nor did the Indonesian military “swear to revenge the slaughter of its young men.” “The more gung-ho military officers” then pressed “for more frequent, deeper and bloodier raids” and in January 1965 incursions of up to 10,000 yards into Indonesian Kalimantan were approved.

The 22nd Special Air Services Regiment (SAS) was part of the command of General Sir Walter Walker, the Commander of British Forces in Borneo. Tim Hardy describes Operation Claret as “tailor-made” for the SAS in providing “jungle training with an edge of danger, physical toughening and shooting practice with new weapons aimed at live targets.” The SAS “built a secret longhouse known as ‘The Island’ off a remote beach to the west of Kuching” and “secretly supplied by MI6 with Iban ‘guides’” made incursions into Kalimantan, “where guided, or so they claimed, by Sigint intelligence, they slew Indonesians.” Tim Hardy tells of their returning with “gory trophy heads which hadn’t, I suspected, belonged every time to the Indonesian military.”¹⁵ Describing the SAS operation as Walker’s “secret weapon,” Tim Hardy reports that “while other units taking part in Claret (Malaysian forces never did) stuck more or less to the rules, the SAS did much as it pleased.”

However, Tim Hardy writes that

None of which criticism gainsays the fact that without the military shield the Indonesians would have been in Kuching within days of the Malaysia declaration and that, imperfect as the Malaysian solution may have been, Sukarno’s would have been a thousand times worse. The soldiers provided the fortification behind which the politicians and administrators were able to build.

Military Pressure to Resettle Rural Chinese

Indicative of the pressure on the Special Branch and civil authorities for action against the SCO, in July 1964 General Walker proposed regrouping and resettlement of rural Chinese and “other dissidents,” reminiscent of resettlement in Malaya during the communist insurgency (Dennis and Grey 1996:214–16). Tim Hardy writes that the military believed the “underlying threat” was not the Indonesians who “were beaten before they even started,” but “international communism.” Since “Malaysia’s Internal Security Regulations gave the security forces a free hand,” the military questioned why they were being denied “the means of dealing with a threat that was growing every day.” Roy Henry and Tim Hardy spent “hour after wearisome hour” rejecting military and police “pleas to round-up ‘communists.’” Tim Hardy would argue that all “the real communists” had already crossed the border into Kalimantan or were “already in custody.” Also, apart from a few “score” in the Sarawak rainforest, who were “easily contained by the constabulary field force,” only the “weak-willed, poorly-led novices” remained who, if detained, would be “‘steeled’ by the hard-core ‘professional revolutionaries’” already in detention.

¹⁵ The illegal but age-old headhunting tradition of the Ibans appears to have been condoned by the military.

Time after time Tim Hardy pointed out that “the Internal Security Regulations did not give the security forces a free hand,” nor was it “true that evidence wasn’t required or that the word of an army officer was good enough.” Tim Hardy told them that if the military “delivered suspects” to “the constabulary” with evidence providing “a strong case,” those suspects would be detained. Without that evidence, the Special Branch would release them “as fast as” they were picked up, which “would be bad for the morale of the army, the constabulary and the population alike.” Tim Hardy would argue that for every suspect picked up, their families and everyone associated with them would be alienated. Finally he would remind them of “the basic strategy: the military would defend the borders against incursion while the civil authority dealt with internal matters.” Tim Hardy recalls that Brigadiers and Colonels (and on one occasion General Walker himself) would leave their meetings with the Special Branch talking of “making representations elsewhere.”

Military Expenditure

Tim Hardy cited the use of helicopters as an example of ways “the military squandered men, materials and, consequently, money.” He writes that although helicopters were “undeniably the best means of supplying jungle outposts ... staff officers wishing to cut a dash” abused their use. Instead of using “their air-conditioned cars” for “journeys of an hour or so” and domestic flights, they used helicopters to make “bravura entrances and exits.” But, Tim Hardy writes that

Trying as its [the military] presence was, it’s worth repeating that by comparison with the Indonesians who pulled the final curtain down on *Konfrontasi* by slaughtering half a million home-grown ‘communists,’ Walter Walker and his men behaved like saints [see Cribb 1990].

The Constabulary and the Politicians

Tim Hardy writes that the Constabulary too took “advantage of *Konfrontasi*” by “almost overnight” increasing its complement to “something like ten thousand.” This was made up of “a four-fold increase” in its “paramilitary” (Field Force) and the regular constabulary, together with “a few thousand ‘Border Scouts’ — a sort of vigilante corps with a presence in every longhouse in the border region.” He also writes *Konfrontasi* led the Commissioner to “concentrate his extended force against what the state called ‘communist terrorists’ and what the SCO called ‘freedom fighters.’” But “most of the ‘terrorists’ had flown the country,” few “stayed behind in Sarawak and few of those ever came to light.” The result was “a grossly underemployed constabulary” with little to do, leading to pleas to be allowed to “have a go at the ‘communists,’” with pressure for harsher interrogation of suspects and more stringent conditions for those in detention. But Roy Henry and Tim Hardy “were senior enough to instruct the rest of them to keep quiet.”

Tim Hardy records that “Some of the local politicians also favored witch-hunts [as] having had no previous experience in the arts of governance they weren’t too understanding of its niceties.” He writes that pre-Malaysia the Sarawak United People’s Party (SUPP) “had been the first political organization of any significance” with “simple” aims of “independence and liberalism” but with a major “weakness ... its membership was almost exclusively Chinese.” The “leaders” of the SUPP, Ong Kee Hui and Stephen Yong, “were able, highly respected Sarawak-born Chinese” who were “fiercely jealous of Sarawak’s individual identity” and consequently opposed to Sarawak joining Malaysia. However, both were “busy professional people” with “little time to oversee the day-to-day business of their party” and consequently “guidance” of the party “fell into the hands of young Chinese ideologically close to the SCO.” Kuala Lumpur “viewed with alarm” the SUPP’s opposition to Sarawak joining the Federation of Malaysia, since the SUPP was “the only serious political organization in the largest state in the [proposed] federation” and “was Chinese to boot.”

To counter the SUPP the Malayan government (pre-Malaysia days) more or less openly promised to bankroll any political party that would do its bidding in Sarawak ... Five brand new parties registered in quick succession, each claiming to represent group interests but each in truth doing no more than provide the screens behind which opportunists hoped to lay hands on Kuala Lumpur's money and influence. KL knocked them all together into a pro-Malaysian 'Alliance' which by 'winning' the 1963 general election cleared the way for KL and London to claim that absorption within a Malaysian federation was confirmed as the choice of the majority of Sarawakians.

Thus after the 1963 elections and the subsequent formation of Malaysia, "the only genuine political consciousness resided in the minority opposition party," the SUPP, "while the state government was in the hands of novices." Chief Minister Stephen Kalong Ningkan "had moved almost directly from longhouse to the residence of the former Colonial Secretary" and the Federal Minister for Sarawak Affairs Temenggong Jugah "overnight swapped his" native dress for the "robes of a cabinet minister." "In assuming the appurtenances of high office they supposed that they'd acquired the powers that went with them." They felt that "if they felt slighted by an opponent they could turn to the Commissioner of Constabulary for redress," seeing "the Internal Security Act as giving the Commissioner the power to arrest and detain anybody they didn't like the look of." Tim Hardy records that "happily however the authors of the federal constitution had posited authority over state police forces with the PM [of Malaysia], not with state governments."

Secret Surveillance Begins

To obtain information about the activities of the SCO, Tim Hardy writes of a highly secret operation that began with the clandestine renting of a large, well-concealed house off Pending Road in Kuching as a secret surveillance center. Then covert night flights by the Malaysian air force brought in "strangers carrying false Sarawak citizenship papers, specially equipped automobiles bearing bogus registration plates, tons of technological gadgetry, [and] even household furniture and appliances." Specialists from KL installed this "technological gadgetry" in the Pending house, "for tapping telephones, intercepting mail and bugging premises." The secrecy of this operation was maintained, "despite fears that it couldn't be done in a place like Kuching."

The Holding Center

Tim Hardy also writes of the Special Branch's Holding Center, "a designated place of detention in which we could hold and interrogate half-a-dozen 'communists' at a time." This was a rented "sprawling, ramshackle old place lying behind thick bush on the top of a hill off McMahon Road" where the "latest in electronic gadgets" were installed. There the Special Branch set up a "frequently changing team of four or five" ex-members of the Communist Party of Malaya (MCP) assisting Mr. and Mrs. Hardy, "an aged Chinese couple" who had been given this code name "years earlier." Mr. Hardy was a "distinguished looking, silver-haired gentleman" and his wife "a plump grandmotherly figure who kept excellent house for everybody in the holding center."

Mr. Hardy had been a member of the Central Committee of the MCP and had waged "armed struggle" against the Japanese, British and Malaysians "for ten years." Finally concluding that "the 'armed struggle' was doing the masses more harm than good," he "fled from the jungle and volunteered to work for the Malayan government trying to persuade his old comrades to give up." In this he had "a lot of success." The role given to him in Sarawak was to uncover "the special strain of Maoism that ran through the SCO" and then to arrive at "an antidote." This would enable the team to "ideologically reclaim" SCO

members already in detention, who would then be sent out “to induce their comrades to abandon the ‘armed struggle.’”

By the middle of 1965, Mr. Hardy’s program, coupled with a major operation that intercepted SCO messages, was informing the Special Branch “straight from the horse’s mouth that the SCO in Indonesia was in desperate straits.” Under Indonesian control, they were virtually prisoners in their camps, underfed, ill-armed, and inadequately dressed. Seeking help from China but unable to make contact through Indonesia, the SCO’s “politburo-in-exile” decided to establish contact via Sarawak and Hong Kong. In what was a great coup for the Special Branch, the reply from Beijing was intercepted, copied, and passed on. The reply bluntly told the SCO that although it had Beijing’s spiritual support, no material assistance would be provided, tempered with propaganda from Mao’s writings and “triumph with the assistance of outsiders would be no victory at all.”

The contents of the message were quickly relayed to a few “top people,” some with mixed feelings as it proved “one of their articles of faith — that Mao handed guns to every third-world troublemaker who asked for them — was, simply, untrue.” Tim Hardy felt that this “article of faith” had been exploited to “support their continuous — and successful — clamour for more weaponry.” However, the importance of the message was underlined years later when General Sir Anthony Farrar-Hockley (deceased 11 March 2006 aged 81), who as previously mentioned was the Chief of Staff to the Director of Operations in Borneo in 1965, wrote to Tim Hardy saying the “SCO — Beijing secret had been, for him, the most dramatic event of the Borneo ‘war.’”¹⁶

Of the Holding Center off McMahon Road in Kuching, Tim Hardy writes

While there’s no such thing as a good prison and while ‘Mr Hardy’s’ cerebral approach to interrogation didn’t always pay off, the McMahon Road house was a civilized place from which scores of young Chinese went free still clinging to their dreams of building a better, more equable society, but convinced that in Sarawak’s circumstances their dreams could never be realized through the barrel of a gun.

Operation Hammer: 1965

Operation Hammer left a lasting negative impression on Tim Hardy, as he “failed, massively, to argue against the action” which he held was “vindictive, unjust, small-minded, politically daft and materially wasteful.” This operation was the outcome of a cross-border raid from Kalimantan on 27 June 1965 (see Porritt 2002). Tim Hardy recounts how shortly after nightfall “logs with upturned nails were strewn across the road at the 16th mile” and a rocket damaged one of the supports of a bridge at the 18th mile to delay any military response. “Two young men mistakenly identified by the attackers as police informers were murdered, one of them most bestially in front of his family.” The raiders overran the 18th Mile police station, lined up the constables on duty and robbed them of their possessions, shot and killed the sergeant in charge, wounded “several” constables, and took all the weapons from the stations’ armory. A hijacked lorry took them “as far as it could be driven” towards Pedawan, “en route, presumably, to the Indonesian border.”

As Tim Hardy recounts, the military services, then overwhelmingly British, were unwilling to accept that “their frontier shield had been penetrated by marauders from Indonesia,” claiming local communists were more likely to have carried out the raid, for which the Constabulary had to be held to account. Initially the Special Branch was inclined to that view, as was Chief Minister Stephen Kalong Ningkan. Understandably Ningkan was

¹⁶ General Farrar-Hockley’s obituary in the *Daily Telegraph* states “he helped to organise secret operations inside Indonesian territory which brought about the end of President Sukarno’s “Confrontation” with Malaysia.”

very angry, as the murdered sergeant was his younger brother. Constabulary Commissioner Roy Henry might have been able to restore objectivity but was on leave. Henry's stand-in, David Goodsir from Johore who had "weathered many worse days during the Malayan emergency without being savaged in unison by the media, the public, politicians and the military," was nonplussed by what he saw as an over-reaction to the raid and "stunned by Ningkan's fury."

Goodsir and Tim Hardy were summoned to the Chief Minister's residence, arriving just after the delivery of his younger brother's corpse, which was in the hallway surrounded by the immediate family and relatives, all uninhibitedly displaying their grief. Later on in his private room, the Chief Minister charged Goodsir and Tim Hardy "in the name of the people" with complete responsibility for the events at the 18th Mile. He said the perpetrators must have been in the area for months planning the raid and must have been seen and even fed by the local people, yet the Special Branch had not uncovered any prior information, closing with claiming the Special Branch had "failed him" and asking what was done with all the secret funds with which it had been provided. Since no excuses could be offered at the time, Goodsir and Tim Hardy did not try to counter the charges, confining themselves to tendering their condolences with Goodsir promising a "fitting Constabulary funeral for his brother." With some satisfaction Hardy writes, "it wasn't long ... before we were getting apologies."

Within minutes of the news of the raid being received, Tim Hardy sent his "brightest officer," Koo Chong Kong, to the 18th Mile.¹⁷ With those constables who had not been injured and their families, Koo repeatedly re-enacted the raid. This quickly established that the few words spoken by the raiders seemed to be Malay spoken "without the slightest Chinese inflection." But when demanding the constables hand over their wristwatches, the raiders had repeatedly demanded their *arloji tangan* — Indonesian for wristwatch.¹⁸ As Tim Hardy points out, although Malay and Indonesian are basically very similar, this was "one of the words in general usage that differed totally from the Malay," as a wristwatch in Malay is *jam tangan*. Indeed, since *arloji tangan* was so rarely heard in Sarawak, failure to understand what the raiders were demanding may have led to Ningkan's brother being killed. This pointed to the raiders being Indonesian, supported by the fact that the SCO had not succumbed to stealing since they had "been indoctrinated" that their "armed struggle" must be "in the strictest accordance with Mao Tse Tung's '3 rules and 8 points': 'Do not take a single needle or piece of thread.'"

Koo then ordered a large Field Force unit to search the area intensively, uncovering such things as empty cigarette packets distributed in Indonesian army rations. Also he spoke to a local Chinese teenage female, learning that she had helped "a young Indonesian soldier who'd broken his shoulder" when firing the rocket at the 18th Mile bridge support. After finding the lorry that had taken the raiders towards the Indonesian border, the Special Branch considered it had sufficient evidence to virtually prove "that Ningkan's brother had been killed by Soekarno's soldiers."

Tim Hardy writes that the Special Branch was vindicated and comments that the military had in fact kept the border well-sealed since the Indonesians "had broken through only once or twice." But "the worst and most lasting effect of the 'the 18th mile incident' was the way in which the hawks exploited it" with a cry for "revenge." A special meeting of the State Security Executive Committee was summoned on 1 July, dominated by the Inspector-General of Police, Claude Fenner, a "burly figure" with "a short fuse" who "was a dictator" in the post-raid atmosphere. Fenner, who "until the day he died ... carried enormous influence and respect in KL," told the meeting that he was speaking "for the cabinet in KL." He demanded that the communists in the area of the raid "be 'hammered'

¹⁷ In 1975 communists murdered Koo in the Ipoh area of Perak in peninsula Malaysia.

¹⁸ Tim Hardy writes that he had forgotten the words *arloji tangan*, although "etched on my brain for years."

(*di longkan*): smashing his huge fist repeatedly on the table he shouted ‘Hammer, Hammer, Hammer.’” Tim Hardy records that the effect was dramatic and there and then “it was resolved ... to mount a punitive operation code-named Hammer.”

Tim Hardy says that his “lone, feeble voice appealing for a short delay” to confirm the 17th Mile residents were not involved in the raid

might have given the committee pause but it was silenced with expressions of contempt. Fenner had wound them up, the mood was too ugly for reason to intervene; evidence was not an issue, right or wrong were not considerations; all that needed to be done was to determine the form and degree of punishment to be meted out ... in a throw-back to the darkest days of the Malayan emergency the 17th mile bazaar was ringed around with a high barbed-wire fence and designated as a ‘new village.’ Curfews, searches without warrants, harassment and even rationing of foodstuffs were the order of the day. All Chinese within a given radius were ordered to live within the perimeter fence and permitted to attend livestock and cultivation outside the wire only during specified daylight hours. It was a cruel and unnecessary chastisement of people I knew to be innocent of the crimes for which they were to be harshly punished; in retrospect it was harsher still because the punitive apparatus was still intact and functioning when I left Sarawak a good three years later. ‘Hammer’ was vindictive, unjust, small-minded, politically daft and materially wasteful but, since I was a foreigner in the service of a sovereign Asian nation whose cabinet decided policy for me to carry out and, having failed, massively, to argue against the action, I had to keep my opinions to myself.¹⁹

A Visit to a SCO Outpost

In 1967 Tim Hardy visited a typical “revolutionary outpost” on the outskirts of Sarikei in the Third Division typical of several uncovered during *Konfrontasi*. He describes its primitive conditions: half-an-hour’s crawl through one of its slime-floored entrance cum exit cum escape burrows cut through the dense secondary jungle (*belukar*) to reach “a clearing the size of a ping-pong table.” This was circled by five sleeping places also hollowed out of the *belukar*; a slime-floored burrow to the latrine, “a stinking, waterlogged hole;” a “larder” of split bamboo holding half-a-dozen four-gallon tins, four large glass jars and several plastic boxes, all containing food; a kitchen with a “one-ring oil burner, bottles of kerosene, one small saucepan, one or two enamel mugs and a dozen chop sticks;” “a sealed jar containing aspirin, iodine, mepacrine tablets and bandages;” oilcloth sheets for protection against the rain; and “a tin full of documents” aimed at filling their readers with revolutionary zeal.

Tim Hardy was “overwhelmed by the awfulness of the place.” He wanted to call back the “four or five proletarian revolutionaries” who had occupied the camp for months before it was uncovered “for a hot meal in town, talk to them, listen to them, and take them back to their mother.” Fortunately he kept his feelings to himself as soon afterwards he “was ‘helicoptered’ to Sarikei town to view the hideously mutilated corpses of three Chinese merchants who’d almost certainly been murdered by the young guerrillas who’d occupied the camp.”²⁰

¹⁹ British military leaders and the head of the Malaysian Police Force are understood to have pressed for the immediate resettlement of some 60,000 Chinese but resettlement was limited to some 8,000 living in the vicinity of the raid, conceding to the views of Acting Chief Secretary John Pike (Porritt 2006:68–90).

²⁰ This incident occurred on 30 April 1967 (*Sarawak Tribune*, 1 May 1967).

The End of *Konfrontasi*

'Hammer' left a bad taste in my mouth but '[Mr.] Hardy' sweetened it somewhat, giving me plenty of full-bodied intelligence to pass on to the Emergency Executive Committee which loved being sworn to secrecy (you could see them puff out their chests and sense their increased alertness) and which was overjoyed to hear my description of the SCO's sorry plight. I remember Jugah, he of the elongated ear lobes, coming up to me at the end of one meeting, bubbling over with glee at having heard me going on about the comrades' misery. To Jugah, who liked nothing more than hearing bad news about Chinese and Malays and who'd been brain-washed for years by British officials preaching to him about the evils of 'communism', word of Chinese communists suffering was bliss indeed.

The Indonesian army turned its back on Malaysia and aimed its weapons at its own people. Declaring that it was putting down an internal 'communist' insurrection, it slaughtered hundreds of thousands of Indonesians. The whole country was turned into an abattoir. In Kalimantan, for example, the Dayak population was encouraged to return to its old practice of head-hunting, the only condition being that the beheaded should be 'communists.' *Konfrontasi* was over and done with but for those who lived close by Indonesia there wasn't much to rejoice about for the news from just across the border was horrifying. The Indonesians behaved even more appallingly than our own overcharged propaganda had alleged at the height of *Konfrontasi* [see Cribb 1990].

A Timely Offer of a Transfer to Fiji

In December 1967 Tim Hardy was summoned to Kuala Lumpur and told it was politically unacceptable for a non-Malaysian to be head of the Special Branch in Sarawak any longer. However, he could remain with the rank of Assistant Commissioner designated "Adviser" to the new Head, Koo Chong Kong. Returning to Kuching, he received a telegram from London offering him the post of head Special Branch, Fiji, which he accepted. A round of farewells followed: formal dinner at the police mess in Fort Marguerite, dinner with the Governor at the Astana, lunch at the Aurora Hotel with Chief Minister Tawi Sli, a dinner hosted by "Bruno" Nazaruddin and his officers all in full dress uniform, and farewell get-togethers in Simanggang, Sibul, Miri, and Limbang.

The most emotional for Tim Hardy "was a grand dinner attended by just about every special branch employee in the state." By chance, Temenggong Jugah, the Minister for Sarawak Affairs looked in, and learning that Tim Hardy had been replaced, "swore that he'd get the order changed; he'd fly to KL first thing in the morning and demand that the Minister change his mind." But he calmed down when Tim Hardy said it was time for a change and he wanted to leave. Tim Hardy records the saying that "you may leave Sarawak but Sarawak will never leave you," adding that "Nowhere else in the wide world have I felt as much at home as I did in Kuching." Later Tim Hardy reflected: "those years in Sarawak were the only ones in my entire colonial career that made me feel that I truly earned my keep." In the following Agung's birthday honors list, Tim Hardy was made a "Kesatria Mangku Negara" — Officer of the Noble Order of the Defender of the Realm.

Tim Hardy's Own Postscript to This Part of His Memoirs

Indonesian abandonment of *Konfrontasi*, followed by the bloodbath of 'communists' drove the SCO (by that time blooded enough to call itself the North Kalimantan Communist Party) to flee Indonesia and settle into jungle bases in Sarawak. To add to the inescapable fact that 'armed struggle' had failed and couldn't be regenerated it became clear that there was no political way forward either. In short, from 1972 onwards the SCO was on its own in

opposing Malaysia, a far cry from what had been the position nine years before and furthermore it was disowned by China, the Soviet Union and Indonesia. Friendless, the SCO was finally reduced to a corps of 3-400 Chinese adrift in the pitiless jungle, hopeless. On October 21st 1973 nearly 500 'communists' laid down their arms. It was all over.

Endnote

During Konfrontasi, an estimated 114 members of the Commonwealth Forces were killed, as well as 36 Sarawak civilians and 590 Indonesian troops. During the SCO's "armed struggle" between 1965 and 1973, an estimated 190 SCO members were killed in Indonesia and 340 in Sarawak. As far as the writer is aware, total losses of Malaysian armed forces personnel during the "armed struggle" have not been made available and are not readily extracted from published reports since adverse information was tightly controlled. Although on a much-reduced scale, the "armed struggle" actually continued until 1990, when the last 55 insurgents laid down their arms. Tim Hardy subsequently served in intelligence roles in Fiji (1968-1971) and Hong Kong (1971-1982), before retiring and settling in Shropshire, England with his family.



Tim Hardy, Remembrance Day in Sarawak, 1962



FBI and Sarawak Special Branch. From Left to Right: Toni Bartolamucci, FBI; Miss Wong Siong Ting, Sarawak Special Branch; Encik Hamdan Sirat, Sarawak Special Branch; and Mrs. Bartolamucci.



A group of SCO insurgents in front of an archway proclaiming “The Headquarters of the Bia-Ga Peoples’ Army.”

**ETHNOHISTORY OF THE KAYANIC PEOPLES
IN NORTHEAST BORNEO (PART 1): EVIDENCE FROM
THEIR LANGUAGES, OLD ETHNONYMS,
AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION¹**

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The Bulungan Sultan called for *Segai* (here, Kayanic peoples)² soldiers from Berau and Bulungan and sent them to the Sebuku basin several times, until all the villages of the Sumbol Tidung³ were abandoned. Successive wars then broke out all over the neighboring regions even as far away as Simunul Island under the Sulu Sultanate. The Bulungan army force, the *Segai* as well as the Sumbol Tidung (of Nunukan), including Maharaja Pahlawan,⁴ went altogether to fight against the Sulu (Tausug), and they nearly defeated them. However, the *Segai*, who were not used to life on the water, attempted to take a rest on land. So, the armies collected at the south end of Tawi-Tawi Island, a coast with pure white sand and rocks, during the ebb tide. There, they met the Bajau (Sama) inhabitants, subjects of the Sulu, who counterattacked against them. Due to the tide flooding, the Bulungan armies could no longer return to their ships, and were finally killed by the Bajau. Thus, the Bulungan armies retreated from the Sulu islands, thereby determining the boundary with the Sulu as far as the Tawi-Tawi coast. This happened in the reign of the Sulu Sultan, Tigal Bina Tala.⁵

Oral History of the Sumbol Tidung, Kalabakan (Tawau)

¹ Research was conducted from 1996–1998 and for short periods of time from 2002–2006. I would like to express my gratitude to Professors B. Sellato, A. Guerreiro, J. Rousseau, C. Sather, Simon G. Devung, C. Eghenter, M. Uchibori, M. Tsugami, L. Kaskija, Ch. Gönner, and H. Sasaki for their advice and information; to local historians Amir Hamzah and the late Sayyid Idrus al-Idrus, and to all my informants in Indonesia and Malaysia.

² The term “*Segai*” varies according to context: The Kayanic peoples originally used this term only for their subgroups in the Segah basin of Berau (*Segai* = people of Segah), while the Berau and Bulungan Malays used the term to refer to all the Kayanic peoples; some Tidung extended it further to Murutic headhunters like the Tenggalan.

³ A Tidung subgroup who originated in Sumbol, a tributary of the Sebuku (Nunukan Regency, East Kalimantan). For details, see Okushima 2002, 2003a.

⁴ A war chief of the Sumbol Tidung of Nunukan Island. In the second half of the nineteenth century, his party migrated to Kalabakan (Tawau, Sabah); he was still alive in 1904, as the representative of the Kalabakan chief, Pengeran Temanggong (see *BNBH* 1904 1 Jul.:67).

⁵ The details regarding this sultan are obscure.

Introduction: Impact of Kayanic Peoples on Northeast Borneo

The challenges of conducting a historical study of northeast Borneo — the ethnic and political buffer area from the east coast of Sabah (Malaysia) through the northern parts of East Kalimantan (Indonesia) — are not only due to a scarcity of written sources owing to the lateness of colonial involvement in the region, but also to other reasons. As some historians have suggested (Irwin 1955:153, Warren 1985:84–92), there have been frequent changes of, and confusion over, place names and ethnonyms. Because the names of places and peoples have changed over the years, it is difficult to identify current places and peoples from names that were used in the past, like “Camçones,” “Tirun,” “Tidong/Tidung,” or “Segai/Segai-i [səgai:],” “Kejin/Kindjin,” or “Kayan.” In addition, names have changed not only through time and across local dialects, but have been intentionally altered as people have sought to differentiate themselves from their rivals. The two dominant powers of the area, the coastal Tidung and the inland Kayan or Kayanic peoples, were once well-known to their neighbors for their war skills and trade in forest products. However, they were never recognized as local rulers, but, rather, were disdained as cruel, disobedient “pirates” and “headhunters,” seemingly because of their non-Islamic practices including headhunting.

The Spanish, British, and Dutch colonial governments encouraged the confusion referred to above. These governments recognized only those who had the Islamic title of “sultan” as local sovereigns, and only made trading contracts with such sovereigns. Hence they supported the sultans of northeast Borneo in conflicts with the other local men of influence, just as they did in other regions. However, Westerners, too, found the situation confusing in the absence of a single centripetal polity. The Spanish considered the area as having been ceded from the Brunei to the Sulu Sultanate. The latter started to send expeditions to the area, as the homeland of their enemies, the “Tirun” or “Tidong,” at the end of the seventeenth or beginning of the eighteenth century (see Majul 1973:180–83, Warren 1985:86). During this same period, the English obtained rights to the area because of Dalrymple’s freeing the Sulu sultan from captivity (Dalrymple 1793, Dewall 1855:426, Hageman 1855:101). The Dutch, too, claimed northeast Borneo under the name of “Barrow,” “Berow,” or “Berau” as a cession from Banjarmasin, and thus stressed oral histories that asserted that the Berau Sultanate once reigned over all the area, as far as the northern end of the island (Hageman 1855:75, 79–80, 101). In the nineteenth century, however, these colonial governments realized that the “Tirun” and “Berau” geographical areas were much smaller than had been supposed, in accordance with the rise of new local sultanates, such as Bulungan, Sambaling and Gunung Tabur. This ambiguity of ethnic and political boundaries persists even today, as can be seen in current international border disputes between Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines (for details, see Okushima 2004, 2007).

As I have written elsewhere (Okushima 2002, 2003a, 2003b), the reduction and fragmentation of “Tidong” and “Berau,” or, more precisely, *Tanah Tidung* (‘Tidung Land’) and *Berayu* (‘kingdom of the ancestor Berayu’), resulted also from the ethno-cultural strategies of the Tidung following their defeat by the Sulu. These Murutic peoples converted to Islam in the middle of the 19th century and moved their polities from coastal islands such as Tarakan, Mandul (Sembakung), and Pulau Panjang (Berau) to more inland areas, like Labuk (Sandakan), Sebuku, Malinau, and Bulungan, so as to ally themselves with inlanders, especially the warlike Kayanic peoples, to defend their forest-product trade in the hinterlands from other traders. Some of the Tidung, who were mixed with the Berau

and Bulungan, even emphasized new names and identities as Berau or Bulungan Malays, or as the descendants of Brunei, Arab, or Kayanic nobles. Thus the Sulus were forced to retreat from northeast Borneo in the 19th century, after the area suffered a long, drastic depopulation, with all of their important trading centers destroyed by the Segai (Warren 1985), or, more precisely, by the joint forces of Tidung and Kayanic soldiers of the Bulungan sultanate. The Dutch and British governments dared not take effective control in this chaotic area until the second half of the 19th century.

In fact, the Kayanic peoples had a great impact on northeast Borneo during these several centuries. Having migrated across the central Borneo Massif, they rapidly expanded over the area, including the Kayan basin, which they renamed *Kaya:n* or *Kejin* ('our place')⁶ in place of its older name of *Bulungan* (see the oral history in Section 3). They also gave new names to other settlements, for example, *Meka:m*, *Mekiam*, *Mahkam*, *Mahakam* ('ocean,' or 'a broad water surface') to Kutai River, as well as to one of the tributaries of the Segah. The Kayanic peoples thus modified not only the place names, but also the ethnic distribution and hierarchical structure of the area, in driving out, allying with, or annexing the old settlers. The Tunjung-Benua' who had once lived all over the Mahakam were pushed downriver by these newcomers. The hunter-gatherers of the Mahakam headwaters, like the Ot Danum, Bukat, and Punan, fled to West and Central Kalimantan, or followed the Kayanic peoples to the mainstreams. The Burusu' of the Kayan and Sesayap basins were also driven to the coast. Even the Tidung, Sulu, and Bajau of Sabah, where Kayanic peoples never settled, still remember furious attacks by the Segai. Furthermore, the Kayanic migrations also triggered those of their relatives and neighbors in northeast Borneo, such as the Kenyah and some Murutic groups (see also Knappert 1905; Sellato 1986, 1995, 2002; Kaskija 1992; Yap Beng Liah 1977; Whittier 1973:24). Consequently, not only the Tidung but also the local sultans were obliged to rely on the Kayanic peoples and connived to win their alliance, because of their control over virtually all inland communication and trade in forest products, owing to their well-ordered social and political organization (Dewall 1846–1847, 1855:447–48; Belcher 1848; Hageman 1855:99; Tromp 1889; Spaan 1902:530; Vossen 1936:262–64). The only crucial weakness the Kayanic peoples had was in maritime knowledge and technology, as we saw in the opening oral history.

My study aims to reconstruct an ethnohistory of the Kayanic peoples in northeast Borneo during this period of destruction and changing political and ethnic boundaries. Here, in Part One, I discuss the background of the Kayanic peoples, namely, their general situation, language, ethnonyms, and characteristics of social organization. A later paper will deal with Kayanic and other oral historical texts (Part Two). The first section below begins with a demographic outline of the present-day Kayanic peoples. These peoples once attacked others all over northeast Borneo, but soon most of them moved back to their villages in inland Kutai, Berau, and Bulungan (including the Malinau), except for some who settled in the lowlands of Kelai and Bulungan or became assimilated into coastal Malay society. Since 2000, the local administrative divisions of East Kalimantan have been drastically changed under Indonesian decentralization, but for the sake of convenience, I will retain the terms "Kutai," "Berau," and "Bulungan" to indicate the regions that were formerly included in these three regencies/sultanates.

⁶ The phonetic description used in this paper follows Guerreiro (1996:26, appendix 3). Ex. /e/:[e], /é/:[e], /è/:[e], /aw/ /ay/, /â/:[ã] /û/:[ü] (nasalized vowels) / : /: length of the precedent vowel, /'/:[ʔ] (glottal stop in all positions).

In Section 2, I examine Kayanic dialects, which originally consisted of three linguistic and cultural subgroups, the Ga'ay, the Kayan, and the Bahau. These three subgroups share a great deal of similarity, not only with their relatives, the Kenyah, but also with past neighbors like the Tidung, Lun Dayeh, and some other Muruts of East Kalimantan, Sabah, and Sarawak, and even with the coastal Bulungan and Bintulu Malays. This confirms local oral histories that state that the early Kayanic migrants to the middle-lower Kayan and Berau (mainly Ga'ay and Bahau subgroups), whose languages contain many Murutic and Malay words, largely originated in an area comprising northern Baram (Sarawak) and northwestern Sabah, and that the later migrants to Apo Kayan (some Ga'ay and Bahau, and Kayan subgroups), who were strongly Kayanized and accompanied by numerous Kenyah allies, had probably lived in the southern Baram region, including the Tinjar and Baluy basins. The Ga'ay, the most hegemonic subgroup among them, have a phonetic system that is very distinct from the others, with features such as clustering (diphthongized/triphthongized) and nasal vowels.

The close relations between the Kayanic peoples, the Kenyah and Muruts will be further illuminated in Section 3. There I describe some vague but valuable data on their earliest ethnohistorical situation during their old settlements in the Baram basin. A terminological dichotomy used to exist between the hegemonic Ga'ay and their subject Kayan and Bahau, or the proto-Ga'ay and proto-Kayan and Bahau, who were the last to arrive in the Baram and pushed the latter to northeast Borneo, and the *Ken'yeh*, *Ken'yah*, or *Kenyah* ('inlanders', 'barbarians'), who consisted at that time not only of the Kayan and Bahau but also of other inland groups. Through migration, however, the people of the two categories were gradually assimilated until they came to create new identities such as *Kejin*, *Kaya:n*, *Bahau*, *Wehèa*, etc., being named after their different settlements in the Kayan basin. Later they began to use the term *Ken'yeh* or *Kenyah* for latecomers to the Kayan, thus emphasizing their higher status and alliance with the Ga'ay. Alliances and trade between the Kayanic peoples, Kenyah, Muruts, and Malays very likely existed for a long time under Brunei sovereignty, as suggested by their oral histories. This may be one reason why the Tidung and Kayanic peoples put up such a furious resistance against the Sulu, Bugis, and other rivals.

Finally, in Section 4, I examine the hegemony of the Kayanic peoples who developed a corporate but flexible social organization based on three principles of grouping, namely: (1) stratification into three basic strata (nobles, commoners, and slaves), originating from a differentiation of "householders" and others, (2) a dual village organization that acted to divide and reunify the inhabitants quickly and effectively, for example, from a single longhouse to plural farming groups (*daléh*), or from an apartment family to plural nuclear families, and (3) dwelling disposition according to closeness of kinship. With these principles, the Kayanic peoples succeeded in maintaining both corporateness and mobility for farming, trading, migration, and war. Here, we also see that their social organization was probably developed and standardized through assimilation. Even the Bahau, who consider themselves to have been originally unstratified and less cohesive, like their old neighbors the Murut, eventually established a hierarchical society. However, there are local variations; some Kayanic subgroups have no term or concept of *daléh*, while others developed chiefly stratum (*maran*, *maren*, *paran*, originally an adjective 'sacred,' 'noble'), a chief's assistant or elder stratum (*peguwé*, etc.), and so on.

1. Population and General Situation

Some earlier studies have mentioned the population, village location, and subgroups of Kayanic peoples in East Kalimantan Province, Indonesia (cf. Sellato 1980, 1995, 2001; Guerreiro 1985, 1996; Rousseau 1990; Okushima 1999). Table 1 shows their general situation during my research in 1996–1998, with some administrative reorganization that occurred after 2000. There are some differences in the names of villages and subgroups based on Indonesian spelling and Kayanic pronunciation, such as Tering/Tri:ng (no. 1–4), Dabek/ D Bek (no. 40), or Mara/ Bala (no. 54) (for linguistic details, see Section 2).

Table 1: Population of Kayanic Peoples in East Kalimantan

Regency, District, Village	Population	Kayanic subgroup, others
(1) Kutai Barat		
Tering (since 2004)		
1 Muyub Ulu / Muyut	205	H Tri:ng / Tering (B) + H Patak (B)
2 Tukul	553	H Tri:ng + H Patak
3 Tering Lama / Tri:ng	1230	H Tri:ng + H Patak + others
4 Tering Baru	438	some H. Tri:ng + Busa:ng/Busang subgroups (K) + others
Long Iram		
5 Anah	310	H Anah (B)
6 Long Daliq / Dali:’	344	H Dali:’ (B)
7 Keliway	284	Keliway / Keleway (G)
8 Ujoh Halang #	120	U Luhah (Kayanized Penihing)
9 Kelian Luar / Long Kelian #	377	U Luhah + others
Long Hubung (since 1998)		
10 Memahak Teboq#	1216	some U Mehak (K) + Lutan + others
11 Lutan	661	Lutan (B) + H Siraw (B)
12 Matalibaq / Uma:’ Data: Liva:’	520	U Lasa:n (K) + others
13 Long Hubung / Long Huvung	1006	L Huvung (G) + H Boh (B) + H Meka:m (B) + H Temha: (B) + Penihing
14 Muara Ratah / Ma’aw #	224	some H Meka:n & H Temha: + others
15 Laham #	826	Laham (K-B) + Kayan Meka:m (K) + Busa:ng
Long Bagun		
16 Long Huray #	n.d.	H Huray (B) + U Asa: (K)
17 Long Melaham #	n.d.	Kayan Meka:m
18 Memahak Besar / Memahak Aya’ #	n.d.	U Mehak + others
19 Ujoh Bilang	n.d.	some Long Glat (G) + Busa:ng + others

Regency, District, Village	Population	Kayanic subgroup, others
20 Long Bagun Hulu	n.d.	U Wak (K) + Penihing + Malay etc.
Long Pahangai		
21 Long Tuyuq	459	Long Glat / Gli:t (G) + Busa:ng (U Tua:n / Thûyn, U Pala:’, U Tepay / Tepé:)
22 Liu Mulang	133	U Lekwé: (K)
23 Long Pahangai 1	794	U Suling (K) + U Palo’ (K)
24 Long Pahangai 2	248	some U Suling + Malay etc.
25 Naha Aru	221	U Suling
26 Long Isun	485	U Suling + Punan Merah
27 Data Naha	210	L Glat + U Tua:n + others
28 Lirung Ubing	161	U Suling Kelivu:ng
30 Long Pakaq #	897	Kayan Meka:m + Ping (proto-Penihing)
31 Delang Krohong #	161	Kayanized Malay
(2) Kutai Kertanegara		
Kembang Janggut		
32 Long Beleh Modang #	1031	Long Bléh / L Bilah (G)
33 Long Beleh Haloq #	1934	some Islamized L. Bléh + Kutai Malay etc.
(3) Kutai Timur		
Muara Ancalong		
34 Long Nah	1679	Long Nah (G)
35 Long Tesak	640	Long Tesak (G) + H Tri:ng + H Anah + H Dali:’ + Laham
36 Melan / Méléan	653	Méléan (G) + Tujung etc.
37 Long Bentuk	1209	Long Way (G)
Muara Wahau		
38 Nehes Liah Bing / Selabing	2052	Wehèa (G-B) (in L Wehèa) + Kenyah + Kutai Malay etc.
39 Jak Luay / Dia’ Luway	303	Wehèa
40 Dabek / Déa Bek	122	Wehèa
41 Diak Lay	205	Wehèa
42 Benhes	497	Wehèa
43 Miau Baru	3324	U. Lekan (K) + others
Other Urban Centers: Samarinda, Tenggarong, Balikpapan, Bontang, Tering Seberang, Long Iram, Melak etc.		

Regency, District, Village		Popu- lation	Kayanic subgroup, others
(4) Berau			
Sambaliung			
44	Tumbit Dayak / Long Gemit	1045	Mengga'ay (G)
45	Long Lanuk	661	Mengga'ay
Muara Lesan			
46	Merasa #	791	some U Héban (K) + Kenyah
47	Muara Lesan / Long Lesa:n	249	Mengga'ay + others
48	Lesan Dayak #	130	Mengga'ay
Segah			
49	Long Ayan	372	Mengga'ay
50	Long Laai / L. La'ay	489	Mengga'ay
Other Urban Centers: Tanjung Redeb, Gunung Tabur, Sambaliung etc.			
(5) Bulungan			
Tanjung Palas Utara			
51	Pimping #	1737	Hopan (B) + some Pua' (B) + Kenyah U. Long (Respen)
52	Antutan	1953	Hopan + Kenyah (U. Lasa:n, Respen)
Tanjung Palas Barat			
53	Mara Satu / Long Bala'	1332	Hopan + Gung Kiya:n (G) + Kenyah Leppo' Taw & Lppo' Jalan (Respen) etc.
54	Long Sam	1225	some Long Ba'un (G) + Kenyah U. Lasa:n + Bulungan Malay etc.
55	Long Beluah #	2208	some Long Ba'un + Kenyah + Javanese + Bulungan Malay etc.
Peso Hilir			
56	Long Tunggu	1044	some Long Ba'un (in L. Lembu') (G) + U. Laran (K) + others
57	Long Telanjau / Long Tajau	594	U. Laran + Punan Brun (Respen) etc.
58	Naha Aya	706	Ngorèk (B) + U. Lekan (K) + Punan Benyaung (Respen) etc.
Peso			
59	Lepak Aru #	509	Ngorèk (B)
60	Long Lasan	405	Pua' (B) + Kenyah + Punan Lasa:n (Respen) etc.
61	Long Buang	244	Long Ba'un

Regency, District, Village	Population	Kayanic subgroup, others
(6) Malinau		
Pujungan		
62 Long Pua #	74	some Pua'
Kayan Hilir		
63 Data Dian #	403	U. Lekan (K)
Malinau Utara		
64 Sembuak Warod / Long Kendai #	562	some Merap /H Baw (B) + others (Respen)
Malinau Barat		
65 Sentaban #	145	Merap + H Tembaw (B) etc.
Malinau Selatan		
66 Paya Seturan #	123	Kenyah Leppo' Koda (B?)
67 Long Adiu #	110	Merap (B)
68 Gong Solok #	175	Merap U. Liya:ng Kalu:ng
69 Nunuk Tanah Kibang #	114	Merap + H Tembaw (both in Long Ran)
70 Laban Nyarit #	179	Merap
71 Sengayan	196	Merap
72 Langap	406	Merap
73 Tanjung Nanga	534	Pua' (B) + Kenyah (Respen)
Other Urban Centers: Tarakan, Tanjung Selor, Malinau Kota etc.		

[Abbreviations]

K= Kayan, B= Bahau, G= Ga'ay, H= Hwang (B), U= Uma:' / Uma' (K, B), L= Long (G, B), n.d.= no data, # = not directly researched

[Census data]

Kutai Barat: *Kecamatan dalam angka 2000* (Long Iram, Long Hubung, Long Pahangai).

Kutai Kertanegara: *Kecamatan dalam angka 1998* (Kembang Janggut).

Kutai Timur: *Kecamatan dalam angka 1997* (Muara Ancalong), district office data in May 1998 (Muara Wahau).

Berau: *Kecamatan dalam angka 2004* (Sambaliung, Muara Lesan, Segah).

Bulungan: *Kecamatan dalam angka 2004* (Tanjung Palas, Tanjung Palas Utara, Peso Hilir, Peso), district office data in August 1998 (Tanjung Palas Barat).

Malinau: *Kecamatan dalam angka 2004* (Pujungan, Kayan Hilir, Malinau Utara, Malinau Barat, Malinau Selatan).

Under Indonesian decentralization following 2000, the four regencies (*kabupaten*, former sultanates) of the province, Pasir, Kutai, Berau and Bulungan, together with the

capital Samarinda and the oil city Balikpapan, were reorganized into 9 regencies and 4 autonomous cities/municipalities (*kotamadya*) (see Okushima 2004:Map 1, 2). The former Kutai regency was divided into three separate regencies, Kutai Barat, Kutai Kertanegara, and Kutai Timur. In the northern part of East Kalimantan, the regions of the upper Kayan basin, Apo Kayan, joined the Malinau regency, rather than Bulungan. Some industrialized centers like Tarakan and Bontang also became *kotamadya*. The number of districts (*kecamatan*) was also increased from 34 to 47 (excluding Samarinda and Balikpapan, see Kalimantan Timur 2004) in changes made both before and after 2000. New districts were also made in regions containing Kayanic peoples, such as Long Hubung, Tering, and Melak in the middle Mahakam, and Tanjung Palas Utara and Barat, and Peso Hilir in the lower Kayan, and Malinau Utara, Barat, and Selatan in the Malinau, because the former districts were too broad and deep to allow access to coastal areas.

As shown in Table 1, the Kayanic peoples inhabit over 70 administrative villages (*desa*), including annexed villages with different subgroups as well as other ethnic groups (such as Tering Baru, Long Hubung, Long Melaham, etc.), as well as those that have been newly opened since 1970 for logging, mining, and RESPEN (resettlement projects or transmigration) (Memahak Tebok, Nehes Liah Bing, Long Beluah, Long Telanjau, and Long Kendai). I visited about fifty of these villages from 1996–1998, but the census data are not complete for some of them. The total population of all the villages at that time was approximately 35,000 to 40,000, or 1.6 % of the total population of East Kalimantan (about 2.45 million in 2000). There are also numerous Kayanic peoples who have moved to urban centers, like Samarinda, Tenggarong, Balikpapan, Melak, Tarakan, and Tanjung Selor, as well as to other islands in Indonesia.

This ethnic mosaic of Kayanic villages resulted from struggles for chieftainship, which are typical of Kayanic peoples. Because village chiefs and nobles frequently split their villages into political factions, they often brought in manpower from other villages (see Section 4). Almost all of the Kayanic villages were recognized as administrative villages by local sultans, then by the Dutch colonial government, and finally by the Indonesian government in the 1950s, although the villages were often quite small, containing less than 100 persons in some cases. This seems to have resulted from the influence and independence of the Kayanic peoples.

Under the influence of the Catholic church since the beginning of the twentieth century, the Kayanic peoples have been able to preserve parts of their culture, such as rituals, customary laws (*adat*), and other traditions. However, longhouses have been gradually replaced by family houses since World War II and have totally disappeared after the mid-1980s. The subgroups of the Berau and Bulungan were converted to Protestantism. Also, some Kayanic villages became Islamized during colonial times, like those of Belayan and coastal Berau (see Dewall 1848–1849:25, October 1848; Spaan 1902:516), as well as in the 1970s like those of lower Kelai (Guerreiro 1985).

The Kayanic peoples were greatly affected by changing circumstances after Indonesian Independence. The anti-communist policy and obligation to choose among five national religions (*agama*) caused their animism and undemocratic stratification system to become taboo. Their migration, village territories, and land use rights were also restricted from the end of the 1960s, first due to the logging boom (*banjir kap*) but also due to policies of resettlement and transmigration in the 1970s. The young generation flowed out to the middle and lower regions as well as to coastal cities for schooling, wage jobs, and medical care.

In the 1980s, national policy focused much on tourism (Republik Indonesia 1983), and the people of East Kalimantan were encouraged to rediscover their past cultural practices such as epics, songs, dances, folk music instruments and costumes. Cultural festivals and contests began to be held at the local and national levels. Thus, the Kayanic peoples also tried to collect, and partly edit, arrange, or shorten the old chants, epics, and rituals, which used to be memorized by the traditional priests and nobles. Although, in the late 1990s, there were many interruptions such as uprisings, the Indonesian monetary crisis (*crismon*), the president's resignation, and the long drought and fires, these efforts to recover their cultural heritage still continue under decentralization.

Today, some people are returning to the inland regions, due to the increase in employment in the new local governments, universities and other schools, new mining (especially of Berau), and improved transportation.

2. Linguistic Subgroups: Kayan, Bahau, Ga'ay, and Some Related Groups

We Mengga'ay once lived in Kong Kemul,⁷ together with the Wehèa, Basap (Lebbo'), and others. There was an enormous tree on this mountain, which our ancestors cut down in order to drive out the cruel hawks nesting on the top. They found a lot of mushrooms springing up on the trunk of the tree, and they ate them. They became intoxicated from eating the mushrooms and became tongue-tied, as can be heard in our Mengga'ay dialects of today, and they could no longer understand each other. Thus, they were obliged to split up and migrated away from Kong Kemul ... It is only the Bahau who were not deeply intoxicated, and so they preserved the pronunciation of the original dialect used in Kong Kemul.

Origin Myth of the Mengga'ay, Segah

The *Kayan* (here, 'Kayanic peoples') scattered over the Bulungan coasts, driving out the local inhabitants such as the Burusu and Tenggalan. There, the Kayan allied and mixed with the Petaning,⁸ both of whom were assimilated and later became the Bulungan Malays. This is the reason why the Bulungan Malay dialect includes several Kayan words, as seen in some place names. For example, the region of the Bulungan palace, Tanjung Palas, means Purified Cape, where the Kayan had once held a purifying ritual of the land.⁹

Oral History of the Bulungan Nobles, Tanjung Palas

As we saw above, the Kayanic peoples originally consisted of three subgroups, the Ga'ay, Kayan, and Bahau. By comparing their dialects, migratory routes, and inter-ethnic relations, we can sketch the following outline of their assimilation and differentiation.

⁷ The mountain is located between the headwaters of the Kelai and Mahakam.

⁸ Unknown group who once lived in the Petaning Delta, at the mouth of the Kayan, seemingly a coastal Murut group like the Tidung and Burusu.

⁹ The term *pelas/pelah/pela*: means 'to make a ritual to purify the land.' The consonants -s / -h / - : (long vowel) are interchangeable between Kayanic subgroups (see Okushima 2003a:248-50).

Before settling in the Kayan basin, the proto-Kayanic peoples once lived in northwest Borneo, specifically in an area that today extends from northern Sarawak to western Sabah. The proto-Bahau subgroups seem to have been scattered mainly in the Baram basin and the northern ranges such as Apo Duat (Da'a) and Kerayan, while the proto-Kayan subgroups were gathered in the southern tributaries of the Baram and also the headwaters of the Baluy (see also Sellato 1995, Okushima 1999). These two groups were partially mixed with each other. The Ga'ay arrived in the Baram sometime later, and became the main impulse behind the Kayanic migration to northeast Borneo, driving out or absorbing their neighbors, including the proto-Bahau and Kayan as well as some Murut and hunter-gatherers. In this process, all these groups were culturally and linguistically assimilated with each other, creating various mixtures such as the Kayanized Murut (the present-day Kayan Meka:m/Mahakam Kayan, Uma:' Urut, and Bang Kelaw of upper Mahakam) and the Bahau-ized Mahakam natives (the Hwang Temha:, Hwang Meka:m, and Uma:' Luhah of the middle Mahakam, and the Long Tung Nang of Wahau), until they came to replace their ethnonyms with names of their new settlements, "Kejin, Kaya:n" and "Bahau." In reverse, some of the proto-Kayanic peoples split off and later formed new ethnic groups, such as the Kenyah. Others were further mixed with coastal groups of northeast Borneo like the Tidung and became the Bulungan Malay.

Many Bahau subgroups consider themselves to have originally lacked a noble stratum and hereditary chieftainship, just like their Murut neighbors. They also share a set of terms for "eldest/younger sibling" with the Tidung, Murik, and some others. On the other hand, the proto-Kayan seem to have been much more cohesive and corporate under their chieftains, as in the cases of large villages scattered today in different provinces like the Uma:' Tua:n, U. Suling, and U. Aging. Their social cohesion is also suggested by the homogeneity of their dialects. This might be one reason why many Kayan subgroups chose not to follow the Ga'ay migration to northeast Borneo, unlike the latter numerous Bahau subjects, and later moved back to Sarawak or even to West Kalimantan.

In contrast, the language of the Ga'ay subgroups is very distinct from other Kayanic peoples, as it includes diphthongs and triphthongs (ae, aw, oue etc., see below), nasal vowels (â, û, etc.). The clustering vowels are one of the most typical features of the Ga'ay, who are often described as "twisted" or "tongue-tied" by other Kayanic peoples, as in the oral history of the Mengga'ay given earlier. Even the Ga'ay descendants who had already assimilated into the Kayan or Bahau generations ago are still recognizable by this feature in some cases. Guerreiro suggests (1996) that the Ga'ay dialects show some similarity with the Chamic languages of Central Vietnam.

The development of the Kayanic dialects was promoted along with the migration process as follows. Early migrants to the Kayan basin, who had entered mainly from northern Baram and settled first in the middle to lower Kayan and Segah, largely consisted of Ga'ay and Bahau subgroups, such as the Mengga'ay, Long Way, and Ga'ay-ized Wehèa of today. Through long-term alliances and living together, their dialects became strongly assimilated. However, the late migrants to the Kayan basin, especially the Ga'ay and Kayan subgroups, came instead from the southern Baram including the Tinjar and Baluy to the headwaters of the Kayan (see Section 3-2). Thus they gradually spread over the Kayan basin, and also around the headwaters of the Segah, Kelai, and Mahakam. Some of these migrants later moved back to the Baluy and Baram, and then split further to the upper Kapuas (West Kalimantan), seemingly because the Kayan basin was already fully

occupied, and because intra- and interethnic struggles for hegemony became more prevalent in concert with the advance of Malay and colonial rule in northeast Borneo.

The fact that not only the Bahau subgroups but also the other Kayanic subgroups share linguistic and cultural features with the Murut supports the view that the migrations of the Kayanic peoples started from northwest Borneo, including northern Baram and Brunei, where various Murut subgroups have been living for a long time. In fact, diphthongs and triphthongs are still also shared among the Long Kiput or Berawan subgroups of lower Baram (see Blust 2002), where the Ga'ay no longer live. A strong assimilation of dialects between the Ga'ay and Bahau (such as the Wehèa, Merap, and Hopan) also suggests that the early Kayanic migration was mainly conducted by these two subgroups. Then, after emigrating to the Kayan basin, the Kayanic peoples came into contact with local Muruts, such as the Tidung, Burusu and Tenggalan of the Bulungan regions, as demonstrated by their vocabulary. Thus a mixture of Kayanic and Murutic languages is still found in coastal Malay, as can be seen in the Bulungan and even Bintulu dialects (especially words of the Ga'ay, Bahau, and Tidung living in the Bulungan and Berau regions). There are also the Kayanized inland Murut like the Kayan Meka:m above who preserve similarity with the Lun Dayeh and Kelabit. We will explore those features below.

Even today, the Kayanic peoples use the term *Kenyah* or *Ken'eah* not only for the so-called Kenyah, but also for Kayanized subgroups, meaning 'not pure Kayanic,' or 'not original Ga'ay.' For example, the Long Glat and Busa:ng of upper Mahakam state that the Kayan Meka:m did not originate from the same group as the Busa:ng, but rather that they seem to be Kenyah. The Lutan of the middle Mahakam consider themselves to be "like the Kenyah" in comparison with their Bahau neighbors. The Long Way of the middle Kelinjau still call their Wehèa neighbors *Ken'eah*, or *Lembueh* as a less pejorative term, although the latter dialects are strongly assimilated with their own.

2-1. Kayan (Kaya:n, Busa:ng, Uma:' Away)

The Kayan subgroups originated largely in the southern Baram, where some of them already had older endonyms than "Kayan." For example, those of the upper Mahakam, Busa:ng, named themselves after the Busa:ng tributary in the upper Baram, where they were formerly allied with the Long Glat. Also, some Busa:ng state that they originated in "Uma:' Away" (*away*, 'salient'), their oldest village whose chief was a descendant of the legendary female chief, In Iné: Aya' (or Inay Aya').

The present-day Kayan in general consist of subgroups whose names contain the term *uma'*, 'longhouse,' 'village.' In the Bulungan region, there are the Uma:' Laran and U. Héban in the lower Kayan (part of the U. Héban split into the Kelai), while their neighbors, the Hopan or U. Apan are actually Kayanized Bahau. These subgroups were willing or forced allies of their Ga'ay neighbors, such as the Ga'ay Long Ba'un and Ga'ay Gong Kiya:n/ Seloy. The U. Lekan (including the U. Lasa:n and U. Taliva U. Data: Liva:) were split between the Kayan, Mahakam, Belayan, and Wahau basins.

In the upper Mahakam, the oldest settlers are the Kayan Meka:m, Bang Kelaw, U. Urut, U. Pala:' and U. Tepay/U. Tepé, almost all of whom were Kayanized Murut and other groups such as the Mahakam natives. Sometime later, the original Kayan subgroups joined the Mahakam, such as the Busa:ng (the U. Tua:n, U. Lekwé, U. Mehak, and U. Wak subgroups under the direction of their sovereigns, the Long Glat), U. Suling (now split into the villages of Long Pahangai, Data Suling, Long Isun, and Long Lunok), U. Palo', U.

Sam, and U. Asa'. The U. Palo' were assimilated into the U. Suling. The Long Glat who had already annexed into their villages the Busa:ng, later also absorbed the Bang Kelaw, U. Urut, U. Pala:' and U. Tepay. The U. Luhak of middle Mahakam are Kayanized Mahakam natives, namely, the proto-Peniing of Seratah, on the headwaters of the Mahakam (see also Sellato 1986: 305).

Except for the Kayanized groups named above, the Kayan subgroups in general show a high level of homogeneity in language. As shown in Table 2, there are slight phonetic changes between subgroups, chiefly between the Busa:ng of Mahakam and the U. Laran of Kayan; the U. Suling belong lexically to the Busa:ng, though they use vowels like the U. Laran. For example, –ay/–éy/–é: (*tay* <US, UL> / *té:* <UT>, 'to go'), –aw/–ow/–o: (*daw* / *do:*, 'day').¹⁰ Also, the consonant –n can be replaced with –l and –r (*mayun* <UT, UL> / *mayul*, *mayur* <US>, 'to float') (cf., *manyun* in Sarawak, Blust 1974:183; Southwell 1990:151).

Table 2: Dialects of Kayan Subgroups

	U Tua:n	U Suling	U Laran
'to go'	té:	tay	tay
'day'	do:	daw	daw
'to drink'	dui:'	dui:'	du:'
'to cry'	nangi:	nangi:	nangé:
'to float'	mayun	mayul, mayur*	mayun
'left (side)'	ulé:	maving	ulay
'ear'	apang	apang	iling
'to hear'	ngering	ngering	kelanhi:

[Note] *Used only by the Uma:' Suling Kelivu:ng (in Lirung Ubing village)

Differences between the U. Laran and the Busa:ng are quite similar to those between the Long Atip and the U. Juman (see Blust 1974), or the Baram and Baluy types. The U. Laran use peculiar words such as *iling* ('ear') and *kelanhi:* ('to hear'), just as the Long Atip do (Blust 1974:182), while the other Kayan subgroups of East Kalimantan, instead, use *apang* and *ngering*. On the other hand, the Busa:ng, who originated in the southern Baram and moved to the headwaters of Baluy and Kayan, have almost the same dialect as the Baluy type. The U. Suling seem to have been once related with some subgroups of the Baram type when they were still in the Kayan basin or the Baram. Furthermore, the U. Suling have some distinctive words like *maving* ('left') in place of *ul:*, *uléy*, or *luy*, which are used by the other Kayan subgroups (*maving* is seemingly from the Murut or Bahau of Sarawak, such as the Tering, Bario, Lun Dayeh, and Saban. See Blust 1984). The dialect of the U. Lekan is said to be almost the same as that of the U. Suling.

The subsections below describe the Kayanized Kayan Meka:m, U. Urut, Bang Kelaw, and Hopan. The origins of the Kayanized Mahakam natives, U. Pala:' and U. Tepay, are

¹⁰ Abbreviations: K= Kayan subgroups, B= Bahau subgroups, G= Ga y subgroups, US= U. Suling, UT= U. Tua:n, UL= U. Laran, ULW = U. Lekwé.

obscure.¹¹ I myself did not research the linguistic details, but Guerreiro suggests (1996) that the U. Pala:’ dialect has some similarity to Kayan Meka:m.

2-2. Bahau (Baw, Bao:, Hwang Baw, Tembaw, Etc.)

The Bahau dialects contain much more diversity than the Kayan dialects. This probably resulted from the fact that the Bahau used to be scattered between much smaller villages than today, without a noble stratum or hereditary chiefs (see also Section 4). Hence, they were easily assimilated by the Ga’ay, as well as by the Kayan, both of whom had hierarchical societies with a stratification system and strong chieftainship.

Most of the Bahau subgroups use the endonym *Baw* (or *Bao:*, *Bahaw*, *Wehèa*), adding the term *Hwang*, or ‘the people of,’ in some cases, like *Hwang Baw* and *Hwang Tri:ng*. It is not clear whether they obtained this term after migrating to the Bahau, a northern tributary of the Kayan basin, or if they carried it from the Baram. The *Hwang Tri:ng/Tering* of middle Mahakam suggest that the term *Tri:ng* came from a highland of the Baram, *Apau Tri:ng*, their old homeland (Devung 1978). Some other Bahau subgroups who were formerly allied with the H. *Tri:ng* are also known as “*Tembaw*,” which is another endonym ‘we Bahau’ (*Tembaw* = *ita:m Baw*). The Bahau subgroups of the Bulungan regions are also called *Ngorèk* (or, *Ngorik*, *Murik*), although this seems to be a pejorative exonym given to them by the neighboring *Kenyah* (see Sellato 1995).

Today, the Bahau live in the middle to lower Kayan, for example in the Kayanized *Hopan/U. Apan*, *Ngorèk/Kayan Long Pulung*, and the *Pua’* (partly also in *Malinau*); the Ga’ay-ized *Merap* are in the middle to upper *Malinau*, a tributary of *Sesayap*. In the Mahakam, there are the H. *Anah*, H. *Dali:’ /Dalih*, H. *Tri:ng* (including the *Muyub* and *Tukul*), H. *Patak*, H. *Siraw*, H. *Boh*, H. *Temha:/Latah*, and H. *Meka:m*, all of whom were once allied with the Ga’ay like the *Mélèan* (*Melan*), *Long Glat*, and *Keliway* in upper Kayan. They later came to call themselves “*Hwang Sa*” or “*Bahau Sa*” (*sa*’= *sah* in Malay, ‘real,’ ‘original’), seemingly in order to distinguish themselves from their neighbors of upper *Wahau*, the Ga’ay-ized *Wehèa* (*Wahau*). The H. *Boh*, H. *Temha:* and H. *Meka:m* are said to be Bahau-ized Mahakam natives. On the other hand, the *Laham*, *Lutan*, and H. *Huray* of middle Mahakam are not considered to be *Hwang Sa*’. The *Laham* seem to have been originally some Kayan subgroup, or partly Kayanized, at least. The H. *Huray* are said to have come from upper *Belayan*, in following their Ga’ay sovereign people, *Long Bléh*. The *Lutan* were likely Bahau-nized *Murut* or *Kenyah*.

The Bahau shared some peculiar words with the *Murik* of *Sarawak* (see Blust 1974), such as *hanah*, *panah*, ‘hot’ (Table 3).¹² Some Bahau subgroups also have the terms like *tangah* <M, H, N> (‘head’) and *bayu:*, *bayaw* <H, N, P, HT> (‘wind’), all of which are seen in the *Murik* dialect (Blust 1974:181–84). Some phonetic interchanges are seen between the Bahau and the other Kayanic subgroups, especially h(/f)/s, like *kihing*, *kehèang*, *kihie* / *kesing* <K> (‘to laugh’), or, *ho’*, *ho:’*, *fo’*, *hâw’* / *aso’* <K>, *saw’* <LG, LW> (‘dog’).

¹¹ The dialect of the U. *Tepay* is also said to be close to that of the U. *Palo* who came from upper Kayan after the U. *Suling*.

¹² Abbreviations: M= *Merap*, H= *Hopan*, N= *Ngorèk*, P= *Pua’*, HT= H. *Tring*, LG= *Long Glat*, LW= *Long Way*, W= *Wehèa*, GLB= *Ga’ay Long Ba’un*, MLA= *Mengga’ay Long Ayan*, MLL= *Menga’ay in Long La’ay*, LN= *Long Nah*, KW= *Keliway*.

Nevertheless, the Bahau dialects vary according to migration and alliance. For example, the “Hwang Sa” subgroups above are in fact quite Kayanized in their vocabulary (Blust 1984), seemingly because of the interactions with their neighbors, the Busa:ng, or also with other Kayan subgroups in the upper Kayan. The Bahau of the Bulungan region (Kayan and Malinau) are the most distinctive in their terminology. It is not clear whether it is the original terminology of the Bahau/proto-Bahau, or whether they borrowed it from neighboring Muruts or other groups. This question is explored below.

Table 3: Bahau Dialects (Compare with Murik Word List, Blust 1974)

	Bahau		Other Kayanic	subgroups
‘hot’	panah <H, N, P, M> hanah <HT>		penèah <LW> emnas <W>	lasu:’ <K> lesu:’ <GLB> leso’ <MLL> also’ <MLA>
‘cloud’ *1	abun <H, N, P, HT> bâwng <M>		abun bahewon <W> hewoyn <LW>	ap <UT, US> ba:p <MLA> bo:p <MLL> buap <GLB>
‘wind’ *2	bayu: <H, N, P> bayu:, kebéh <H> bayaw, kevéh <HT>	ke’béh <N> ke’baih <M>	kevéh, di: <K> kuéas <GLB> kuyas <MLL> kuwèas, ehéo <MLA> wehie <W> waih <LW>	
‘head’	tangah <H, N, M>	ku:ng <HT> kong <P>	kuhung <K> tekhung <GLB> tekhong <MLA, MLL>	dew’ <LW> du’ <W>

[Notes]

*1: The Hwang Tri:ng and Long Way *bo:b*, *bap* refers to ‘fog.’

*2: The subgroups that use *kevéh* (*kebéh*, *waih*, etc.) use the term to refer mainly to a wind that makes a noise when blowing through grass or hollow trees, while they call a windstorm *bahuy* or *bayu*: <K>, etc.

It is known that the Kayanic peoples, like other Austronesians, use pronouns for several persons (3 to 10 persons, in both inclusive and exclusive forms) by introducing the numeral “3”; i.e., *telo*’ <US, UT> / *tlo*:’ <HT> / *tla* <W> / *telow* <GLB> / *kelow*, <MLA> / *kaw* <LW> (‘we several’ in inclusive form), *kam telo*’ / *kamih tlo*:’ / *emtila* / *melow* / *mekelow* / *mekaw* (‘we several except you’), and *pelo*’ / *ikah tlo*:’ / *tela*: / *kiem* / *sekaw* / *kekaw* (‘you several’) (see also Guerreiro 1983:99, Southwell 1990:480). However, there are four Bahau subgroups in the Bulungan regions, Hopan, Ngorèk, Pua’ and Merap, who introduced the term “4” only in the inclusive form of ‘we several,’ instead of “3,” seemingly meaning ‘we 3 plus you (equals 4)’; *pa:t* <H> / *ipa*’N> / *ipat* <P> / *pa*’: <M>.

Moreover, the four Bahau subgroups also share the same means of distinction between siblings, namely by dividing them into eldest and others. The Kayanic peoples usually use a

single term to refer to all siblings, both real brothers and sisters as well as cousins, *harin* <US, UT, UL, HT> / *arin* <GLB, MLA> / *weluen* <LW> etc. (see also Guerreiro 1987:6, 9), in addition to some adjectives like ‘elder,’ ‘younger,’ ‘real’ and ‘remote’ (for example, *harin aya*’ and *harin uk*). In contrast, the Hopan, Ngorèk, Pua’, and Merap have a special set of terms for the eldest and other siblings, such as *hika*’ – *haréy*’ <H> / *hiké*’ – *ayé*’ <N> / *hikan* – *harin (uk)* <P> / *kie*’ – *haray*’ <M> (‘eldest sibling’ — ‘others’). This distinction can also be seen among the neighboring Tidung (Okushima 2003a:252, Table 4), Punan Malinau (*ike*’ – *arík*), and Punan Lejuh (*iké*’ — *dih*), as well as among the Bisaya and Murik (Peranio 1972, Blust 1974:182). I will mention this point again in Section 4.

Being old allies or vassals of the Ga’ay, the Wehèa borrowed much from them in terms of language. Some other Bahau subgroups also use Ga’ay loan words, for example, *ngaw* <M, H> (‘cat’), *nga*’ <HT> (‘already’), or *cèn* <P> (‘wild animal’). The Merap preserve the most Ga’ay pronunciation, in the use of clustering vowels (/aue/, /oue/, /aie/, etc.), nasal vowels (e.g., *hûe*’, ‘they,’ *nyalâë*’, ‘path,’ *hây*’, ‘who?’), and the omission of the first syllable, just as is heard among the Long Glat (see Guerreiro 1996). The Hopan and Ngorèk also use clustering vowels, where a single or long vowel is used by other Kayan and Bahau, such as in *manoue*’ <M> / *manuek*’ <H> / *manuk*, *manok* <other K and B> (‘bird’), or, *maraië*’ <M> / *marieng*’ <H, N> / *maring*, *mari:ng* <other K and B> (‘new’). In some cases, nasal vowels in Merap are interchanged with –n used by the other Kayan and Bahau subgroups, for example in *hawâë*’ <M> / *hawa:n*’ <K, B> (‘spouse’), or, *kapâ:ë*’ <M> / *kapal*, *kapa:l*, *kapan*, etc. <K, B> (‘thick’). Moreover, the Merap use also –ng in place of –n of the other Kayanic peoples, like *lihung*’ <M> / *lisun*, *lihun*, *so:n*, *suwan*, *soan* <K, B, G> (‘smoke’), or *emlung*’ <M> / *bulun*, *bulo*’, *blun*, *beloy*n etc. <K, B, G> (‘feather’).

We can deduce the main impulse of the great Kayanic migration as the proto-Ga’ay and Bahau of the Baram basin, especially of the northern regions, from the facts that diphthongs and triphthongs are shared among the Ga’ay and their Bahau neighbors as well as other groups of the Baram such as the Kiput (see Blust 2002), but these clustering vowels do not exist, at least today, among the other Bahau, Kayan, and Murut.

2-3. Ga’ay (Mengga’ay, Menggaè)

There are two versions of oral history regarding the ethnonym Ga’ay/ Mengga’ay. The Mengga’ay themselves suggest that they were named after swords (*gay* in Ga’ay), or after their frequent headhunting using these swords. In fact, their iron tools, including excellent swords, are well-known throughout Borneo (see Section 3–1). On the other hand, some Kenyah state that the Ga’ay originally lived in regions lower (*ba’ay* in Kenyah)¹³ than other Kayanic peoples, including the Kenyah themselves, while in the Baram basin (see 3–2). Whichever etymology is correct, those characteristics of the Ga’ay, as a warlike people living downriver, are widely recognized by the Kayanic subgroups as well as other neighbors. However, after some powerful Ga’ay subgroups differentiated themselves from their rivals with names of their new settlements, like Long Way and Long Glat, the term Ga’ay/Mengga’ay came to refer only to those of Bulungan and Berau.

The Ga’ay’s strong preference for hegemony often split the villages and brought in subjects from other Kayanic villages as well as from other ethnic groups, which seems to promote their linguistic diversity. Today, the Ga’ay consist of the following subgroups: In lower Kayan, the Seloy/Ga’ay Gong Kiya:n (‘Ga’ay at the mouth of Kayan’) settled and

¹³ The Murut also use the term *bay* for ‘low,’ ‘downriver.’

absorbed the neighboring Hopan. They were in rivalry with the later-arriving Ga'ay Long Ba'un, who were allied with the U. Laran, U. Héban, Ngorèk, and others. The Mengga'ay or Menggaè living in the Segah and Kelai are said actually to have been the assimilated slaves of the Long Way (Spaan 1901). Those Ga'ay subgroups of the Bulungan and Berau regions were also known as Segai/Segai: to the coastal Malay as well as to the colonial governments, as I noted in the introduction. Living in the Mahakam are the Long Way (Long Bentuk and Long Tesak of Kelinjau, Long Bléh of Belayan, and also Long Lesa:n of upper Kelai), Long Nah (partly became Punan Kelai), Méléan / Melan (mixed with the Long Jengèan in the Kelinjau), Long Glat (of Long Lunok, Long Tuyu', and Ujoh Bilang), Long Huvung/Hubung, and Keliway. All these subgroups accompanied their allies to the Mahakam.

As mentioned above, the Ga'ay dialects are quite distinct from those of the other Kayanic subgroups, with some crucial features like clustering vowels (e.g., *ténoa'*, *ténea'*, *ténea'* <G> / *tana:*' <K, B>, 'earth'). Omission of the first syllable is also seen in their dialects as in, for example, *poy*, *powa* etc. <G> / *apuy*, *api* <K, B> ('fire'), or *tow'*, *tew'*, etc. <G> / *kuto'*, *kito'* <K, B> ('louse'). Some peculiar terms of the Ga'ay are considered to be their ethnic markers, such as *kiw*, *kewe:* <G> / *ipan*, *ipa'*, *nyipan*, *jipan* <K, B> ('tooth') (except for the Ga'ay-ized Merap, *tongkow*); *segun*, *segu:n*, *seguen*, *segûyn* <G> / *hawa:n*, *hawa'*, *hawâë* <K, B> ('spouse'); *lip*, *liep*, *seliep* <G> / *pida:ng*, *pindang*, *penétie*, *luda:ng* <K, B> ('flower') (except for the Ga'ay Long Ba'un, *da:*'); or, *ing*, *pténg*, *pté:ng* <G> / *ja:m*, *njam*, *ncaé*, *tuto:*, *tutow* <K, B> ('to know,' 'to be able to'). Guerreiro suggests (1996) that the Ga'ay dialects show some similarity to Eddê/Radé, a Chamic language of the Central Vietnam highlands. The Ga'ay themselves believe their language sounds like Chinese, on account of the lack of r (except for GLB, see below): They replace r with l, as in *ngela:n*, *nglèan*, etc. <G, W> / *ara:n*, *hara:n*, *ra:ë* <K, B> ('name'), and *mahling*, *mahléyng* <G and W> / *maring*, *mari:ng*, *marieng*, *maraië* <K, B> ('new'). Also, the interchange of b/v/w often happens between the Ga'ay and the other Kayanic subgroups; *wok*, *woak*, *waok*, *ewok* <G> / *buk*, *bok*, *baue'* <K, B> ('hair'), *wetaw*, *weta:*, *etaw* <G> / *bato'* <K, B> ('stone') (cf., *mataw* <M>), or *Twèang*, *Twaeng*, *Twa:ng* <G> / *Tava:ng* <K, B> ('Tabang River' in the Belayan).

Some local variations can be seen among the Ga'ay. For example, the Ga'ay Long Ba'un replace l with r, the consonant which is lacking in general among the Ga'ay, as in *ngera:n* ('name'), *row* ('day'), and *deru:*, ('far'), probably a result of the influence of their allies, the Ngorèk, Uma:' Laran, and so on. Also, the Mengga'ay of the Segah and Kelai use c [tʃ], which may have been introduced by the neighboring Muruts (see below). Also, the Long Glat have nasal vowels (*sûyn*, 'rain'; *hângoy*, 'river,' 'water'), as well as -ny in the word-final position, instead of the -n or -ng that the other subgroups use (*uluiny* <LG>/ *bula:n*, *weluyn*, *welu:n* etc. <others>, 'moon'; *peiny* <LG> / *ping* <others>, 'to own,' or a female name) (see also Guerreiro 1996).

In terms of lexical differences, we can divide the Ga'ay subgroups into two groups, namely, the subgroups of the Kayan and Berau basins (GLB, MLL, MLA), and those of the Mahakam (LG, LW); for example, *kelèas* <GLB, MLL>, *kelés* <MLA> / *saw'* <LW>, *sa:w* <LG> ('dog'), or *pahoang* <GLB, MLL> / *ngan* <GLB, MLL, MLA> / *puen* <LW>, and *pûyn* <LG> ('big'). Also, the Ga'ay of the Kayan and Berau replace the first syllables with "g-, gu-" in some cases, such as *gután* <GLB>, *guta:n* <MLL, MLA> ('eye') (*matan*, *mata'*, *matae*, *emtan*, and *metan* <other K, B, G>), and, *gulung* <MLL>, *gulong* <MLA>, and *gurung* <GLB> ('nose') (*lung*, *guang lung*, *ruë*, *urung*, *uruong*, and *urong*).

Today, the original dialects of the Long Huvung, Keliway, Méléan, and Seloy are almost extinct, as the result of long assimilation with other groups. Nevertheless, the Long Huvung are said to have used a relatively emphatic pronunciation like the Long Way. The Keliway and Méléan are related to the Long Glat, from a time when these subgroups were still living together in upper Kayan and Mahakam. The Seloy, one of the earliest Kayanic subgroups to settle in the lower Kayan, were mixed with the Hopan.

2–4. Relations with Murutic Groups and Others

The relations between the Kayanic peoples and the Murut are not well elucidated in earlier studies (partly suggested in Blust 1984; Kaskija 1992; Sellato 1995, 2002), probably because the Murut are broadly scattered over the northern half of Borneo island and speak various dialects, and also because the Kayanic peoples of today rarely have direct contact with them. Nevertheless, the Kayanic/proto-Kayanic subgroups have interacted with these neighbors for a long time, since the latter were living in the Baram basin. After migrating to the Kayan, some of them mixed with coastal Muruts such as the Tidung and Burusu', a mixing that later produced the Bulungan Malay (see Okushima 2003a:249, Table 3). There were also some inland Muruts such as the Kayan Meka:m, U. Urut, and Bang Kelaw, who became Kayanized and then followed the Kayanic peoples to the Mahakam as mentioned above.

The Bahau subgroups, such as the Hopan, Ngorèk, Pua', and Merap of the Bulungan regions as well as the Hwang Tri:ng of the Mahakam, seem to have interacted the most with the Muruts. Also, the Uma:' Laran and Ga'ay Long Ba'un of the lower Kayan show some similarities with their neighbors the Tidung, or, more precisely, the Sesayap-origin subgroup of the Tidung (Okushima 2003:242–46; see also Appell 1986 on Burusu' words). As shown in Table 4, those subgroups use Murutic terms, for example, *ngerikin* <H> ('to count'), *asil* <HT> ('sand'), *hilet* <M, UL> / *hilét* <N> ('narrow'), and *gawah* <H> / (*pe*)*gawah* / *gawas* <GLB> / *mawan* <P> ('wide').

In addition to the terms above, some regional words are shared among the Kayanic and Murutic groups (Burusu', Lun Dayeh, etc.) of the Kayan, Malinau and Segah basins. These include the use of the term *gong*, 'river mouth,' (e.g., *Gong Solok* on Malinau, *Ga'ay Gong Kiya:n* etc.), instead of *long*, which is used by the other Kayanic peoples, and *awa:k* / *awèak* / *ava:k* / *haba:k* (stranger, Malay)¹⁴ in place of *halo* / *halo:*'

In contrast, the Kayanic subgroups of upper Mahakam share some terms with the inland Murut, including groups such as the Lun Dayeh and Kelabits of Sarawak. In comparison with the Blust word list (1984), the language of the Kayan Meka:m is quite similar to the Tering (Long Terawan), Bario, and Lun Dayeh, with words like *nanguy*, 'to swim' (*nyatung* / *huwéak* / *jua'* / *jea'* / *enjo'* in the other Kayanic dialects), *ihlat*, 'wing' (*kapit* / *kbéit* / *kpét* / *kpeit* etc.), and *bara*, 'sand' (*hait* / *hét* / *é:t* / *nait* / *ait* / *anay* / *ené*, etc.) (see also Coomans n.d.; Barth 1910). The dialect of the U. Urut was already Kayanized, but they state that they originated from Mount Murut (Urut) in Sarawak and migrated together with the Bang Kelaw.

Another feature is the use of c [tʃ] mainly among the Merap and Mengga'ay, in words such as *cow* <M> ('hand'), *pancouë* <M> ('foot,' 'leg'), *cûe*, *câ:e* <M> / *cin* <MLA, MLL> ('rain'), *co'* <MLA> / *co:*' <MLL> ('small'), and *ce'* <MLA> / *co'*, *cico'* <MLL> ('to count'). This consonant may also have come from the Murut, as I have written

¹⁴ The Kayanic peoples explain that this term came from a Malay word *awak* ('you').

elsewhere (Okushima 2002:157, 2003b:246–48). The Sumbol Tidung, a Sebuku-originated subgroup, use the fricative consonants *c* and *j*, where *s* and *d* are used by the other Tidung subgroups (e.g., *encaduy* <Sumbol T.> / *ensaduy* <others>, ‘to swim’ *lajum* <Sumbol T.> / *ladom* <others>, ‘sharp.’ In Sarawak, the Sa’ban and the Tering also use *c*, in place of the *s*, *j*, *d* or *k* of neighboring dialects (e.g., *bucak* ‘flower,’ *ciek*, ‘small,’ etc., see Blust 1984:116–21). The Kayan Meka:m of upper Mahakam also use *c*, as in, for instance, *ucu* (‘hand’), but this use might have come from their neighbors, the Penihing.

Table 4: Tidung-like Words in Kayanic Dialects

	Kayanic peoples		Tidung		
			Sesayap	Bengawong	Sumbol
‘to count’	muja:p <K, HT> tasap, pasap <N, P> lapay <M> ce’, co’, cico’ <MLA, MLL>	ngerikin <H>	ngerikin, engunteb	engtob, engira	engira, enyampet
‘sand’	hait, hét <K> héat <GLB> ét <H>, yié: <M> nait, ait <N, P> anay <MLA, MLL> ené <LW> belngin <W>	asil, é:t <HT>	agis	agis	pasig
‘narrow’ *1	patit <UT, US> tedah, uk <HT> kesat <H> emok, mengemok <LW, W> kedel <GLB> co’ <MLA> co:’ <MLL>	hilet <UL, M> hilét <N> tatip <P>	silot, silet	kasip	kasip
‘wide’ *2	laya:ng <UT, US> bera:ng <HT> aya’ <N> ngan <MLA, MLL> leyayng, belieng, hewayn <LW>	gawah <UL, H> gawas <GLB> mawan <P> waie <M>	gawas	gawas	gawas

[Notes]

*1: The terms *co’*, *co:’* <MLA, MLL> also mean ‘small.’

*2: The terms *ngan* <MLA, MLL> also mean ‘big.’

We can find similar mixtures of Kayanic and Murutic words in coastal Sarawak. As I mentioned above, the pronunciation of the Long Kiput is very likely to have been Ga'ay-ized, just as the Merap of upper Malinau, but they still preserve more Murutic terms than the latter (see the word list of Blust 2002). Also, the Bintulu Malay seem to be Islamized Kayanic people, or at least the related groups like the Kajang and Punan living in Bintulu do (see Rousseau 1990:329), as in the case of the Bulungan Malay. There has been controversy over categorization of the Bintulu dialect, as it is not that close to that of their coastal neighbors such as the Melanau, Kanowit, or local Malay (see Bibi Aminah 1992; Kroeger 1998). Table 5 shows that the Bintulu have similarity especially with the Ga'ay and Bahau subgroups of the Bulungan and Berau regions (Ga'ay Long Ba'un, Mengga'ay, Merap, Hopan, Pua' etc.). In fact, Burns reports (1849:140–44) that the Kayans of the Baluy practiced interior trading with the peoples of the Kayan River, being also called Tidung (“Tidun” or “Tidan”), as well as with the peoples of Kutai and Banjarmasin, and that one of the Kayan chiefs even collected tribute from the people of Bintulu. The latter dressed in Malay style but were not yet Islamized. Hence, the Bintulu had already established inland trading networks with the Bulungan, or likely with a much wider number of peoples in northeast Borneo, by the middle of the 19th century.

3. Old Ethnonyms, Topology, and Cosmology Before Migration to the Kayan Basin

Kayanic peoples, as well as we Kenyah, all originated from Tiongkok, namely, China. Among the five kings of Tiongkok, the king Akalura¹⁵ ordered his people to send two ships to Kalimantan. One of the ships arrived safely in the Brunei kingdom, and our ancestors (the Kenyah Leppo' Taw) settled in the Baram basin, and later moved up to Da'a (=Apo Duat) ... the latest comers to Brunei, the Ga'ay, also entered the Baram, where they found our ancestors already occupying the upper regions. That is why they became known as Ga'ay, a name derived from the term *ba'ay*, or 'people of the downriver.'

Oral History of the Leppo Taw Kenyah, Lower Kayan

“My brothers,” asked the Kutai Sultan, “can you remember the reason why our homeland, the Kayan River, came to be called ‘Kayan’?” Among a number of local Dayak chiefs sitting around the Sultan, the Kenyah one replied: “perhaps, it is the namesake of the Kayan people, who once lived there.” “No, actually,” said the Sultan, “our ancestors met a river by chance in the past on the way to search for a new settlement location. They saw the basin was almost unpopulated. They held a meeting to discuss what name should be given to that river, and finally they agreed to call it *Kejin/Kaya:n*, namely, ‘our place.’ Then they started to bring their villages there.” In this way, the sultans of Kutai used to enjoy talking about the old stories with our ancestors (= the Long Way) during diplomatic meetings in the palace, because the sultans themselves were also descended from us, as the result of intermarriage through the generations.

Oral History of the Long Way, Kelinjau (Eastern Mahakam)

¹⁵ The details of this king are not mentioned.

Insert Table 5a

Insert Table 5b

Just like the Tidung and their territory, the ethnonyms and place names relating to Kayanic peoples make historical and oral historical studies difficult. Although the Kayanic peoples have been known most generally by the name “Kayan,” they also had, as we have seen, numerous endonyms, exonyms, and subgroup names. The Berau and Bulungan sultanates used to call them “Segei,” or “Segai-i,” while the Kutai called them “Modang.” Both names were originally derived from powerful Ga’ay subgroups, ‘people of the Segah basin’ and ‘Ga’ay, the surprise-attackers,’ from whom the local sultans suffered attacks but relied on at the same time for their war and trading skills. Moreover, the term “Ken’yeah” or “Kenyah” referred not only to the present-day Kenyah, but also to the early non-Ga’ay subgroups or the proto-Kayan, Bahau, and Murut, as we saw in the last section.

Ken’yeah was a generic and pejorative name for Bornean inlanders from the perspective of the early Ga’ay. However, old Kayanic ethnonyms including *Ken’yeah* are also rich sources of information on past times, reflecting former topology and cosmology. In fact, oral histories before migration to the Kayan basin are scanty, except for those of later migrants such as the Long Glat and Busa:ng (see 3–2). These histories also mention the ancient kingdom of Brunei, memories of which remain among the Kayanic peoples as well as their neighbors. The great Kayanic and Kenyah migrations seem to have been related, at least to some degree, to the fall of Brunei following its occupation by the Portugese. Some Kayanic migrants had already arrived in northeast Borneo before the beginning of Sulu rule, and there, according to oral histories and epics, they allied themselves with Brunei nobles.

3–1. Early Ga’ay and Their Neighbors: Downriver — and Upriver Peoples, or Warriors and Barbarians

Many Kayanic oral histories agree on the point that their oldest settlements were in the Baram basin. Some subgroups (Long Glat, U. Tua:n, U. Lekwé:, U. Suling, Long Huvung, H. Tri:ng, H. Dali:’ and Pua’) clearly remember their origin in this basin, using its old name Tela:ng Usa:n <K, B> or ‘Rain River,’ or even using the names of tributaries and mountains such as the Julan River (see 3–2) and Apo Dalih. Others, such as the Hopan, Merap and Long Nah, state that they moved from somewhere in Sarawak to the Kayan basin across the Iwan and Bahau tributaries.

It is also commonly heard that the ancestors of the Kayan and Bahau subgroups as well as those of the Kenyah and Murut were already settled in the Baram by the time the proto-Ga’ay arrived. The contrast between these old and newcomers is reflected in their early ethnonyms as “upriver peoples” and “downriver peoples.” The proto-Ga’ay called the old settlers of the Baram, and not only the proto-Bahau and Kayan, but also Kenyah and Murutic groups, *Ken’yeah* <LW> / *Ken’yah* <LG, LN, W>, ‘people of the upriver,’ ‘inlanders.’ This term originally meant a ‘mountain,’ ‘frontier,’ or any other wild lands, as in *u:n ken’yah Kejūyn* <LG> (‘virgin headwaters of the Kayan’) or *suenken’yeah Yaeng* <LW> (‘the wild mountain Yaeng’).¹⁶ Some Kenyah also state that the original name of the

¹⁶ On this point, Engelhard (1897:473–74) correctly notes on *kenyah*: “the inhabitants of the highland *Kenja* (=Kenyah), fixedly known as the *Kindjin* (Kejin, Kayan) today.” His mention of an oral history from the Kenyah of Apo Kayan, which holds that the term *kenyah* is derived from *Kina*– of Mt. Kinabalu, also seems logical in the sense that it indicates a wild mountain. Alternatively, we can speculate the inverse, that the term *ina*– is derived from the Kayanic term *ken eah*, because the proto-Kayanic peoples as well as their neighbors, the

Bahau, “Baw,” indicates that their settlements were in the highlands (*baw, bo:*, ‘high’ <K, B>). In a similar way, the Bahau of middle Mahakam used to call the Ga’ay *Hwang He’oh*, or ‘people of the downriver.’ Their neighbors, the Long Glat, also agree on this point, according to their old endonym, *Lun Lod* (*he’oh, lod*, ‘downriver’). Some Kenyah also insist that the term Ga’ay came instead from *ba’ay* as we saw above.

Besides the term *Ken’yeah* connoting disdain for the Baram natives, with its implication of “barbarians,” the Ga’ay also used a less pejorative name, *Lembueh* <LW> / *Lembuih* <LG> / *Lembus* <LN, W>.¹⁷ This attitude of the Ga’ay probably resulted from their social and cultural advantage, as exemplified by their tight organization under a hereditary chief, especially in comparison with the unstratified proto-Bahau (see 2–2), and by their famous iron industry, which produced the swords well-known as “parang ilang,” or in their own tongue, *ila:ng layah*,¹⁸ which is of the best quality seen in Borneo (see Belcher 1848; Niewenhuis 1904:287–88; Hose and MacDougall 1912:vol. 1 159–160; Christie and King 1988). It is seemingly the Ga’ay who first brought this sword to the inland regions and came to obtain the ethnonym “Ga’ay/Mengga’ay,” allegedly derived from *gay* or sword.



Photo 1: *Ila:ng Layah* Swords of the Long Glat (Upper Mahakam, 1996. Photo: Mika Okushima)

In fact, the cosmology of the Ga’ay is oriented to coastal regions where they had contacts with the local rulers. The Ga’ay use the expression *Nèak Mekiam* <LG, LW> for a big river, which means ‘child of the sea,’ ‘large surface of flow,’ in contrast with other Kayanic subgroups as well as their neighbors, who are oriented to the upper regions or

Murut, must have been the pioneers of the wild lands of Mount Kinabalu and the Kinabatangan basin.

¹⁷ The derivation of *Lembueh* is unclear (*lun bah*, ‘upland farmers,’ or *lun Baw*, ‘Bahau people’).

¹⁸ The term seems to be a personal name, but the details are unknown. This type of sword is not like an ordinary bushknife, but rather it has a blade beautifully incised, with other decorations on the handle and sheath.

sources of the rivers as the origin of life, e.g., *Tela:ng Usa:n* (Baram, ‘Rain River,’ *Kelima:n* (‘the river to life after death,’ ‘Fountain of Youth’). We can see this in the names of the main rivers of East Kalimantan, Mahkam as a tributary of the upper Segah, and Mahakam of the Kutai.¹⁹

Furthermore, the Ga’ay were characterized as polygamists or illicit lovers from the perspectives of the proto-Kayan and Bahau. This seems to have been due to their frequent temporary intermarriage alliances, and also from the rudeness of their powerful chiefs and warriors. Some Bahau suggest that they also used to call the Ga’ay *Hwang Keroh*,²⁰ or ‘people who trifle with women’ (*roh* <HT> ‘woman,’ ‘girl’). The Ga’ay marriage custom of live-out husbands, especially of nobles who intended to make intermarriage alliances with many villages, seems to have been quite shocking to the proto-Bahau and Kayan. In fact, Ga’ay men also practiced ‘male girl-hunting at night’ (*enkèap* <LW, W>), which sometimes involved near-rape. “Adultery” and other “evil intercourse” between the early Ga’ay and their neighbors was symbolized in a legendary chief, “Dalé Long Mala:ng <K, B>,”²¹ who appears in some of the oral literature of the Kayanic peoples.

The old terminology changed when the proto-Kayanic peoples found a broad river-basin and named it *Kaya:n* <HT, P> / *Kiya:n* <MLL> / *Kejin* <LW> / *Kejûyn* <LG>, ‘our place,’ ‘residence,’ ‘territory,’²² as we saw in the oral history of the Long Way (on the term *Kejin*, see also Dewall 1848–1849:25 October 1848, Tromp 1889:286, KV 1896, Engelhard 1897, Spaan 1901:11). This naming may have followed the practice of their new neighbors in northeast Borneo, such as the Tidung, Burusu’ Tenggalan, and Lun Dayeh, all of whom call their territories ‘our place’ (*Ulu:n Pagun* in the Tidung dialect, *Orang Benua* in Bulungan and Berau Malay, *Lun Bawa:ng* in Lun Dayeh).

Settled in the Kayan basin, the *Ken’yeah* peoples were more or less assimilated into the Ga’ay and finally replaced their old ethnic label with the terms “Kayan” and “Bahau,” emphasizing that their status was higher than their relatives living outside the Kayan and those who had migrated more recently. Hence the ethnic category *Ken’yeah* was reduced only to the Kenyah of today. This is the reason why the present-day Kenyah share many socio-cultural characteristics with the Kayanic peoples. There is also an explanation that their ethnonym came from a kind of traditional dance of the same name, *kenyah*, specifically a round, mass dance performed to set verses. However, this seems unlikely because Ga’ay dialects clearly distinguish this performance from the ethnic category *Ken’yeah*, with the term *ken’iah*, both of which are translated as “kenyah” by the Kayan and Bahau.

Rousseau suggests (1990:14, n. 6) that there is an early colonial term, *Pari/Paré* (Veth 1854, Engelhard 1897, Nieuwenhuis 1904, etc.), which referred to the Kayanic peoples as well as their neighbors. This term may have been based on Ga’ay-centered ethnocentrism.

¹⁹ The Ga’ay distinguish this tributary of the Segah, which they settled during an early stage of migration to the Kayan basin, from the Mahakam River, or *Mekiam Pûyn* <LG> / *Mekiam Puen* <LW> / *Meka:m Aya’* <K, B> (‘big Mahakam’), which they found later to be much larger and longer than the Mahkam.

²⁰ Lumholtz spells (1991:439) it as *Hu-van-ke-raw*.

²¹ Also, *Dlay Long Melèng* <LG>, *Dlay Dung Melaeng* <LW>, etc.

²² Those terms are derived mainly from the dialects of the early Kayanic migrants, Bahau and Ga’ay, while the Kayan subgroups say mostly *manga:n* (or *anya:n*); e.g., *gueng kejin* <LW> (‘one family in the same apartment’); *kaya:n Tri:ng* <HT> (‘village territory of the H. Tri:ng’); *hino:’ ngaya:n?* <K> (‘where do you come from?’).

If the term is derived from *pari*: <K> or ‘random,’ ‘irresponsible,’ the people who were called *pari*: or *pari*:-*ari*: could be considered ‘unimportant peoples’ for the Ga’ay, and for some Ga’ay-ized subgroups. In fact, the term *Pari/Paré* referred to the Bahau, Kayan, and Penihing, in combination with the term *Ken’yeah* (e.g., “Paré-kenya-Béhan” and “Paré-kenya-Blaré” in Engelhard 1897:473–74). It also referred to people of Pasir and West Kalimantan (Veth 1854:166–67).

Then, as their population increased and assimilation occurred, the Kayanic peoples started to differentiate themselves by reference to their settlements in the Kayan basin, using names like Long Way, Méléan, Long Ba’un, Gong Kiya:n, Hopan, Apo Suling, and so on. As warriors under the Bulungan and Berau sultans, they also gained exonyms like Segai/Segai-i. On the other hand, some Bahau subgroups who stayed for a long time in the upper Kayan and Malinau came to be called Ngorèk and Merap by their neighbors, the Kenyah. Those who migrated to the Kutai Sultanate developed further distinctions, including Modang/Bahau Modang (the Ga’ay, especially the Long Way), Bahau Busang (the Busa:ng of upper Mahakam), and Bahau Sa’/Hwang Sa’ (the Bahau of middle Mahakam), seemingly because the Kutai Malay had the first contact with the Wehèa and other Bahau migrants, who settled in the region extending from the middle Mahakam to the Wahau tributary, not far from the coast. The term “Modang” is said to have come from an old expression, *Ga’ay medang downg long* <GLB>, or Ga’ay ‘who wield swords under the screen of night,’ ‘Ga’ay surprise-attackers.’

3–2. Ga’ay Exploration of the Headwaters of Baluy and Tinjar

Unlike the early Kayanic peoples who migrated from the Baram basin to the lower Kayan and Segah, some Ga’ay subgroups such as the Long Glat and Keliway, instead, stayed longer and advanced to the southern Baram region. There they gained power through alliance with many Kayan villages and villages of other ethnic groups. For example, the Long Glat who had once settled in Busa:ng, a tributary of the upper Baram, came to subjugate the local proto-Kayan or Busa:ng subgroups living in Napo Ban Biha: Tela:ng (see Okushima 1999: 84, Table 2).

One of the famous Ga’ay epics, *Tekna’ Po’ Jenayng*, also describes the situation in the Baram in the old days. The hero of this epic, Jenayng <LG> (or, Jening <W, K>), is said to have been a noble of low status (*peguw é’ / hepoy so’*, see Section 4-1), whose descendants are the present-day Keliway and Long Glat. He was also a well-known war chief throughout the Baram basin, where he often headed groups of allies who came from twenty villages. Among the village names were place names such as *Jeli:n* (Juan River of the upper Baram), *Beloy* (Baluy River), and *Sepi:n* (probably Seping River of upper Baluy). The villages of Jenayng and of other Ga’ay people were located mainly around the Julian basin, while the other villages were seemingly scattered over the headwaters of the Baram, Tinjar, and Baluy.

Besides those villages, Jenayng and his villagers had contacts with local trading centers on the coast near Baram. For example, Jenayng and his party visited *akowng pûyn* or ‘a town,’ ‘big village’ (with numerous longhouses or other dwellings), which was under a

female chief Bo:ng Lo:ng Liyo' (seemingly a Kayanic chief).²³ They admired the scale of the settlement and the number of inhabitants. There were also some *Halo'* or Malay traders who regularly visited Jenayng's village wearing the hats of *Betawé:* or Batavia-style hats. Because they were so wealthy, the nobles of the village wanted their daughters to marry these traders. If this story is accurate, the Ga'ay people still lived in upper Baram in the eighteenth century, apart from their relatives who had already settled in the Kayan basin by this time.

Furthermore, Jenayng and the Ga'ay of upper Baram came to discover, or re-discover, the older inhabitants of the Tinjar headwaters in this period. The son of Jenayng, Kensèang,²⁴ as well as some other nobles of the village were kidnapped by Dlay Kenay,²⁵ the half-divine chief²⁶ of a hideout village in the Semtûyn River, and they were cared for there until they reached marriageable age. Then, Dlay sent them back home, saying: "I will tell you the way home. Our Semtûyn River is a tributary of Senië,²⁷ and Senië is a tributary of Jemléyn. The Jemléyn is the main stream flowing straightaway into the sea, without any other tributary. So, just go up the Semtûyn to the highest point and pass across the mountain. Then you can see the Julan River." Thus, the village of Jenayng learned about the villages of upper Jemléyn and became allied with them. Jemléyn is probably an old name for the Tinjar.

It is said that those Ga'ay moved to the upper Kayan some time after Jenayng's death. Shortly thereafter they migrated further to the upper Mahakam, probably because the Kayan basin was already occupied by then by other Kayanic peoples.

3-3. Shadows of Brunei

The Brunei kingdom is often mentioned in oral histories of the Kayanic peoples as well as those of the Kenyah and Murut, in combination with China or *Tiongkok* in the local tongues, as the oral text from the Leppo' Taw Kenyah suggests above (see also Okushima 1999:77-78). Brunei, one of the oldest and most powerful trading centers in Asia, is said to have been located originally around the mouth of the Lawas River in Sarawak and to have thrived for a long time through trade in forest products such as camphor and gold (Nicholl 1980). Hence, both the northwestern and northeastern parts of Borneo formed a broad hinterland of this kingdom, where the proto-Kayanic peoples and related groups were engaged in collecting forest products and exploiting the frontier lands.

The fall of the Brunei kingdom after its occupation by the Portuguese, along with the fall of its partner kingdoms like Johor in the early 16th century, must have contributed to the great migrations of the Kayanic peoples to northeast Borneo. Nevertheless, some early Kayanic migrants were already present in the area before the advance of the Sulu sultanate according to local oral histories. For example, Tidung and Bulungan nobles state that one of their ancestors, an Arab man named Sech Abdurrahman Al-Magribi, fled to the Sulu islands during the Portuguese occupation of the Johor, but later moved to coastal Bulungan around the middle

²³ The location is unclear; at the mouth of Baram, or around Lawas where the old Brunei capital was located (Nicholl 1980), or some area to the south, like Bintulu?

²⁴ Also, Kensaeng <LW>, Kensing <LN, W> etc.

²⁵ The name Dlay ('thunder') is translated as Dalyé Blalyé or Blaré <K>.

²⁶ Such an expression often connotes that the person was not a pure Ga'ay, but rather some Ken'eah. This chief was likely proto-Kayan or Kenyah by origin.

²⁷ This name is usually translated as Senéo in Kayan and Bahau dialects.

of the 16th century.²⁸ There, his party allied itself with the local peoples through the marriage of his son with a daughter of Datu Mancang/Datu Lancang and the female chief of the Hopan (see the genealogies in Okushima 2002: 154, 2003b: 13).

Datu Mancang was a famous Brunei prince who came to make an inspection of the northeastern coast (see also Akbarsyah 1997; Sellato 2001), and who was allied with the Malinau Tidung and also the Hopan living in the Bahau basin by that time. Some other Tidung and Kayanic subgroups also seem to have been associated with the Brunei, because they have old epics of their ancestors that were composed in the local Malay dialects (allegedly Brunei). Thus the Sumbol Tidung recite the epic of Yaki Betawel (also Bitawel, Betawol) and his wife, Dayang Dedalit, who migrated from Sebuk River to Batu Tinagad (Tawau), while the Merap remember their first noble ancestors with rhetorically refined names like Blaléy' Layang Tenggong and so on.

Northeast Borneo, as part of Brunei's hinterland, was also its intermediate trading center to the eastern islands, such as Sulu, Sulawesi, and Halmahera. The Tidung still remember that their ancestors used to travel back and forth between these islands; they were probably the guards of the Brunei defending the east coast, just like the Bisaya were over northwest Borneo (Nicholl 1980). Even some Kayanic and Kenyah peoples state that some of their ancestors migrated to North Sulawesi and became (or assimilated into) the "Manado Dayak," namely the Minahasa.

Supposing that these old memories are reliable, we can imagine how the Tidung, Kayanic peoples, and related groups dared to resist the Sulu, Bugis, and other rulers, rather than recognize them as their new sovereigns, by considering themselves as being of high status as a result of their long alliance with Brunei. On this point, further investigation is needed.

4. Development of Social Organization for Power and Mobility: Stratification, Dual Village Organization, and Neighboring Rule

The Uma: Suling and the U. Palo' settled together in Long Isun (a tributary of Mahakam) and built as many as three longhouses (*uma:*) in the village (*ukung*), because they were many in number. Sometime later, they added one more longhouse as their population increased. Then, they came to split into several farming groups (*daléh*), first in order to utilize a maximum amount of land in their territory. Later, however, some of these groups also made their own longhouses near the regions of the *daléh*, and became independent villages. On the other hand, the others gathered in Long Pahangai and rejoined their longhouses in Dutch colonial time.

Oral History of the Uma: Suling, upper Mahakam

Ningah (a Kayan chief who is the hero of this epic) pretended to be a *Punan* (the hunter-gatherers), wearing humble and dirty clothes. Then he visited the village of (his lover) Lalang. Because the *Punan* were not allowed to enter a longhouse from the central stairs (stairs to the *amin aya* ' or 'chief apartment'), he climbed an edge of the longhouse (*uvang uma:*). The apartment of Huku: Buring (Old Buring) was at the end of the longhouse.

²⁸ The reign of his son varies as 1540–1570, or as 1551–1571 (originally Hijrah calendar), according to the oral histories.

Ningah saw this old woman sitting alone in her shabby apartment, although the other inhabitants of the longhouse were busy preparing for the marriage of Lalang and Ningah (because this woman, probably an old widow of quite low status, was paid less attention to by the others). Ningah asked her if he could take a rest in the apartment. Meanwhile, one of the daughters of Buring, who was married and living in another apartment, came to invite her mother. Ningah lied to this daughter: “I heard that the chief Ningah has already died in his village. Could you please inform the nobles of the *amin aya*? ...”

Epic “Takna Ningah,” Upper Mahakam

As we saw in the Introduction, the Tidung and Kayanic peoples of northeast Borneo were never recognized as the local rulers by Westerners because they lacked an Islamic political system including the title of “sultan.” Nevertheless, the Kayanic peoples came to establish actual autonomy over inland northeast Borneo, especially by controlling communication and forest–product trade in their territories and by making expeditions into parts of Sabah, South and West Kalimantan and even the Sulu Archipelago as forces of the sultanates of Kutai, Berau (Gunung Tabur and Sambaliung), and Bulungan. In other words, they succeeded because they adapted themselves to life in the broad and inaccessible inner areas of northwestern Borneo. They organized into corporate but flexible communities, gathering peoples for construction, rituals, and defense, and dividing labor during farming, trading, migration, and surprise attack on the basis of a well-balanced combination of three grouping principles, namely, social stratification, kinship, and residence. From an analysis of terminology, we can see the development of these principles through migration and assimilation, such as the formation of a strata of chiefs/nobles (*hipuy, hepoy, paran*) and the reorganization of farming groups (*daléh*) as subunits of the longhouse or village.

4–1. “Householders” and Others: Development and Diversification of the Kayanic Stratification System

It is said that the Austronesians widely share an impulse to differentiate subgroups within society. The leaders and nobles claimed, and still partially claim, their position and status by reference to genealogies, origin myths, taboos, and supernatural sanctions (Blust 1976, 1981; Fox 1996; Bellwood 1996). Bellwood suggests (1996:28–32) that a “founder–focused ideology” of the Austronesians inspired the junior members of society to move out and establish their own senior founding lines and was a strong motivation to explore and expand over Southeast Asia and the Pacific Islands. Among the interior groups of northeast Borneo, there are two main stratification systems which seem to be based on this ideology, namely, “good people/elders” and others, and “original person(s) of a place/householder(s)” and others. The elders of the first type of stratification, which exists both among the Kayanic peoples (*keluna:n aya’ lun puen, lun lun kéhèa*, etc., see Table 6) as well as the Murut (*lun do:’ lun mesangi, lun mego:t*, etc.), are said to be descended from those who achieved fame mainly by their personal skill or talent, such as warriors, mediators, curers, or priests. On the other hand, the “householders” of the second type, which is very characteristic of Kayanic peoples, were particularly religious persons who ensured the protection of the village through their contacts with spirits. In fact, the dichotomy between “householders” (*hipun uma:’ hipuy, hapoy*, etc.) and others, that is, nobles and commoners (*panyin, pengin*, etc.), is shared by all Kayanic subgroups (see Table 6).

Insert Table 6 here instead of this page.

The second type of leadership has a greater potential for becoming hereditary, in association with religion, although neither type was originally crucial for the development of chieftainship. In fact, many Bahau subgroups consider themselves to have had no hereditary chiefs in former times. They seemingly introduced chieftainship through intermarriage with the Ga'ay and Kayan. This drastic change is symbolized by the offering of eggs (*tapo'* <K, B>)²⁹ (Photo 2), as found in the origin myths and oral histories of the H. Tri:ng, Hopan, Merap, Pua', and Ngorèk (see also the intermarriages of the H. Siraw and Hopan with the local sultans in Adham 1979:126; Akbarsyah 1997:8-9).



Photo 2: *Tapo'* or egg offerings and sacrificed chickens in the village of the Hwang Tri:ng (middle Mahakam, 1998. (Photo: Mika Okushima.)

²⁹ The Kayanic peoples make this *tapo'* offering of eggs on top of bamboo sticks during ritual purification of the land, after bloodshed, or incest.

“Householders” were indispensable for the construction of longhouses because they conducted a series of complicated rituals that preceded house building. Therefore, Kayanic peoples who had lost their “householders” in war were obliged to join another village, or to call for another “householder” from somewhere else. Thus, the development of Kayanic stratification is likely to have started through the elevation of “householders” into a noble stratum and from this stratum creating hereditary chiefs. This noble stratum seems to have developed in three stages, as follows: The original and most basic version of the term, *pu'un uma*, *tumbun uma* (*pu'un*, ‘origin,’ ‘trunk of tree,’ ‘source’; *tumbun*, ‘a sprout’; *uma*, *uma:*, ‘a longhouse,’ ‘village’) and *hipun uma:* (*hipun*, ‘to own’) are used largely by the Bahau and Kayan of the Bulungan region, as well as those of the Baram (see Uyo 1989: 69). The term *pu'un* is said to be typical and essential in Austronesian systems of differentiation and ranking (Fox 1996:6–7).³⁰ The term can be applied not only to nobles, but also to individuals of any other stratum, for example, *pu'un amin* (the original members of an apartment from the first founder), or *pu'un sekuit Long Glat* (the oldest ancestors of the Long Glat).

The second version of the term, *hipuy* or *hepoy*, is commonly used by the Ga'ay and Kayan subgroups, including some Ga'ay-ized or Kayanized Bahau (such as the H. Tri:ng and Wehèa of Mahakam). This term is derived from the verb *hipun* <K, B> / *peiny* <LG> / *ping* <LW> (‘to own,’ ‘have’), and has the same meaning as the term *hipun uma:* / *pu'un uma:* above. It also became a personal name for female nobles, (*H*)*Ipuy* / (*H*)*Ipi:* / (*H*)*Iping* / *Ping* / *Peiny* (‘The Wealthy’). The third version of the term, *paren*, is an adjective form of *aran*, *aren* <K, some B> (‘sacred,’ ‘prestigious’), which often modifies the term for chiefs, nobles, or their apartments, e.g., *hipuy maran* (‘chief’ or ‘the noble(s) of the highest status’), or *amin aya' maran mesa:t* (the most sacred chief's apartment). This term has also become a personal name for Kayanic male nobles, *Paran/Paren* or ‘The Holy.’

The change above is likely to have been promoted through the process of establishing local hegemony. To further differentiate the chief from other nobles, the Kayanic peoples came to use the adjectives “big,” “high” and “small,” “low,” according to descent, as in *hipuy aya'* and *hipuy uk* <K, B of Mahakam> / *hepoy pūyn* and *hepoy so'* <LG> / *hepoy ngan* and *hepoy co'* <MLL, GLB> / *paren* and *paren ja:* <P>. As a variation, the H. Tri:ng use the term “longhouse” in place of “big,” for example, *hipuy uma:* and *hipuy uk*. The Long Way categorize their nobles into three ranks, *hepoy puen*, *hepoy keyn*, and *hepoy so'*. Some Kayan of upper Baluy even distinguish *maren* from other nobles (*hipuy uk*) as a new, independent stratum (Rousseau 1990:165– 72). This is very similar to the case of the Kenyah as well as some Muruts (e.g., Kelabit), who use *paran/paren* as the chief's stratum.

Besides the nobles, the Kayanic peoples specified men of influence from commoners, or “good peoples,” “elders,” also as *pegawa'*, *peguwé'*, *pengéra'*, *hukang*, *lun kehèa* (Table 6). Some of these terms are borrowed from Malay words like *pengawa/pegawai* (‘officer,’ ‘manager’) and *pengeran* (‘prince,’ ‘deputy,’ ‘chief’). In fact, men of influence are often included with the nobles, but the people still call the latter *hipuy* etc., except for those who have mixed with commoners for generations. The Long Glat and their Busa:ng allies interestingly developed a stratum of the chief's right-hand men, *peguwé'*, ranking between nobles and commoners.

Next to the noble stratum, the Kayanic peoples seem to have stratified slaves. The most commonly shared terms, which do not necessarily demarcate a stratum, are *halut*, *halowt*, *salut*,

³⁰ The Ga'ay Long Ba'un also use *hepoy sepun* (*sepun*= original, ancestral), in place of *hepoy ngan*.

salu:t ('captive(s)', or, something pulled out like transplanted rice and vegetables), and *hula'* and *hlue'* ('orphan').³¹ In fact, these terms often indicate in oral histories the nobles being "pulled out" of other villages or ethnic groups, by capture or kidnapping, who were cared for in the chief's apartment and later married the chief or nobles in order to strengthen their blueblood. However, the terms evidently used for slaves as a labor force are *dipan*, *ripan*, *meguy*, all of which are absent among the less-Kayanized Bahau.³² The H. Tri:ng also use a variation, *amin* ('apartment'), because slaves belonged to their apartment hosts. Here, we can roughly conclude that the slave stratum may also have been developed like the noble stratum in conjunction with Kayanic expansion, or with a boom in slave trading.

Once a stratification system with a strong chieftainship was established, not only the Kayanic peoples themselves but also the Kenyah and some Muruts, like the Kelabit, adopted it to seek higher status. Some developed a 4th and a 5th stratum as local variations, while others kept the original dichotomous stratification, adding at most slaves (see also for Sarawak, Rousseau 1990:163–215, Tsugami 1988:119, Uyo 1989:69). Nevertheless, the stratification system did not remain stable, and did not always ensure the position of a chief and nobles. It often happened that Kayanic nobles who were defeated in competition left the village and took close families and friends with them to build another village and become its chief. The commoners also had some choices. Oral histories suggest that the Kayanic peoples ran away from their chief or nobles when the latter caused trouble or violated *adat* and taboos. They also took one of the nobles' children to be a new candidate for chief, or joined another village (see the case of the Long Way, Okushima 1999: 92).

4-2. Dual Village Organization: Ideological and Practical Houses

Dwelling is another important principle of grouping among the Austronesians (see, for example, Blust 1981, 1987; Macdonald et al. 1987; Fox 1993), but especially for the Kayanic peoples who had determined the village chiefs as being elected from the "householders."

As known today, a typical Kayanic longhouse (*uma:* ', *uma'* <K, B> / *amin*, *min*, *lemin* <HT, LG, LW, W, GLB>) consists of an aggregate of apartments/family houses (*amin* <K, HT>, *moa* <M> / *mesow* <LG, LW, W> / *masin* <MLL, GLB>) arranged in a straight line (*joh* <K, LG> / *tenjowng*, *tenjong*, *jaeng* <LW, MLL, GLB> / *bata:ng* (*uma:* ') <US, P>), starting with the chief's apartment and extending to the right and left (see Table 7). The Ga'ay of the Mahakam basin had a unique form of longhouse in which the chief's apartment was separated from both wings (see the picture in Rousseau 1990:105). Some subgroups make no clear distinction between longhouse and apartment, and so extend the term for apartment to the longhouse, as in *amin aru:* ', *bata:ng amin* <N, P> / *masin jah* <MLL> / *moa raw* <M> ('longhouse'). But, in any case, the chief's apartment (*amin aya'* <K, B> / *mesow pũyn*, *mesow puen* <LG, LW> / *masin ngan* <GLB>, 'big apartment') used to be larger and more highly decorated than the others, because it was the site of village rituals and a meeting place as well as a reception area for outside guests.

³¹ The Ga'ay Long Ba'un use the term *neklo'* to refer to slaves. This is probably an abbreviation of *nak hlo'* ('orphan child').

³² *Meguy* may be derived from *guy* ('hand' <G>), meaning right-hand men (of the master). Cf.) *demulun*, *lun dey'difar* etc. in Murutic.

Insert Table 7 here.

Hence, Kayanic longhouse/village membership was quite binding in the past, not only because it obliged inhabitants to live side-by-side, but also because it imposed numerous religious restrictions for which the people had to follow the “householder’s” direction. Some grand rituals required the inhabitants to stay within the village and were mostly conducted in the chief’s apartment as well as in other parts of the longhouse. Commoners’ apartments were also believed to possess ancestral spirits, and so all the members of a family had to practice smaller-scale rituals in their apartment and to put offerings in the kitchen or the doorway on specific occasions. It was even taboo for the members of an apartment family to go on trips separately, in opposite directions, on the same day (*peleka* ‘<K>’), for instance, upriver and downriver. Otherwise, they would be in danger of parting forever.

Because longhouses were considered to be sacred, just as were “householders,” the Kayanic peoples could not extend their apartments with additional apartments or build a new longhouse without permission from the chiefs. The most usual case was that they had to wait for the population to grow, making do with existing apartments or provisional huts (see 4-3), until the chiefs decided to form a new longhouse in the village and to nominate who would move into it, as well as who would be its new “householder.” This also occurred by annexation with other villages or ethnic groups. The extension of a house/village signaled, and still signals today, happiness and prosperity to Kayanic peoples, and so they distinguish villages with multiple longhouses from those with a single longhouse, with the terms *ukung* ‘<K>’ / *akowng* ‘<LG>’, *ekowng*, *akung* ‘<KW, ML, W>’, *maowa akong* ‘<GLB>’ / *tukung*, *tukuwong* ‘<N, H>’, and *tukuë* ‘<M>’ / *lepo* ‘<P>’ (‘big village,’ ‘town’). The H. Tri:ng use *uma:* ‘to refer to the village, with *amin* referring to a longhouse.

At the same time, however, the Kayanic peoples had to make adjustments to their villages so as to survive various circumstances, for example, having to farm in a mountainous area, fight in deep forest, look for forest products in distant regions, and so on. Thus, they developed a dual village organization to unite the people so that they could perform both cooperative tasks, like those required for grand rituals, house construction, and defense against enemies, and individual tasks requiring mobility, such as farming, trading, migration, and pincer- or surprise-attacks. In fact, farm lands and farmhouses had fewer restrictions, except for rules and taboos about rice. The Kayanic peoples formerly practiced group farming (*daléh* ‘<K>’ / *laléh* ‘<HT>’ / *leléh* ‘<LG>’), in which they built their farmhouses (*lepaw*, *lepo:* ‘<K, B>’ / *paw* ‘<LG, LW>’)³³ side-by-side in a single location (see Okushima 1999:99). However, if the farming location was too small for all the villagers to farm together, they divided between several locations for convenience. This also became a strategy during war or migration, as we learn from the oral history of the U. Suling above. Even in their *daléh*, the Kayanic peoples had at least one noble, one war chief, and other elders. In the same way, an apartment family, whose members usually formed a single farmhouse, could divide into multiple farmhouse units, or into nuclear families (*jaha:n*, *na’an*, *ni’in* ‘<K, LG>’, ‘a part of,’ ‘a unit’), according to their needs. For example, the apartment families which contained many *jaha:n* automatically provided the other villagers with additional labor and food materials when mutual help was needed. And in each *jaha:n* or *na’an*, the members were led by a married couple.

The everyday residences discussed above served two purposes: they allowed the Kayanic peoples to separate themselves for practical convenience, but they also functioned as a balance

³³ In Sarawak, some Kayan also make a larger type of farmhouse, *pura/purah*, which contains multiple apartments for an extended family or close relatives (see Rousseau 1974:23; Tsugami 1999:31, n. 5).

to social pressures within the longhouse/villages, especially to the power of the “householders.” An isolated farmhouse sometimes indicated a quarrel or a violation of *adat*, in which the inhabitants argued and split from an existing apartment or longhouse, sometimes staying on their own for years. In the past, some Kayanic chiefs or nobles were segregated from their village and forced to live in farmhouses or huts because of adultery or possession by an evil spirit. Inversely, commoners might run away from a village where the chief/nobles committed adultery, incest, or any other religious violation (see Okushima 1999:91–92).

Therefore, powerful Kayanic chiefs sought to control the gap between these ritual/ideological and everyday/practical houses so as to unify their followers, and they did so by emphasizing the importance of the ideological house (see also Rousseau 1977:136–37; Devung et al. 1992:94, 105; Whittier 1973:67). Often, when a rival of the village chief split off to form another *daléh*, he took his party away to form a new longhouse; or this party, instead, joined another village where the chief was more powerful and just.

4-3. Neighboring Rule: Dwelling Disposition According to Kinship

The dual life between ideological and practical houses described above also defined the disposition of these dwellings, namely the way apartments/farmhouses are arranged to form a longhouse/*daléh*. In addition to stratification and dual village organization, kinship still functions as a grouping principle among Kayanic peoples in terms of the disposition of dwelling units. I provisionally call this preference a “neighboring rule.”

The Kayanic peoples used to build dwellings according to closeness between the inhabitants and this remains true in part even today. The degree of closeness was determined by consanguinity, intermarriage, friendship, and alliance. No non-kin was allowed to live between the dwellings of close relations, for example, parents and children, sisters and brothers, and so on, without the latter’s permission. This rule seems aimed at insuring that people will be able to obtain the help of their closest relatives and friends when in need, for example, to borrow something, to obtain help in caring for children and domestic animals, talking about troubles, or protecting themselves against attacks by enemies. Hence, before construction, they negotiated and first came to a consensus about the disposition of apartments and farmhouses. If a person wanted to extend his/her apartment or farmhouse with an additional dwelling, he or she would usually have to wait until the next season of village or *daléh* planning, rather than simply build it at one end of the existing longhouse or farm hut. In some cases, members had to wait a long time, especially for the planning of a new longhouse, and while waiting, they lived in provisional huts built in front of their original dwelling.

Thus, the location of dwellings in a Kayanic longhouse or *daléh* reflected the closeness of relationships between its inhabitants. There was a rough correspondence between dwellings and kin groups, as shown in Table 7. Some Bahau subgroups like the H. Tri:ng have many levels of kin groups, with the names of the groups based on consanguinity and locality, as in *hina*’ (‘mother and children,’ ‘nuclear family’; *hina:n*, ‘a mother’) and *kapo:ng* (*kampong*, ‘village’ in Malay). On the other hand, some hegemonic Ga’ay like the Long Way seldom use the terms for family groups larger than the nuclear family (*hena*’) or a married couple (*hewa*’). Rather, they prefer genealogical expressions, such as *kesoy*’ and *ketiw*’ (‘stem of a plant’). The notion of descent can also be seen among the Kayan, as in *hula:n* or ‘descendants,’ ‘ethnic group,’ which is the plural form of *hula*’, ‘orphan,’ ‘survival’ (Section 4-2).

Through the neighboring rule based on kinship, dwelling disposition also reflected to some extent strata and ranking, from the chief’s apartment at the center to the more modest dwellings of lower-status people at both ends of a residence structure. Because the chief and nobles

occupied the center of a longhouse or *daléh*, naturally his closest relatives joined their apartments to both sides of it. The others then followed in the same way. As a result, the people living in the apartments near the *amin aya* ' tended to be proud of being men of influence or prosperous individuals, even though they themselves were not nobles. In contrast, those at each end of the house (*uvang uma*: ' <K>') were often more modest, for example, small-scale apartment families, migrants from other villages, or even from other ethnic groups. Such a ranking is implicit in oral histories as well as in some rituals and *adat*, for instance in the manner by which hunter-gatherers may enter a Kayanic longhouse, as shown in the *Takna* ' *Ningah* epic as told by Kayan subgroups in the upper Mahakam.

The priority of stratification over other Kayanic grouping principles may have diminished some of their older socio-cultural features, for example, the importance of seniority in the order of age among siblings, like the distinction of *hika* ' – *haréy* ' ('eldest' – 'younger sibling') in Section 2-2. In fact, Kayan subgroups still preserve these terms in the old epics and chants.³⁴ Neighbors of the Kayanic peoples, the Tidung as well as the Rungus, Idahan and Bisaya, who originally had no hereditary chieftainship based on stratification, also distinguish between the eldest and other uncles and aunts (see Okushima 2003a: 252-254).

Concluding Remarks

In this paper, we have examined the ethnohistorical background of the Kayanic peoples, who, together with the Tidung and other local groups, possessed the power to reorganize ethnic distributions and political rule in northeast Borneo in early colonial times. Their languages, dialects, and old ethnonyms suggest their long-term alliance and assimilation with Murut and other related groups in northeast and northwest Borneo, supporting a theory that the proto-Kayanic peoples started migrating mainly from the northern regions of the Baram basin and then expanded to the southern Baram and upper Baluy. Social organization as the source of their power and mobility seems to have developed and been elaborated through this migratory process, until a system of stratification, dual village organization, and a dwelling disposition rule were established on the basis of chieftainship of "householders." In this way, the Kayanic people came to trigger dramatic changes in northwest Borneo during the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries. In a subsequent paper, we will investigate several different periods and movements of these Kayanic migrants to northeast Borneo through their oral historical texts and epics.

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Abbreviations

BKI= *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land en Volkenkunde*; *NBH*= *British North Borneo Herald*; *BRB*= *Borneo Research Bulletin*; *KV*= *Koloniaal Verslag*; *SMJ*=*Sarawak Museum Journal*; *BG*= *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land en Volkenkunde*; *TNAG*= *Tijdschrift van het Koninklijk Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*

Adham

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³⁴ For example, the prayers of Kayan priests contain classic expressions like *hikin hiké* ', *hiké* ' *hiki* ', and so on: *Tekulung hiké* ' *hiki* ' *huling hulé* ', *puhu: men Laké Blaré* '... (the eldest descendants like the tip of a banana leaf/descendants from the earliest ancestor, descendants from the Thunder God...).

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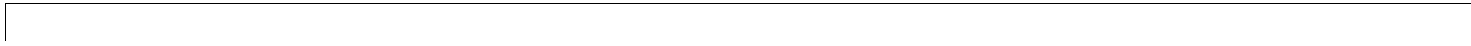
Table 5: Kayanic-Murutic Features in Bintulu Dialect (Sarawak)

English	Bintulu	Kayanic peoples	Murutic peoples	
			Tidung subgroups	Other Muruts and related groups
(1) Kayanic words				
'left side'	bulay	bulay<HT>, ulay, ulé:, luy<others>		
'nose'	uRong	urong<H,N,P>, urung<K>, ruë<M>	(idung, adung <T>)	roë <K> (idhung <BR, LD> etc.)
'woman'	Re'du	ledoh <LG, LW, W>, doh <K>		
'snake'	Ripa	nyipa' <K>, jipa' <UL, HT>		
'fish'	nj n	cen <M>, sén <N, P>		
'sand'	R t	ét <H>, é:t <HT>, hét , héat <GLB>, hait <K>		
'bad'	ja'as	ja'ak <K>		
'we (three)* (inclusive)	telew	telow <GLB>, tla <W>, telo' <UT, US>, telo: 		
'we (three) (exclusive)	melew	melow <GLB>, emtla <W>, kamtelo' <UT, US>, kamlo: , kamlow <H>		
'they (three)'	selew	seklaw tey <MLL>, sela' su <W>, hlaw <GLB, M>, sekaw <LW>	(sile('), ile <TB>, ilo <TS, TSD>)	
'who'	say	hây <M>, hey <H>, hey' <LW, W>, hi:' <K>	(si, sun <TS, TSD> se <TB>)	nêy <K>, ay <S> (i:h , ié <TR>, idé <LD>)

Bintulu

Kayanic peoples

Murutic peoples



English			Tidung subgroups	Other Muruts and related groups
(2) Kayanic-Murutic words				
'already'	penga	nga' <LG, LW, W, GLB, HT>	penga: <BN>, pango <other T>	
'dog'	asew	Aso', aso: <K>, saw' <LG, LW>	asu <T>	
'cat'	s ng	sing, sé:ng <K,W>, sé' <N>	using, usi' <T>	
'head'	ulew	dew' <LG, LW>, du' <W>	uru <BN>	uluh <TR, BR, LD>, lew <S>
'right side'	tu'u:	ta'o: <K, GLB>, aw <other G>	(kemangot, beget <T>)	tu'uh <TR>, tuew <K>, oh <S>
'to lie down'	lu'bi'	ubéh <P>, bië <M>, Lubèang <H, N>	perubit <BN>	selubit <TR>, selubid , telubid <LD>
'thick'	meqaban	kapan <H, N, P>, kapa:n , kapa:l <UT, US, HT>	kapar <T>	mekapal <LD>, kapal <TR, BR>,
(3) Murutic words				
'to hit'	memb '		membèng <BN>, membang <TS>	
'belly'	tina'i'		tinay <T>	tiray, teray <Ida'an> pelanguy <TR>, pelangoy <K>, langoey <S>, lemanguy <BR, LD> kedalauh <TR>, pedaluh , pekedaluh <LD>
'to swim'	peRingoy	(nanguy <KM>)	manguy <BN>, ensaduy, encaduy <T>	
'to fight' (quarrel)	Bedalow		(bebakaw <BN>)	

[Sources] (Partly modified by the author) Bintulu: Bibi Aminah 1992. Tering<TR>, Bario
, Lun Dayeh<LD>, Sa'ban<S>: Blust 1984. Kiput<K>: Blust 2002. Ida'an: Moody and Moody 1989. Tidung (<T>); Tidung Sesayap <TS>, T. Bengawong <TB>, T. Sumbol-Dengusan <TSD>, Bulungan <BN>) and Kayanic subgroups: Okushima field data.

Table 6: Social Stratification of Kayanic Peoples in East Kalimantan

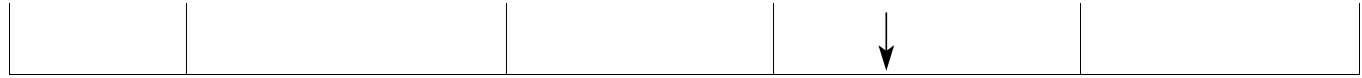
stratum	1: P, M	2: H, N, UL	3: HT	4: UT, US, ULW	5: LG	6: LW
	higher (paren ja:)		hipuy uma:'	hipuy aya',	hepoy pyûn	hepoy puen
noble	/ chief	pu'un uma' <H>		hipuy maran		
	paren	hipun uma' <N, UL>				hepoy keyn
	Lower		hipuy uk	hipuy uk	hepoy so'	hepoy so'
	higher / elders			keluna:n aya' / pegawa' <UT>	peguwé'	lun kéhèa, lun puen,
commoner		panyin 	pegawa'	pengéra' <US>		pengin downg
	panyin	panyén <H, N>		hukang <ULW>		
	ordinary		payin	panyin	pengin	pengin
slave	hula', salut <P>	ripan, salu:t <H>	dipan, amin	dipan, halut	meguy,	meguys,
	hlue' <M>	hula', salut 			dipan	haloet
		hula' <N>				

-----: Stratified.

---- : Loosely categorized.

Table 7: Kayanic Grouping Patterns according to Dwelling and Kinship

Dwelling group		Correspondent kin group		
English	Kayanic terms	▲ LW	▲ UT, US / LG	▲ HT
conjugal couple,	jaha:n, na'an <K>, ni'in <LG>			
nuclear family		hewa'	(hawa' / hewa')	
		↓	↓	hiha'
apartment group,	amin <K, HT>, moa <M> /		hina' / hena' ↓	
extended family	mesow <LG, LW, W> /	hena', hebé:		kapo:ng ↑
	masin <MLL, GLB>		↑	
farming group	daléh <K>			
	laléh <HT> / leléh <LG>		↑	
			hina' denga:n / hena' denga:n	hina' kapo:ng ↓
longhouse group	uma:', uma' <K, B> /		↓	↑
	min <LG, LW>, amin <HT>,	kesoy', ketiw ↓		denga:n
	lemin <W, GLB>			↓
village group	uma:', ukung <K> /		hula:n ↓	↑
	tukung, tukuwong <N, H>,			
	tukue <M> /		↑	
	akowng <LG>, ekowng <LW>,			kapo:ng denga:n
	akung <MLL>, maowa akong <GLB>			↑
cf.) ethnic		sawh ↑	daha', uma:' /	hwang ↑
group			lun, lih	↓
		↓		↓



BASKETS FROM THE FOREST: KELABIT BASKETS OF LONG PELUAN

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Introduction

Before the arrival of the logging road in 1997, the Kelabit at Long Peluan traded baskets and basket parts with their neighbors and they had a thriving basket culture which flourished within the context of the times and their former farming practices. However, the weaving of baskets is becoming an activity which is less relevant to people as they change their farming practices, and as they have cash to buy baskets or their equivalent elsewhere. Thus, due to changes brought about by education, access to logging roads, and the availability of cash income, the skills of basket weaving have not been passed on between generations, even though baskets have become an icon of identity in the urban setting. Nonetheless, some skills and knowledge have been adapted by the neighboring Penan.

The Setting: the Kelabit at Long Peluan

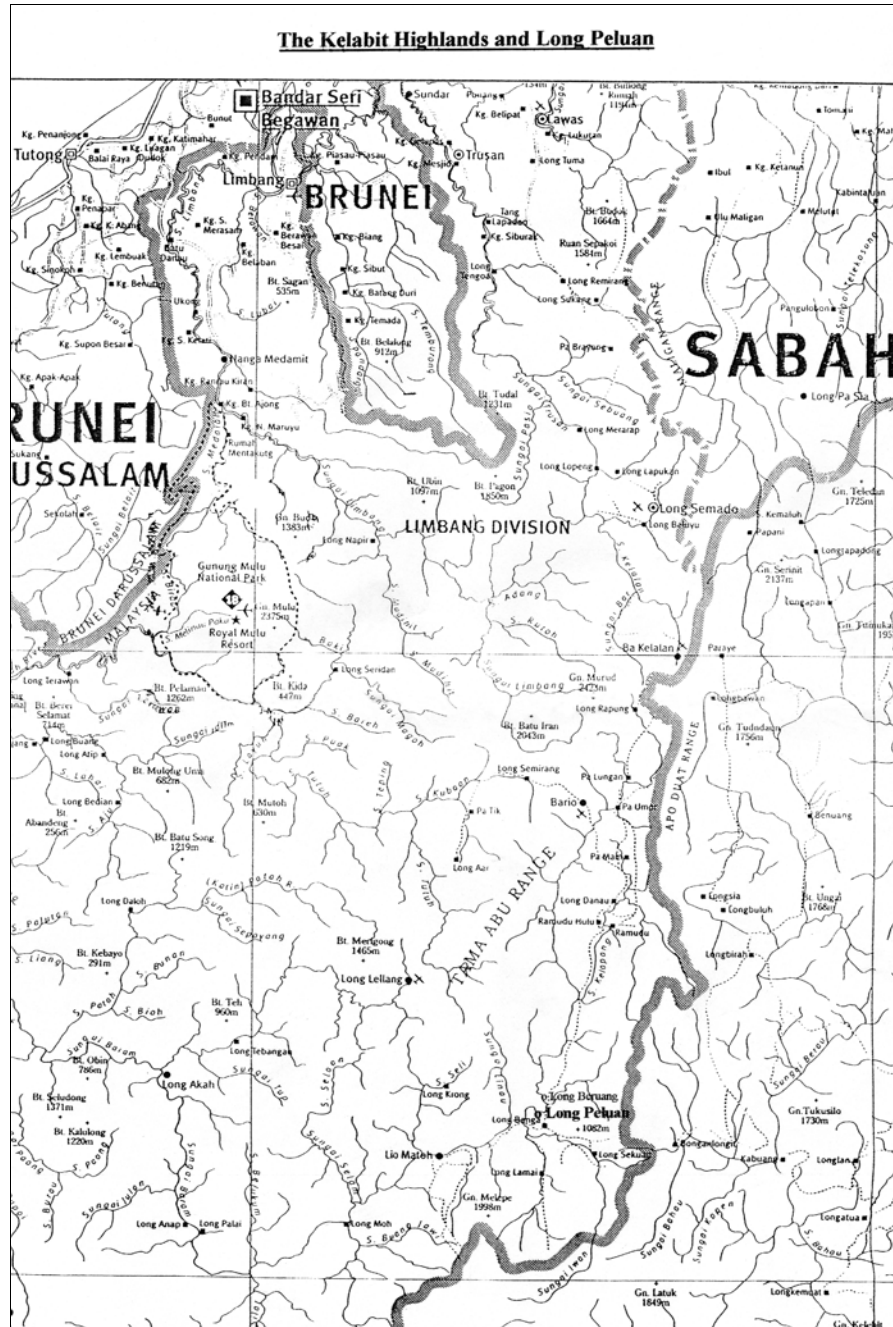
The focus for this study is on the materials, use, and inventory of baskets at Long Peluan, a hundred-year old Kelabit settlement located on the Kelapang River, which is the headwaters of the Baram, at the southern end of the Kelabit Highlands. Currently, the longhouse comprises twenty households. It used to be on an important trading route out of the Kelabit Highlands to the coast. This journey used to take seven days on foot and by boat. The construction of a logging road in 1997 has meant the same journey can now be completed in under ten hours by truck.

Until the arrival of the road, Long Peluan had been isolated from commercial markets and was virtually self-sufficient in most items needed for subsistence. Locally-made baskets were used for all stages of rice production, hunting and gathering activities, and domestic use. Most men and women wove some form of basket, and in the past, basketry was recognized as a valuable skill. There were the time and the motivation to weave, and resources were readily available. However, this situation has changed and few community members who have completed secondary education are able to weave baskets.

Major Changes Affecting Long Peluan

First of all, education has contributed to the out-migration of the younger generation who are no longer dependent on farming. Thus the number of household members has decreased and some farms have become smaller to meet diminishing needs. However, other farmers have planted large farms in order to sell surpluses to the logging camps or in town. The values of educational achievement mean that longhouse skills of weaving and farming are not passed on and this knowledge is now held only by the senior generation.

Secondly, one or two younger families have returned to the longhouse, availing themselves of the opportunities for income through trading manufactured goods, providing



Map 1: Location of Long Peluan

transport facilities, and to work for the logging company. Cash income is gained by working in the nearby logging camp, or by selling vegetables, fish, and game to the workers of the nearby veneer factory and the logging camp. Although the main occupation of every household continues to be a combination of wet- and hill-rice cultivation, the main source of cash income is from the logging industry. This cash has enabled the purchase of motorbikes which have transformed the way land and resources are used for farming.

Thirdly, the arrival of the logging road has changed the way people farm, their labor relationships, and their material resources for farming, including their baskets. Although logging has taken place east of Long Peluan, most basketry resource materials have not yet been affected as most are available in the primary and secondary forest near the longhouse. However, it has yet to be determined how much certain rattan resources will be sustained as these are harvested by the nearby Penan.

Fourthly, the development of the nearby Penan settlement of Long Beruang and the adoption of rice cultivation by the Penan have resulted in a transfer of knowledge of basketry skills between the communities.

The discussion below will cover the materials used, baskets used in rice cultivation, baskets used within the house, heavy-duty baskets, and the all-purpose *uyut barit* (drawstring bag). There will also be a section that focuses on the details of parts of the baskets and the names of motifs.

Materials¹

Long Peluan is surrounded by rainforest which has been partially logged on the eastern side and there has been until now a supply of rattan, bamboo, and other raw materials needed for basketry. However, this situation may change.

Ue Rattan (Calamus sp.)

Rattan is the most important basketry resource in Long Peluan. Most of the species required are readily available and some are traded from the Penan who travel beyond depleted areas to collect this resource at Pa' Ukan. It is not clear how much resources have been depleted by logging activities in the area. Some households where there are keen weavers of basketry items actively plant rattan, usually the versatile *ue tak* (*Calamus caesius*). Kelabit men collect the rattan and will weave burden baskets and complete other types of baskets with lashing and border work (Plate 1). The most readily available species is *ue pa'it* (*Calamus pogoncanthus*) which is used partially split as in the ring reinforcing the border of large harvesting baskets (*bu'an*), or split for the finer work of binding and lashing or twill weaving of harvesting and reaping baskets (*bu'an* and *ra'ing*).

The rattan canes used unsplit for the cycloid weaving of burden baskets (*bekang kerawang*) are from the species *ue angkat* and *ue kusa* (*Calamus flabellatus*) and *ue rabun* (*Calamus javensis*). These same rattans are split for the hexagonal weaving on a finer burden basket (*bekang mata*) and an all-purpose food-gathering basket, the *kalang*.

A variety of species can be split for finer work needed for the twill weaving of harvesting and reaping baskets (*bu'an*, *raing*), daily use baskets (*uyut*), borders, lashing and shoulder straps (*kela'ih*). These are *ue tak* (*Calamus caesius*), *ue kusa* (*Calamus*

¹ The scientific classification for most of the species mentioned in this section is taken from Christensen 2002.

flabellatus), *ue pa'it*, *ue toki* (*Calamus pogoncanthus*) and *ue lingan* (*Daemonorops sabu*).



Plate 1. An elder completing a basket rim (photo: Valerie Mashman)

The rattan cane is harvested when the thorny leaf-sheaths begin to fall away, revealing the mature cane underneath. The cane is cut near the ground and is pulled down from the canopy, dragging it against tree trunks to discard the thorny leaf-sheaths. The immature crown is trimmed off and the harvested canes are brought back in coils or cut in pieces of the desired length. The cane can be split green and then dried before weaving. If it is not to be used immediately, it is soaked in water to prevent it from drying out and becoming too brittle. It is split using a knife and is smoothed by using a metal template called a *peru*, which is often made by piercing holes through the base of an empty milk tin. The rattan strands are pushed through the holes of varying sizes to obtain a uniform width of rattan strands as required.

Bulu' Bamboo (Schizostachyum blumei)

A fine bamboo which grows up to seven meters high by river banks (*bulu' poran*, *Schizostachyum blumei*) is used for making harvesting, reaping, winnowing, and all-purpose food-serving baskets. It has internodes of about one meter lengths which provide suitable long strands for weaving. These are harvested by cutting the lengths at about two centimeters below each internode. The bamboo is collected by women in one meter lengths (Plate 2). It is then split in half and each half is then split into five even



Plate 2. Collecting bamboo (photo: Valerie Mashman)

sections which are held together at the node. In order to discard the inner pith, the five sections held at the node are bent outwards. The inner part peels away easily, leaving the green outer part (*ling*). This inner part is further split to discard the pith, leaving matte strands that are useable. The green outer surface is sometimes scraped if the weavers want to apply paint. The contrast between the outer shiny green surface and the matte inner surface is used to make patterns. Because bamboo is collected with comparative ease by women themselves, it is widely used. Once baskets have been treated with tannin paste (see below), they are strong and durable.

Bulu' lik (Donax cannaeformis)

This plant grows in alluvial soils along streams and river banks. The long thin stems are collected and split into strands of the required size. In the process, the pith is discarded. The strands are then dried before use. In Long Peluan these are used to make mats and chicken cages (*belalong la'al*).

Ubir ate Tannin Paste (Syzygium rosuletum)

A tannin paste extracted from a tree bark, *ubir ate (Syzygium rosuletum)*, is used together with soot from tree resin (*natang*) to bring out the features of the pattern on bamboo baskets. The matte inner strands of the bamboo absorb the color of the tannin. This process is done yearly to strengthen the baskets and to deter insects. Plain rattan baskets are also treated in this way (Plate 3). This tannin paste is often obtained from the neighboring Penan, who venture further afield to obtain it. The outer bark of the tree is peeled off and the inner bark is scraped. The bark chips are collected and soaked in water for use as and when required. This resource may decrease in availability as the forest becomes depleted.



Plate 3. Applying the tannin paste to a winnowing basket (photo: Valerie Mashman)

Temar (*Curculigo villosa*)

The fibrous leaves of this plant are used to make a soft headstrap (*senguloh*) used on harvesting, reaping, all-purpose, and burden baskets. The leaves are split into sections and plaited. The fiber within the leaves, which twists easily, can be processed to make a fine thread.

Belaban buda (*Tristaniopsis whiteana*)

This is the preferred wood for use for basket supports (*repit*). The tree is easily recognized by its whitish colored bark and the way the bark peels away from the trunk, like scrolls of paper.

Da'un ilad (*Licuala* sp.)

This fan-shaped palm leaf is used to make rainhoods (*samit*) and large circular sunhats (*raong*). The leaves are collected from the deep forest by men. Women dry and trim them to the required shape and size. In the past, a thread extracted from pineapple leaves was used to sew the leaves together, but has now been replaced by commercial cotton thread.

Dyes

The Kelabit at Long Peluan for a time used black dyes to color rattan. The leaves of two species of plants were used, *da'un mirir* (*Macaranga costulata*) and *da'un keraru* (*Archidendron clypearia*). These could be used separately or combined. The leaves were pounded and infused in boiling water together with the rattan split strands. After this the dyed strands were buried in mud to fix the color. Nowadays if basket weavers want to use dyed strands of rattan, they will obtain them from the Penan.

Baskets Used by Rice Farmers at Long Peluan

Growing rice is central to the rural Kelabit way of life. The Kelabit motivation to work hard (*do' seku'al*) is generated by the desire for bountiful harvests, which generate security and wealth, and for many people, prestige. In anticipation of a good harvest, it is important to have a good supply of baskets in the loft, stored directly above the fireplace to enhance durability. This is slowly changing, as will be revealed at the end of this section.

For shifting cultivators, the first stage of the rice cycle is the sowing of the rice seed. When the field has been burned and cleared, men walk along the hillsides using *u'an*, or dibbles, to make holes for the seeds. The women follow with the rice-seed baskets (*selaban*) tied to their waists, dropping seeds from their hands. The *selaban* is a small cylindrical basket made of bamboo with a simple rattan ring (*bebpit*) at the rim of the basket. It is woven by a twill technique with patterns formed with dyed strands. Rattan eyelets (*telinga*) are woven into the rim to facilitate tying the basket to the waist. This basket is now becoming increasingly rare as small plastic buckets and tin cans are just as convenient.

About four months after sowing, the ears of ripe grain are ready for harvesting. Each ripe rice-stalk is individually cut using a metal blade. Harvesting is usually done in co-operative groups (*baya'*) on a reciprocal basis.

Every member of the harvesting group brings along two baskets, a smaller one for reaping (*ra'ing*), that is, collecting the ears of ripe padi, and a much larger one for carrying the harvested grain back to the barn or the longhouse for storage (*bu'an*). The reaping baskets are worn at the waist with the strap across the shoulder so that the plucked ears of

rice are easily dropped inside. The group works together in a line, so that no stalk is missed. The closeness of the group provides ample opportunity for the recounting of stories, jokes, and the singing of epics, to relieve the boredom of the chore. When the reaping baskets are full, they are methodically emptied into the larger basket, the *bu'an*. If men are around, one or two will take on the special task of carrying the larger *bu'an* on their shoulders to collect the contents of the reaping baskets from one end of the line to the other.

Reaping Baskets (*ra'ing*)

There are five types of reaping baskets in use at Long Peluan. The most common type (*ra'ing barit*) is woven out of split bamboo in a twill technique (Plate 4). A pattern is created by the alternate plaiting of matte strands from the inner part of the bamboo and glossy outer strands. The basket is finished off with a double or single rattan ring at the rim. The long strap made of plaited leaf-fiber (*temar*) is threaded through eyelets on the vertical rattan supports. The final stage is the treating of the whole basket with a tannin paste obtained from a tree bark (*ubir*). After this, soot obtained from burning a resin (*natang*) is applied to give a strong dark color to the matte strands of bamboo to highlight the patterns woven on the basket.

Another version of this basket with a more conical shape and more muted colors can be seen on the right of plate 4. This basket (*ra'ing budok*), which was used for two generations, is not very common now. It was worn around the waist.



Plate 4. On the left, a patterned reaping basket (*ra'ing barit*), and on the right an unusual conical reaping basket (*ra'ing budok*) (photo: Valerie Mashman)

In addition, larger bamboo patterned baskets (*ra'ing berian*) made by the Berian in Kalimantan are beginning to reach Long Peluan as trade items. These bright baskets, colored with commercial paints, are very popular with other Kelabit communities. Their ready availability means that they are used as souvenir gifts for visiting dignitaries, or at weddings.

There is also a plain rattan reaping basket (*ra'ing ue*) in use, made in a style similar to the bamboo version. It is plaited by a twill technique and is finished off with a double rim and vertical supports. It is very similar to another rattan reaping basket (*tayen*) that comes from the Lun Bawang and their counterparts from over the border, the Berian and the Kerayan.

Harvesting Baskets (*bu'an*)

There are two types of harvesting baskets used in Long Peluan, a smaller one made of bamboo which carries weights of about thirty kilograms and a larger rattan basket which can carry about forty kilograms, and is more commonly carried by men.

Harvesting baskets (*bu'an*) are for carrying harvested rice back from the fields to the grain hut or longhouse. They are also used for storing rice at various stages of processing. A detachable cover (*i'ap*) is fitted and tied on for this purpose.

The Bamboo Patterned Harvesting Basket (*bu'an barat*)

The patterned bamboo harvesting basket (*bu'an barat*) woven in Long Peluan is different in shape, size, and style from other Kelabit harvesting baskets. It is cylindrical in shape, but a skillfully woven basket will be flared at the top so the rim is larger than the base. Its most unusual feature is that its vertical supports are extended below the base to form legs, which is similar to Kayan and Kenyah *ingan* baskets (Plate 5).



Plate 5. A patterned harvesting basket (*bu'an barat*). Major patterns are as follows from the top down: *arit luh* (backbone or vertebrae); *arit nurad* (a line); *arit pelab* (an interlocking pattern of tiny diamond shapes); *arit ricoh* (a wavy line); *arit lemulun* (the human figure motif) (photo: Valerie Mashman)

It is woven by a twill technique with patterns worked in horizontal bands. The color is derived from the application of a soot and tannin paste which is described above. Shoulder straps and a headstrap are attached to eyelets carved into the upper part of the wooden vertical supports. The rim is completed with double or triple bands of lashing.

Because of the difference in shape, Kelabit from other parts of the Highlands do not even recognize it as a Kelabit basket. However, there is a similar basket, collected from Pa' Mada in the southern Highlands nearly forty years ago, now in the Sarawak Museum. Weavers in Long Peluan are uncertain when this style started to be woven, but readily say it is possibly influenced by the Ngurek Kenyah and predates the more recent migrations of the Lepo' Ke Kenyah in the 1950s to Long Banga. The Sa'ban and the Lepo' Ke Kenyah also weave these baskets.

Conical Harvesting Baskets (*bu'an budok*)

At this point it is relevant to show how the design of the flat-bottomed bamboo harvesting basket (*bu'an barit*) has similarities to a conical harvesting basket, *bu'an budok* (plate 6). This is not made anymore but can still be found in the lofts of Kelabit



Plate 6. Conical harvesting basket (*bu'an budok*) (photo: Valerie Mashman)

longhouses and rice barns. It was still in use up to thirty years ago, mainly where hill-rice was cultivated in the southern Kelabit areas of Pa' Main, Pa' Mada , Ramudu, and Batu Patong where many of the Long Peluan people have ancestors. It is difficult to ascertain the reason for the conical shape which would appear impractical. Informants point out that these baskets stand against fallen logs and tree stumps in areas cleared for the planting of hill-rice. Some say that they are easy to carry due to the distribution of weight. Others point out the advantages of being able to stack one basket inside the other.

Rattan Harvesting Baskets (*bu'an ue*)

The Long Peluan Kelabit together with their Sa'ban and Kenyah neighbors weave large twill harvesting baskets made of rattan (Plate 7). These baskets also have vertical supports which are extended to form legs. The headstrap and shoulder straps are attached to eyelets carved in the wooden vertical supports. The wide rim is made up of three rattan rings bound together with fine rattan lashing. The large circumference of these baskets and their stocky shape is reminiscent of the cone-shaped baskets described above. Elsewhere in the Highlands these baskets are reinforced with horizontal rattan rings (*beret*) and are commonly bought from the Berian and Kerayan in Kalimantan.



Plate 7. Kelabit basket with horizontal supports (photo: Sarawak Museum)

Changes After 1997

Farm sites are now located close to the road for ease of access using motor vehicles. In turn, harvesting practices are beginning to change. In some cases stalks of padi are put directly into recycled plastic fiber flour sacks which are easily carried by trucks or motorbikes on the road. The use of these sacks means that there is no longer need to bring reaping or harvesting baskets to the field. The latter take up space on a truck or motorbike, as they are difficult to stack. Moreover, the padi is kept in the sacks for all stages of processing.

In the past when extra labor was needed, it was done on a reciprocal basis. Gradually sometimes payment was made in terms of a basket of padi. What is increasingly happening now is that payment is no longer made in terms of baskets, but in terms of sacks.

This demonstrates the change in use of the baskets as a result of reduced farming activities and changes in the ways farming is carried out. In turn, the old reaping and harvesting baskets make their way to Miri on the coast where they decorate the carpeted living rooms of the families from the longhouse who live in this coastal city. These baskets become emblematic of the rural origins of the city-based household.

Sieving Baskets and Wincwing

The *agag* is a sieve used for separating husked from unhusked rice after it has been pounded by hand. It is commonly found hanging at the rice barn (Plate 8). It is loosely woven at the



Plate 8. A sieve (*agag*) (photo: Valerie Mashman)

center in a checker technique which is converted at the sides to a closer weave in a twill technique to reinforce the border. This is further strengthened by a rattan rim so that the sieve can withstand the heavy flow of rice. The use of the rice mill renders the sieving process unnecessary, as every grain is husked.

The Kelabit at Long Peluan have adopted from their Kenyah neighbors the herringbone pattern on the bamboo winnowing-basket (*rinoh*) (Plate 9). The pattern is described as *tenganoh nurad* (blood vessels). This basket is made in two sizes, a larger size for personal domestic use, and a smaller size for sale to Kelabit in towns.



Plate 9. Kelabit woman winnowing in Long Peluan. Note the pattern *tenganoh nurad* (blood vessels) on the basket. This style of basket pattern has been learned from the Kenyah (photo: Valerie Mashman)

After the rice has been harvested, the grains are removed from the stalks by threshing them with bare feet. Once the grains have been extracted, they are further refined by winnowing. This process separates the grains from the lighter dust and chaff, prior to husking. Winnowing is a skilled task. The impure mixture of rice and chaff is thrown in the air. As the heavier rice grains fall, the winnowing tray is brought up to catch them. This movement creates a draft of air which then causes the lighter chaff and dust to fall away to the ground. This is repeated until all that is left is whole rice grains ready for husking. This process may also be repeated at later stages of the rice cycle, when pounded rice is taken out of storage. Winnowing is then done to remove any dust or weevils prior to cooking.

The winnowing tray may also be used for storing vegetables or for distributing rice packets at a feast (*irau*).

Baskets Used for Rice in the Kitchen Area

The *beluan* is a small square basket with sides of double thickness used for scooping uncooked rice from a larger container and for measuring the correct quantity for cooking. There is a clear ratio of the number of measures from the *beluan* that are to be used for an aluminum cooking pot, or in the old days, a large earthenware pot (*kudin*). It is also a measure for an amount of rice that may be given to a neighbor who is entertaining guests. A mental note is made of the gift and the gesture is reciprocated when the opportunity arises. This basket is getting rarer, because most households prefer to use containers such as recycled tins.

The *i'ap* is a useful bamboo basket that is woven to cover the rice in the carrying basket (*bu'an*) to stop it from falling out. It is commonly woven with dyed strands on the base and the back of the basket to form various patterns. The basket is finished off at the rim by folding strands back into the topmost rows. Sometimes it is finished off with a single rattan ring that conceals the rattan basket strands (*bebpi*). This ring is knotted to the main basket using a fine rattan (*ue touki*) for coiling the lashing onto the ring. It is a relatively simple basket to make, and as a result it is often the first type of basket that a young woman will learn to weave. It is a flexible shape and is also used as an all-purpose food basket, such as for keeping packets of cooked rice wrapped in leaves. It is also used for offering fruit in the evening to visitors to the hearth. This is how most people exchange news, entertain themselves, and relax after a day's work in the absence of television or radio.

A deeper basket with a lid and narrow neck is also used for storing the packets of cooked rice. This is called a *ne'at* in Long Peluan and a *belalong nuba* in Bareo (Plate 10). This is

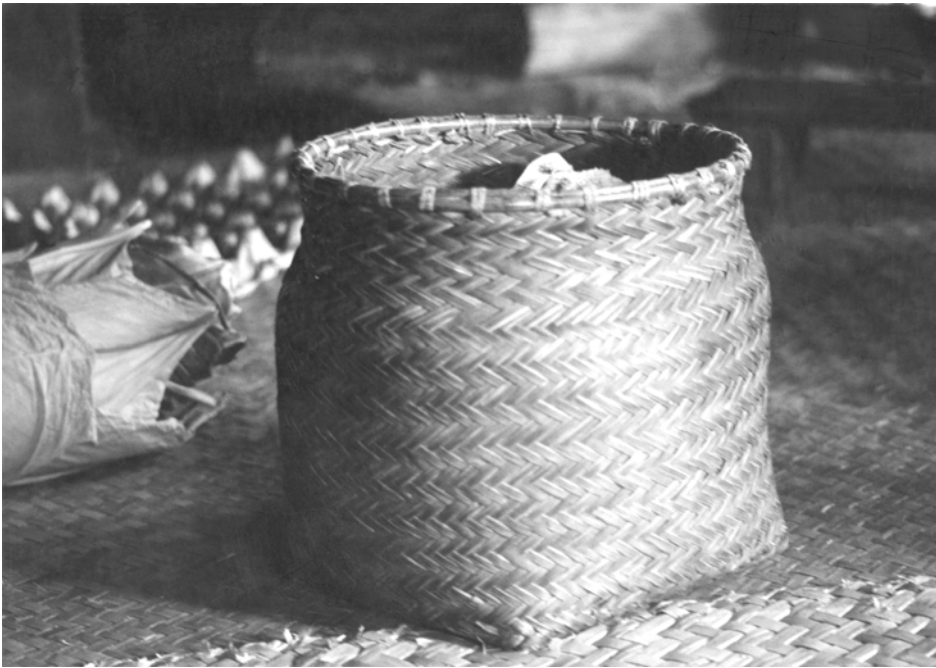


Plate 10. *Belalong nuba*, a basket for serving packets of rice (photo: Elis Belare)
rarely seen in use now in Long Peluan due to the practical way the multi-purpose *i'ap* can be

used. However, in other Kelabit longhouses and in the towns, the *beluan* is in popular use. These baskets used for storing packets of cooked rice are intrinsic to rural Kelabit life. A basket is the perfect container for hot packets of steaming rice as there is room for the steam to escape.

The Drawstring Bag (*uyut*) — Baskets for Christians

The drawstring bag (*uyut*) has become popular among many different ethnic groups in Borneo. In Sarawak, the Penan are reputed to be the originators of this bag. Nonetheless, it is interesting to record how the drawstring bags made by the Long Peluan Kelabit in the 1960s reflected an important period of social change.

This period of social change came with World War II which opened up the Highlands to outside influence. By the 1950s people had become evangelical Christians and they had given up growing and smoking tobacco, brewing rice wine, and drinking alcohol. Missionaries began to foster adult literacy and encourage schooling. In the mid-1970s there was a religious revival which resulted in a questioning of certain aspects of their lives. As a result, for reasons beyond the scope of this current discussion, ancient jars and beads were destroyed, and people in Long Peluan stopped growing and trading tobacco, which had been a substantial source of revenue.

In the 1960s, women at Long Peluan learned to make the drawstring bag, known as the *uyut barit*, by pulling to pieces one made by their Penan neighbors at Long Beruang. The patterns were adapted from the Penan or copied from the Kelabit repertoire of patterns woven on reaping and harvesting baskets (*ra'ing, bu'an barit*). The women who started weaving these baskets were among the first to become literate and go to school and it was very much in the spirit of the times that Christian messages were woven onto the bags in the early 1970s, for example, "Sing for Joy," "God is Love," and "Christmas 1978" (Plate 11). The names of the weavers were sometimes woven, or the intended recipients, such as "To Mary." Occasionally these baskets were commissioned by young men as love-tokens. These baskets would be especially used on Sundays for carrying prayer books and other items to church, and they are also used for collecting money from the congregation. These baskets were then traded by the Long Peluan Kelabit throughout the Highlands and their widespread use within the community is widely acknowledged as a testimony to their success.

Often the Kelabit would make the whole basket themselves, but they were supported by the ever-ready provision of dyed strands of rattan, rattan eyelets (*kaar*), and shoulder straps (*kela'ih*) from their Penan neighbors, who had also begun to introduce names and messages onto their *uyut*.

The *uyut* were made in various sizes. Sometimes the bag would be reinforced with a light mat lining, and it would be finished off with a net across the top to secure items inside. It would also be decorated with fine seed-bead tassels on the drawstrings.

Since the mid 1980s these baskets are no longer made, as there is no longer such a good market for them because cheaper baskets made by the Penan are readily available. However, these *uyut* with messages are still very much in use. From this example, it is easy to understand how historical and social factors affect a fashion in basketry. This *uyut* reflects a transition to literacy and Christianity and the income derived from the sale of these baskets replaced tobacco revenue which was discouraged by the church.



Plate 11. A drawstring bag (*uyut*) with the words "God Cares." The main motif is *arit betik*, a tattoo motif (photo: Elis Belare)

Heavy-Duty Baskets

Kelabit men and women use a flexible basket (*kalang*) plaited with split rattan from the base upwards using a hexagonal weave (*matah*) (Plate 12) to carry firewood, bamboo, or agricultural produce from the forest or farm back to the longhouse (Plate 13). The basic basket is put on a light rattan frame (*atan*, *tulang kalang*) so it fits well onto a person's back. Shoulder straps and a headstrap are lashed onto the frame supports. Sometimes it is lined with a light pandanus mat (*liling*) to give extra support for the contents of the basket. This basket is easily made and still useful. However, the Penan at Long Beruang have learned to make them, making them for sale, and have a ready market among both the urban and rural Kelabit (Plate 14).

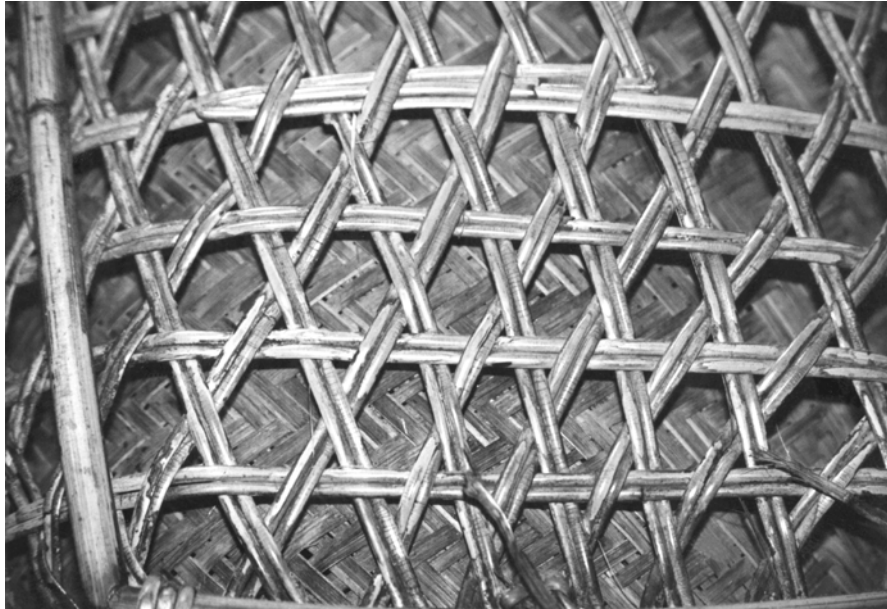


Plate 12. Hexagonal or *matah* technique (photo: Valerie Mashman)



Plate 13. A group of women going out together wearing *kalang* and *bekang* baskets (photo: Sarawak Museum)



Plate 14. A Kelabit woman buying a basket from Penan at Long Beruang (photo: Valerie Mashman)

Burden Baskets (*bekang*)

The Kelabit have long had a reputation for being good walkers and being able to walk twice as fast and as far as their neighbors. In order to carry heavy loads such as trade goods, fruit, fish, or game, burden baskets are used. Given the isolation of Long Peluan, these baskets are essential for all journeys, be it to the next village for an overnight stop or to the nearest navigable river to the coast. These baskets will continue to be used in the future, especially by men, for hunting off the road, as they are strong and flexible and are designed to carry varying burdens.

The basic shape of the basket consists of a back (*ketit bekang*), two sides and an optional front flap which is laced onto the sides with rattan or nylon cord. The basket is usually plaited using unsplit rattan in a cycloid technique (*kerawang*) (Plate 15) or split rattan with a hexagonal technique (*matah*). The baskets are referred to by the style of weaving used, for example, *bekang matah* or *bekang kerawang*. It is difficult to differentiate between the uses of the two techniques for different baskets. It is possible to find large men's hunting baskets or smaller women's finer baskets plaited in either technique.

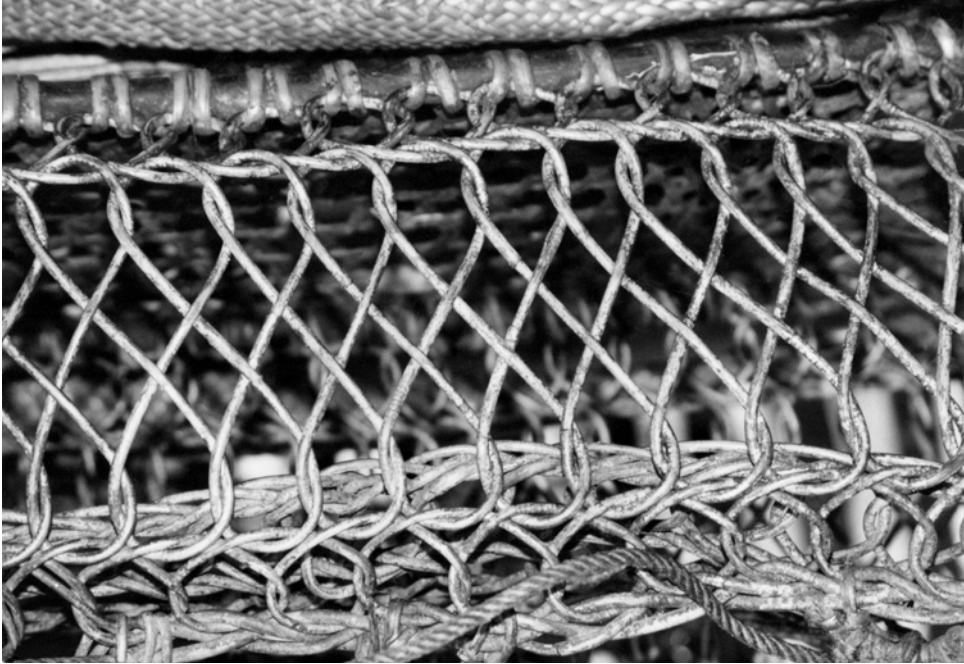


Plate 15. The cycloid technique, *kerawang* (Valerie Mashman)

The basket is not woven from the base, but in rectangular strips on a frame (*tulang*) (Plate 16). Thus, one long rectangular piece becomes the sides, and another smaller piece forms the front flap. The back is woven separately with a twill technique on a separate frame (*atan*) with the end of the main frame support posts (*bangia*) integrated into the back using a herringbone knotting technique (*bebpit kukud ulit*). At the base of the back of the basket is a wooden rectangular back support (*bengar, atib*).

Different kinds of burden baskets are made for different purposes in various styles. The Kelabit say that their *bekang* are different from those of their neighbors because they make a differently shaped basket for women. This is a smaller basket which is shaped into the back, so it is narrower at the bottom and fits into the small of the back, being more flared at the top (Plate 17). The men's basket is more rectangular in shape. A much larger, rougher, more loosely woven cycloid basket (*bekang kerawang*) is used for hunting. Such baskets are able to withstand the weight of a wild boar carcass. A smaller basket is made for children to use.

The women and children's *bekang* are now rarely in use as long distances are now covered by car, in fact these are becoming collectors' items by Kelabit in the city.

The essential accessories for these burden baskets are a pandanus mat (*liling*) used for lining the basket and the *samit*, an all-purpose raincoat and seat-mat. The *liling* is particularly important when there is no front flap to the burden basket as it serves to hold down the contents, which are further secured by cord which is threaded through and across the sides of the basket. The *samit* is an elongated hood made from palm leaves (*daun ilad, Licuala sp.*) stitched together with pineapple fiber (*rusan*) or bark (*talun*). The *samit* rolls up conveniently to fit discreetly into a corner of the basket. In the past, there were two types of *samit*, the

curved hood (*samit okong*), to be worn to protect the head, the body, and the basket from heavy rain, and a rectangular folded sheet (*samit apo* ') made of palm leaves stitched together. This was used as a roof when making an overnight shelter or as a sleeping mat. The availability of plastic raffia sheeting has made the *samit apo* ' obsolete.



Plate 16. A blind man at Long Banga working on a frame.



Plate 17. Burden baskets. The flare-shaped baskets below on the right are used by women. The ones above and on the left are rectangular and used by men. On the far left is a rattan reaping basket (photo: Sarawak Museum)

Added Parts:

The Basket Rim

First, the twill weaving is finished off at the rim by folding the strands back through the topmost rows. In some cases, for shallow baskets, the strands are folded over to form the rim and then worked right through to the base, so that, in fact, the sides are of double thickness. This achieves strong stiff sides that require no additional rim (Plate 18). The *beluan*, a basket used in the past for measuring and scooping uncooked rice, is finished according to this technique.



Plate 18. Making a double collar rim as on a *beluan* (Valerie Mashman)

Finishing borders on baskets with rattan is a task completed by men. Smaller baskets and those that bear less weight are finished with a single split ring of rattan (*bebpit*) which grips the inner and outer edges of the rim. This ring is first tacked on temporarily and then knotted (*mepit*) onto the edge of the basket using an awl (*uat*). Harvesting and reaping baskets are finished off with a second rattan ring. This is held in place by bands of double lashing from the lower rim. This style of finishing off baskets is very much a characteristic of Kelabit and Lun Bawang baskets. The wide rattan and wood rims that are found on Iban and Kayan baskets are not made by the Kelabit. Four rings (*telinga*) are plaited onto the rim of harvesting baskets. These are used to tie down a lid (*i'ap*) to the basket when it is used for carrying or storing rice.

Reinforcement

Harvesting and reaping baskets are reinforced with four vertical supports (*repit*) usually made of wood, especially *belaban buda*, *Tristaniopsis whiteana*. The supports on the Long Peluan bamboo patterned harvesting baskets (*bu'an barit*) are particularly distinctive, as explained earlier, because they are extended to form unusually long legs, which are useful for standing the basket up on a hill slope. It is also easier to bend down and pick up a basket that is standing on legs off the ground. There is a little ornamental carving on the two supports with eyelets (*telingah*) used to hold the shoulder straps. The support posts are secured just above the rim with herringbone knotting (*bebpit kukud ulit*) which covers the top of the post. The supports are lashed onto the outer surface of the twill weaving and reinforced from the inside with parallel rattan strips.

Rattan harvesting baskets are also reinforced with horizontal rattan supports (*beret*) although this is not done in Long Peluan. This was once practiced widely in the Kelabit Highlands. However, now these baskets are traded from Kalimantan and are known as *bu'an berian*. These tend to be of a larger size than the bamboo *bu'an barit*. A similar smaller reaping basket (*ra'ing beret*) with horizontal rattan supports, is also used in other Kelabit settlements. It, too, comes from Kalimantan.

Across the base at the back of harvesting and burden baskets, support is given by a small wooden strip (*atib*) (plate 19).

Large harvesting baskets are reinforced at the base so that they will sit easily on the bund of the field. A single ring of rattan is used and this is reinforced by cycloid, checkered, or hexagonal weaving (plates 20, 21, 22).

Shoulder straps (*kela'ih*) are made of a fine rattan and are plaited. The Kelabit in Long Peluan distinguish their shoulder straps as being wider, and plaited with eight strands compared to the Penan who use six, or the Kenyah, seven. Dunsmore (1991:206) comments on the fine way in which the four-strand loops at the base of the shoulder straps are folded over to form the eight-strand plaiting in a way that the ends can hardly be detected. Headstraps (*senguloh*) are plaited from leaf fiber (*temar*, *Curculigo villosa*). These are used in addition to shoulder straps for any baskets that bear a substantial weight such as harvesting baskets, reaping, and burden baskets. For reaping baskets, the headstrap is worn across the shoulder. In the case of the larger-sized reaping basket, the shoulder strap may be used as a headstrap when used for carrying a heavy load over a distance.



Plate 19. The *atib* or back supports. The motifs on the basket are as follows from top to bottom, *arit luh*, 'backbone' or 'vertebrae'; *arit nurad*, 'straight lines'; *arit pelab*, a linking diagonal pattern; *arit belapan*, 'butterflies'; *arit lemulun*, 'human figures' (photo: Valerie Mashman)

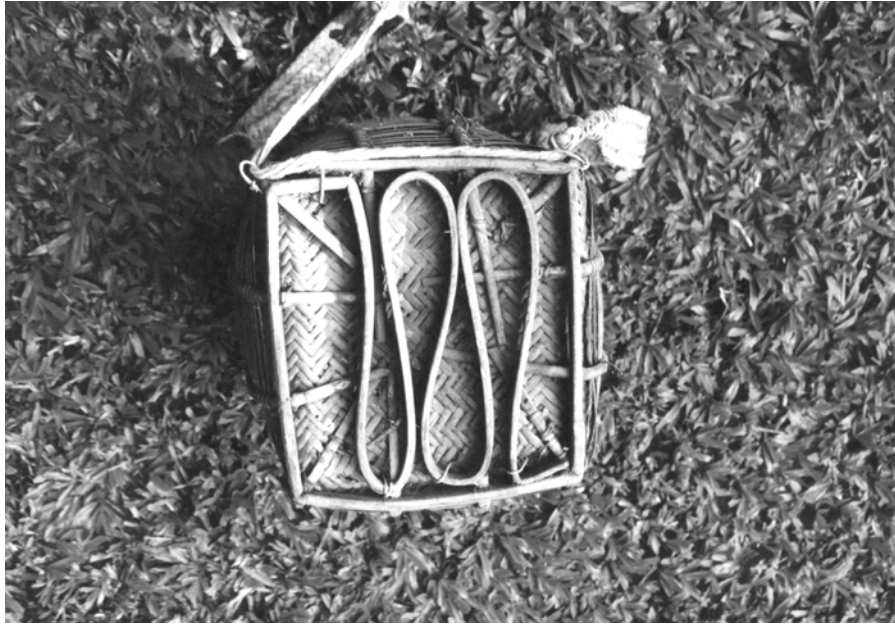


Plate 20. A cycloid reinforcement at the base of a harvesting basket (photo: Valerie Mashman)



Plate 21. A checker reinforcement at the base of a harvesting basket (photo: Valerie Mashman)



Plate 22. A hexagonal reinforcement at the base of a harvesting basket (photo: Valerie Mashman)

Names of Basketwork Patterns

Many of the patterns that appear on Kelabit baskets are also woven by other ethnic groups and despite the isolation of Long Peluan, their repertoire of motifs could easily be said to be Pan-Bornean (figure 1).






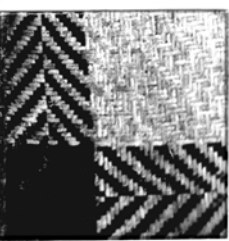
The Kelabit word *barit*, meaning ‘motif,’ refers to the name and type of the motif. This naming is used as a means to refer to the pattern and is not symbolic. The weaver weaves a triangle shape and then gives it a name, for example, *barit po’o*, ‘banana flower,’ by which to remember it. The motif does not represent a banana flower. The words “banana flower” are a means for the weaver to classify the motif. This can be further demonstrated when we examine motifs that are even less representational of the name that is given them. Thus, we have *barit kukud ada* which refers to ghosts’ footprints.² Another example is *barit terbang* which means ‘scales’ (for weighing goods) which is to be found on the back of the lid to a padi carrier (*i’ap*).

With both these examples, it can be seen that the motifs have very little resemblance to the name that is given to them. This argument fits in very much with what Kelabit weavers themselves are saying: *barit tupu, naam inan erti*, “the motifs have no meanings.” They are classified as just motifs, as is indicated by the word *barit*. Thus, names for motifs such as *barit*

² Janowski (2003:111) implies that this pattern may have more than a merely descriptive significance.

tenganoh nurad (blood vessels) or *barit lipan baya* (crocodile's teeth) (figure 1) have no deeper meaning. Even a name such as *barit betik beacun taman saging*, which humorously refers to the shoulder tattoos of a certain Taman Saging (who was not Kelabit, as the latter do not tattoo their shoulders), is a name given in jest (figure 1). In looking at motifs on the baskets, it is important to consider these as labels for patterns and nothing more (cf. Gavin 1997:284).

Figure 1 : Kelabit Patterns and Motif Names

	<p><i>lipan baya</i> 'crocodile teeth' Swayne p. 188: bamboo Klausen p.32: serpent eating <i>benut</i> fruit and durian thorns or p. 33 snake and durian thorns Blehaut p. 68: <i>selok</i></p>		<p><i>lemulun</i>-human being Blehaut p.78 : human figure Klausen p.39: predatory bird</p>
	<p><i>betik beacun Tama Saging</i> 'Tama Saging's shoulder tattoos' Swayne p. 189: <i>pedada</i> flower Blehaut p. 77: <i>pedada</i> flower. Klausen p. 35: tiger track</p>		<p><i>po'o</i> 'banana flower' Swayne p.188: <i>bunut</i> fruit Klausen p. 41: <i>bua bunut</i> fruit Woolley p 24. <i>sinusut</i> triangular pattern Blehaut: wild mango/ (head trophy)</p>
	<p><i>po'o</i> 'banana flower' Swayne p. 188: bamboo shoot Blehaut:p. 77: bamboo shoot Klausen p.38: fruit symbols Dunsmore p. 195: mango slice</p>		<p><i>tenganoh nurad</i> 'blood vessels'</p>

Time, Context, and Continuity of Skills

As has been demonstrated above, a number of dynamic factors have contributed to the wide basketry repertoire of the Long Peluan Kelabit. The presence of neighboring groups is one

major factor. Families in Long Peluan have long-established ties with counterpart Penan families in Long Beruang. The Penan families stay overnight and eat with their hosts and trade items such as wild-boar meat, deer antlers, resins, blowpipes, and completed baskets and mats. The Kelabit will either use the items traded from the Penan themselves, or sell them to their kin in other settlements or in town. More specifically, in relation to basketry, items such as dyed rattan strands, tannin paste, shoulder straps, and other basket parts are traded. The increasing tendency is for cash to be given, but this is sometimes supplemented by articles of clothing or rice.

It was earlier mentioned that the Kelabit took apart a Penan drawstring bag and learned to make it for themselves. So, too, as the Penan have started to farm rice, they have learned to make the same harvesting baskets and farm baskets as the Kelabit, some of which they sell (plate 23), so knowledge has been passed on. In addition, the Long Peluan Kelabit believe that the style of their unique patterned harvesting basket is a result of previous contacts with the Ngurik Kenyah. Moreover, the local Lepo' Ke Kenyah have passed on the style of their winnowing baskets. Some Kelabit have married Sa'ban from Long Banga' and there is trading of baskets between the two communities as some individuals tend to specialize in certain baskets.

However, baskets are also traded from across the border. The availability of these baskets for relatively low prices will affect the making of baskets in Long Peluan. If basketry skills are to be encouraged in the future by commercial markets, it will be difficult for Kelabit basket-makers to compete with their Indonesian counterparts. People who hunt may still want heavy-duty baskets and they will buy them from Indonesia.

Another factor has been the context of history, time, and place as the drawstring *uyut* replaced tobacco as a trade item in a time of literacy and resurgence in Christian renewal. The need to make such a bag no longer exists. Similarly, as rice farming practices change, and farms are approached by vehicles using the road, there is less need for reaping and harvesting baskets, as for some people, plastic sacks are more convenient to use.

However, baskets have become a leitmotif for identity in the urban centers. The children of the senior generation treasure the old harvesting baskets and they are displayed in upholstered living rooms in Miri. A Long Peluan artist, Hendrick Nicholas, sells his paintings of baskets at the Miri Heritage center. Baskets are used as a theme for cultural dances and as decorative motifs for events such as seminars and dinners, held in five-star hotels.

Two Long Peluan weavers were invited to display their skills at the international Weft Forum in Kuching in 2001. There was a great deal of interest generated in the materials they brought for display, particularly by the Japanese contingent. They demonstrated how to color bamboo baskets using tannin paste. However, this kind of sharing was conducted at a five-star hotel completely out of a village context and the results of the demonstration were not as good as if it had been carried out in the longhouse kitchen. An urban Kelabit girl who joined her aunties learned to weave a small pandanus mat, gaining some calluses as well as experience. The time and the context were insufficient for any practical acquisition of knowledge. The knowledge related to the basketry resources and the skills of basketry are locked into a context of time and place. Passing this on as practical knowledge is taking place only between the Kelabit and Penan farming generation.

What of the future? If weavers continue their skills, if value is given to their baskets, and the materials are ready and available, there may be a future for these baskets.



Plate 23. A Penan woman and her baskets. A rattan harvesting basket and plastic multipurpose basket (photo: Valerie Mashman)

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WILDLIFE DIVERSITY ON THE PERIPHERY OF DANAU SENTARUM NATIONAL PARK, WEST KALIMANTAN, INDONESIA

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Introduction

This paper presents data on faunal diversity derived from a year-long study of hunting patterns in an Iban community on the periphery of Danau Sentarum National Park (DSNP), West Kalimantan, Indonesia. These unique data on birds and mammals provide an important baseline for future conservation work in the area despite being somewhat dated (1993–1994). They are particularly important given the high level of illegal logging in the DSNP vicinity over the last five years. The study community is unique in the area for not allowing its preserved old growth forests to be logged, thus potentially providing refuge to wildlife fleeing surrounding logged forest (Meijaard et al. 2006). It is important to note that this study was not designed to measure faunal diversity but rather hunting patterns, although the data presented provide hints at that diversity.

Methods

DSNP is located in a remote area of West Kalimantan, Indonesia, and situated close to the Malaysian border of Sarawak, approximately 700 km. inland from the provincial capital, Pontianak. DSNP is an area of interconnected seasonal lakes and seasonally flooded tropical forests with the water catchment consisting of lowland tropical forest in the hills and flooded forest in the low-lying areas. A patchwork of various forest developmental stages characterizes the former and is a result of commercial logging, swidden cultivation, and smallholdings of rubber and pepper. The altitude within the park is approximately 30–35 m. above sea level, while the surrounding hills rise as high as 760 m. Daytime temperatures are consistently 26–30 degrees Celsius, with annual rainfall ranging between 3000 and 4000 mm. The driest months are usually July, August, and September.

The area was established as the Danau Sentarum Wildlife Reserve in 1985 (Giesen 1987), became Indonesia's second Ramsar Wetland of International Importance in 1994 and was upgraded to a National Park in 1999 (Giesen and Aglionby 2000). It remains, however, a "paper park" as the only effective management has ever been that of local indigenous communities (Colfer and Wadley 2001). The main part of the park comprises around 1250 km.² (Aglionby and Whiteman 1996) though the exact boundaries of the park remain unclear. The study area reported here (located in the hills northeast of the reserve core) may eventually be considered a transition zone, a buffer zone, or even part of the park core.

The permanent park population in 1995 (the most recent census) was 6,575 people, and the population density fluctuated seasonally between 5.3 and 6.4 persons per km.²

(Aglionby and Whiteman 1996). Around 80% of the population were Muslim-Malay fisherfolk, while the remainder, and those occupying the park periphery and surrounding hills, were largely Christian Dayaks,¹ the majority of whom were Iban. In the Batang Lupar District, part of which overlaps with the northeast portion of the park, the population density was 3.3 persons per km.² in 1995 (Kecamatan Batang Lupar 1995).

Study focused on the Iban longhouse community of Sungai Sedik² located about 6 km. from the district administrative center and market town of Lanjak. The longhouse was a 14-household community containing about 98 residents during the period of study, with an average household size of 6 people. The surrounding territory claimed by the longhouse encompasses approximately 24 km.² and was a patchwork of forest succession, agricultural plots, rubber smallholdings, and specially preserved forest. Elevation ranges between around 100 to over 700 meters above sea level. The Sungai Sedik territory (with a density of 4.1 persons per km.²) was occasionally hunted by members of at least five other longhouse communities and residents of Lanjak. The estimated population density of the area around and including Sungai Sedik (about 322 km.²) was 5.1 persons per km.². The Sungai Sedik economy was based on swidden rice agriculture and male labor migration to Malaysia and Brunei.

Data on hunting were collected by the author in 1993–1994 using an interview schedule developed by himself, Carol Colfer and Ian Hood. It was administered immediately after every hunting trip for six one-month sampling periods distributed evenly over a year. Interviews were conducted in the Iban language. The hunters consisted of twelve men (over 15 years of age) and eleven boys (under 15 years), and they were asked a series of questions about hunts and their observations.³ (When there was more than one hunter on a trip, the men were interviewed separately as a cross-check.) Of interest here are their reports on animals encountered, both in terms of the number of encounters and the number of animals encountered.⁴ (An encounter is defined as any sighting of an animal, whether or not it resulted in capture.) Birds and mammals encountered but not captured were identified through the use of field guides (i.e., Smythies 1981, Francis 1984, Payne et al. 1985).⁵ Identification of captured animals brought to the longhouse was done by the author in order

¹ “Dayak” refers to the indigenous, non-Muslim inhabitants of Borneo; Dayaks who have converted to Islam generally become reclassified as Melayu or Malay, such as the Danau Sentarum Malays.

² In some earlier publications, this community was presented under a pseudonym, Wong Garai; this is no longer deemed necessary.

³ Questions concerned such things as time of day, duration of hunt, weather during hunt, location of hunt, locations traversed during hunt, type of environment in which animals were encountered, and animals encountered, shot at, and captured.

⁴ The numbers of animals hunters saw during encounters were usually estimates and may not accurately reflect numbers of animals in the area. Hunters reported (sometimes estimated) the numbers of animals seen at any one encounter, which might range from a solitary gibbon or hornbill to a troop of langurs or a horde of bulbuls. These numbers do not represent extant population sizes because particular animals might have been encountered more than once and therefore counted numerous times. They do, however, give some impression of the relative abundance of each species.

⁵ Species classification for birds has been updated following that used by MacKinnon and Phillipps (1993).

to determine species, sex, relative age, and physical condition.

Men tended to hunt alone or with one or two companions, while boys invariably hunted in groups; occasionally a man would take a boy or two with him. In previous analyses of these data (i.e., Wadley et al. 1997, Wadley and Colfer 2004), boys' hunting was excluded because the author discovered early on that during periods when no data were collected, boys tended to hunt less. It was deduced that they were going out of their way to hunt during study periods, to bring back prey for analysis and identification. (This was not the case for adult hunting which is representative of the periods when no data were collected.) Thus the hunting done by boys is not representative of hunting patterns, but the data are included here because of their important observations on faunal diversity.

Hunting reported here was largely for subsistence. Iban preferred large-bodied mammalian prey (bearded pigs and deer), but were opportunistic about what animals they actually captured on hunts (Wadley et al. 1997). Although some game (particularly bearded pigs) were occasionally taken to the market town and sold, there was only one case of this during the study period (Wadley et al. 1997). The capture of live animals also occasionally occurred in the area, such as when hunters shot female orangutans or gibbons in order to capture their young for sale. No instances of this occurred at Sungai Sedik, although there were cases elsewhere.

Results and Discussion

Hunters encountered 102 species of birds from 27 families and 45 species of mammals from 16 families (Tables 1–2) in habitats ranging from fallowed secondary forest to old longhouse sites. Most encounters occurred in older growth forest of various kinds (see Wadley et al. 1997, Wadley and Colfer 2004) as hunters concentrated their efforts on locations most likely to contain or attract game. They did not systematically sample forest habitats, thus likely missing a number of animals.

Table 1. Sungai Sedik Bird List^a

Scientific Name	English Name	Iban Name	No. Encounters	No. Animals Sighted	Pos. ID ^b
ACCIPITRIDAE	HAWKS & EAGLES				
<i>Ictinaetus malayensis</i>	black eagle	lang mukong	1	1	
PHASIANIDAE	PHEASANTS				
<i>Rollulus rouloul</i>	crested partridge	sengayan	5	12	
<i>Lophura erythrophthalma</i>	crestless fireback	sempidan	1	2	

Scientific Name	English Name	Iban Name	No. Encounters	No. Animals Sighted	Pos. ID ^b
RALLIDAE	RAILS				
Amaurornis phoenicurus	white-breasted waterhen	engkeruak	(2)	-2	*
COLUMBIDAE	PIGEONS & DOVES				
Treron capellei	large green pigeon	empuna' bedidi'	1	7	
Treron curvirostra	thick-billed green pigeon	empuna'	1	3	0
Treron fulvicollis	cinnamon-headed green pigeon	empuna'	(1)	(1)	
Chalcophaps indica	emerald dove	imbok	7	9	*
Macropygia emiliana	ruddy cuckoo-dove	imbok	(1)	(1)	
PSITTACIDAE	PARROTS AND PARAKEETS				
Loriculus galgulus	blue-crowned hanging-parrot	entilit	-1	(1)	
CUCULIDAE	CUCKOOS				
Cacomantis merulinus	plaintive cuckoo	tiup api	1	1	*
Phaenicophaeus chlorophaeus	Raffles's malkoha	mendo' ilai	2	3	*
Phaenicophaeus diardi	black-bellied malkoha	mendo' jugam	1 (1)	2 (1)	
Phaenicophaeus curvirostris	chestnut-breasted malkoha	mendo' sabang	1	2	
Centropus sinensis	greater coucal	bubut	2 (1)	4 (1)	*
Centropus bengalensis	lesser coucal	encelukup	(3)	(5)	*
	unidentified malkoha	mendo'	1	1	

Scientific Name	English Name	Iban Name	No. Encounters	No. Animals Sighted	Pos. ID ^b
STRIGIDAE	OWLS				
<i>Ninox scutulata</i>	brown hawk-owl	lang empelako	1	1	
TROGONIDAE	TROGONS				
<i>Harpactes whiteheadi</i>	Whitehead's trogon	beragai	1	2	
ALCEDINIDAE	KINGFISHERS				
<i>Ceyx rufidorsa</i>	rufus-backed kingfisher	ensing	2	2	*
MEROPIDAE	BEE-EATERS				
<i>Merops viridis</i>	blue-throated bee-eater	kangkang kuso'	1	1	
<i>Nyctornis amictus</i>	red-bearded bee-eater	kangkang kuso'	2	3	
BUCEROTIDAE	HORNBILLS				
<i>Aceros comatus</i>	white-crowned hornbill	sentuku	4	7	*
<i>Aceros corrugatus</i>	wrinkled hornbill	kejako'/kekue'	2	3	*
<i>Aceros undulatus</i>	wreathed hornbill	undan	1	2	
<i>Anthracoceros malayanus</i>	Asian black hornbill	berui'	1	1	
<i>Anthracoceros albirostris</i>	Oriental pied hornbill	berui'	1	2	
<i>Buceros rhinoceros</i>	rhinoceros hornbill	kenyalang	5	7	*

Scientific Name	English Name	Iban Name	No. Encounters	No. Animals Sighted	Pos. ID ^b
CAPITONIDAE	BARBETS				
<i>Megalaima rafflesii</i>	red-crowned barbet	tegok	4 (1)	5 (3)	0
<i>Megalaima mystacophanos</i>	red-throated barbet	tegok	1 (1)	3 (1)	*
<i>Megalaima pulcherrima</i> ^c	golden-naped barbet	tegok / tekarak	1	1	
<i>Megalaima australis</i>	blue-eared barbet	tekarak	5 (6)	51 (24)	*
PICIDAE	WOODPECKERS				
<i>Sasia abnormis</i>	rufus piculet	ketupung	3 (1)	3 (1)	*
<i>Picus puniceus</i>	crimson-winged woodpecker	belatok	1	1	
<i>Blythipicus rubiginosus</i>	maroon woodpecker	pangkas	1	1	
<i>Celeus brachyurus</i>	rufus woodpecker	belatok / kumpang empali	1 (1)	6 (1)	*
EURLAIMIDAE	BROADBILLS				
<i>Eurlaimus ochromalus</i>	black-and-yellow broadbill	ganggang kaka	1 (1)	1 (1)	*
<i>Cymbirhynchus macrorhynchus</i>	black-and-red broadbill	ganggang	(1)	(1)	*
PITTIDAE	PITTAS				
<i>Pitta moluccensis</i>	blue-winged pitta	burong pelandok	1	1	
CAMPEPHAGIDAE	CUCKOO-SHRIKES				
<i>Pericrocotus solaris</i>	grey-chinned minivet	ensulit	(1)	(3)	*

Scientific Name	English Name	Iban Name	No. Encounters	No. Animals Sighted	Pos. ID ^b
<i>Coracina fimbriata</i>	lesser cuckoo-shrike		(1)	(1)	
CHLOROPSEIDAE	IORAS AND LEAFBIRDS				
<i>Aegithina tiphia</i>	common iora	tandok ulat	(2)	(2)	*
<i>Aegithina viridissima</i>	green iora	tandok ulat / kico'	2 (1)	2 (1)	*
<i>Chloropsis cyanopogon</i>	lesser green leafbird	penta daun	3 (11)	7 (24)	*
<i>Chloropsis sonnerati</i>	greater green leafbird	penta daun	2 (2)	4 (4)	*
	unidentified green leafbird		(1)	(1)	
PYCNONOTIDAE	BULBULS				
<i>Pycnonotus eutilotus</i>	puff-backed bulbul	empulo'	1 (2)	1 (11)	
<i>Pycnonotus melanoleucos</i>	black-and-white bulbul	empulo'	3 (1)	14 (1)	
<i>Pycnonotus atriceps</i>	black-headed bulbul	empulo' lilin	3 (12)	16 (49)	
<i>Pycnonotus plumosus</i>	olive-winged bulbul	empulo'	7 (10)	48 (40)	*
<i>Pycnonotus brunneus</i>	red-eyed bulbul	empulo' raras	(1)	(2)	
<i>Pycnonotus erythrophthalmos</i>	spectacled bulbul	empulo' raras	2 (1)	16 (1)	*
<i>Pycnonotus simplex</i>	cream-vented bulbul	empulo' raras	1 (6)	2 (29)	*
<i>Pycnonotus goiavier</i>	yellow-vented bulbul	empulo'	(1)	(1)	
<i>Setornis criniger</i>	hook-billed bulbul	empulo'	6 (23)	14 (50)	*
<i>Tricholestes criniger</i>	hairy-backed bulbul	empulo' raras	3 (2)	11 (3)	*
<i>Ixos malaccensis</i>	streaked bulbul	empulo'	2 (4)	11 (17)	

Scientific Name	English Name	Iban Name	No. Encounters	No. Animals Sighted	Pos. ID ^b
<i>Iole olivacea</i>	buff-vented bulbul	empulo'	1	10	
<i>Hypsipetes flavula</i>	ashy bulbul	empulo' jugo'	(1)	(1)	
<i>Alophoixus bres</i>	grey-cheeked bulbul	empulo'	1	5	
<i>Criniger finschii</i>	Finsch's bulbul	empulo'	(3)	(4)	
	red-eyed or cream-vented bulbul	empulo'	(1)	(5)	
	unidentified bulbul	empulo'	5 (4)	76 (19)	
ORIOLIDAE	ORIOLES				
<i>Oriolus xanthorus</i>	black-hooded oriole		1	1	
<i>Irena puella</i>	Asian fairy-bluebird	kanggan	9 (13)	11 (20)	*
CORVIDAE	CROWS				
<i>Corvus enca</i>	slender-billed crow	burong ka'	(2)	(11)	
TIMALIIDAE	BABBLERS				
<i>Malacopteron affine</i>	sooty-capped babbler	engkecong	1	2	*
<i>Macronous ptilosus</i>	fluffy-backed tit-babbler	engkecong	3	13	
<i>Stachyris nigriceps</i>	grey-throated babbler	engkecong	2	5	
<i>Stachyris nigricollis</i>	black-throated babbler	engkecong	1	10	
<i>Stachyris leucotis</i>	white-necked babbler	engkecong	2	12	
<i>Stachyris maculata</i>	chestnut-rumped babbler	engkecong	1	1	

Scientific Name	English Name	Iban Name	No. Encounters	No. Animals Sighted	Pos. ID ^b
<i>Stachyris erythroptera</i>	chestnut-winged babbler	engkecong	(1)	(2)	
<i>Trichastoma bicolor</i>	ferruginous babbler	engkecong	(1)	(2)	*
	unidentified babbler		1	1	
TURDIDAE	ROBINS				
<i>Copsychus malabaricus</i>	white-rumped shama	nendak	2	3	
<i>Copsychus saularis</i>	magpie-robin	semalau	(6)	(10)	*
SYLVIIDAE	TAILORBIRDS & WARBLERS				
<i>Orthotomus cuculatus</i>	mountain tailorbird	beriak	1	1	
<i>Orthotomus sericeus</i>	rufus-tailed tailorbird	beriak	1	1	
<i>Orthotomus ruficeps</i>	ashy tailorbird	kuci	(2)	(6)	*
<i>Phylloscopus borealis</i>	arctic warbler	kenyera	(1)	(4)	
MUSCICAPIDAE	FLYCATCHERS				
<i>Cyornis turcosus</i>	Malaysian blue flycatcher	semujan	1	1	*
<i>Cyanoptila cyanomelana</i>	blue-and-white flycatcher				
<i>Rhipidura albicollis</i>	white-throated fantail	engkanyi	1	10	*
<i>Hypothymus azurea</i>	black-naped monarch	semujan	2 (1)	2 (1)	*
<i>Terpsiphone paradisi</i>	Asian paradise flycatcher	semujan	2 (1)	2 (1)	

Scientific Name	English Name	Iban Name	No. Encounters	No. Animals Sighted	Pos. ID ^b
NECTARINIDAE	SUNBIRDS AND SPIDERHUNTERS				
<i>Aethopyga siparaja</i>	crimson sunbird	engkerasak	(5)	(5)	*
<i>Anthreptes singalensis</i>	ruby-cheeked sunbird	kuncit mali	(1)	(1)	*
<i>Anthreptes simplex</i>	plain sunbird	engkerasak / kuncit	(2)	(2)	
<i>Nectarinia calcostetha</i>	copper-throated sunbird	kuncit	(3)	(12)	*
<i>Nectarinia sperata</i>	purple-throated sunbird		(1)	(2)	
<i>Arachnothera longirostra</i>	little spiderhunter	engkerasak	1 (1)	1 (2)	*
<i>Arachnothera crassirostris</i>	thick-billed spiderhunter	engkerasak	1	3	
<i>Arachnothera chryogenys</i>	yellow-eared spiderhunter	engkerasak	1	1	
<i>Arachnothera robusta</i>	long-billed spiderhunter	engkerasak	(1)	(2)	
DICAEIDAE	FLOWERPECKERS				
<i>Prionochilus thoracicus</i>	scarlet-breasted flowerpecker	kuncit	1 (4)	3 (4)	*
<i>Prionochilus xanthopygius</i>	yellow-rumped flowerpecker	kuncit kemali	3 (8)	16 (37)	*
<i>Prionochilus percussus</i>	crimson-breasted flowerpecker	kuncit	(4)	(15)	*
<i>Prionochilus maculatus</i>	yellow-breasted flowerpecker	kuncit	2 (5)	20 (23)	*
<i>Dicaeum chrysorrheum</i>	yellow-vented flowerpecker	kuncit pelandok	6 (12)	23 (76)	*
<i>Dicaeum concolor</i>	plain flowerpecker	kuncit	4 (11)	5 (35)	*
<i>Dicaeum cruentatum</i>	scarlet-backed flowerpecker	kuncit benang	1 (17)	3 (22)	*
<i>Dicaeum monticolum</i>	black-sided flowerpecker	kuncit	1 (1)	5 (1)	*
<i>Dicaeum trigonostigma</i>	orange-bellied flowerpecker	kuncit	1 (9)	10 (31)	*

Scientific Name	English Name	Iban Name	No. Encounters	No. Animals Sighted	Pos. ID ^b
<i>Dicaeum everetti</i>	brown-backed flowerpecker	kuncit	(3)	(5)	
<i>Dicaeum trochileum</i>	scarlet-headed flowerpecker		(1)	(1)	*
	various flowerpeckers		(3)	(27)	
PLOCEIDAE	WEAVERS/ MUNIAS				
<i>Lonchura fuscans</i>	dusky munia	pipit	(7)	(18)	*

^a Counts in parentheses are of boys' hunting.

^b Positive identification (Pos. ID) was done by the author during hunts or through examination of captured animals following hunts.

^c This is a probable mis-identification as it is confined to northern Borneo according to MacKinnon and Phillipps (1993:232).

Table 2. Sungai Sedik Mammal List^a

Scientific Name	English Name	Iban Name	No. Encounters	No. Animals Sighted	Pos. ID ^b
TUPAIIDAE	TREESHREWS				
<i>Tupaia glis</i>	common treeshrew	tupai	1	1	
<i>Tupaia montana</i>	mountain treeshrew	tupai	1	5	
<i>Tupaia gracilis</i>	slender treeshrew	tupai	2	3	*
<i>Tupaia minor</i>	lesser treeshrew	tupai	(1)	(1)	
<i>Dendrogale melanura</i>	smooth-tailed tree shrew	tupai	2 (2)	2 (2)	
PTEROPODIDAE	FRUIT BATS				
<i>Rousettus spinalatus</i>	bare-backed rousette	kusing / entamba'	1	1	

Scientific Name	English Name	Iban Name	No. Encounters	No. Animals Sighted	Pos. ID ^b
<i>Penthetor lucasi</i>	dusky fruit bat	kusing	2	200	*
EMBALLONURIDAE	SHEATH-TAILED BATS				
<i>Emballonura monticola</i>	lesser sheath-tailed bat	kesindap	1	50	*
HIPPOSIDERIDAE	ROUNDLEAF BATS				
<i>Hipposideros cervinus</i>	fawn roundleaf bat	kuca	1	100	*
VESPERTILIONIDAE	COMMON BATS				
<i>Kerivoula papillosa</i>	papillose woolly bat	kecu	1	100	*
<i>Tylonycteris robustula</i>	greater bamboo bat	kesindap	(1)	(15)	*
<i>Glischropus tylopus</i>	thick-thumbed pipistrelle	kesindap	(1)	(5)	*
CERCOPITHECIDAE	MONKEYS				
<i>Presbytis melalophos cruciger</i>	banded langur	bateh	2	15	*
<i>Presbytis frontata</i>	white-fronted langur	puan	11	40	*
<i>Macaca fascicularis</i>	long-tailed macaque	kera'	3	22	*
<i>Macaca nemestrina</i>	pig-tailed macaque	nyumboh	16	200	*
HYLOBATIDAE	GIBBONS				
<i>Hylobates muelleri</i>	Bornean gibbon	empeliau	11	24	*

Scientific Name	English Name	Iban Name	No. Encounters	No. Animals Sighted	Pos. ID ^b
PONGIDAE	APES				
<i>Pongo pygmaeus pygmaeus</i>	orangutan	maias	1	1	
SCIURIDAE	SQUIRRELS				
<i>Ratufa affinis</i>	giant squirrel	engkerabak	5 (1)	7 (1)	
<i>Ratufa affinis cothurnata</i>	giant squirrel	engkerabak	8 (1)	16 (1)	*
<i>Ratufa affinis sandakanensis</i>	giant squirrel	engkerabak			
<i>Callosciurus prevostii</i>	Prevost's squirrel	tupai bekarang / tupai po'	20 (4)	20 (5)	
<i>Callosciurus notatus</i>	plantain squirrel	tupai sibau	6 (6)	21 (8)	*
<i>Sundasciurus hippurus</i>	horse-tailed squirrel	tupai	1	1	
<i>Sundasciurus jentinki</i>	Jentink's squirrel	tupai pantok	10 (2)	32 (2)	
<i>Sundasciurus lowi</i>	Low's squirrel	tupai	3 (3)	7 (3)	*
<i>Lariscus insignis/hosei</i>	three- or four-striped ground squirrel	tupai sabang	7 (1)	34 (1)	
<i>Dremonys everetti</i>	Bornean mountain ground squirrel	tupai pekek	3	6	
<i>Rhinosciurus laticaudatus</i>	shrew-faced ground squirrel	tupai tanah	1	2	
<i>Exilisciurus exilis</i>	plain pygmy squirrel	pukang	2 (1)	7 (1)	*
<i>Exilisciurus whiteheadi</i>	Whitehead's pygmy squirrel	pukang	(1)	(1)	
<i>Rheithrosciurus macrotis</i>	tufted ground squirrel	engkerampu'	1	1	*
	unidentified squirrel	tupai	2 (1)	5 (1)	

Scientific Name	English Name	Iban Name	No. Encounters	No. Animals Sighted	Pos. ID ^b
MURIDAE	RATS				
<i>Rattus argentiventer</i>	ricefield rat	cit	1	1	*
	Norway rat	cit	(1)	(1)	*
HYSTRICIDAE	PORCUPINES				
<i>Thecurus crassispinis</i>	thick-spined porcupine	landak	1	1	*
URSIDAE	BEARS				
<i>Helarctus malayanus</i>	sun bear	jugam	1	2	*
VIVERRIDAE	CIVETS				
<i>Paradoxurus hermaphroditus</i>	common palm civet	munsang	2	3	
<i>Paguma larvata</i>	masked palm civet	merejang	1	1	
<i>Arctictis binturong</i>	binturong	enturun	1	1	*
<i>Arctogladia trivirgata</i>	small-toothed palm civet	munsang malong	12	17	*
SUIDAE	PIGS				
<i>Sus barbatus</i>	bearded pig	jani' kampong	28	97	*
TRAGULIDAE	MOUSEDEER				
<i>Tragulus javanicus</i>	lesser mousedeer	pelandok gagas	5	5	*

Scientific Name	English Name	Iban Name	No. Encounters	No. Animals Sighted	Pos. ID ^b
<i>Tragulus napu</i>	greater mousedeer	pelandok tampin	1	2	*
CERVIDAE	BARKING DEER & DEER				
<i>Muntiacus muntjak</i>	Bornean red barking deer	kijang	17	21	*
<i>Muntiacus atherodes</i>	Bornean yellow barking deer	kijang bera'	1	1	
<i>Cervus unicolor</i>	sambar deer	rusa'	1	1	
	unidentified deer	kijang	1	1	

^a Counts in parentheses are of boys' hunting.

^b Positive identification (Pos. ID) was done by the author during hunts or through examination of captured animals following hunts.

Table 3. Animals Identified at Sungai Sedik outside of Hunting Study

Scientific Name	English Name	Iban Name
<i>Birds</i>		
<i>Spizaetus cirrhatus</i>	changeable hawk-eagle	lang
<i>Ketupa ketupu</i>	buffy fish-owl	lang empelako'
<i>Sasia abnormis</i>	rufus piculet	ketupong
<i>Macronous gularis</i>	striped tit-babbler	engkecong
<i>Mammals</i>		
<i>Ptilocercus lowii</i>	pintailed treeshrew	tupai/cit
<i>Rhinolophus trifoliatus</i>	trefoil horseshoe bat	entawai
<i>Nycticebus coucang</i>	slow loris	bengkang
<i>Lutra sumatrana</i>	hairy-nosed otter	ringin

Table 3 lists animals encountered by the author outside of the hunting study during the years 1992–1994. Of particular interest is *Ptilocercus lowii*, a highly rare squirrel. A single

individual had entered the Sungai Sedik longhouse one night and was killed by a domestic cat. Despite its distinctive appearance and perhaps because it is both rare and nocturnal, not even the oldest hunters had ever seen one, except in the author's field guide (Payne et al. 1985). The residents were at a loss as to how to classify it exactly: some called it *tupai* (squirrel), and others *cit* (rat).

A simple comparison was made of wildlife diversity at Sungai Sedik with that reported for the DSNP core and that of Gunung Palung National Park, also in West Kalimantan (see Wadley, 2002 for details). Measured in terms of species numbers, Sungai Sedik was, on the surface, less diverse overall than the core of DSNP. There were 224 species of birds from 47 families reported for DSNP. For mammals, DSNP had 39 species from 20 families reported. Compared to Gunung Palung, bird diversity was lower at Sungai Sedik with the former having 216 species from 40 families reported. Mammal diversity was similarly skewed with Gunung Palung having 73 species from 24 families reported. However, the proportion of species numbers was very similar among these sites (e.g., for birds: pigeons, cuckoos, hornbills, bulbuls, babblers, flycatchers, spiderhunters, and flowerpeckers; for mammals: treeshrews, monkeys, squirrels, and civets) with some exceptions (e.g., for birds: eagles and woodpeckers; for mammals: rats).

One factor in the differences between Sungai Sedik and Gunung Palung may have been environmental (e.g., Sungai Sedik's mosaic forest and Gunung Palung's old growth lowland forest). But the forests within DSNP, like those of Sungai Sedik, were not at all uniform. Sungai Sedik's proximity to DSNP suggests the method of study, with its focus on hunting and on hunters' unsystematic reports, as being important in explaining some of these differences. Nonetheless, Iban forest management — through the cycling of secondary forest for swiddening and preservation of various tracts of older growth forest — may promote some degree of biodiversity by creating a mosaic of forest habitats that different plants and animals exploit, and by favoring organisms that are intolerant of old growth forest conditions. The resulting biodiversity may be different from that seen in extensive old growth forest as the comparison above suggests, all things being equal with data collection methods.

In the years since this study, there have been a number of important changes that have affected local habitats. Foremost among them is the growth in human population, both regionally and at Sungai Sedik, and a recent explosion in illegal logging. An increase in the number of households from 14 in 1994 to 20 in 2006 has resulted in an expansion of swiddening and an apparent shortening of the fallow cycle, thus reducing the extent of older secondary forest available to wildlife. This appears to hold true for the surrounding area as well.

After 1997, logging shifted from government-licensed concessions to being foreign-backed (Malaysian) and local community-led efforts (Wadley 2006). This illegal logging accelerated until 2005 when it was stopped by provincial and national police. In that short time, the lowland forests surrounding DSNP and forming its buffer zone were heavily cut (Dennis et al. n.d.), as were the community forests adjacent to Sungai Sedik. That community, however, effectively preserved most of its older growth upland forest, even stopping encroachment by logging operations across its watershed in 2004. The community's last remaining stand of swamp forest (about 10–15 ha) was logged in 2003, though it is likely that this would have eventually been converted to short-fallowed swamp rice fields. As one of the few places in the area with undamaged old growth forests, it is likely that Sungai Sedik's forest has come to serve as a refuge for animals displaced, at

least temporarily, by logging activities and forest degradation elsewhere.

Acknowledgements

Faunal data were collected while the author served as a consultant (1993–1994) on the Danau Sentarum Wildlife Reserve Conservation Project under the auspices of Asian Wetland Bureau (now Wetlands International-Indonesian Programme), the Indonesian Directorate of Forest Protection and Nature Conservation (PHPA) and the Overseas Development Administration, UK (now Department for International Development). Additional research (1992–1994) was funded by the US National Science Foundation (Grant No. BNS-9114652), Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, Sigma Xi and Arizona State University and was sponsored by the Balai Kajian Sejarah dan Nilai Tradisional Pontianak. Thanks to Nicole Williamson for her help in compiling the tables. Any conclusions and opinions drawn here are not necessarily those of the above agencies and individuals: the author alone is responsible.

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REVIEW ARTICLES

THE CONTRIBUTION OF DR. D. K. BASSETT TO BRUNEI HISTORIOGRAPHY

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In a lapidary critique of Southeast Asian historiography, Professor David K. Wyatt (1995) was able to identify only five English-language titles relating to the history of Brunei worthy of recommendation; and not even all of those were entirely satisfactory. Dr. Graham Irwin's *Nineteenth Century Borneo: A Study in Diplomatic Rivalry* (1955) is the oldest study to warrant the attention of the John Stambaugh Professor of Southeast Asian History at Cornell University. Next, Dr. (later Professor) D. E. Brown's *Brunei: The Structure and History of a Bornean Malay Sultanate* (1970) remains the "strongest and one of the richest accounts of the Brunei sultanate" and takes "a social and structural approach often preferable to drier listings of names and events." Professor Nicholas Tarling is represented twice, first by *Britain, the Brookes & Brunei* (1971), and then by *Sulu and Sabah* (1978); the former is a "conventional account" whilst the latter "under-appreciates complex political and social dimensions of piracy" in the period. The fifth and final work to merit examination is Professor C. M. Turnbull's *History of Malaysia, Singapore and Brunei* (1989), written by "an acknowledged expert." No doubt Professor Wyatt's survey was already in press before he would have had an opportunity to assess the claims of Dr. Graham Saunders's *A History of Brunei* (1994; updated edition 2002) and Dr. (later Associate Professor) Haji B. A. Hussainmiya's *Sultan Omar Ali Saifuddin III and Britain: The Making of Brunei Darussalam* (1995).

Given that Professor Wyatt was concentrating on books, and books in the English language at that, his selection of the best secondary sources is not unreasonable. Nobody is likely, for example, to wish to contest pride of place being given to Professor Brown's peerless monograph. It would not be difficult to point out surprising omissions, such as important works by G. Braighlinn and L. R. Wright. In this short paper, however, I would like to highlight the research into the sultanate's past made by the late Dr. D. K. Bassett (1931–89), who, among other things, was Director of the Centre for South-East Asian Studies at the University of Hull, United Kingdom, from 1976 until 1988, shortly before his death. This is not to suggest that his name should have been included in Professor Wyatt's list, but rather that his scattered writings on Brunei well repay study.

Paradoxically, the late Dr. Bassett's first contribution was silence. Hence, in his seminal 463 page doctoral thesis on "The Factory of the English East India Company at Bantam 1602–82" (University of London, 1955), and its spin-off articles, Borneo is mentioned hardly at all; and, when it is, the focus of attention tends to be either Banjarmasin or Sukadana rather than Brunei. In other words, the northwest coast of Borneo was of negligible international commercial importance in the seventeenth century; and the hotspots

of European (particularly Anglo-Dutch) rivalry lay elsewhere in the region (notably Java, Sumatra, Celebes, and the Moluccas) and in countries further afield (such as Japan).

Dr. Bassett's first positive contribution comes in his chapter on "The Historical Background" in *Malaysia: A Survey* (1964), edited by Professor Wang Gungwu. This appears to have been written under the assumption, not unreasonable at the time, that sooner or later Brunei would be joining the infant federation. The sultanate certainly dominates the first half of the paper (1964:113–20). Dr. Bassett demonstrates, first of all, the "absence of any marked European interest in north-western Borneo *per se*" in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which was in stark contrast to the importance attached to the Malacca Straits region. As we have seen, the English East India Company "showed no interest whatever in Brunei" and "it was only after the expansion of British trade with Canton in the second half of the eighteenth century that the need for an intermediate station in the China Sea focused British attention on northern Borneo" (1964:114). Consider now the VOC. Dr. Bassett notes (1964:417, n32) that of 950 treaties between the Dutch and Asian states catalogued in J. E. Heeres and F. W. Stapel's "Corpus Diplomaticum Neerlandico-Indicum" (*BTLV*, various issues 1907–1938), *not one* was with Brunei. In 1614 the Dutch believed that the port's trade "would not cover the expense of a factory" and in 1718 the Batavia government "held a poor opinion" of its products (1964:119). Similarly, in 1523 one Portuguese VIP commented that Brunei "is not a country about which we should bother ourselves, except if travelling from Malacca to the Moluccas" (1964:116). Dr. Bassett also pointed out that there appears to have been only one *shahbandar* at Brunei compared to four at Malacca (1964:115) in the early sixteenth century; and it was "unlikely that Brunei possessed as extensive an administrative structure as [pre-Portuguese] Malacca." Muslim traders reportedly fled to Brunei from Malacca after the Portuguese conquest in 1511. One might have expected the minds of the Bruneis to have been poisoned by the new arrivals against the Portuguese; but, on the contrary, Brunei-Portuguese relations remained friendly; and, indeed, even in the Peninsula Malay-Portuguese relations were (Dr. Bassett says) largely peaceful between 1526 and 1586. With regard to the Philippines, governed by Spain, only seven pinnaces or ships came to Manila from Brunei during the entire *two centuries* between 1577 and 1787 (1964:417, n39). Brunei, Dr. Bassett summarizes, "might serve as a classic example of a limited entrepôt unaffected either by the monopolistic designs or the commercial stimulus of European contact. In this respect Brunei is similar to the river ports of Pahang, Trengganu and Kelantan, in which official European organisations, royal or commercial, took almost no interest" (1964:114).

Not only were European powers indifferent to the establishment of commercial or diplomatic relations with Brunei, but the sultanate had little to recommend it on strategic grounds either. Even in the eighteenth century, for example, "East Indiamen preferred to hug the Indochina coast on their voyages to Canton" (1964:114). Dr. Bassett raised this point again in his 1969 article entitled "Great Britain in the Indian Ocean" (*Historical Studies*, University of Melbourne, 14(53):80–84). Nineteenth-century Labuan is dismissed as "a pathetic colony if ever there was one"; and he asked whether "it was really needed to safeguard the route from Singapore to Hong Kong" (1969:80).

His second major contribution is a 1979 study entitled "Problems of Historical Interpretation Inherent in British Attitudes in South-East Asia in the Nineteenth Century," published in the *Proceedings of the Seventh IAHA Conference, 22–26 August 1977, Bangkok* (Chulalongkorn University Press, Bangkok, pages 1238–90). Much of this lecture is devoted to Brunei (pp. 1238–43, 1245, 1252, 1262–81, with pp. 1282–90 comprising endnotes). It

provides a forensic analysis of important issues in the sultanate's historiography and, indeed, in that of Sarawak: Dr. Bassett's "salutary warnings" have been recognized by Dr. J. H. Walker (2002:xx; see also *ibid.*, pages xvii–xviii, 156–67, 165). We have here one of the most incisive pieces of writing on nineteenth-century Borneo ever published.

What issues are tackled? First, the question of the "decline" of Malay sultanates and how this view might have been distorted by the perception of the observer. He counters the nineteenth century impression that Malay sultanates were infinitely more glorious and prosperous in the past (1979:1238); if a more realistic attitude is taken towards, say, Pigafetta's Brunei (1521), then the "decline" by the nineteenth century becomes more relative than absolute. Sixteenth-century Brunei trade was not particularly impressive (1979:1240). Statistics are lacking; so it is not possible to assert definitely that the volume of Brunei-China trade had declined over the three centuries (1979:1240). More broadly, he concludes "the stereotype, so dear to British officials of Raffles's time, of a Malay world deprived of legitimate commerce by Dutch and Portuguese monopoly simply will not bear examination" (1979:1243). This last point is derived from his reading of the *Generale Missiven*, the correspondence from the governors-general and council at Batavia to the directors (*Heren XVII*) of the Dutch East India Company, edited in several volumes by Professor W. Ph. Coolhaas (see the *English Historical Review*, July 1976:608). Likewise, Dr. Bassett's earlier (1969) work on Thomas Forrest might have alerted him to the idea that not all British reporters took such a condescending attitude towards Malay settlements like Brunei as James Brooke did.

Dr. Bassett examines, secondly, issues relating to nineteenth century Brunei and Sarawak, such as the "rebellion" in Sarawak in 1839–1840, which James Brooke exploited to come to power (1979:1262–66). Brooke's characterization of the Brunei government in the 1840s "was certainly biased and strangely inconsistent." Dr. Bassett cuts Brooke's allies (Hassim, Budrudin) down to size and rehabilitates the raja's adversaries, such as Mahkota, Yusuf, Sahab, and Usman. None of the Malays viewed the 1839–1840 rebellion in Sarawak at all seriously: "What embarrassed the Brunei commanders was not the rebellion, but Brooke's determination to convert it into a real war." Furthermore, Brooke's opinion of Brunei government officers "was modified as his desire to rule Sarawak, and indirectly Brunei, grew," Pengiran Mahkota being a case in point (1979:1263–65). At first he was accepted as a competent man; later he became an "enemy of civilisation," without, in Dr. Bassett's view, there possibly being any valid basis for such a change of opinion.

Thirdly, Dr. Bassett detected "a palpable unwillingness on the part of British observers in the nineteenth century to accept the denials of Malay governments that they participated in piracy." Yet Brunei vessels or dignitaries were not involved in any of the incidents of alleged piracy at sea during the period 1841–1846 (1979:1269). The main pirates at sea were actually Ilanun. And if a British naval commander, like Captain Sir Edward Belcher, could attack a group of "pirates" who later turned out to be Moluccan colonial police, then how can characterizations of "pirates" by him and by other British naval commanders be trusted? There is no serious evidence, for example, that Sharif Usman of Marudu was a pirate; "his real offence, one suspects, was that he was an ally of Pangeran Yusof [the chief minister] in Brunei" (1979:1270). Dr. Bassett also contrasts how Brunei and Sulu were treated: "Why did Belcher and Keppel in their equally transitory visits to Sulu in 1844 and 1849 exonerate the sultan of Sulu completely from any implication in local piratical incidents, but condemn the Brunei government on such tenuous evidence? Was it because Brooke colored their judgement and he needed to oust Yusof?" (1979:1267). Yusof was

duly deprived of his post as chief minister under Brooke pressure in 1844. The only serious offence alleged against him before his flight from Brunei in August 1845 was his association with the “pirate,” Sharif Usman (1979:1271). The key point is that Brooke’s “natural antipathy towards traditional Malay government made him exceptionally receptive to any malevolent accusation against the officers he wished to displace” (1979:1273). The foregoing arguments notwithstanding, the late Dr. Bassett was prepared to concede that James Brooke was altruistically motivated.

Fourthly, Dr. Bassett then proceeds to a merciless assault on the credibility of Charles Brooke in both the Malay Plot and Limbang issues (1979:1274–80). With regard to the “Malay Plot” of 1859–60, it is argued in general terms that “*any* British officer, governor or would-be rajah who found himself imposing his will upon a reluctant Asian people tended to accept or promote the wildest rumours of counter-plots and conspiracies...Where, however, the circumstances of an alleged conspiracy are presented in some detail by British officers *after* the event, contain obvious illogicalities and inconsistencies, and confer certain political benefits on the accusers if believed, then [1979:1273–74] the case deserves closer scrutiny.” And gets it. Dr. Bassett mounts a defense of Sharif Masahor of Sarikai against his alleged complicity in the murder of Brooke’s officers at Kanowit in 1859. The pursuit of Masahor enabled the Sarawak government to take over the sago-producing districts of Igan, Oya and Muka in 1860, which it needed desperately to keep solvent after the Chinese uprising in Kuching in 1857 (1979:1274). Dr. Bassett returns to the attack in his review (in *BSOAS* 1981:210–11) of Dr. Crisswell’s biography of Raja Sir Charles, who had denounced British imperial rule for being based on power rather than “friendly intercourse of feeling.” Dr. Bassett countered that the “absolute power” which Charles enjoyed in Sarawak “had been won by the Brookes from 1841 onwards by breaking Iban independence, fostering factions in Brunei, and acquiring most of that sultanate by very dubious methods, sometimes akin to forcible annexation.” Questions are also raised about Charles’ role in the disinheritance of Brooke Brooke in 1862–1863, of which he was the principal beneficiary. Was he as loyal to his brother as he ought to have been? And, later on, Charles was not as indifferent to British national honors as might have been supposed.

Dr. Bassett’s third major contribution, his 1980 monograph entitled *British Attitudes to Indigenous States in South-East Asia in the Nineteenth Century*, is a revised version of his 1979 book chapter. In the latter he had concentrated on the Malay States and Brunei; now he expanded his vision and introduced similar material on Burma and Siam to discover whether patterns would emerge (1980a:1). Here Dr. Bassett explains his methodology: “In respect of western sources describing Asian regimes, there would seem to be an obligation to treat their assertions as debatable rather than proven, and to look for *internal* inconsistencies of evidence. There is also a need to relate statements made at one time to those made at another, because the division of the subject into limited topics and periods, while necessary in fundamental research, tends to induce acceptance of whatever allegations are made at a particular time” (1980a:55). The aim is for an indigenous viewpoint to emerge, “at least by implication” (1980a:55). Charles Brooke is explicitly accused here of “deliberate distortion for ulterior purposes” (1980a:54). The late Dr. Bassett definitely did not have much time for the Brookes; indeed, if further evidence of this is required, it can be found in a working paper delivered at ASEASUK’s annual conference in 1986 and published in the same year by the CSEAS, University of Hull.

Book-reviewing was an important aspect of the late Dr. Bassett’s work. Writers with a Brunei connection who attracted his attention included Professor Gerald S. Graham, Mr. L.

V. Helms, and Professor Nicholas Tarling. A further case in point is, as mentioned above, the original Dutch sources, *Generale Missiven*, edited in several volumes by Professor Coolhaas (d. 1981). The fifth volume, which advances the story from 1685 to 1697, covers “an exceptionally interesting period” (Bassett 1976:606). Dr. Bassett noted “the limited nature of Dutch power in South East Asia, despite the expulsion of rival Europeans from Java in 1682,” so that “As successive volumes of the *Generale Missiven* appear, the belief of Englishmen of T. S. Raffles’s generation that the Malay-Indonesian world had been impoverished and driven into piracy by Dutch monopoly becomes increasingly untenable” (Bassett 1976:607–8). On the contrary, many of the pirates mentioned by the Dutch were English (1976:608). The seventh volume of the *Generale Missiven*, the last Coolhaas was to live to see in print (although he was dead by the time the review was published), carries the narrative forward from 1713 until 1725 (Bassett 1982:595–98). Picking up on a point he had made in his 1977 conference working paper (Bassett 1979, 1980a), he comments that “the allegation of John Hunt in 1812 that the sultanate of Brunei in northern Borneo was deprived of overseas commerce by Dutch naval patrols in the preceding two centuries is difficult to reconcile with the letters now published by Dr. Coolhaas. When four envoys from Brunei visited Batavia in July 1718 (1982:598), they found it necessary to inform the Dutch that a similar mission had not taken place for thirty years.” Brunei produced no pepper at that time, “which makes distinctly odd Hunt’s claim that Brunei exported almost eight million pounds of pepper before the Dutch suppressed it.” It also suggests that the Chinese pepper production in Brunei noted by Forrest and Jesse in the 1770s must have been relatively recent (1982:596). Brunei seems to have looked northwards [to China], not to Java, “and the only other mission it sent, apparently, was to Palembang in Sumatra in 1713 to promote indigenous trade, especially in slaves” (1982:596).

Besides his published work, the David Bassett Archive at the University of Hull preserves his lecture notes on Brunei and its neighbors in Borneo (see the catalogue by the Reverend Dr. G. E. Marrison 1992, pages 12, 15, 17–18, and 21–22). These extracts are not great chunks copied out of books, but his own analysis as he went along, the sort of style used in his book reviews. It is noteworthy how neat and tidy they tend to be, with few deletions and additions. He must have been blessed with clarity of thought.

Dr. Bassett’s final contribution to Brunei historiography lay in his supervision of postgraduate research. One of his former students, Awang Haji Matassim bin Haji Jibah, is currently (2005) Director of Museums in Negara Brunei Darussalam, whilst another, Dato Paduka Haji Mohd Eusoff Agaki bin Haji Ismail, is Controller of Royal Customs and Excise in the sultanate. On hearing that a student had Dr. Bassett as supervisor, Professor D. E. Brown (himself the grand master of Brunei historians) remarked: “It is good to know that you are connected with the South-East Asian Centre at Hull and under excellent tutelage.”¹

In sum, Dr. Bassett’s writings about Brunei might not rank alongside the five authorities cited by Professor Wyatt; nor was Brunei even a central interest of his; nevertheless, his analyses are penetrating, incisive, and not to be neglected.

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¹ Letter to the author, 10 March 1983.

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WOMEN'S WAR: AN UPDATE OF THE LITERATURE ON IBAN TEXTILES

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Gavin, Traude, 2003, *Iban Ritual Textiles*, Leiden: KITLV Press.

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With three books in as many years, Iban textiles are clearly of note.¹ Their range is without equal in island Southeast Asia; their beauty undeniable. They are purposely made to be beautiful. As such, they attract the gods. The gods then pay attention when being supplicated. The major cloths — the *pua'* — are inextricably linked with headhunting. Part of the process of creating them is called “Women’s War.” They are used by women to incite men to take heads. Many cloths have an intrinsic force or power, sufficient, at least, to kill a woman not experienced enough to weave them. The power comes from the extraterrestrial phenomenon captured and pictured in the cloth. The main design² is surrounded by borders to contain the power. Particular spirits like crocodiles are given pictorial food to eat so they don’t become hungry and break out of their barriers and feast upon their makers. At least that was an understanding prior to Gavin’s book which reduces all this to decorative aesthetics.

There are a number of Ibanic groups who weave. Among the Iban, there are two quite distinctive styles, which Gavin calls the Saribas and the Baleh/Batang Ai. Not only are the styles distinctive, but so also are all but a small core of designs. Across the border in West Kalimantan, live Ibanic speaking weavers like the Kantu’, Ketungau, Desa, and Mualang. Their styles are also quite distinctive, though there is a small core of “motifs” that are common to all including the Iban. Little, however, is known about these weaving traditions. They are not ignored by our authors, with Gavin tantalizingly including one Kantu’ skirt (p.

¹ Gavin’s book has 356 pages and 221 figures, of which eight are color and 85 black and white of *pua'* cloths and skirts. Linggi’s has 170 pages and 134 color plates, of which 70 are of *pua'* cloths. Ong’s has 111 pages and 159 plates, of which 137 are of *pua'* cloths, skirts, and jackets.

² I use the word “design” to refer to the sum of motifs that make up the overall “picture” of the cloth. A “motif” is an individually named representation or form, which Iban use in combination in a “design.” Gavin uses the word “pattern” more in the sense of the predominant motif in a design.

94) among her eight color plates and a second (p. 181, no. 100) as an illustration of a particular Iban skirt “pattern” and Ong (p. 79, EO1) showing a pair of Mualang loincloth ends. Hopefully, a proposed project involving the Kobus Center in Sintang and the Tropenmuseum (Museum voor de Tropen) in Amsterdam might lead to more information about these Kalimantan traditions, so that a fuller understanding of the iconography of all the groups can be achieved.

All three books devote a considerable amount of space to photographs of Iban textiles, though only the Linggi and Ong books set out to represent their beauty with good quality plates. Linggi’s book exhibits a broad variety of outstanding cloths from various Sarawak collections. That range is unmatched in the published literature. Gavin’s work is more focused on naming individual designs, and less attention has been paid to producing quality illustrations. For clarity of detail, however, Gavin’s earlier work, *The Women’s Warpath* (1996), published by the UCLA Fowler Museum, remains the benchmark.

Both Gavin and Linggi present good descriptions of the process of dyeing and weaving. Linggi’s book has the great merit of documenting the whole process of weaving a cloth. It takes the reader from the growing of cotton, preparing it for dyeing with particular attention being given to applying the mordant (in the important *ngar* ritual), the dyes that are used and how to prepare them, then organizing the warp threads on the back-strap loom to take the weft, and then weaving the cotton into a cloth. The descriptions of the weaving process are accompanied by diagrams clear enough for an apprentice weaver to follow. The whole process is illustrated by good colored photographs which include the materials, the equipment and each Iban-identified step in weaving a cloth. In effect, it presents a “manual” of the traditional process which will become increasingly important as the traditional process is altered to save time and produce cloths more quickly and, consequently, forgotten.

Perhaps slightly disappointing is that no book sets out to give at least one example of the full range of textile products and techniques. Of the products, Ong is the most complete, giving illustrations of the four main items, namely *pua’* blankets, skirts, jackets, and loincloths (omitted are the rare seat mat and the Malay-inspired *selendang*). In contrast, Linggi concentrates only on *pua’* and Gavin on *pua’* and skirts. Of the techniques, there are no examples of beadwork (Ong shows a skirt with a Maloh beaded overlay), cowry shell embroidery, the technique known as *songket* (a supplementary embroidery method using floating spools of gold or silver metallic threads), and the wrapping or slit tapestry technique known as *silat* (though it is present on the jackets illustrated by Ong). It could justifiably be argued that none of these techniques are central, though a complete weaver should be able to demonstrate a mastery of most of them. More surprising is the relative omission of examples of *pilih*, a continuous weft supplementary embroidery method, which is common on jackets, skirts, and loincloths, and certainly not uncommon on *pua’* among all Ibanic groups. Ong is the most complete, presenting examples of *pilih* jackets, skirts, and loincloths. Only Linggi presents an example of a *pua’* cloth in *pilih*, but that clearly indicates why *pilih* needs some attention. Iban cloths are famous for their deep red *Morinda citrifolia* backgrounds. *Pilih*, in contrast, has a white background, but like its resist tie-and-dye *ikat* and weft-wrapping *sungkit* cousins, it depicts many powerful designs, particularly those of the crocodile and the water serpent. The question of whether or not the technique affects the power of a cloth is addressed obliquely by Gavin. Her conclusion is far from convincing. She states categorically (p. 38) that one of the distinguishing marks of powerful cloths is that they are red in color — though she later seems to contradict this assertion (p.

154) by stating equally categorically that *pua*’ cloths with a blue background are high-ranking. White cloths, in contrast, are not powerful. Gavin raises an apparent paradox without attempting to resolve it at all. A red-based cloth of crocodile or water serpent is powerful because crocodile (*Ribai*) and water serpent (*Nabau*) are powerful extraterrestrial figures. The counterpart cloth in *pilih* depicting exactly the same powerful figures is not powerful because of its white background. The paradox is even more apparent when considering jackets. Iban warriors often wear jackets with “helping spirits” depicted on the back. Crocodile and water serpent are two such spirits. If we follow Gavin, warriors with a *sungkit* figure of a crocodile on their jacket possess a powerful helping spirit, while those with a *pilih* figure do not.

One of the most interesting questions about Iban weaving is whether or not many designs are pictorial narratives. Linggi does not address this question, while Ong leaps in feet first with the statement that “the symbolic aspect of the Iban *Pua Kumbu* is a whole language by itself,” without explaining quite what he means, nor presenting any evidence to support this statement. The central purpose of Gavin’s book is to examine what, if any, meaning there is in Iban motifs and designs. Her conclusion is that Iban cloths are basically decorative (p. 239). Their main concern is the “decoration of a flat surface without leaving empty spaces rather than representational depiction” (p. 242).

Important to an assessment of Gavin’s argument is an information trail of named motifs in Iban textiles. It goes back about a century when Charles Hose collected a number of Iban textiles that were destined for the British Museum and the Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. Possibly informed by the Iban woman who tended his needs in remote Sarawak, Hose tagged the cloths with the names of individual motifs appearing in the overall design. Most of the names represented natural phenomena. A possible test of Hose’s thoroughness came when he asked the name of what to all intents and purposes resembled a human figure. His informant simply said “figure” or “model” (*engkeramba*). Another informant might have said “*iban*” in the sense of a human figure. *Engkeramba*, however, was given and *engkeramba* has stuck. Hose was satisfied with the ascription. He does not seem to have asked the pertinent question of whether any such figures might have represented humans, heroes, or gods. Had he done so, he would eventually have received an affirmative when a figure representing some mythical hero was recognized. We can be sure of that, because Gavin herself has to acknowledge that some figures have names when she names one design the “demon figure pattern” (pp. 110–11). The demon figure is called Nising and is the perennial victim of the Iban Mars, Singalang Burong, prior to his participation in a headhunting festival in the mortal world. Another figured cloth is called the “Kumang waking up pattern” (p. 136). Kumang is a “heroine,” patroness of weaving, and epitomizes desirable womanhood for the Iban. On this cloth, there are female and male figures testifying to Kumang’s attractiveness to the opposite sex. It would be surprising if these figures did not represent Kumang and her husband and lover, Keling. Kumang and Keling live in a non-terrestrial place called Panggau, in longhouses peopled by numerous named heroes, whose exploits epitomize Iban ambition. It needs to be understood, a fact omitted by Gavin, that, historically, dream-inspired cloth designs originated in Panggau, usually revealed by Kumang. Consequently, scenes from Panggau are often represented on cloths.

Hose’s annotated cloths formed the basis of Haddon and Start’s (1936) attempt to explain Iban iconography in textile design. The task proved impossible. Without access to Iban informants, Haddon was totally disoriented by the flattened and splayed out split

representational designs that confronted him, acknowledging that many bore absolutely no resemblance to what they were said to represent.

The paper trail was taken up again in the years 1948–1950. Derek and Monica Freeman spent two years living with Iban in the Baleh. In their time there, Monica became a technically accomplished weaver. She was also a gifted artist and did many line drawings of cloths. These drawings were annotated by Derek in much the same way that Hose had done some decades before. Only, Freeman's notes were based on interviews with the particular weaver who had woven a cloth. The time was auspicious. Head-taking had received a recent injection with Japanese officially being declared fair game (and Iban taking a liberal interpretation of who looked like a Japanese). Head-taking Baleh culture was intact. As far as Freeman was concerned, his notes were sufficient for him to write a book on Iban weaving, because he told me he intended to do so before I spent two years with the Iban in 1971–1973.

The Freemans' drawings and notes are freely accessible in the Tun Jugah Foundation in Kuching, Sarawak. Gavin accessed these notes and one of the mysteries of her book is that she barely used them. Among the many drawings by Monica was a design that had a female on the top, snakes dividing the top from the bottom, and males and headless corpses below. Essentially, the design represented Kumang weaving a design inspired by Meni (the patron of dyeing), while below, Keling was ranging through the heavens taking heads. Every motif in this design had relevance to the pictorial narrative of the cloth and its title about thunder and lightning, according to Freeman, described the location of Panggau in the sky and was a metaphor for what happened there. The design captured the central reality of the great Iban cloths — women weave cloths to incite men to take heads, which in turn enhances their own fertility and the fertility of life-securing rice. I mention this cloth and the trail because Gavin's central thesis that there is no pictorial narrative in Iban cloths needs to address such examples and demonstrate why they do not invalidate her thesis.

This trail was picked up by an American art researcher in the 1960s, Sarah Gill. She tried to make sense of Hose's annotated motifs. She found that quite different phenomena, like shrews, tiger cats, and spiders, were represented in much the same way and concluded that, because they were virtually indistinguishable and did not look like what they represented, they acted as *ad hoc* labels. She also observed that in the figured cloths, the figures were usually stark naked with exaggerated genitalia, leading to the conclusion that these were some priapic tribal version of a Playboy centerfold.

The trail provides us with a mass of named motifs, confusing to Haddon and enlightening to the Freemans whose annotated drawings show a number of cloths telling a story. An Iban love song takes up this theme when a young girl tries to persuade her innamorato that she had qualified for matchmaking by weaving a superb cloth:

The design on the surface was of a python truly a meter in length,
and a young tigress who could almost be heard roaring with strength
from the peak of Spirit Mountain,
And something wondrous looking like the tongue of a giant cobra,
Coiled at rest inside its nest within a rocky chamber.

(My translation from Donald, 1992).

In an epic poem, bards refer to a cloth:

Your cloth was finished, my dear, I must admit,
 Spectral looking, colored an intense scarlet,
 A design of a hanging hibiscus flower.
 Its knotted line ensured not a thread out of place,
 Complete perfection, its central theme of great grace —
 Of two groups of elephants, eyeballs to eyeballs.
 The uppermost border of your design recalls,
 A portrayal of sea gypsies on the move,
 One sided, all bow and stern, you'll not improve.
 (My translation from Sandin 1977).

Another Iban talking to the then Curator of Textiles at the Sarawak Museum, Joseph Inggai, said: "Absolutely every motif in a cloth has a meaning."

Gavin's book relies much on Haddon's confusion and not at all on the Freemans' descriptions. Powerful cloths quite rightly excite Gavin's interest. They can result in the deaths of women not experienced enough to weave them. This leads to the question as to why the Iban need to weave powerful cloths. For Gavin, the reasons are twofold. The most powerful cloths were needed to receive trophy heads and in major festivals. It is essential for a cloth's potency to be appropriate to the purpose (p. 26). If this explanation is complete, one wonders why individual Iban made so many powerful cloths, generation after generation. Even allowing for the many that are buried with a deceased, any self-respecting household can show a veritable trove of powerful cloths where one or two would do. There must be other reasons not related to the women's prestige system for women continually to risk their lives weaving powerful cloths, just as there is a requirement that men not rest content with just one head.

Gavin conceives powerful cloths in the context of rank. Iban festivals are ranked in importance and, in the Saribas, there is a corresponding cloth design representing each of the major festivals. The most powerful of them all, *Gerasi Papa* (the Giant Ogre), is usually represented, according to Joseph Inggai, by seven rows of figures with slightly pointed heads and gaping toothy mouths.

The Iban have titles for various aptitudes, such as being a war leader (*tau serang*) or, more modestly, a raid leader (*tau kayau*). They have a terminology for what might be called ranked achievement. They do not have a terminology denoting rank in cloths — if they did, presumably Gavin would have given it. They undoubtedly do attribute importance and power to cloths, but more on a continuum than within bounded divisions or classes. Gavin mentions *rang jugah* as the most powerful Baleh cloth, and there can be no disagreement with that. Below that, the league table remains unclear. Gavin does not ascribe a rank to each cloth she discusses. Linggi does try in an earlier work (1998), but the only rank she nominates is "ceremonial." In the book under review, she gives up the attempt.

So, if the power of a cloth is not related to the spirit it captures, what is the source of that power? For Gavin (p. 80), the weaver gives a powerful cloth a "title," to reflect its power. In fact, the Iban usually give it a praise-name (*julok*). For example, a title like "drifting clouds pattern" provides little indication about the power of that design. According to Gavin, if a "pattern" is copied, it acquires significance. If some weavers die as a result of copying it, its power is confirmed. An important aspect of this power is that pattern and title are passed down in an unbroken line, so that there is a known pedigree. Consequently, according to this argument, a design like *Nabau*, the water serpent grandfather of Keling

and King of the Lower World, is powerful not because it represents a powerful, extraterrestrial being, but because the “pattern” has a traceable genealogy of weavers who have woven it, including some who have died weaving it.

What actually happens with the Iban is that a weaver creates a new design. She will be able to provide a reason for every motif included. The cloth is given a praise-name which, if there is interest in the design, might be abbreviated into a title when repeated or copied. With copying, the original weaver does not explain to the copier each element making up the original design. She merely gives the copier the cloth to be copied. Given such a sequence, one can agree with Gavin that what passes as a copy is a pattern. In terms of meaning, however, the original cloth is of a different order. Gavin seems to acknowledge this. An Iban weaver, asked to identify cloths in the Sarawak Museum, exclaims that she would not know the names of cloths woven by others (p. 21); Baleh weavers asked to identify a motif similar to *rang jugah* on a Saribas cloth reply that “only the people who made [the cloth] know the name” (p. 235). The problem for Gavin, and for everyone else, is that the original weavers have been dead for some time. Consequently, it is not possible to ascertain how individual elements in a design contributed to the whole and the relationship between design and praise-name, if the latter is remembered. That is why the records of the Freemans become so important, because they recorded cloths being created by old-style Iban. Some, like the lightning metaphor for Keling raiding, were a pictorial narrative. Another, showing headless figures, was a historical marker commemorating a battle at Nanga Pila, in which numerous Baleh Iban were ambushed and slaughtered by government forces. Pictorial narratives and historical reminders are the grist of Iban textile design.

Gavin distinguishes two categories of cloth. There are those for which the name acts as a title. Most *pua*’ comprise this category. Then, there are those for which the name is merely a label, and the bulk of these are skirts. Jackets, which often represent spirits helping a warrior, are not considered. There are crossovers like, presumably, the water leech (*lintah*) and the Brahminy kite (*lang*), which feature on both skirts and *pua*’. Because they are “non-powerful,” they are labels. Gill’s observation that motifs, because they bore little resemblance to what they represented, were simply labels had the merit of consistency. With Gavin, tiger, for example, which shows “no graphic representation of the tiger’s body or head,” is high status and a title because of its age and association with a powerful spirit (p. 143). Leech designs, on the other hand, which resemble “the wriggling shapes of leeches” (p. 174), are not powerful and are labels. The Iban make no such distinctions. That some cloths have praise-names is important. Most cloths do not, because they are copied, and copied cloths do not have praise-names. The Iban make this distinction, and it is an important one in terms of the power of a cloth.

Iban men, when they have done something notable, are given a praise-name. Kedu, for example, is a man’s name. There was one Kedu who became a noted warrior, leading the Skrang Iban. His feats resulted in his being called Lang Ngindang, “Soaring Kite,” and thereafter he was known by that name. He became known by his title. Original *pua*’ also receive praise-names. Gavin gives a number of examples, such as Mata Hari’s skull basket brightening the edge of the sky (p. 151), and she glosses the design as Mata Hari’s skull basket. One cannot but agree with Gavin that this name acts as a title. But what happens with other motifs? For example, Iban say that there are seven different representations of the dragon, *naga*. Gavin has but one and calls it “dragon,” not something else, raising its status. There are numerous praise-names for crocodile-patterned cloths, suggesting many titles. Gavin allows but one. There are many Saribas representations of the tree of life (*tiang*

ranyai, *mulong merangau*, etc.), for example, which give their names to levels in a series of headhunting festivals (*gawai burong*). For Gavin, all these different designs and multiplicity of praise-names have but one title, “ritual pole pattern.” I am doubtful that the owners of these cloths would agree that this title is an acceptable representation of their cloths.

Praise-names are a graveyard for anyone trying to produce an orderly and consistent typology of Iban designs. The Iban have the irritating habit of producing what they say is an original cloth and giving it a praise-name. Sometimes this original cloth is a mirror image of an unacknowledged older design that the weaver must have seen. So, the person searching for consistency is confronted with a plethora of titles for what appears to be the same design. The fun is that the titles show different ways in which a particular design might be interpreted. They support Gavin’s observation that individual motifs making up a design do not constitute a kind of shared language or lexicon of motifs. The meaning of many motifs is particular to the woman employing them. Gavin is quite right for repeating that you need to talk to the woman who conceived a design to understand it.

One praise-name causes serious disagreement. Gavin’s “fruiting palm pattern” (p. 149) has a praise-name: *kandong nibong berayah, tangkai ranyai besembah, kekelah ke rumah, kekelah ke tanah, ka nungkat ke tiang ngani nimang*, translated as “the *nibong* palm, leaping up and down, fruit stalk of the shrine that bows down, straining to the house, now to the ground — that supports as a pillar and watches over the singing of the chant.” Linggi’s *rang jugah* pattern (p. 107) has a praise-name: *kandong nibong berayah, tangkai ranyai besembah; Bujang Berani Kempang, berapa kali’ iya udah matah ka dilah nukang ka rang atas bedilang*, the last verse being translated by me as “Bold and Courageous Youth, how many times has he already severed heavy tongues from jaws hanging above the hearth?” This title spurred Gavin to write (p. 150): “Despite the variations of the praise names, they all are attached to very recent and easily identifiable graphic patterns. It is therefore puzzling how the praise name of *kandong nibong* came to be attached to an example of the *rang jugah* pattern in Linggi’s catalogue. Due to this and other similar mix-ups, I have omitted any further references to the identifications of patterns in Linggi’s catalogue.”

Gavin’s informants told her that there is no praise-name for *rang jugah* or, perhaps, that they did not know it³. What Gavin does not seem prepared to acknowledge, however, is that some weaver, when revealing a newly woven and dream-inspired *rang jugah*, might give that cloth a praise-name. The weaver breaks no convention by so doing. The facts of the cloth causing the “mix up” suggest that Gavin needs to do a lot more than simply dismiss the praise-name because it does not accord with her typology. The cloth was actually woven by Linggi’s husband’s great grandmother (Linggi 1998:178). The people who would know the praise-name, if there were one, would be her heirs, of which Linggi’s husband is one. If Gavin could produce testimony from the great grandmother’s household that Linggi is wrong, she would have had a case, but she does not. Further, quite why Linggi, herself an Iban, who has devoted a great number of years to learning about weaving and documenting designs, particularly those in her large collection, would be so wrong about many designs, deserves more than a peremptory dismissal. At least, Gavin owes every reader an

³ There is a *julok* for *rang jugah* in the Batang Ai — *rang jugah, nyawa ngempuau, bau sinang* [Jugah’s skull, mouth bellowing, pungent smell], leading one to speculate that the Baleh Iban might have taken the design with them, but not the *julok*. I would, however, add that I did not enquire as to the antiquity of the *julok*.

identification of which attributions of Linggi's she considers wrong and why. Linggi would be able to make her own defense and others would be able to make up their own minds.

Ong throws a further unintended spanner into this particular debate. His book illustrates cloths by a group of weavers from the Kain River, a tributary of the Gaat in the Baleh. Gavin's fruiting palm is one design woven by at least two of them. Its praise-name (e.g., p. 81 and p. 108) is *Keliku gajai antu, nyawa iya rengu rengu minta seru ka Raja Natu empurong bulu ke telu manah di kayam. Kelikit gajai langit minta tumbit ka Raja Tindit bukit ke sejarit nyadi emperan*, which Ong translates as "the roaring lion nags Raja Natu to search for the hairy coconut shells. The roaring lion urges Raja Tindit to flatten the land." Whether or not one agrees with Ong's translation, there is nothing in this praise-name about fruiting palms. These weavers regard this design quite differently from Gavin's informants. Again we return to the adage that only the weaver who has created a particular cloth can tell you what it is.

There are a number of small differences between our authors. For example, Ong places a *pua' belantan* among his illustrations of loincloths (EO5, p. 80), while Gavin illustrates and discusses a *belantan's* seemingly surprising role (pp. 38–40). Ong shows a skirt with edges dipped in indigo (EO9, p. 66) and correctly states that the overdyer is related to mourning. Gavin (p. 289), in contrast, states that skirts are dipped in blue dye "to keep them from showing dirt easily." If this is the case, one wonders why, after all these years, the Iban go to the trouble of spending money on border yarns and time on patterning borders when they will overdyer them to stop them from showing the dirt.

The Iban do, to some extent, classify cloths. Gavin starts her chapter on "Names as Titles" (pp. 84–86) as if she were going to reveal the classification. She discusses two "titles," *lebur api*, meaning 'flaming red' and referring to a cloth of a deep red color, and *menyeti*, which is "an intriguing pattern name" but refers to cloths with the finest patterns. She does not, however, seem sure whether *menyeti* is a pattern or is a panegyric for a great cloth. There is an illustration (p. 299) of a cloth that Gavin calls (p. 320) the "*menyeti* pattern with firetong motifs." As she doesn't distinguish between motif and pattern anywhere in her book, she leaves the reader a little confused about whether another firetong not deserving the *menyeti* encomium would be a pattern.

There are other classes of cloth that in Gavin's typology become "patterns." *Kelikut*, for example, she calls "striped pattern" despite the fact that some *kelikut* have small circles and a praise-name that starts: "Dots that rot the guts..." *Bali belumpong* is another class and described as a "pattern that is divided ... into equal lengths." In Saribas *belumpong*, the center is unpatterned. An examination of such cloths shows a myriad of designs, the most distinctive feature of which is that neither end repeats the other. To suggest that they are all the same "pattern" challenges the mind, as they can include anything in the Iban design lexicon.

A third class of cloths has a blue background and in the Saribas is called *pua' jugam*. Gavin calls it "honey bear pattern." In Iban, *jugam* means both dark or blue and honey bear. Gavin builds on a rare inaccuracy in Richards' (1981) dictionary — that killing a honey bear is equivalent to taking a head. Honey bears are valuable to remote Iban communities because their bezoar stones command high prices from the Chinese. In the longhouse I lived in, honey bears were eagerly sought and frequently killed. The stones were removed and the corpse usually left where it lay. There was never any suggestion that the hunter had taken a head. In this case, it would be interesting if Gavin got confirmation from Iban that blue-based cloths were metaphors for taking a head, regardless of the design on them. She

does not mention any such confirmation. In neighboring Krian, she would not, because there the cloths are called *pua' tarom*, which simply means a blue dyed cloth, *tarom* being a source of indigo. A further confusion is that there are many designs done in blue — the “ritual pole,” rows of figures, and many others. In Gavin’s typology, it appears that if they are in blue, they are all one pattern and, if they are in red, are each a distinctively named pattern.

Something must also be said about cloths with human figures. Gavin calls them the “anthropomorphic figure pattern” and “cartoon” characters. They are not a “name as title,” which is not surprising as *engkeramba* could not be a title. Nor are they a “name as label,” which is also not surprising because figures are not woven on skirts. As Derek Freeman told me, such patterns are too powerful for a woman’s skirt. Gavin states that the pattern is not accorded high rank such as *bali belumpong* (p. 282), despite the fact that many *belumpong* cloths have rows of human figures on them, including her illustration (p. 156). She also states that the pattern is not accorded high rank in the Saribas, where it is most common, despite the fact that the most powerful of all Saribas patterns, *gerasi papa*, contains rows of human-like figures. According to her, Baleh weavers shown these cloths generally were contemptuous of them. Iban weavers are usually very wary of pouring scorn on a design, partly out of respect, but partly also because a powerful design might react unpleasantly. Apparently, according to Gavin, in the Baleh, there are “no known examples of repetitive rows of small figures,” and yet, in her UCLA Fowler exhibition, she shows (1996:44) one *sungkit* cloth with one row of figures, which on many other such cloths come in repetitive rows. The figure is called Bong Midang, a hero of Panggau, who, like many other heroes, such as Keling, Pungga’, Bulan Menyimbang, Tutong, Bungei Nuing, Laja, and others, do find their images gracing cloths. Linggi (p. 119) shows a 1950s Batang Ai *sungkit* with two rows of war planes, five rows of soldiers, and one row of Queen Elizabeth II taking the salute on horseback. Like the heroes of Panggau, despite recent difficulties, Queen Elizabeth certainly was not a cartoon character when Britain ruled Sarawak. Iban have been introducing named figures into their cloths for a long time to remind their menfolk of the exploits of their heroes in Panggau. The trouble with Gavin’s “all for one and one for all” approach is that it reduces male and female heroes of Panggau, among others, to nothing more than cartoon dolls.

Gavin’s argument is too heavily reliant on other writers and theorists who have no familiarity with the Iban material. She largely ignores the field notes of the acknowledged authority on the Iban, Freeman. Despite my criticisms, her work on identifying Iban cloths is very useful because of her thoroughness and the fact that no one else has done so. Her illustrations, praise-names, and discussions of major *pua'* and *kain* are very instructive and take our understanding of particular designs to a new level. The pity is that she does not allow for the extraordinary diversity that characterizes the Iban and, in particular, the uninhibited way they describe their cloths. Linggi’s book is important because it presents the best compendium of Iban *pua'* available, and her naming of these cloths should be of interest to anyone wanting to try to understand Iban design. For visual images of the greater part of the breadth of Iban weaving, one must turn to Ong.

Linggi’s and Ong’s books both do convey a little bit of the excitement in Iban weaving through their many handsome illustrations. Gavin’s description tends to leave them lifeless, like an illustrated entry in a museum catalogue. Gavin stresses that weaving is “women’s war.” As such, one imagines the adrenalin rushing, the pulse quickening, which is exactly how a traditional weaver describes her weaving. She is taming the extraterrestrial to get it to

work for her — crocodiles, dragons, serpents, giant ogres, and other mythical creatures. She is portraying the heroes of Panggau and using her weaving to participate vicariously in their exploits. She is recording events (the Nanga Pila massacre or the tribute to the warriors who opened up the Baleh Gavin mentions on p.152, for example), which have messages at least for the members in her household. She is competing in a very real sense with every other woman in her longhouse and in the general area to be seen as the best or, if not, a weaver of distinction. She is putting the acid on her menfolk by challenging them, through her cloths, to go out and demonstrate that they are worthy of her. Weaving was part of every notable Iban woman's soul. These are the phenomena which Gavin needs to tell. Only then will the non-Iban reader get some idea of what cloth designs and their praise-names represent.

* Michael Heppell studied Iban social control, including the socialization of children, in the Batang Ai region of Sarawak (1972–1974), leading to a Ph.D. (1975). Later, he spent one year (1981) doing an ethnographic study of the Jakug Bidayuh in West Kalimantan, three months with the Buket on the Balui in Sarawak, and many years doing various kinds of consultancies in the four Kalimantan provinces, from which stemmed an interest in Dayak art. His knowledge of Iban weaving was stimulated by Enyan anak Usen, a Delok Iban, who spent several months in 1982 in Australia talking about and demonstrating weaving to the Heppell household. Michael Heppell is the author of *Iban Art: Sexual Selection and Severed Heads* (Amsterdam: KIT, 2005), which sets Iban weaving in a broader art and evolutionary context. A somewhat shorter version of this review essay was originally published, in a slightly different format, in *Moussons* (8:143–53) and is presented here with the permission of its editor Bernard Sellato.

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BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

Letter From Lundu

26 December 2006

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Words surfaced, whose source I have searched for fruitlessly: “The Dyak doesn’t know how his people used to live 60 years ago, and doesn’t care.” This was written 100 years ago, and if it were true then, so much it is truer now.

The elders are passing away. These are, were, the people who were born under the Rajahs, who lived through the Japanese Occupation, the British colonial years, *Konfrontasi* and the formation of Malaysia, perhaps the time of most fundamental and wrenching change. The old people saw remarkable things and whenever I meet them I ask to hear their stories, if they are still capable of telling them. Unfortunately, they not always are.

Aki Duin of Stunggang was among the crowd at Kuching waterfront to greet the first airplane to Sarawak, in 1922. Another man took part in the 1945 attack on the Engkelili fort, the last time a mass of Ibans gathered to fight with parangs and spears against Japanese armed with rifles. In their grandchildren’s devil-take-the-hindmost rush towards *kemajuan*, how many will pause to think that not so long ago life was astonishingly different?

My wife’s father, Grandfather-of-Sam, Baki anak Resol, died on 4 June this year, I’m sorry to say, after a bad few weeks. Baki was born in 1919 and had just turned 87. In the nearly 20 years I knew him the only grave illness he suffered was gout. Baki kept his strength until the late 90s and his occupation and amusement in “retirement” was to trap river prawns. Even ten years ago prawns sold for RM 17 per kilo, and Baki was proud that he paid all his bills himself. He insisted on motoring his boat to town — when few did — to pay in person.

Baki’s daughters pestered him to quit fishing because of his gout. He quit, and he began to withdraw. His contemporaries were gone, and life had changed so much that he had *nothing to talk about* with his children and grandchildren. If I set him off on describing the past, he talked freely and at length. As often as the family hubbub permitted, I talked to him and got him to tell stories. Most I wrote down in my notebooks, and I also made three tapes.

Baki’s memories started with playing tops. Then came school, late, at Christchurch mission. Baki aimed to become a policeman. He failed maths, which dashed his hopes. His education amounted to the Three R’s, well taught, and they served him well. Baki wrote in a clear cursive hand. He sent me two or three letters while we were in KL, flavored with old-fashioned formulae such as the sign-off *Tu aja jako ari aku tu Baki*. He read the newspaper, and when radio, then TV, came in, he heard and watched the news, in Iban, Malay, and English, which he could follow. Despite his failure in school, he had enough

arithmetic to keep his finances in order.

As a *bujang* he walked through the forest to Bau to apply for a job at the gold mine. He worked there a month, then quit and took up collecting *getah*. Baki told me there were at least five kinds of *getah*, all with their peculiar properties and uses. These were called “gutta percha” 100 years ago, in effect natural plastics that could be melted and shaped. *Getah* provided the first insulation for telegraph wires. The work paid well. In a few days Baki could make more money than from a month at Bau.

Still unmarried, Baki worked timber. When he was young he cut and shaped timber with a pit-saw and *beliong*. “Money,” he said, “was cheap those days.” He made 90¢ to a dollar (Sarawak) a day, in a time when a chicken cost 5¢, rice one grew oneself, and vegetables and game were free.

Baki married Hebi anak Muda in 1940. When the Japanese arrived, the couple moved to an upriver garden. Baki described the hardships of occupation as mostly a nuisance. I interviewed Baki for Bob Reece, who included some of his stories in *Masa Jepun*. There you can read of how Baki traded tobacco for rice across the hills in Sambas, how he learned how to hunt with a blowpipe, and how he solved the problem of no matches by observing a man with a fire-piston.

Kpg. Stunggang had been evangelized for over a 100 years, yet Baki, along with his wife and many others, remained at that time at least half pagan. He “fed” the jars and the farm tools at harvest time. He put the appropriate offerings under the main post when building his house.

The war ended. Baki and his family farmed and gardened, tapped rubber and marketed fruit like every other Sebuyau. They moved to Kpg. Stunggang and he built a sturdy house. Every plank, post, and beam in his house is his handwork. His children grew up, went to school and moved away, worked, and sent money back. TV, piped water, and electricity arrived. The road was paved. Baki was content to live in the present, and he devoted himself to the making of *bubu* and maintaining the *perau* in which he paddled out to set them. Baki’s paganism vanished. He did retain one ancient Iban old-man’s trait. He protested if forced to wear anything more than shorts (with a t-shirt in the evening).

Scattered tales:

The last time an orangutan came around was 1922. An old male was ravaging the corn in the kampong gardens and the one gun-owner was dispatched to shoot him.

In 1942 the weather was so dry that the water in the Batang Kayan turned salty, and Baki saw dolphins as far upriver as Stunggang.

Travel to Kuching was difficult. More than once Baki rowed his *perau* to Kuching, a 24 hour trip.

These are things Baki himself thought worth remembering and passing to me. For my own part, I must say I could not have asked for a more understanding father-in-law. He never “commented,” but he made it clear to me that he understood the rigors of life among *people*, and knew what problems I faced, partly because he knew I too was a *laudator temporis acti*.

TEN KENYAH PAINTINGS GIVEN TO THE SARAWAK MUSEUM

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and

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with

Ding Seling¹ and Henry Belawing²

Introduction (JL)

In March 2006, Jérôme Rousseau expressed his intention to give to the Orang Ulu community ten Kenyah paintings that Tom Harrisson had given to him in 1974. I consulted a few Orang Ulu friends in Kuching and all agreed that the paintings should be given to the Sarawak Museum. I picked up the paintings in August 2006 when I visited Jérôme in Montreal. As I was traveling light, I did not have to pay for the freight, but was able to carry the paintings personally back to Sarawak in my luggage.

Back in Sarawak, the paintings were officially handed over to the Sarawak Museum by Datuk Jacob D. Sagan, the Member of Parliament from Baram, in a simple ceremony at the Dewan Tun Razak on Thursday, September 28, 2006 (Figure 1). In his address, Datuk Jacob Sagan thanked Rousseau for donating the paintings to the Sarawak Museum. As a Kenyah, he said the paintings brought back images of the *mamat* ceremony he witnessed as a child, but that the ritual is hardly performed by the Kenyah today. He was happy that an artist had the foresight to immortalize scenes of the ritual in paintings. Not only are the paintings of high quality, they also capture the essence of Kenyah culture. Datuk Sagan expressed his desire that they be displayed in the Museum art gallery for members of the public to enjoy and admire, and

¹ A Kenyah from the Baram area, Ding Seling is a retired Senior Education Officer. He served as Senator for two terms from 1991 to 1997, and was President of the Orang Ulu National Association during the same period.

² A Kenyah from the Baram area, Henry Belawing is a retired civil servant. His last post was Research Assistant in the Majlis Adat Istiadat, Chief Minister's Department.

for artists to draw inspiration from.

In his welcoming address, the Director of the Sarawak Museum, Sanib Said, also expressed, on behalf of the Sarawak Museum, his thanks to Professor Rousseau for giving the paintings to the Museum. He said that the Museum was delighted to accept them and promised that they would be displayed in the Museum's new art gallery located across the road from the Dewan Tun Razak. The handing over was witnessed by a number of Orang Ulu community members and well-wishers in Kuching.



Photo 1: Jacob Sagan (right) handing over the paintings to the Director of the Sarawak Museum, Sanib Said. Behind, representing the Orang Ulu community, Jayl Langub, UNIMAS, and Temenggong Pahang Ding, Kayan Chief from the Baram (photo: courtesy Sarawak Museum).

Description

The ten paintings³ were painted in August and September 1966 by Jalong Liban,⁴ a Kenyah artist from Long Nawang, Apo Kayan, East Kalimantan, Indonesia. They depict scenes from the *mamat* ceremony, seldom observed by the Kenyah of Sarawak today. Tom Harrisson, then Curator of the Sarawak Museum, commissioned the paintings for his own use.

How I Came to Own These Paintings (JR)

In 1966, Tom Harrisson was declared *persona non grata* in Sarawak because he had

³ Plus another one retained by JR.

⁴ Also spelled Djalong Libban, in the old Indonesian style.

criticized the incorporation of Sarawak into Malaysia. He and his wife Barbara took up Senior Research Associate positions at Cornell University and brought the paintings with them.

In 1970, I started a two-year fieldwork among the Kayan of the Baluy. A few months after my arrival, I heard that Tom and Barbara were in Brunei where they were advising the Sultan about developing the Brunei Museum. I wished to meet Tom, in part to hear about his central Borneo experiences, but also to locate a manuscript to which he referred in one of his publications. This was a manuscript about Kayan religion by Lake' Baling, the chief of the Kayan village of Uma Aging. I stayed in Brunei for about a week, during which we got along well, although Tom couldn't remember anything about the Kayan manuscript. After that, we exchanged a few letters, but our contacts were limited until 1974.

At that time, he wrote to inform me that he and Barbara had divorced; Barbara was about to relinquish their apartment in Cornell, as she was leaving to do research on pre-Columbian gold artifacts. Therefore, she could no longer house Tom's papers. Tom suggested that these might be of interest to me, because they dealt with Central Borneo.⁵ He also mentioned some paintings, which he also gave me. I drove to Cornell and took possession of the archives and the paintings. I have described the archival material in my *Bibliography of Central Borneo* (Rousseau 1988). Incidentally, I found among these papers Lake' Baling's manuscript, which I transcribed, translated, and annotated (Rousseau 2003).

I know little about the circumstances in which these paintings were made. In 1966, Jalong Liban, a Lepo' Tau Kenyah from Long Nawang, visited Kuching. I believe he stayed with Tom Harrisson at Pig Lane. Given that Harrisson had been engaged in intelligence work for the Malaysian Government during the Konfrontasi,⁶ it is not impossible that they met in this context, but this is speculation on my part.

Publications on the *Mamat* (JR)

Tom Harrisson was very interested in a Lepo' Tau ritual, the *mamat*, which has been described by several authors, in particular Elshout (1923, 1926). As Harrisson did not understand Dutch, he asked Bishop Galvin to request that one of his priests, Frans Baartmans, translate Elshout's descriptions into English, which Baartmans did with reluctance. Harrisson also obtained a partial description from Jalong Liban. Harrisson published several papers that touched on this ritual (1965a, 1965b, 1965c, 1966a, 1966b, 1966c, 1966), as did Galvin (1966, 1968, 1974) and Maping Madang (Maping Madang and Galvin 1966).

Here, we try to describe the pictures to the best of our understanding. However, neither of us is a Kenyah specialist and we have not observed the ritual. The most detailed description is by Elshout (1926:281–32). We hope that Kenyah specialists will be able to use this material for a better understanding of the *mamat*. In particular, it is not certain that the order in which the pictures are presented below is correct.

Elshout presents the following sequence for the *mamat*:

First day: *Pejaka*: headhunters come up from the river (Painting 2).

Second day: *Napo sang* in the morning, *pedahu* in the evening.

Third day: *Pelubit batu*: rolling the stones.

⁵ The only the exception were his Kelabit papers, which he had given to the National Archives in Kuala Lumpur (B. Harrisson 1977).

⁶ Tom probably went to the Apo Kayan and the Upper Bahau during this period.

Fourth day: *Napo ulu yap*: offering a chicken head (Painting 7).

Fifth day: *Mendang daon k'uko ame kuman nang keramen*, hanging on the *keramen* the leaves on which we placed our food.

Sixth day: *Tei naho*: going to the fields. Officially, this is the end of the *mamat*, but not really.

Seventh day: *Dau ketuju pejaka: moko*. People stay home.

Eight day: *Tei naho*: going to the fields again.

Ninth day: *Dau ketuju pelewa: moko*. People stay home.

The *mamat* is related to the Kayan headhunting ritual (Rousseau 1998:201–13). Like the Kayan *kayo*, it integrates a ranking scheme related to the number of times a man has participated in the ritual, but the Lepo' Tau ranking system is more elaborate than the Kayan one.

Description of the Pictures

These pictures are all of the same size, 24" high by 30" wide, painted on masonite. Harrison's archives include a document, entitled *Mamat Pictures by Jalong: Commentary*, the result of a session between Tom Harrison, Jalong Liban, and Tusau Padan. Unfortunately, this description is incomplete, as it describes eight pictures, one of which is not in the set given by Tom to JR. The order of Jalong's commentary does not correspond with the sequence presented below (See Table 1).

Table 1
Correspondence Between Jalong's Commentary and the Pictures

Jalong's commentary	Picture #
I	2
II	6
III	4
IV	7
V	10
VI	No picture
VII	8
VIII	9

These pictures are one of two sets painted by Jalong Liban in 1966. The other set was acquired by Bishop Galvin, who described them in a later paper (1974). There are 11 pictures in this set, and 14 in Galvin's. Eight of the pictures are found in both sets, but they are not identical (See Table 2). We will refer to Galvin's descriptions when relevant.

Table 2
Correspondence between Two Sets of Jalong Liban's *Mamat* Pictures

Pictures in this article	Galvin's pictures
1	
2	1
3	2
4	3
	4
5	
6	5
	6
7	7
	8
	9
	10
8	11
	12
9	13
	14
10	15
11	

JL went through the pictures with Ding Seling and Henry Belawing. They are Kenyah who have spent most of their lives in towns. They do not claim to have a thorough understanding of the *mamat*. Taking as their starting point the order of paintings in Galvin's (1974) paper, which they thought made sense, they established the order they thought logical. This order had been kept below, except that the painting they put in 7th position (*Napo ulu yap*) is now in 9th position, for reasons that are explained below.



1- Women pour rice into a large container (photo: Jérôme Rousseau)

Comment by DS & HB

This painting shows women coming to give rice in preparation for the *mamat*. A few days before the *mamat* ceremony, the villagers collect firewood, *sang* leaves,⁷ wood for a *belawing* (ritual pole), saplings for *kayu tapo*' (ritual sticks), and contribute rice and other food items. The picture shows women carrying baskets of rice to the headman's verandah. On the first day of the ceremony, the rice and other foods are distributed to various apartments to be cooked to feed participants in the ceremony.

⁷ *Sang* – a type of palm: Kenyah make *sa'ong* (sun hat) and *samit* (a poncho-shaped rain coat) out of *sang* leaves; also used to wrap food or belongings for protection or to keep them away from rain; used in rituals such as in *mamat* as a symbol of protection (DS & HB).



2 - “The start of the *mamat*. *Lemikka ayau* or *mecha ulu*”
(Photo: Jérôme Rousseau)

Mamat Pictures by Jalong: Commentary describes this painting as follows:⁸

Early in the morning, the warriors return by boat from the war party with heads that they had left downriver in the jungle, hung in trees. They are met by male members of the longhouse, who spear the heads, several persons to one spear — not fiercely, just touching the head.

In modern times, one of the more recent heads kept in the longhouse is used, being taken to the jungle the night before. The *mamat* used to be celebrated once, sometimes twice a year for the whole complex of Long Nawang longhouses. It did not require a fresh head.

“The spirits of each man, each male, are made light — seeing one head, the taker therefore is brave, so all feel brave.”

The ritual is led by a man of the highest stratum (*paran*). Commoners (*panyin*) can participate only if they are led by a *paran*. The hats shown in the boats may be woven by either stratum, but no *panyin* would be able to

⁸ I have paraphrased and condensed extracts from this document. When Jalong’s description gives a title to a painting, I put it in quotation marks (JR).

handle the omen birds (*amin*).

At this stage of the ritual, participants are not required to wear the paraphernalia marking rank differences in the *mamat* (*suhan*). The two figures at the left are wearing headdresses indicating their *mamat* rank, but these were acquired in the previous *mamat*.

On headdresses, the number of feathers (and their presence) identify the *suhan* grade. Similarly, the swords are decorated in 42 grades.

To the right is the *liwang ohong*. The sacred stones, *batu tuloi*, are placed in the enclosure [with a croton]. Only the *paran* are allowed to have these stones, and only three Long Nawang longhouses out of about 20 or 25 have them.

Comment by DS & HB

All males wishing to participate in the *mamat* ceremony meet warriors at the landing-stage. They touch their spears on the trophy head. The *teken* (poles for poling boats) are decorated with *sang* leaves; warriors also wear bands made of *sang* leaves around their calves for soul strengthening (*singau*) and protection.



3 - People in front of the *belawing* and at the river (Photo: Jérôme Rousseau)

Comment by DS & HB

The party proceeds to the *kayu belawing* to sacrifice a pig and chickens. A *dayong* calls the

omen bird, *pelaki* (eagle) which, responding to the call, is seen flying at the top right of the picture. Another pig is sacrificed at the landing-stage. The sacrificed animals appease (*mela*) the spirit of the head.

This probably depicts the observation of omen animals (the hut in the middle of the picture is probably where men observing the omens shade themselves from the sun). At the left, a sacrifice to a river spirit (JR).



4 - "Anak umpar" (Photo: Jérôme Rousseau)

Mamat Pictures by Jalong: Commentary describes it as follows:

Before the head enters the house, the leader of the war party must consult the birds, as he is doing in the foreground. He is the omen specialist (*unkang amin*) and he makes a little pie for each bird—naming each bird as he makes the fire.

He starts with the *isit* and goes as follows:

isit
pelaki
telajan
kihing
bukeng

tela'o (barking deer)
pengolo
tela'o nemusun batok

The last means “to cut the neck.” This procedure sums up the whole war party’s expedition and the omens they used on the way, in sequence.

The omen specialist turns to the man on his right and asks if the enemy is in sight:

“Yes — here is one” — says he — and points to the head on the ground. Then fathers with newborn boys bring them to touch the skull. This repeats the procedure carried out by older boys and men earlier in the day [Painting #2]. The carrying basket in the foreground indicates these are baby boys; this is their first step in the *mamat* and the *suhan* grades.

The mothers stand in the background. The old man on the left leads another girl who will smear the baby boys again on the rear thigh, before they may enter into the house with their mothers.

Comment by DS & HB

The eight *kayu amen* (omen sticks) are burned for *singau* (soul strengthening) of young boys, i.e., those who have already received their first name, as they will eventually take part in future *mamat* rituals. Afterwards, an old man leads a small girl (seen on the extreme left of picture) carrying a chicken sacrifice, the blood of which is rubbed on the thighs of each warrior and child as *pela* (cleansing).



5- Fence with leaves (Photo: Jérôme Rousseau)

Comment by DS & HB

The men enter the longhouse by the notched ladder (*can liwang*). A *liwang uma* (rattan tied on upright sticks surrounding the longhouse with leaves hanging on it) is erected, and acts as a fence to prevent bad spirits from entering the longhouse.

This picture may be related to Painting10 (JR).



6 - “Kenda belawing” (Photo: Jérôme Rousseau)

DS and HB think that this picture corresponds to Galvin's Fig. 5. The backgrounds are very similar, but Galvin's picture misses the young girl in the middle bottom, whose role is described below by Jalong. Galvin's (1974:141) description points out that an old man is bringing the head in the house through the verandah floor, which we also see in this picture. It seems probable that we see only a small portion of Galvin's picture (JR).

Mamat Pictures by Jalong: Commentary describes it as follows:

A *belawing* is the pole with the human figure on top. Those who met the boat now sacrifice at the *belawing* to bring Bali Akang to strengthen all male spirits at this house. There is only one *belawing* for the whole community. The skulls are taken here. The first sacrifices take place at the *belawing*; chicken first, later pig.

Afterwards, the heads are taken to the house where the *mamat* takes place. Before that, a young woman must kill a chicken over the head, as shown at center of this picture [she is holding a chick, whose throat has been cut]. She must be a *paran*. This is to lighten the bones of those who have brought in the heads [i.e., so they are sprightly]. She rubs it on the back of thigh and lower buttock, as shown on the right side of the central figure with

back to us. This is called *selalang lalo*.⁹

The background figure is placing another head under the house — the only permitted entrance. Although it is in the same picture, it takes place afterwards and is called *pejakar uluh*. A *panyin* or slave man does this, not an aristocrat. The man on the verandah beats a gong. The woman on the right is not part of the ritual. She is simply carrying water.

Unlike the *belawing*, there can be more than one hornbill figure (*keraman*). Each house should have one. The palm (*sang*) leaf around the base will cover all the leaves (*pisang*) of the food eaten by the warrior party during the *mamat*, as women must not touch any of this; the wrapping of other male food does not matter.

Comment by DS & HB

The head trophy is taken into the longhouse through a specially prepared hole in the floor. This is known in Kenyah as *pejaka ulu*. The old man sitting underneath the longhouse pushes the head up through the hole while another man up in the house pushes it back with a spear eight times until it is finally allowed to enter the longhouse.

⁹ This comment by Jalong echoes DS & HB's comment about Picture 4.



7- “Pedau’ hu” (Photo: Jérôme Rousseau)

Mamat Pictures by Jalong: Commentary describes it as follows:

The head has been sent up through the floor and now the action moves indoors. The religious specialists now take over the heads and handle them. They are playing the drums to entertain the spirits; the seated figures are old men who are also “working on human business,” addressing the human souls through a chicken egg on the inverted small gong behind them by the fire. The drummers are selected by skill, regardless of status, but anyone with a pregnant wife is forbidden to play the drums. They drum from a bit after midnight and continue until first light. This chant follows a standard text but with variations according to the skill and knowledge of the performer.

The heads above the fire, in the place called *padok*, are old ones. When the drummers have finished, the central figure comes out from behind the drummers: the *muhi jatong* is there to make the drums and the chant sound fine, reach to the furthest spirits, and bring them right into the living community. In his right hand is a bamboo containing water, chicken blood, *beteh* (a small leaf from the *liwang ohong*), and the shavings of dried bamboo (*seling*). This “clears the sound” and the community, in order to make everything pleasant for the spirits that the drummers have invited. The *muhi jatong* performs twice, with an interval, first for the spirits, then for the

house and the humans. He places the first bamboo with the seated old men — who are “holding the ring” — and fetches a new one with same ingredients for phase 2. The other man supports his song.

“The night, beginning about 8 o'clock, everyone will dance and make merry until about 3 a.m., when the *dayong* takes their places. 6, 8, 10 drums are beaten (but not 7 or 9). The leader is shown carrying *puhe jatong* (*jatong* = drum), a bamboo tube containing water, chicken blood, and *seling*, dried shavings of bamboo. He sprinkles this on the drums. Another man is shown dancing with the head, rejoicing. The third (standing) man will throw three eggs, one down the verandah in each direction, and one out the front of the longhouse; this is to prevent any sickness from entering the longhouse. One of the seated men is spinning an egg in an inverted gong (the egg is depicted as having come to rest in the optimum position, oriented vertically with respect to the *dayong*). During this time women are strictly forbidden from coming onto the verandah” (Galvin 1974:141–42).¹⁰

¹⁰ Ding Seling and Henry Belawing had no comment of their own on pictures 7 and 8, but quoted Galvin, who is reporting Jalong’s comments.



8- *Suhan* (Photo: Jérôme Rousseau)

Mamat Pictures by Jalong: Commentary describes it as follows:

Grades of *suhan* are in the afternoon. They may go on for a long time, even all night if necessary. For each grade, it is necessary to sacrifice a chicken. Pigs, as on the right, are for high grades only.

This picture has previously been published in Harrison (1966a, between pp. 288–89). Harrison (1966a:294–95) quotes the following description by Jalong:

On the left the man is receiving the *suhan* for the highest grade of *lampong angang*, named for the tall bamboo framework on a rotan hat held by the seated man ... Jalong distinguishes the three final classes as follows: a) *lampong Angang* — feathers from the Rhinoceros Hornbill (*tamanggang*) hung from bamboo frames (as illustrated). b) *Teraga* – long feathers of Helmeted Hornbill (*tebun*), directly stuck into the back side of the hat (not a frame). c) *Lenjou* — tiger's teeth, opposed in pairs on a necklet. (Substitutes can sometimes be used) ... On the other side of Jalong's picture, a man is shown at the very highest grade of all. He has only 15 of the long feathers of the class b) hat, but that "does not matter." He sits wearing the skin of an orang-utan (Leppo Tau *kuyang*), which is an essential part of the top regalia (*suhan taro*). But the most important thing is that he has as *suhan*

elements eight human skulls.

“*Suen* — This takes place all throughout the rest of the day, beginning with the lowest grades. The very high *suen taro* grade, shown here may not take place until the following morning. This grade is so high that the rite is performed by the recipient, with the help of the *bali liwang*. He himself sacrifices the pig and smears its blood on the *karebu* stick, which is then placed within the *liwang*. Then he rubs his hand against the stick — thus *bali liwang* anoints him with the blood of the sacrificial victim” (Galvin 1974:142).

Ding Seling and Henry Belawing are not sure of this ritual. *Suen* refers to grading; *taro* probably means ‘not real, artificial, imitation.’¹¹ A person born a *paren* (aristocrat) has a real status in the community, they say, but achieved status does not entail real leadership.



9- “*Napo ulu yap*” (Photo: Jérôme Rousseau)

DS and HB thought that this picture followed picture 6 and that it corresponded to Galvin’s Figure 6. In fact, it corresponds to Galvin’s Figure 13. both have the same title, and in both cases, they carry long white sticks, which Galvin (1974: 142) says are erected near the *keraman* (JR).

¹¹ But see the Galvin quote about the same picture.

Mamat Pictures by Jalong: Commentary describes it as follows:

Ulu yap means ‘chicken head.’ After *suhan* grades have been taken in the morning of the next day, all takers must go to the *belawing*, “to let the *pelaki* omen know their *suhan*.” The grades shown by each are, starting from the back:

Temanggung dua

Lawea iyap for the child in the baby carrier

Lenjou 6 (3 showing) for the adults. [This may refer to the tufts on the sword.]

Temanggung annam

Teraga pat [This probably refers to the four tail feathers.]

Lenjou ata (8) [This seems to refer to the 8 teeth in a garland.]

Lamong agan

The pole here is a *belawing*, though not the same as in the previous picture (Picture #6). A *keraman* is always near the house and is not so sacred. The *belawing* is further away. It is the place of the spirit Bali Akang and is very important. The *keraman*’s main function is to be a place for the warriors’ food for the *mamat*; otherwise, the *liwang ohong* is where most rituals take place.

The motif on top of the *belawing* can vary. It could be a tiger, a hornbill, or a man. The trouble with the hornbill is that it takes a long time to carve, but it is the preferred figure among the Lepo’ Tau.

Comment by DS & HB

The following morning, the men go out of the longhouse to the *belawing* to perform a propitiation ritual (*napo*). The ritual sticks (*kayu tapo*) have been prepared for the purpose. A pig or chicken may be used as sacrifice.



10 - *Liwa selalang* (Photo Jérôme Rousseau)

Mamat Pictures by Jalong: Commentary describes it as follows:

On the morning following *Pedau' Hu* (#8), after breakfast, chickens are sacrificed over the *batu tuloi*. Two *paran* girls, followed by *panyin* and then slave (*salud*) girls, smear the warriors who stand on the right. [The description does not match the picture exactly.]

The girls smear men of their own stratum with chicken blood. Girls rub the chickens on men of their own stratum. In this picture, the last girl with the black hair is a slave and she will smear the men with the yellow loin cloths [This is confusing because everyone has black hair; men with a yellow loin cloth are not in the picture; This may refer to Painting #5]. Each woman can smear several men of her stratum; the four men shown on right [again, possibly Painting 5] only symbolize the whole "war party." There are always two *paran*, however, because the *paran* play a large part in the war parties.

These four women have qualified as *suhan*, and can wear hornbill feathers, etc. This is therefore a prized position, and they are chosen by the elders on merit, taking turns to do so [i.e. they don't do it on two consecutive *mamat*]. This is not really a *suhan*, [women do not really participate in the *mamat*].

The two women in the background are just looking on. [These are the women closest to the man carrying a wild boar; the drawing is clear on this;

other women are standing formally, these are standing normally. I think that the man carrying the wild boar is not part of the ritual, but simply coming back from hunting.]

Comment by DS & HB

Singau anak — a ritual to strengthen the soul of children. The picture shows a mother carrying a child, walk past four pairs of *parang*, each pair facing each other, with tips embedded to the ground and handles upward.¹² A pig and chicken are sacrificed.¹³



11 - Decorated wall on a longhouse gallery (Photo: Jérôme Rousseau)

I have kept this painting that represents people sitting on the verandah in front of a large wall painting, in front of which a panel is decorated in the same style. People are sitting on the verandah. A woman is offering a cigarette to a man. As far as I can tell, this does not describe a ritual, but people relaxing at the occasion of the *mamat*. It is possible that the panel behind the people has a ritual significance, as does the bamboo pole on the left (JR).

¹² However, the picture shows sword blades *without* handles. The same applies to the corresponding picture in Galvin's set.

¹³ I do not see a chicken in the picture. While it is correct that a pig or a chicken is sacrificed when a child is named, the pig shown on the right-hand side seems to be a wild boar. Wild boars are carried in this way when brought back from the hunt, and the hunter is followed by his dog. Sacrificed pigs are handled otherwise.

Missing Painting

Jalong's commentary has one section that does not correspond to any of the pictures described here, though it corresponds to Galvin's Figure 10. Given the importance of this part of the ritual, I am convinced there was a twelfth painting.

Mamat Pictures by Jalong: Commentary describes it as follows:

Pelubit batu. On the right of the picture, the rolling of the *batu tuloi* is in process. The stones are rolled in a circle eight times. After that, an old man holds a branch of *bawe*, whose thorns have been cut off. The *bawe* is secured onto a stick of *bawang* wood. The head is tied on it, and the whole thing is placed on the gathered stones. Everyone scrambles to get hold of the *bawe* as if it were the head. The *bawe* is placed on the ground. A face is painted on the first stone, which a *paran* balances on another stone. Then the *bawe* is placed on the roof.

It is not impossible that other pictures are missing. Galvin's set, for instance, includes women dancing (Fig. 8).

Conclusion

We have presented here a preliminary description, with the hope that someone with greater knowledge of Lepo' Tau religion will be able to produce a more complete and coherent account. In order to achieve this task, it would be useful to locate the Galvin set, as the figures in the *Brunei Museum Journal* seem to be details, rather than complete pictures.

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NGAJU *SAPUYUNG* HATS: A BRIEF NOTE

Junita Arnel Maiullari and Paolo Maiullari
photos: Junita Arnel Maiullari

At 7 a.m., on August 11, 2001, we are in a small village, Telangkah, on the Katingan River in Central Kalimantan. Arnel and Mina (Aunt) Sile are looking for transportation which will take us northward. Today we are on a family journey and will stop at different villages along the way until we reach Pa' Sayen's home.

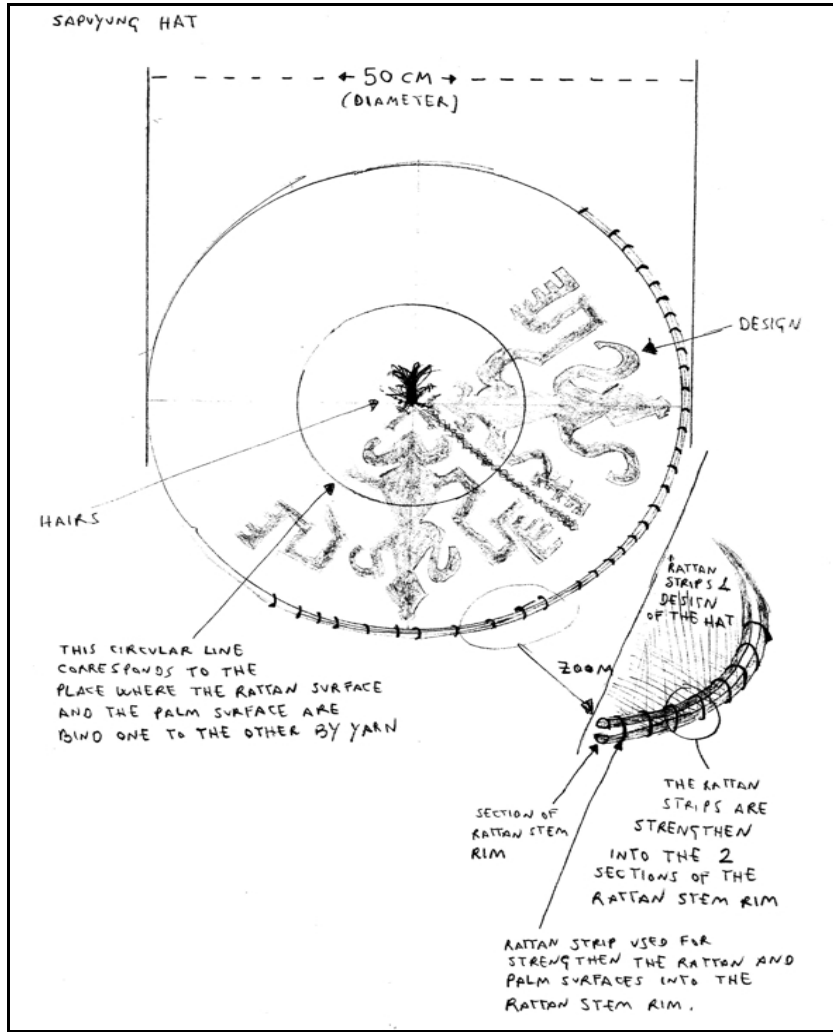
After an hour's travel by speedboat, we reach the first village. The boat docks at the riverbank. Once ashore, we mount a long staircase that takes us to the main center in the village. On the riverbank side, we see that a kind of hut has been erected and that several people are working nearby. According to them, this hut is called the *pasar sababulu* or *balai pangun jandau* and will be used to house gongs and other music instruments. *Pasar sababulu* or *balai pangun jandau* refers to a "construction that must be completed in a single day." On the other side, there are three *pandung kayu*, stacked piles of small wood arranged in linear rows to form a square-like structure. The centerpiece of each stacked pile is a long slender pole, decorated at the top with pleated leaves in the shape of a bird. Between the *pasar sababulu* and the *pandung kayu*, there is a *sangkaraya*, a structure made of bamboo poles and fronds, with a batik loincloth wrapped around its base and a large hat hung among the fronds. These structures indicate that the village is about to celebrate a *tiwah* ritual.

Once we are inside the house of relatives, we are all seated together in the main room. Here we admire a long bamboo post similar to the *sangkaraya*, where we can see again a large hat but in a different design. This construction is called the *balai pali* and was erected at the same time as the *pasar sababulu*.

At the next village we come to, we visit an uncle who operates a *warung* or small village shop. At his house, while we drink tea, we see two hats in the same style as we saw before, but now hanging on a wall. The uncle tells us that he has twice celebrated the *basangiang* (literally, 'to make a *sangiang* ritual'). After the ritual is over, the hat used in performing it is hung from the house wall.

Finally, we arrive at Pa' Sayen's village where we stop to spend the day. Pa' Sayen is an expert rattan-weaver, who weaves in the evenings whenever he has spare time. In Pa' Sayen's house, we see again, hanging on the wall, three hats of the same type as we saw before. He tells us that they are *sapuyung* hats and were used for *basangiang*.

The *sapuyung* are wide, round hats decorated with red designs and a hair lock attached at the center. The designs are created by interlacing rattan strips during the weaving of the hat. The strips are peeled by the weaver from larger lengths of rattan and the color is applied before weaving by boiling the rattan strips in water containing rattan fruits. The woven rattan is fastened on an undersurface made of woven palm leaves. The two surfaces are bound together with yarn, about ten centimeters from the center of the hat, as can be seen from the drawing. The outer rim of the *sapuyung* is fashioned from a small length of unsplit rattan. This is cut horizontally in two in order to hold together the outer edges of the woven rattan and palm-leaf surfaces. These two halves are tightly bound together with rattan strips to form a strong outer rim.



Sketch showing the construction of a *sapuyung* hat.

Regarding the three *sapuyung* hats about which we collected information, two (Plates 1 and 2) have a diameter of 50 cm., while the third (Plate 3) is larger, having a diameter of approximately 60 cm.

Plate 1 shows a hat called the *sapuyung bahatara tulah*. In the Katingan Ngaju language, *bahatara* refers to the supreme divinity and *tulah* to a curse. Hence the name of the hat's design, *bahatara tulah*, refers to the hat's function, that of providing the person who wears it with the protection of the supreme divinity against a curse.



Plate 1: *Bahatara tulah* hat.

Plate 2 shows a *sapuyung antang hakawit*. The *antang hakawit* design represents eagles interconnected with one another. In Katingan Ngaju, *antang* means 'eagle,' while *hakawit* means 'interconnected.'



Plate 2: *antang hakawit* hat.

Plate 3, a *sapuyung liau haguti*. *Liau* refers to the soul of a dead person and *haguti* to the act of removing fleas from a person's hair. Thus, the design called *liau haguti* depicts the act of a deceased's soul as it removes the fleas from the hair of another soul (this is a habitual practice which the dead person used to do when he or she was alive).



Plate 3: *Liau haguti* hat.

Later, we saw another type of *sapuyung* made in another village from rattan and palm leaves. This type of *sapuyung* has an inner circle woven of rattan like the other hats, but this is surrounded by an outer circular border made only of woven palm leaves. The inner circle has the same type of design as described before and there is again a hair lock

attached to its center. This last *sapuyung* (Plate 4) has the same dimensions as the hats shown in Plates 1 and 2, namely, a diameter of roughly 50 cm.

Plate 4 shows a *sapuyung antang bajela' bulau*. The design in this case represents an eagle with a golden tongue who utters words of truth which are as immutable as gold. *Antang* means 'eagle,' *bajela'* means 'tongue,' and *bulau*, 'golden.'



Plate 4: *Antang bajela' bulau* hat.

In addition to identifying the designs of the *sapuyung*, we are concentrating on the various contexts in which the hats are used and their functions. According to the information that we have so far collected, some *sapuyung* are also used in *tiwah* ceremonies, while others are worn by the *pisor*, the Ngaju Katingan name for the mediators who communicate between human beings and the divinities. We collected names for the

divinities called by the *pisor* during *sangiang* rituals and, in some cases, we identified at least some of their functions.

At this point, we had to leave KalimantanTengah. On our next trip we intend to pursue this subject further. We plan to meet Pa' Sayen, an 80 year-old rattan weaver; Idu Ubing, a 90 year-old retired *sihai* (the *sihai* also act as mediators between the spirits and human beings), Arneld Nadjir, our guide-translator, together with Linawatie and other people on the Katingan River.

To conclude this brief note, we would add that the *sangiang* healing ritual is considered by some people to be a frightening act, like, for us, undergoing an operation in a hospital. Indeed, in 2001, we met a cousin who had a goiter and was supposed to hold a *sangiang*. However, she had not done so because she was afraid of the ritual and of what the *pisor* would do.

BLOWPIPE DART POISON IN BORNEO AND THE SECRET OF ITS PRODUCTION

The latex of *Antiaris toxicaria*; the poison-making procedure; the heat-sensitive main toxic chemical compound, and the lethal effect of the poison

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Blowpipe dart poison in Borneo is generally produced from the latex of the *Antiaris toxicaria* tree (Moraceae). This latex contains a variety of toxic chemical compounds. The principal toxic agent is a steroid glycoside known as \hat{a} -Antiarin. A lethal dose (L50) is only about 0.1 mg. per kg. weight of a warm-blooded animal. To dehydrate the milky latex into a paste, a long, carefully implemented procedure is essential because the steroid glycoside compound is extremely heat-sensitive. Therefore, hunters perform the dehydration of the latex by using a young leaf from the small *Licuala spinosa* palm. The leaf is folded into a boat-shaped container to hold the latex at a carefully determined distance over a small flame for about one week. This is possible because the young *Licuala* leaf is astonishingly fireproof and durable. This is the secret of producing the lethal poison. If the latex were heated at too high a temperature, the glycoside compound would crack and its toxicity would be lost.

Introduction

The diverse indigenous Dayak tribes, as well as the formerly semi-settled hunters and gatherers of Borneo (Kalimantan) such as the Punan, Berusu, and Basap have traditionally hunted for wild animals with blowpipes and poison darts. The blowpipe, which is about two meters long, is made of ironwood (*Eusideroxylon zwageri*), generally known as *ulin* in

Indonesia, or of another hardwood species. Among my collection are also some antique blowpipes cut from bamboo sections.

The 30 cm. long blowpipe darts weigh less than 1 g. The darts exit the blowpipe at a speed (V_0) of at least 50 m/sec, or about 180 km/h, as ascertained through trials by the author at the German *Bundeskriminalamt* (German Federal Bureau of Investigation) in the city of Wiesbaden in 1985 (Zahorka 1986:37). Because of minimal weight and high velocity, the darts' trajectory is flat up to a distance of 25 to 30 meters. Therefore, at this distance, the dart can hit an animal even if only a small part of it is visible or it is shielded by branches and leaves in the dense jungle cover. This would not be possible if using a bow because the flight path of a heavy arrow is not straight but takes on a ballistic curve. Another advantage of hunting with a blowpipe is the nearly soundless shooting.

The agent that brings about the demise of the animal is the poison, not the dart itself. Irrespective of which part of the animal's body the dart hits, the poison diffuses very rapidly throughout the whole body. A two-centimeter segment of the points of the darts used for hunting small animals, monkeys and large birds is treated with poison. The darts for hunting deer (*Cervus unicolor*), muntjak (*Muntiacus muntjac*) and wild boar (*Sus barbatus*) are treated with poison to five centimeters down from the point upon which is affixed a sharp head of bamboo, metal or a small animal's pointed tooth.

Because of the depletion of the forests in Kalimantan, the present indigenous hunters need a hunting weapon that can be shot over a much greater distance than the blowgun. Therefore, some Basap people living on the Mangkalihat Peninsula, Kalimantan Timur, have constructed sophisticated air guns powered by strings of elastic, which shoot these poison darts accurately at a distance of about 100 meters (Zahorka 2004a:10).

The Plant Species Needed to Produce the Dart Poison

The raw material that yields the poison is the latex of the tall tree *Antiaris toxicaria* (Pers.) Lesch., Moraceae. However, the poison processing is possible only with the use of a young leaf of the small *Licuala spinosa* Thunb. palm.

1. *Antiaris toxicaria* (Pers.) Lesch., Moraceae, can grow up to 50 meters in height and to a diameter of up to 1.5 meters or more. The tall branchless trunk is straight; the buttresses are relatively small, and the small treetop is nearly spherical. It is a rare tree that grows from the lowland up into the montane tropical forest. Generally, the lower parts of the trunks display numerous scars, which indicate former latex tapping over many decades.

Because of its powerful poison, this tree has been the subject of horror stories for 200 years. Thus, the seventeenth century German-Dutch natural scientist Rumphius wrote: "This tree grows on barren mountains. The soil below it is desolate and singed. Only a horned snake lives under the tree which cackles like a hen and has eyes that glow in the night" (cit. Beekmann 1981 in Zahorka 2000:19, translated by the author). Similarly, the Swedish Borneo explorer Eric Mjöberg reported in 1929: "To stay at a close distance to the tree is life-threatening and an embankment of bones surrounds it..." (Mjöberg 1929:307, translated from German by the author). Fortunately, this all is pure fantasy. In a more recent book, we can read: "There is a fabulous legend that it is deadly merely to sleep in the shade of the *upas* tree" (Smith 1997:36).

In Java, Sumatra and Malaysia, the tree is widely known as *pohon ipoh* or *pohon upas*. However, the various traditional tribal communities in Kalimantan have their own vernacular names for it. Here are some examples which I collected in East and Central Kalimantan between 1976 and 2003:

TRIBAL COMMUNITY	NAME OF TREE	NAME OF DART POISON
Punan Aput	<i>dajuk</i>	<i>upun</i>
Punan Menalui	<i>puntajem</i>	<i>moshu tajum</i>
Basap Balui	<i>boon biru</i>	<i>ipoh</i>
Ot Danum Dayak	<i>sadiron</i>	<i>konyong</i>
Bahau Dayak	<i>tasam</i>	<i>ipu</i>
Kenyah Lepo Ma'ut Dayak	<i>salok</i>	<i>salok</i>
Kenyah Lepo Badgn Dayak	<i>saluh</i>	<i>saluh</i>
Tumon Dayak	<i>ketatai</i>	<i>ipoh</i>
Lun Dayeh Dayak	<i>lawar farir</i>	<i>farir</i>
Benuaq Dayak	<i>poutnn ipu</i>	<i>ipu</i>

2. *Licuala spinosa* Thunb., Palmae, is a small fan palm growing in the tropical forests of SE Asia along the equator (McCurrach 1960). The 3-to-5-meter-high stems grow in tufts. The 15 to 18 leaf segments, which are up to 40 centimeters long and up to 15 centimeters wide are widely used for thatching. The Indonesian and Malaysian name for it is *sang*.

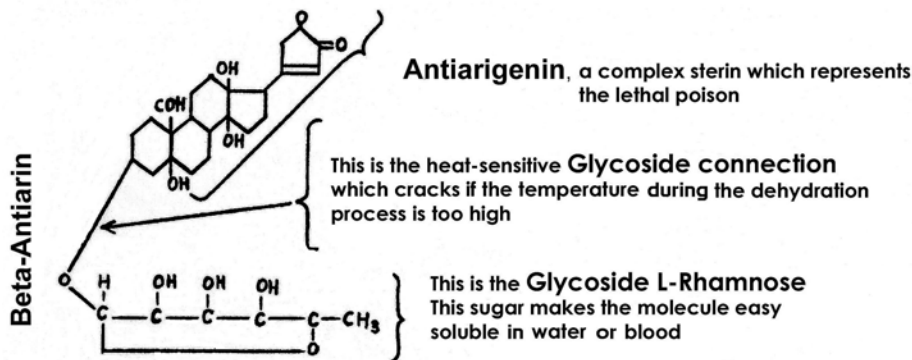
For the dehydration process of the *Antiaris* latex, a very young *sang* leaf, that is still accordion-like folded and not yet spread out, is used. In this original condition, the leaf is absolutely fire resistant and durable. It is this property of the leaf that holds the secret of producing the dart poison over a fire. The young leaf keeps its shape and will not burn even if put into a hot gas flame. A boat-shaped container made with this leaf must be durable enough to hold the latex throughout the prolonged dehydration.

The Active Chemical Compounds

Phytochemical analyses reveal that the latex of the *Antiaris toxicaria* includes a differing blend (individually and provincially) of at least 30 complex cardenolides, i.e., strong heart poisons (Hegnauer 1973, Neumüller 1979). Alkaloids are extremely rare. The chemical structure is clarified with $\acute{\alpha}$ -Antiarin, $\hat{\alpha}$ -Antiarin, $\acute{\alpha}$ -Antiosid, Antiosid, Malayosid, Convallatoxin (which is a Strophantin Rhamnosid), Desglucocheirotoxin and other compounds, most of which include Strophantin (Bisset 1962:143–51; Dolder et al. 1955:1364–96). The bark, the wood, the roots, and the seed include the same toxic compounds. However, the leaves, the male inflorescence, and the flesh of the fruit are free of them.

The principal toxic agent of the dart poison is the glycoside β -Antiarin; 1.5 to 2 percentage of the total weight of the original latex consists of this glycoside. The molecule of $\hat{\alpha}$ -Antiarin consists of two components. One is the complex Sterin **Antiarigenin**, which is the toxic component. The other is the glycoside α L-Rhamnose, which is a sugar compound. This sugar component is connected to the Antiarigenin by a heat-sensitive oxygen bridge (glycoside connection). This sugar makes the whole molecule rapidly and

readily soluble in water and in blood. However, if the latex or the final poison is heated to too high a temperature during the dehydrating process or later, during boiling the meat while cooking it, the glycoside connection cracks and the sugar component becomes free. In that way, the toxicity of the latex is lost.



H-ions occupy all free valences. The chemical sum formula is C₂₉H₄₂O₁₁

The Poison-Producing Procedure

With a bushknife, the latex collector cuts a deep notch into the bark. Instantly, a yellowish latex pours out. If a considerable mass is wanted, the latex is collected in a bamboo container. When small amounts are needed, the latex is collected directly into the boat-shaped *Licuala* leaf container.

A small fire is lit and a simple construction of several small branches is set about 70 centimeters high above it. For at least several days, the top of this trestle serves as the resting place above the fire for the *Licuala* container with the latex inside. In case of rain, the container may be temporarily placed above the fireplace in the house. The process of dehydration requires great patience and care. A medium quantity of latex takes a week's work. During the process, the latex darkens to a deep brown color. As the processing continues, the viscosity becomes more and more glutinous and the final color is a metallic black. Temperature control requires the most attention. If the latex gets too hot, the glycoside connection of the $\hat{\alpha}$ -Antiarin cracks and the sugar component becomes free. If this happens, the glutinous mass will taste sweet and the toxicity will be lost. This fact is well known to indigenous hunters. Therefore, during the dehydration process, they repeatedly taste the mass carefully with the tongue. It has to taste extremely bitter. If it tastes sweet, all the efforts will have been in vain. Although published accounts of this procedure have appeared in books and magazines (v.a. Zahorka 1976:57f; 1987:26; 2000:22), incorrect information, such as "The mixture is boiled over a fire ..." (Boer et al. 1999:128) is still widespread. Boiling would cause the toxicity to entirely dissipate.

To poison the darts, the tips are simply dipped and turned round in the thick toxic paste. This poison is very durable and effective for years if not heated. Old poisoned darts in museums are dangerous even after decades of display (Needham 1988). The comment "... it cannot be stored and must be used fresh." (Boer et al. 1999:128) is incorrect. The traditional hunters prepare new poison about once a year. If stored poison gets too hard, it is made glutinous again by adding the sap of pressed *Derris elliptica* roots, which contain a neurotoxin and a haematotoxin. Some authors claim that other poisons are added, such as snake poison, strychnos or the like (Pötsch-Schneider 1982). None of the tribes I have spent time with in Kalimantan since 1976 have ever confirmed this. No other ingredients can enhance the lethal effectiveness of α -Antiarin.

The Physiological Effects on Game

Like *omai*, the arrow poison of the Mentawaians (Zahorka 2004b:34), the *ipoh* or *upas* poison acts in a lethal manner only if applied in a parenteralic manner. Death results from cardiac failure. Intestinal absorbance rarely occurs. Therefore, the meat of bagged game is edible. For safety reasons, a small piece of meat is cut off at the spot where the poison dart hit the animal. Boiling and frying the meat also destroys the poison.

Animals hit by a poison dart, irrespective of the part of the body that is pierced, start to twitch after a few seconds. This state lasts several minutes as the animal's condition worsens and convulsions occur. The animals lose consciousness at an accelerating rate. The throes of death last longer with large animals like wild boar or deer. Death is ultimately due to cardiac failure. The cardiac glycoside affects the Na⁺K⁺ATPase activity of the heart muscle membrane (Boer et al. 1999: 127).

Reports on dosage specify that 0.3 mg would be lethal for a rabbit. One mg. causes death in dogs (Boer et al.1999:127), while 0.1mg. is the lethal dosage (L50) per kg. weight for cats (Zahorka 1986:58). The toxicity of α -Antiarin is much higher than that of curare.



Basap blowpipe hunters at an old *Antiaris toxicaria* tree. The scars are the result of latex tapping (Photo: Herwig Zahorka, 1994).



Kenyah blowpipe hunters with *licuala spinosa* in the rear (Photo: Herwig Zahorka, 1999).



From left: accordian-like young *Licuala* leaf, the prepared container and a young leaf not yet spread out (Photo, Herwig Zahorka).



Collecting latex with a boat-shaped Licuala container
(Photo: Herwig Zahora).



During rain, the dehydration process is performed in the kitchen
(Photo: Herwig Zahorka).



Photo taken by Charles Hose about 1900. The caption reads "A Kenyah making dart poison." There is no note about the container.



A Kenyah making dart poison in 1999. The procedure is still the same; only men's fashions have changed (Photo, Herwig Zahorka, 1999).



Basap of the Balui group with a traditional blowpipe and a poison-dart shooting air gun powered by elastic rings (Photo: Herwig Zahorka, 2003).

Acknowledgements

The author would like to express his grateful appreciation to IR. Izu Andri of the Botanic Gardens Bogor for providing young *Licuala* leaves for fire-resistance trials.

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EIGHTH BIENNIAL MEETINGS

THE EIGHTH BIENNIAL INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE
BORNEO RESEARCH COUNCIL, 31 JULY-1 AUGUST, 2006

HOSTED BY THE INSTITUTE OF EAST ASIAN STUDIES (IEAS),
UNIVERSITI MALAYSIA SARAWAK

The Borneo Research Council's Eighth Biennial International Conference, "Borneo in the New Century," was held at the Holiday Inn in Kuching, Sarawak, over a two-day period, 31 July–1 August, 2006. The conference was hosted by the Institute of East Asian Studies (IEAS), the Universiti Malaysia Sarawak (UNIMAS), Kota Samarahan, and was co-sponsored by the Borneo Research Council.

This was the third time that the Borneo Research Council has held its biennial meetings in Kuching. Kuching was also the site of the Council's first biennial meetings held in 1990, and also of its sixth, held in 2000.

More than 140 papers were presented. In addition to local presenters, more than thirty speakers came from overseas to attend. In addition to Malaysia, speakers and participants came from Indonesia, Singapore, the United States, Canada, France, Denmark, Finland, Germany, the Netherlands, UK, New Zealand, Australia, Japan, and Hong Kong. Local Malaysian participants came from the Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia (UKM), Universiti Putra Malaysia (UPM), Universiti Sains Malaysia (USM), Universiti Utara Malaysia (UUM), Universiti Malaya (UM), Universiti Malaysia Sabah (UMS), and the host institution, Universiti Malaysia Sarawak (UNIMAS).

Because of the large number of papers and the comparatively compressed two-day conference format, the program scheduled five concurrent panels each day. In all, there were 35 panels. These included: "Grammar Studies and Writing Systems in Bornean Languages"; "Response to Market among the Dayaks of Sarawak"; "Indigenous Politics"; "Traditional Borneo Performing Arts"; "Envisioning a Future for the Kelabit Highlands"; "Future Scenarios for Conservation and Development in the Kelabit Highlands"; "Conservation and Use of Biological Resources"; "Minorities in Malaysia"; "Ancestors in Borneo Religion"; "Language Shift and Maintenance in Sarawak"; "Endangered Minorities: Assets of a Nation"; "A Woman's Work is Never Done: Women and Work in Sarawak"; "Regional History"; "Ethnographic Perspectives"; "Conflict and Politics"; "Revitalizing Language through New Technologies"; "Borneo Storytelling: Oral Narratives and their Ethnographic Context"; "Current Issues in Education"; "Social Transformation: Changing Perspectives"; "Electoral Competition"; "Comparative Linguistic Studies in Bornean Languages"; "Issues in Development Planning"; "Tourism: Issues and Challenges"; "Social Transition: Emerging Issues for the Young and Old in Sarawak"; "Ritual, Cosmology and the Supernatural"; "Iranun of Sabah"; "Inter-Cultural Dialogue"; "Regional History (2)"; "Urban Development"; "Products of the Forest as Resource"; "Agents and Agencies of Development"; "Re-Examining the Past"; "Wildlife and Conservation"; and "English as a Second Language."

For some participants, a highlight of the conference was a paper entitled “Malaysia’s Ethnic Minority Language and Culture: Inseparable Assets of the Nation” given by Tan Sri Pandikar Amin Haji Mulia, a former federal minister from Sabah. In his paper, Tan Sri Pandikar argued that minority languages and cultures must be protected as they form part and parcel of Malaysia’s diverse polity. Malaysia’s diversity should not be seen as a liability but as an asset to the nation. The push by certain quarters to assimilate minority cultures into the mainstream is short-sighted as different cultures and languages are the key to the nation’s strength. Culture and language diversity, in short, should be celebrated and accepted by all.

The formal opening of the conference was celebrated by a dinner, on the evening of 31 July, at the Holiday Inn’s “Dewan Asajaya.” This was officiated by the Chief Minister of Sarawak, Pehin Sri Haji Taib Mahmud, who presented the opening address. On behalf of the Borneo Research Council, Professor Vinson H. Sutlive, the Executive Director of the Council, thanked both the Chief Minister and Professor James Chin, Director of the Institute of East Asian Studies and the conference organizer, for making the Eighth Biennial BRC Conference possible. He also presented the Chief Minister with copies of some of the BRC’s most recent publications.



BRC President, Professor Vinson Sutlive, presenting gift copies of the most recent BRC publications to the Sarawak Chief Minister, Y. A. B. Pehin Sri Haji Abdul Taib Mahmud, following the Chief Minister’s welcoming address.



Dr. James Chin, Director of IEAS, Universiti Malaysia Sarawak, and Conference Organizer, presenting UNIMAS publications to Prof. Vinson Sutlive, the BRC Conference keynote speaker.

The keynote address, “Where Do We Go from Here?” was given the following morning, 1 August, also in the “Dewan Asajaya,” by Professor Vinson H. Sutlive, Professor Emeritus of the College of William and Mary in the United States, an expert on Iban society and language and the editor of the *Encyclopaedia of Iban Studies*. In his keynote address, Professor Sutlive placed Borneo studies in a wider global context and suggested some ways in which future and continuing research might contribute to an understanding of recent historical change and contemporary world tensions.

In partial answer to the question of “where do we go from here,” Professor Sutlive also announced, at the beginning of his address that the Universiti Malaysia Sabah (UMS) had communicated to the Council that they are prepared to host the Ninth Biennial Conference in Kota Kinabalu in 2008. So, in partial answer, we go, in two year’s time, to Sabah. (Prof. James Chin, Director, Institute of East Asian Studies, Universiti Malaysia Sarawak)



Conference participants (from left to right): Tan Chee Beng, Jayum Jawan, James Chin, Laurens Bakker, Clifford Sather, Jonas Noeb, and Dimbab Ngidang.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

The Second International APRU Conference: Independence and After in Southeast Asia: Old and New Interpretations

Date / Place: 14–15 August 2007, Penang, Malaysia

Organizer: Asia-Pacific Research Unit (APRU), School of Humanities, Universiti Sains Malaysia, Penang, Malaysia

Content: First Announcement and Call for Papers / Panels

The region of what is today referred to as Southeast Asia is home to eleven sovereign nation states, viz. Myanmar (formerly Burma), Thailand (formerly Siam), Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam, Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapore, Brunei, Philippines, and Timor Leste. Except for the newly independent Timor Leste, the remaining aforesaid countries comprise members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) that was established in 1967. The combination of sustained economic growth, comparative political stability, regional cooperation in the spirit of ASEAN, and an overall gradual rise in the standard of living across the region portends well for a promising future for Southeast Asia.

The year 2007 marks the 50th anniversary of *Merdeka* (independence) for Malaysia. Malaysia's attainment of political independence from British colonial rule in August 1957 was through constitutional means with the smooth handing over of sovereignty and administration from the British government to Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj, the prime minister and architect of *Merdeka*. A decade earlier, two other fellow nations achieved their freedom but through bloodshed in the process, namely Burma (1946) and the Philippines (1946). Indonesia was plunged into a conflict of nearly half a decade before independence became a reality. The Indochina states of Laos and Cambodia, with the status of French colonial protectorates, became sovereign states in 1954. Neighboring Vietnam, however, had to struggle for another two decades before it attained independence. The city-state of Singapore gained independence from colonial rule through merging with Malaysia in 1963; two years later (1965) Singapore seceded from the Federation of Malaysia to chart its own course. The Sultanate of Brunei finally decided to stand on its own as a sovereign nation in 1984 since becoming a British protectorate nearly a century ago. The notable exception — thanks to the then geopolitical circumstances and prudent native leaders — is Thailand, which escaped the European shackles by remaining the only independent, sovereign nation-state in the region. Timor Leste was the most recent in 2002 to be freed from a colonizing power.

The discourse of nations achieving political independence and the characterization of the years that followed as the “postcolonial” period has long been a mainstay of the academic agenda in studies of Southeast Asia, particularly in the disciplines of history, political science, economics, literature and language, anthropology, and sociology. The road to independence was often long and arduous. The years following the attainment of national sovereignty were equally troublesome and problematic with seemingly

insurmountable challenges. Whilst Malaysia faced the sensitive issue of managing race relations, the Philippines struggled with a leftist insurgency, and Thailand's seesaw with weak civilian governments and military juntas. Meanwhile Myanmar was secluded under a military dictatorship, and Cambodia's nightmare following the establishment of a genocidal regime. The ups and downs of nation-building, the maintenance of political stability and economic sustainability are but some of the major issues that faced post-independent nation-states of Southeast Asia.

Deadline for Abstracts: 15 January 2007

Deadline for Working Papers: 1 June 2007

Individual Participants: Individuals are invited to present a 20-minute working paper relevant to any aspect of the conference's theme. They are requested to submit an abstract (150–200 words) to the Secretariat.

Specialized Panels: Scholars who wish to organize a panel (4–5 presenters; 1-hour per panel) based on a particular topic relevant to the conference's overall theme are to submit to the Secretariat the following materials:

Proposed Panel:	Abstract (350–400 words)
Convenor / Panelist I:	Abstract (150–200 words)
Panelist II:	Abstract (150–200 words)
Panelist III:	Abstract (150–200 words)
Panelist IV:	Abstract (150–200 words)
Panelist V:	Abstract (150–200 words)

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The Second International Conference in the History of Medicine in Southeast Asia (HOMSEA): Treating Diseases and Epidemics in Southeast Asia over the Centuries

Date / Place: 9–10 January 2008, Penang, Malaysia

Organizer: Asia-Pacific Research Unit (APRU), School of Humanities, Universiti Sains Malaysia, Penang, Malaysia

Content: First Announcement and Call for Papers / Panels

The Second International Conference in the History of Medicine in Southeast Asia with the theme *Treating Diseases and Epidemics in Southeast Asia over the Centuries* intends to explore how the inhabitants of Southeast Asia faced the ravages of innumerable diseases and epidemics over the ages. Adopting a liberal time frame (prehistoric to modern times), participants are encouraged to trace the development of medical and religious responses to diseases and the devastation of epidemics. Further lines of thought are offered for deliberation, viz. “How did the peoples fight off diseases that might spell their extinction?”; “What did communities do to prevent the spread of certain illnesses?”; “Were European colonial administrations more successful in disease containment than indigenous authorities?” These are just some of the questions that deserve attention.

Deadline for Abstracts: 1 May 2007

Deadline for Working Papers: 15 November 2007

Individual Participants: Individuals are invited to present a 20-minute working paper relevant to any aspect of the conference’s theme. They are requested to submit an abstract (150–200 words) to the Secretariat.

Specialized Panels: Scholars who wish to organize a panel (4–5 presenters; 1-hour per panel) based on a particular topic relevant to the conference’s overall theme are to submit to the Secretariat the following materials:

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Panelist V:	Abstract (150–200 words)

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7th EuroSEAS CONFERENCE
University of Naples, Italy, 12–15 September 2007

Call for Papers for Panels

CULTURAL POLITICS IN THE ASEAN REGION

Convenors: Felicia Hughes-Freeland (Dept of Sociology and Anthropology, University of Wales Swansea, United Kingdom) and Nora Taylor (Smithsonian Institute, Washington DC, USA)

This panel invites papers that present original case materials from particular ASEAN states to explain and analyze how globally originated policies on cultural diversity and cultural management affect national and local practices. In particular we are interested in UNESCO's policies associated with world heritage sites and intangible heritage, and the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) which aims to protect Traditional Knowledge, Traditional Cultural Expression, and Genetic Resources. We particularly welcome papers that address different aspects of cultural production, including the plastic and performing arts, "folk" performance, musical composition, and film, but papers about intellectual property and genetic resources which consider the uses of plants and medical traditions would also be welcome.

The object of the panel is to consider the issues from the perspective of particular situated practices and cases, and not just from the macro, top-down perspective.

Questions to be addressed are as follows:

1. How do cultural property, intellectual, and artistic creations contribute to cultural identity?
2. What aspects of social practice and creation should count as intellectual property?
3. What problem does the concept of individual authorship present for Asian societies and/or individual artists?
4. What problem does the concept of legal ownership present for Asian societies?
5. Is intellectual property a Western concept? If so, how might it be amended to fit cultural patterns in ASEAN, and what might these patterns be?
6. How are specific governments in ASEAN states using these kinds of policy to strengthen their control of national identity?
7. What kind of contestation arises when the state attempts to implement such policies? This refers to issues of indigeneity, ethnicity, and minority statuses.
8. Are there any discernible patterns emerging within ASEAN that might develop into future lines of fracture?

We intend to produce an edited book from our discussions that will contribute to cross-cultural and cross-disciplinary debates about cultural property, and provide case materials that will be helpful for furthering the debate, in both theoretical and practical terms.

Please send abstracts of 200–300 words to both F. Hughes-Freeland@swansea.ac.uk and nthanoi04@yahoo.com by 1 March 2007 at the very latest.

7th EuroSEAS CONFERENCE **University of Naples, Italy, 12–15 September 2007**

Call for Papers

LOCALITIES OF VALUE: AMBIGUOUS STRATEGIES OF ACCESS TO LAND AND NATURAL RESOURCES IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

Convenors:

Laurens Bakker (Radboud University, L.Bakker@jur.ru.nl)

Gerben Nooteboom (University of Amsterdam, g.nooteboom@uva.nl)

Gerard Persoon (Leiden University, Persoon@cml.leidenuniv.nl)

Please contact Laurens Bakker if you are interested in participating.

Lack of empty lands as well as an increased demand for natural resources such as land, forests, fossil fuels and minerals make gaining or maintaining access to land or forests increasingly difficult for the poorer part of populations in Southeast Asia. Nonetheless attempts to gain access are continuously being made at the grassroots level, not always without success. These attempts are often marked by conflicting, self-destructive and paradoxical stratagems. In this panel we shall look at the peculiarities and ambiguities behind these strategic attempts.

The economic value of resources such as land, forests, coal deposits and minerals is considerable, yet, unlike other resources, they are immovable and constitute localities of value which, in case of conflict, cannot be relocated to more favorable areas. However, to cash in the economic value of natural resources they need to be moved to the market first; an ambiguous process as well that is often surrounded by conflicts and illegal or illicit practices, and usually diminishes the locality's value for other users. A counter idea is of course the economic value contained in the environmental services a locality can provide, once a market demand for such value is created. Nearly always, one party in such a conflict consists of poor land users.

Our focus is on how local groups such as poor land users deal with these conflicts and employ ambiguous ways of access, and whether shifts in strategies can be distinguished. Adas (1981), discussing peasants, describes how strategies of conflict avoidance were replaced by unobtrusive occupations or direct confrontation when unclaimed lands ran out early in the twentieth century. Today, "peasants" are a diverse category including migrants looking for land, indigenous peoples claiming land, and urban poor occupying land. All share in the same predicament: how do they maintain or gain access to the land (or what is on or under it)? Recent years have seen an increased emancipation of these groups. Rights are claimed on the basis of indigeneity while others creatively use (what is perceived as) government law or influential contacts to sustain claims. Clearly, such approaches are frequently ambiguous from a formal legal perspective, but they may be more effective on the local level than national law. Simultaneously, the first beginnings of international networks of NGOs and other civil organizations with a grassroots background have been established. Are the grassroots becoming "globalized" as has been suggested (cf. Appadurai, 2001), and are global notions adapted to become practically implemented in conflicts at the grassroots level (Tsing, 2005)?

The aim of this panel is to bring together research experiences from across Southeast Asia on ambiguous strategies of local populations in order to gain insight into changing contestations and claims to "localities of value" in various national contexts.

Paper proposals including 250-word abstracts and a 5-line biosketch should be submitted to Laurens Bakker (Radboud University, L.Bakker@jur.ru.nl) by December 2006.

Successful applicants will be advised by 15th February 2007 and will be urged to send in a completed paper by June 1st.

7th EuroSEAS CONFERENCE **University of Naples, Italy, 12–15 September 2007**

Call for Papers

WHY CULTIVATE? UNDERSTANDINGS OF PAST AND PRESENT ADOPTION,
ABANDONMENT AND COMMITMENT TO AGRICULTURE IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

Convenors: Dr. Monica Janowski (Natural Resources Institute, University of Greenwich, UK) and Prof. Graeme Barker (McDonald Institute, University of Cambridge, UK)

There has been debate about the origins of agriculture in Southeast Asia in recent years, relating to the history of rice, the role of root and tree crops and of minor grains, and the management/cultivation of “wild” resources such as the sago palm.

In this panel we want to focus on reasons for cultivating (or not cultivating) different crops, focusing on such factors as their role as items of trade, their role in structuring local social and political relations and/or their cultural/cosmological significance.

We welcome papers which draw on data from current and recent studies within all relevant disciplines including anthropology, economics, archaeology, history, politics, sociology and botany. Our intended focus is on evidence and reasons for present-day and recent dynamics of change as well as historical change.

We plan to produce an edited book deriving from the panel.

Please submit abstracts as soon as possible, and by 1 March at the latest, sending them to both Monica Janowski (m.r.janowski@gre.ac.uk) and Graeme Barker (graeme.barker@mcdonald.cam.ac.uk).

The Museum of Art and Archaeology of Laon, France, invites BRC members to view the exhibition:

**Bornéo. Dayak et Punan, peuples de la forêt tropicale humide.
(Kalimantan, Sarawak, Sabah, Brunei)**

November 25th 2006 to March 11th 2007

Musée de Laon
32, rue Georges Ermant
02000 Laon, France

Tel.: 03 23 20 19 87
fax: 03 23 20 24 97

e-mail: musee@ville-laon.fr
Director : Mrs. Caroline Jorrand
<http://perso.orange.fr/jpjc/musee/>

SYNOPSIS

Through five thematic sections the natural environment and the cultural life of the inhabitants of the interior of Borneo are described, especially in terms of interactions.

The exhibition presents first various aspects of the natural history of the island of Borneo, flora and fauna, and the geographic exploration of the island during the XIXth and XXth centuries. A short sketch of the history of Borneo is given as well (maps, engravings, books, stamps, photographs...).

The focus of the exhibition is on the cultural aspects of Dayak and Punan ways of life: hunting, fishing, collecting of forest products, and farming. The different crafts and

arts (basketry, architecture, painting, woodcarving, textiles and beadwork...) of Dayak and Punan peoples are represented by characteristic artifacts.

The village life and festivals and the relation to the dead are shown through photographs and objects. The recent dimensions of social and cultural change among Dayak and Punan are included and also the “image of Borneo” in the media.

Exhibition supported by the city of Laon, the Picardie Region, The Institute for Research on Southeast Asia (IRSEA-CNRS and the University of Provence), the Maison Asie Pacifique in Marseille, the Musée de l’Homme/ National Museum of Natural History, the Association Apo Kayan, Paris.

The Borneo Exhibition team: Corine Jorrand, Antonio Guerreiro, Bernard Sellato, Nicolas Césard, and Didier Boussarie.

Announcing a museum exhibition:

Patong. **Great Figures Carved by the People of Borneo**

From 22 May until 25 August 2007 the Museo delle Culture of Lugano (Switzerland) will present a temporary exhibition entitled: “*Patong.* Great figures carved by the people of Borneo.”

In the exhibition rooms of the Galleria Gottardo in Lugano, a group of forty works will be shown, mainly of Ngaju and Ot Danum origin from Central Kalimantan, but also including some of Kenyah and Kayan origin from East Kalimantan. The larger works represent ancestors, shamanic priests, or spirits, or are anthropomorphic poles used for sacrifices or as architectural elements with carved zoomorphic figures. Together with these larger sculptures, there are also smaller items of Dayak material culture, for example, a *ba'* baby-carrier, a *kelebit* shield, and four *tun-tun* hunting sticks.

The objects in the exhibition all belong to the Museum and are part of a collection that Serge Brignoni (a Swiss artist from Ticino) brought together, beginning in the 1920s, and donated to the Museum in 1985. Altogether, the collection includes approximately 650 artworks, mostly from Oceania and Indonesia.

The mounting of this exhibition and the preparation of an exhibition catalogue are the results of a continuing research project that is meant to analyze and scientifically document these objects and record their local cultural significance by means of field research in Kalimantan. This research also aims to critically re-evaluate the obsolete term *hampatong* by which the larger sculptures in the exhibition are still mostly known to ethnic art collectors throughout the world. Among the main interests of this research is clarification of the expressive and semiotic significance of design motifs and sculptural decorations in local classificatory systems, the relationship of these objects to funeral practices and cosmology, and the study of interrelationships between sculpture and architecture, both at functional and symbolical levels. The temporary exhibition and catalogue are being prepared by a team of Swiss and Italian anthropologists consisting of Paolo Maiullari,

Junita Arnel, Alessia Borellini and Marta Cometti, coordinated by the Director of the Museo delle Culture, Prof. Francesco Paolo Campione, with the assistance of additional external specialists, including Dr. Bernard Sellato, Dr. Antonio Guerreiro and Dra. Nila Riwut.

The exhibition catalogue will be published at the beginning of September and will appear as part of the *Altrarti* series.

International Harvest Festival and Conference 2007

Dates: 24–26 May 2007

Venue: Nexus Karambunai Resort, Kota Kinabalu, Sabah, Malaysia.

Call for papers on any topic related to cultures, traditions, and harvests of any crop.

For further information contact the Conference Organizer, Dorothy Chin dot13chin@yahoo.com

BORNEO NEWS

KALIMANTAN NEWS

Dr. Ian Chalmers, Senior Lecturer in Indonesian Studies, Dept. of Languages and Intercultural Education, Curtin University of Technology, Perth, Western Australia, writes that after Christmas (2006) he plans to use his sabbatical leave to go to Kalimantan. There he intends to undertake a project with the working title "The domestication of Islam in Kalimantan." The project seeks to explain why this universal religion takes such different forms in different communities and will basically interrogate the ethnic politics behind the process by which large numbers of Dayaks (perhaps now a majority) have become Muslim. What are the contemporary political implications of this gradual Islamization? The background to this comparative study will necessarily be socio-historical, and will compare the process by which South Kalimantan became almost totally Muslim, much of Central Kalimantan remains Christian and nativist, while the religions of ethnically-divided West Kalimantan tend to be more intolerant. Dr. Chalmers intends to visit the cities of Banjarmasin, Palangka Raya (as well as Sampit), and Pontianak while in these three provinces and plans to write up a research report when he returns to Jakarta in April 2007. Dr. Chalmers can be reached by email at <I.Chalmers@curtin.edu.au>.

SABAH NEWS

Colin Cecil Henry Wood died on 19 December 2005, aged eighty-two, at Wray Common Nursing Home, Reigate, after a long illness. Formerly of HM Colonial Services in Malaysia, Singapore, Kenya, Sabah, Guyana, and latterly of London and Northiam, East Sussex (A. V. M. Horton).

Mrs. Elizabeth Choy OBE (*née* Yong Su-Moi), an Anglican, died in Singapore at the age of ninety-five on 14 September 2006. Born at Kudat, North Borneo, on 29 October 1910, she was a "teacher and volunteer nurse" who (from the outside) aided Allied prisoners in Changi Gaol during the Japanese military administration of 1942–1945. Arrested in the wake of the Double Tenth Massacre of 1943, she endured torture by the *Kempeitai*, refused to confess, and was released after six months. Her teenage brother was a victim of the *sook ching*. Her husband, Choy Khun Heng ("a book-keeper employed by the Borneo Company"), whom she married just before the war, died in 1973. She is survived by three adopted daughters. Her honours included the "Order of [?the Star of] Sarawak," presented by Rajah Sir Vyner Brooke (A. V. M. Horton).

On Saturday 5 August 2006 **Datuk Seri Herman Luping**, author of *Sabah's Dilemma: The Political History of Sabah 1960–1994* and *Pairin's Victory: 1985–1986 Sabah Elections*, published a book of Kadazandusun tales. Entitled *Pangazou: The Epic Adventures of Bihangan and Somboi* (162 pp, RM25.00), it covers *adat* and four Kadazandusun institutions, namely the *orang tua* (elders), village council, *bobohizan*

(priestess), and *huguansiou* (paramount chief). “They are mostly Kadazandusun legends,” the former state-attorney general said, “but there are some episodes based on actual events.” The moral of the book, the retired politician added, is that “communities should live in peace. There was a lack of unity in the past among the Kadazandusun and things have not changed. The only difference now is that the Kadazandusun do not go to war any more, they have political parties to do the fighting” (A. V. M. Horton).

SARAWAK NEWS

Dr. Monica Janowski, Natural Resources Institute, University of Greenwich, writes that the UK Arts and Humanities Research Council has awarded funding for a project called “The Cultured Rainforest,” which will start in April 2007 and aims to investigate the relationship between people and the natural environment in the Kelabit Highlands of Sarawak, using archaeology, environmental science and anthropology. The project will be led by **Graeme Barker** at Cambridge, and those involved will include **Chris Gosden** at the Pitt-Rivers Museum in Oxford (there will be an exhibition at the Pitt-Rivers and at the Sarawak Museum towards the end of the project), **Monica Janowski** at the University of Greenwich in Chatham (anthropology), **Chris Hunt** at Queens University in Belfast (palynology), **Huw Barton** at the University of Leicester (ancient starches), **Jayl Langub** and **Poline Bala** at UNIMAS and **Ipoi Datan** at the Sarawak Museum.

Monica Janowski also writes that she has recently registered a UK charity, the Pa’ Dalih Forest and Water Trust, to help to raise money to add to that already raised by the people of Pa’ Dalih, the community in which she works in the Kelabit Highlands, for a new water pipe for the community. This will be from the Diit, a large tributary of the river on which Pa’ Dalih is situated, the Kelapang (which is one of the two sources of the Baram, the other being the Dappur, which comes from the area around Bario in the north of the Kelabit Highlands). The new pipe will replace pipes from two smaller tributaries of the Kelapang. It will mean a much more reliable supply of clean water, which is particularly important now that the Kelapang headwaters are being logged and the Kelapang has become muddy. It will also mean that, in the context of impending logging of the area, the large Diit catchment will be preserved for the use of the community for hunting and gathering, and potentially also for income generation through hosting ecotourists. Donations to the Trust would be most gratefully received. Please contact Monica at m.r.janowski@gre.ac.uk.

Francis Bernard Kington Drake, MBE, (1916–2006) died peacefully at Yeovil Hospital, Somerset, on 12 November 2006, aged ninety. Born on 7 April 1916, he was educated at Oxford University (BA) and joined the Sarawak Civil Service on 28 August 1939. After wartime service in the Royal Australian Navy, he returned to Sarawak; by 1952 he had risen to the rank of Administrative Officer with a monthly salary of 750 Malayan dollars (Naimah Talib 1999:243). He then went back to the United Kingdom to join the family business, F. C. Drake & Company. He was President of the East Coker Branch of the Royal British Legion between 1972 and 2005 (A. V. M. Horton; based on *The Daily Telegraph*, London, 16 November 2006, page 28, column 5, paragraph 3; supplemented by

Naimah S. Talib, *Administrators and Their Service: The Sarawak Administrative Service under the Brooke Rajahs and British Colonial Rule*, Shah Alam: Oxford University Press, 1999).

Professor Kueh Yak-Yeow (Chinese University of Hong Kong) is the recipient of a Festschrift edited by Professors Ho Lok-Sang (Lignan University) and Robert Ash (SOAS, London) entitled *China, Hong Kong and the World Economy: Studies on Globalization* (Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke and New York, 4 August 2006, ISBN 1403987424) with forewords by Professor Joseph C. H. Chai (University of Queensland) and Vincent Cheng Hoi-Chuen (Chairman, Asia-Pacific, HSBC Limited). Professors Kueh and Chai were both born in Sarawak and received their early education there in the 1950s, before moving to the wider world, including Harvard University (A. V. M. Horton).

In July 2006 Tan Sri Abdul Taib Mahmud, Chief Minister, spoke “at the launch of glossary books in Malay-Kayan and Malay-Melanau Seduan languages, compiled by the Sarawak Language and Literature Bureau” (*Borneo Bulletin*, online, F.7.7.2006:b4.htm).

On Thursday 27 July 2006 the **Sarawak Club in Kuching**, established in 1876 (although the current building appears to have dated only from 1927), was razed in a fire at three o'clock in the morning. Valuable historical records, artifacts, mementos, and memorabilia were lost, including the whole run of membership records. “A part of our history is gone,” said Datuk Seri Abang Johari Tun Openg, Minister of Housing, when he inspected the spot that afternoon. The club was a heritage site and the ministry has pledged its help to reconstruct the building (A. V. M. Horton).

BRUNEI DARUSSALAM NEWS

On Wednesday–Thursday 8–9 March 2006 a seminar was held at the International Convention Centre in Berakas on **Relations between Brunei (Negara Brunei Darussalam from 1984) and the United Kingdom** during the last hundred years. Eighteen papers were presented. Guests at the seminar included Professor Dr. Haji Hassan A. Panawidan, Chancellor of Mindanao State University, Marawi City (A. V. M. Horton).

The South-East Asian Regional Branch of the International Council on Archives (**SARBICA**) held its fifteenth General Conference and Seminar on Archives and Education and sixteenth Executive Board Meeting in Negara Brunei Darussalam on 9–11 May 2006 with the theme “Archive and Education: Learning Society” (A. V. M. Horton).

In June 2006 it was reported that **Brooketon Colliery** had been gazetted under the Antiquities and Treasure Trove Act 1967 (as subsequently amended). The spot is to be converted into an “open site” museum and there is a proposal to turn it into a tourist center and heritage park. Since January 2006 the Museums Department has gazetted sixteen sites under the Act, including several tombs of sultans, the clock tower in the capital, and the “house of twelve roofs,” i.e., the former British Residency building (A. V. M. Horton).

A **Novel-Writing Workshop** was held at the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka on 21–22 June 2006 attended by thirty enthusiasts (*BBO* Th.22.6.2006:h25.htm).

The **Year of the Turtle** was launched in Negara Brunei Darussalam on Friday 21 April 2006 at Meragang Beach with the release of ten adult turtles and forty hatchlings. A National Committee on Management and Conservation of Sea Turtles, formed in 2000, had devised an action plan to strengthen the enforcement and control of the harvesting and selling of turtle eggs locally. The project aimed at the maintenance of biodiversity and the protection of turtle nesting sites. Sea turtles are protected under the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Flora and Fauna (CITES), to which the sultanate has been signatory since 1990 (A. V. M. Horton).

BOOK REVIEWS

J. Kathirithamby-Wells, 2005, *Nature and Nation: Forests and Development in Peninsular Malaysia*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 487 pp.

Borneo deserves a book of this high caliber, one that interweaves a documented history of forestry with the history of local people, political and economic upheavals, and the maturation of ecology in the twentieth century. Interestingly, the recognition of plant zonation and secondary forest succession in ecology was based on studies in the Dulit area of Sarawak in the 1930s. Forestry is an integral part of ecology.

History is too often overlooked in the causal analysis of forest practices. Essentially, *Nature and Nation* provides a guide to understanding the past and the present in Borneo, given that parallel events have unfolded in West Malaysia and in Borneo. Not the least, both once had extensive rainforests. Both have experienced the same El Niño drought-flood-cholera cycles. Both also had pre-colonial trade networks, colonial interference, forest-dependent indigenous populations, wars, and cash crop booms and busts. Interactions also occurred, such as during the gutta-percha boom of the 1890s when Dayaks fanned out into Kelantan and Terengganu to collect and sell the latex (p. 70). However, Borneo was spared the environmental chaos caused by tin mining which once dominated the peninsula.

The book begins with the Malayan forest situation when European exploration started in the eighteenth century. It continues with commoditization of forests in the nineteenth century and state appropriation of forests in the twentieth century. The arbitrary actions of colonial policymakers, foresters, and big-game hunters are meticulously documented. To protect rubber and other monoculture plantations or *sawah* in Malaya, the British destroyed natural landscapes, thereby eliminating most of the “nuisance” animals such as elephants, tigers, and *seladang*. Moreover, timber sales were a “cash cow” for the British. Now we see the commoditization sequel in Borneo and elsewhere in Southeast Asia with corrupt officialdom (pp. 377–80) and the cancerous growth of chemically-polluting oil palm plantations. As the author points out (p. 286), “State sponsorship of mega-plantation development...crippled initiative and independence. Improved incomes...were bought at the cost of self-determination, which alone can breed sound practices of land use.” The best hope today for healthy air, water, and forests is not government, but the emergence of a vigilant civil society (p. 408).

Early imperialism was followed by the rise of evolutionary concepts and conservation views that challenged flawed development policies, especially after 1945. The book highlights the leadership of both local and international non-governmental organizations in conservation over many decades (Chapters 9 and 10). This history leads us to consider the incompatibility between the politicized term “natural resources” and the post-colonial idea of the global heritage of nature, discussed in the last segment of the book (Part VI). That incompatibility became obvious when environmental destruction in the Endau-Rompin wildlife reserve occurred in the 1970s, caused by timber politics (discussed on pp. 320–26) — destruction which has been echoed in Kalimantan wildlife areas and elsewhere in Borneo. The incompatibility became global news in 1987 when Ipoh’s monazite refinery protest in Perak and the Penan blockades in Sarawak led to a crackdown on environmentalists in Malaysia (pp. 367–69). Although the blockade gave rise to some

European bans on tropical timber, rainforests are still being logged out, despite official rhetoric of so-called sustainable development. The local flora and fauna, including the orangutan and its human relatives, are still the losers. National prestige, let alone the common good, also suffers.

In Malaya, Theodore Hubback forced through faunal protection policies that belatedly culminated in the creation of an immense national park (Taman Negara), although this move lagged behind events in parts of the Dutch Indies. Unfortunately, Borneo with its far larger area than West Malaysia has comparatively little land dedicated to national parks. Why is this the case?

Many fateful decisions have been made about the environment with little awareness of their consequences. Reading the author's analysis of the Kenyir dam's impact on the environment (pp. 328–29), it is easy to envision headlines about the Bakun dam region in Sarawak. Not only did Kenyir inundate over 36,000 hectares of forest, including part of Taman Negara, but it provided construction roads for stealthy logging and hunting. Then a seasonal flood marooned and killed some 800,000 mammals (floating carcasses). Elephants that survived the flood moved into farm fields. A government oil-palm estate was damaged. The impoundment deprived lowland *sawah* of irrigation water. The river mouth silted up, damaging coastal shipping. Fish stocks declined, and river water had to be treated to be potable in Kuala Berang.

Throughout the book's exhaustive chronicle of 220 years of use and misuse of the rainforest, we are confronted with the tensions between management decisions, local livelihoods, and scientific knowledge. The power of Darwinism in the nineteenth century to put humans inside the evolutionary process has not yet totally overcome the Western conceit of man's dominance over nature, but Darwinism did raise significant moral questions in imperialistic centers that are now at the heart of the contested value of nature for future generations of local people versus the interests of capitalism, including the tourist industry. While many writers have emphasized the current misuse of nature, this book shows how the past in Southeast Asia has largely foreshadowed current and future problems. To take one example, the Japanese occupation had devastating direct and indirect effects on Malayan forests (Chapter 8). This raises the following question: To what extent was there a similar effect in Borneo? More generally, is forest fragmentation already past the point of no return in terms of massive species extinction?

Political elites in the region today try to project a good image through their wealth-oriented five-year plans, especially in boasting about "green cover" (p. 347), but these myopic plans have merely supplanted, if not exceeded, British imperialism and wars in destroying tropical forests in Asia (as discussed particularly in Chapter 9). The Borneo grandchildren of today will suffer from the rapacity of rainforest politics; no one can lead a fulfilling life inside shopping malls on a desolate "Easter Island." (A. S. Baer, Department of Zoology, Oregon State University, Corvallis, OR, USA)

Reed L. Wadley (ed.), *Histories of the Borneo Environment; Economic, Political and Social Dimensions of Change and Continuity*. Leiden: KITLV Press. 2005, 315 pp. ISBN 90-6718-254-0, *Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, 231.

This volume is the result of an international seminar held in Leiden in 2000: "Environmental change in native and colonial histories of Borneo; Lessons from the past, prospects for the future." It contains ten original contributions dealing with human-environment interactions on the island over more than 1000 years, based on archival materials, local oral histories and fieldwork. Recent dramatic environmental challenges to the peoples of Borneo now affect the wider Southeast Asian region and call for an understanding of the historical backgrounds of these developments. The research of this multidisciplinary group of historians, anthropologists, geographers and social foresters attempts to add to this understanding and to show that "the past is very much a part of recent and on-going processes of change, that continuity forms an important facet of transformation, for both natural and social environments" (p. 5). For the purpose of structuring the book, the chapters are grouped according to three themes: trade economics and environmental impact, colonial and national resource politics, and social transformations.

The first part looks at the environmental history from an economic perspective, in particular how trade in forest and other natural products has influenced the face of the island throughout its documented history. Tagliacozzo takes a long historical perspective by looking at the impact of more than 1000 years of Chinese trade on the environment of Borneo, particularly Sarawak, Sabah and Brunei. He convincingly describes the impact the Chinese have had on the environment, modes of production and even culture and rituals. In the next chapter Sellato continues the theme of historical forest product trade, though now from a local perspective, i.e., looking at the Aoheng, Kenyah and several nomadic groups of East Kalimantan that collected forest products for the market and their own subsistence use. His conclusion, based on a historical reconstruction of the last 400 years, is simple but original. In an attempt to get away from the traditional dichotomy and pitfall in the environmental discourse which often claims that traditional peoples are either stewards of their environment or opportunists that do not hesitate to destroy the environment when there are incentives for them to do so, Sellato argues that the same people can actually be both, depending on the kind of resource they are dealing with. Eghenter similarly tries to find a way to get away from the polarized debate between conservationists and destructionists. As she argues, one needs to look at the context, at what is really unfolding on the ground, in this case in the region of Apo Kayan in East Kalimantan. Using the 20th century history of gutta-percha and *gaharu* exploitation enables one to identify some key factors that determine local overexploitation or protection of natural resources. The final chapter in Part I is a detailed description by Potter of the history of extraction of several resources such as gutta-percha, *jelutung*, catch, tobacco and rubber. She not only looks at the historical economics of these products, but pays particular attention to the ideas, motivations and prejudices of the colonial administration that permeated the environmental discourse and that served as "political weapons" (p. 111) in aiding their own goals in exploiting the Bornean environment.

Part II of the book is devoted to resource politics, particularly how the colonial and later national powers tried to control the use and exploitation of the environment. One way of

achieving control, Wadley argues in his contribution dealing with the Iban of West Kalimantan, is by the creation and maintenance of boundaries. He is referring to both external boundaries, as defined since the early 19th century to set off Dutch territory from that of the British, and to internal boundaries that led to new territorialization within West Borneo, drawn to determine the rights of access to natural resources. Local people continually challenged and disputed these boundaries, a process that continues until today and does not add to the stability of state control. In the next chapter, Doolittle describes that one does not have to draw lines on maps to achieve control, but that this can also be done through discourse that sets off one group against another. Both in the colonial and post-colonial period in Sabah, ideologies were constructed to justify centralized rule and state intervention in natural resource use. In a very convincing article she reaches the conclusion that “the production of knowledge about rural people in both the colonial and post-colonial period has systematically portrayed local needs for natural resources as unacceptable and in need of state intervention, while extra-local uses and abuses of natural resources have been protected” (p. 177). The colonial construction of knowledge is also the subject of the next contribution by Dove and Carpenter, who take a look at the *upas* tree in Borneo and the wider East Indies. The way this “poison tree” had been portrayed by colonial officials since the late 17th century as extremely dangerous, and particularly the way this view changed later, Doolittle describes that one does not have to draw lines on maps to achieve control, but that this can also be done through discourse that sets off one group against another. Both in the colonial and post-colonial period in Sabah, ideologies were constructed to justify centralized rule and state intervention in natural resource use. In a very convincing article she two centuries later when the tree was seen more as an object of curiosity, stimulated the authors to look for an explanation for the changing image of the tree. They suggest that initially “the *upas* tree represented fears associated with European dreams of wealth based on the control of the spice trade.” But later, when the Europeans gained more control of the interior, “the nature of the colonial project changed, [and] so did the image of the *upas* tree” (p. 184). The old fears were now repudiated and ridiculed, to show superiority and strengthen the control of the interior.

The final part deals with the relationship between social transformations and environmental change. Appell discusses the negative influence that outsiders have had on Rungus society and which has led to the current environmental crisis in this part of Sabah. His argument is that the traditional Rungus cultural ecosystem has always been in a state of equilibrium, the people living in harmony with their environment until the arrival “of a new dominant, predatory species: colonial administrators, post-colonial elites and missionaries.” (p. 237). Echoing the arguments of Doolittle and several others in the book, Appell maintains this breakdown was caused by the dominant cognitive models of colonial administrators, post-colonial elites, and missionaries who deliberately ignored and dehumanized the Rungus, thereby destroying their cultural minds, disrupting the exchanges between people and environment, and triggering the ecological destruction of the area. In the next chapter Janowski moves the reader to the Kelabit of Sarawak. By about 1960 the inhabitants began to grow rice in a new type of wet-rice field, despite the fact that this may be less efficient in terms of labor utilization. This was related to issues of status and prestige, although population growth was probably a factor in play as well. Nowadays these prestigious wet-rice varieties are much in demand in coastal areas of Sarawak as well and form an important element in the life of the migrants that have come down from the Kelabit Highlands to live in the coastal towns. The new wet-rice varieties have enabled the

migrated Kelabit to adapt successfully to their new environment because, as Janowski argues, rice fulfils a role in both the old symbolic economy of the Highlands and the new symbolic economy of the town, thus providing a bridge between the two symbolic economies. The last chapter by Saunders is an epilogue to the book and takes us through the major environmental developments in Borneo since prehistoric times, from the oldest indications of rice growing some 5,000 years ago to the introduction of the chainsaw and palm oil schemes today. As in many of the other contributions, the main focus of this chapter is on the changing perceptions of the environment, both by the local inhabitants and outsiders, perceptions that determine to a large extent how the people use or exploit the natural resources. As Saunders argues, the Bornean environment will continue to be changed and it is pointless to romanticize the past or demonize global capitalism or outside change. Whether this environmental change “will be regarded as ‘development’ or ‘exploitation’ will depend largely on one’s point of view and whether it brings benefits or not to those affected” (p. 289).

This book is recommended reading for anyone interested in understanding the current state of the Bornean environment and how local histories still determine the behavior of local people and the state with respect to natural resource utilization today. It is an important contribution to the relatively new discipline of environmental history of the island, providing ample new historical material. Moreover, the different backgrounds of the contributors lead one to consider new angles to look at the subject, and trigger numerous new questions that will hopefully be answered in the years to come. To mention an example, there is no doubt that Chinese trade had a tremendous influence on the coastal populations and gradually incorporated increasing numbers of inland people in foreign markets, with “profit and mutual fascination acting as the twin engines of change” (p. 35). Or in a more recent case, European colonizers did bring new technology and ideas that “were too great to resist” (p. 237) and which would fuel the exploitation of the environment. But at least as fascinating would have been the (untouched) question of why some Bornean groups did not get involved in the China trade and refrained from outside contacts, or why and how some groups did successfully resist colonial and other outside influences until well into the 20th century. A second example is that of the relationship between demography and ecology, a subject on which several contributors briefly touch but without basing themselves on extensive historical research. Saunders, for instance, argues that “improved cultivation encouraged population growth, which, in turn, placed pressure on the land and caused migration into virgin forest to seek new land” (p. 277). Possibly this was true for some groups such as the Iban, but elsewhere it may well have been the other way around where it was population growth that encouraged more intensive cultivation and the use of new technology.

But maybe the most important question that remains after reading the book is that of the actual scale of the environmental degradation in the past. This contribution clearly shows that concerning a peripheral area like Borneo, the historical sources that have been analyzed so far are limited and fragmentary, which makes it very difficult when it comes to quantification. Yes, the Chinese trade has triggered ecological devastation and overexploitation and has altered vast stretches of land, but the scale of this impact is very hard to establish because of the poor historical sources with scattered and subjective observations by outsiders. Sellato’s contribution does not entirely convince with regard to the fact that overexploitation would have been a major reason for the “front of extractivist practice” (p. 79) that gradually penetrated inland over a period of four centuries. The

available evidence is simply too meager and it is as likely that other factors were at play, such as politics, piracy, external epidemics, new technologies, external cultural and religious influences, etc. Potter rightly points out that “the scale of human impact on the forest between 1880 and 1940 through the frontier societies of Borneo needs to be better understood” (pp. 128–29), a conclusion to which I concur in general. This leaves one to ponder the question of how we will ever be able to achieve the necessary level of historical understanding if the extremely detailed historical reconstructions of Potter are still insufficient to provide answers. Potter even goes one step further by asking whether we should be interested at all in the scale of environmental loss in the past and “whether the destruction really mattered.” From a biological point of view, much of the damage could probably be repaired so the scale of destruction may simply be of secondary importance. But Potter (and several others in this volume) may well be right, that it is primarily “the motivations, passions and prejudices that are important, as they find precise echoes today” (p. 128).

As Wadley points out, there is still a lot to be done in the field of the environmental history of Borneo and this book could, of course, never encompass the full breadth of the subject as many topics or regions have not been studied yet. Wadley gives an excellent overview of the areas that need further attention of researchers in the future (pp. 12–15) and I am sure this book will inspire others and encourage future research on this important subject (Han Knapen, han_knapen@hotmail.com).

Topp, Lena and Christina Eghenter, eds., 2005, *Kayan Mentarang National Park in the Heart of Borneo*. Jakarta: WWF Denmark in collaboration with WWF Indonesia. ISBN 87-9915020-0-4, pp. 175.

This remarkable book, edited by Lena Topp and Christina Eghenter and published by the WWF (World Wildlife Fund) Denmark, charts an extraordinary and groundbreaking journey ending in the establishment of the Kayan Mentarang National Park.

The Kayan Mentarang National Park, the largest national park in Indonesia, has an area of 1.35 million hectares. This national park, a biodiversity hotspot, encompasses the headwaters of major East Kalimantan rivers. It also embraces places of cultural and historical importance for the surrounding communities, which consist of several ethnic groups including the Kayan, Kenyah, and Lundayeh. The Kayan River marks the park’s southern boundary (approximately level with Belaga, Sarawak) and the Mentarang River marks the northern boundary which borders on Sabah.

In 1980 the area was designated as a nature reserve in which, in theory, human activities — for example collecting firewood or fruit — were strictly prohibited. This restriction ignored the intricate relationship between the people and the area that was later to become the Kayan Mentarang National Park. This is the natural world in which they lived and live, and hold in trust for the people of the future. WWF Indonesia and the communities documented, through tracing old longhouse sites, farming sites, fruit groves, and burial sites, megaliths and other cultural monuments, that the area has been populated for over 350 years. Therefore, it was through the efforts of the surrounding communities and WWF Indonesia, that in 1996 the area was designated a National Park. This paved the way for conservation and development.

The year 1996 also marked the start of Phase 1, supported by Danida, in which a management plan was developed for the National Park. The people of the surrounding communities were instrumental in establishing the National Park and were, as stakeholders, contributors to the management plan which was written between 1996 and 2000. The communities' intimate knowledge of their natural world enabled the creation of maps which documented a landscape in which man is part of the ecology. The mapping included areas of economic, historical, and cultural importance. The people are not isolated from the natural world, but are part of it. The management plan not only enables conservation of the natural environment and areas of cultural and historical importance, but, in addition, will help the surrounding communities to experience social and economic development.

Phase 2, from 2000 to 2005, saw the implementation of the management plan. This plan takes a holistic view of social (rights, duties, privileges, and regulation for sustainable management) and economic (small business, profit and reward from a sustainable managed area) benefits.

FOMMA, The Alliance of the Indigenous People of the Kayan Mentarang National Park, a nationally and internationally recognized non-government organization (NGO) has members from the communities surrounding the National Park. It acts as a voice for the communities and leads talks with government agencies. This NGO has been strengthened by WWF in its ability to problem-solve and to mediate conflicts. Support for the National Park is encouraged through awareness and education programs, and modules were developed with the teachers and educators of the area. Protection is a duty that the stakeholders have and so far the stakeholders have held off threats of illegal logging, a road, and an oil palm plantation. The stakeholders mobilized and protected the area.

The steps taken by the communities and WWF in the journey towards creating the National Park were a great learning experience, and the entire process can become a model for the establishment of other national parks. These steps show an appreciation that humans both obtain from, and owe much to, the natural environment.

The management of Kayan Mentarang National Park, like the organization of this book, is according to the traditional or customary areas, or *wilayah adat*, that are held under customary rights and reflect administrative districts. There are 11 *wilayah adat* areas: Wilayah Adat Kayan Hilir, Wilayah Adat Kayan Hulu, Wilayah Adat Pujungan, Wilayah Adat Hulu Bahau, Wilayah Adat Tubu, Wilayah Adat Krayan Hulu, Wilayah Adat Krayan Hilir, Wilayah Adat Krayan Darat, Wilayah Adat Krayan Tengah, Wilayah Adat Mentarang, and Wilayah Adat Lumbis.

The journey which we take through the Kayan Mentarang National Park in this book is from the south to the north. It is a journey exploring the people, the land, and the history and environment, the plants and animals. The communities surrounding Kayan Mentarang National Park have social rights and duties, including protection, but also obtain economic benefits. They are living as part of a natural environment; in a way that perhaps readers of this book may have forgotten. (M. M. Ann Armstrong, Kuching, Sarawak)

Mary Somers Heidhues, *Golddiggers, Farmers, and Traders in the "Chinese Districts" of West Kalimantan, Indonesia*. Studies on Southeast Asia No 34. Ithaca, New York: Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, pbk, 2003. ISBN 0-87727-733-8. 316 pp. Maps, plates, graphs, tables, glossary, bibliography, index.

The publisher does not offer the reader the usual courtesy of providing biographical data about the author. Judging from the text, however, Mary F. Heidhues (*née* Somers) first visited her corner of Borneo as long ago as 1963 and her doctoral thesis, “Peranakan Chinese Policies in Indonesia,” was presented to Cornell University two years later. Since then Dr. Heidhues has established an extensive catalogue of her own publications upon which to draw. The intellectual influence of Emeritus Professor Bernhard Dahm (University of Passau) is acknowledged. The author is fluent in Dutch and Indonesian but modestly concedes a degree of limitation in Chinese.

Dubbed “Little China in the Tropics” by Dr. Heidhues herself in a 1996 article, the Chinese community in West Kalimantan, based particularly in the Pontianak-Sambas region, forms a powerful minority, accounting for well over ten percent of the population. Most of them are Hakkas, although Teochius dominate the urban community of Pontianak, and there are some Cantonese and Hokkien inhabitants as well. Unlike the *peranakan* (locally-rooted) Chinese of Java, who adopted Malay culture, the Hakkas of Kalimantan Barat retained their own language and identity. The author notes idiosyncratic features of the West Borneo Chinese. First, they arrived there of their own agency; in other words, they were not brought in by the colonial power or by Western enterprises. Secondly, most of them are not towkays, but small traders, shop owners, farmers, and fishermen, many poor, some even living at subsistence level. Their cultural and political focus was South China, whilst their commercial hub after 1819 was Singapore. It is noted that the Chinese were almost never administered by people who spoke their language or made an effort to understand their traditions; but, in the post-*Reformasi* era, possibilities for displaying elements of Chinese culture have been restored; indeed, they are now recognized as one of the *tiga suku asli*, the three indigenous ethnic groups or pillars of the province.

II

What is the purpose of the monograph? The goal, the author affirms, is “a history of a single province of Indonesia, West Kalimantan, and within the history of that huge territory, [the book] concentrates on what was once called the ‘Chinese Districts’ and the town of Pontianak. The high proportion of the inhabitants who were ethnic Chinese imprinted a special cultural stamp upon these districts, giving them their name. By concentrating on the Chinese minority in that area during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, this study aims to remedy a lack of information — and some misinformation — about an important minority concentration in Indonesia, retrieving where possible a record that is fast disappearing” (p. 11). The author is particularly keen to engage in the “no simple task” of reconstructing what happened after the “protected struggles” by the Dutch colonial authorities to suppress the kongsis in the nineteenth century.

What are the themes of the book? There are four. First, the history of the region essentially concerns attempts by indigenous and colonial polities to exercise control over the Chinese. Secondly, strong community organization helped the Chinese to counteract external threats. Thirdly, the nature of Chinese economic activity is analyzed. Fourthly, the book seeks to place the ethnic Chinese in the context of the past of the entire province and its people.

What is the thesis of the book? The study shows “how ineffectually Malay rulers tried to extend their authority over the Chinese [gold-]miners. When the Dutch colonial power arrived, it needed several decades before it finally dissolved the kongsis and integrated the Chinese into its structure. However, the communities, although in theory directly ruled by

the Dutch under Chinese officers, in fact remained largely autonomous, thanks to their own family and community structures. Finally, the Indonesian government, several years after independence, intervened to weaken and dissolve most elements of community organization, including the schools, the press, the chambers of commerce, and other influential institutions” (pp. 269–70). All three political units (pre-colonial Malay rulers, the Dutch, and post-independence Indonesians) “resorted to using Dayak violence to force the Chinese into submission” (p. 270).

Chapter Four looks at demographic and economic changes between 1860 and 1940 when the basis of the community changed from the “gold miners” of the book’s title to the “settlers and traders.”

III

The main body of the book comprises seven extremely detailed chapters, prolifically footnoted and liberally illustrated with maps and plates. An epilogue (pp. 273–77) is devoted to the terror of 1997, when Dayak bands killed many Madurese and drove others from their homes.

In Chapter Two (pp. 47–84), the author paints a picture of Chinese society from its origins down to the early 1820s. They had been well-settled in West Borneo long before the Dutch established a permanent station at Pontianak in 1818. The Chinese settlements comprised three groups: first, the gold-miners themselves; secondly, persons associated with kongsis, notably farmers and petty traders; and, thirdly, urban dwellers, such as craftsmen. Data are lacking about the actual quantity and value of annual gold production, although it is known that most of it was being exported to China by 1822 (pp. 48, 50). At around that time, if I understand correctly, gold was *not* West Borneo’s major export (pp. 50–51). There were three principal kongsis: Fosjoen/Thaikong in Monterado (1776–1854), Lanfang in Mandor (1777–1884), and Samtiaokioe, which separated from Fosjoen in either 1819 (p. 55) or 1822 (p. 81) and then fled in 1850 into Sarawak territory (p. 89), with disastrous results for the Brooke regime seven years later.

Two key points might be extracted from this section. First, whereas Malay sultanates were not territorial, the kongsis were; and “neither the native principalities nor the Dutch had comparable organizations, infrastructures, or power” (p. 55). Secondly, from the Dutch perspective, “the Malay principalities could be tolerated, more because of their weakness than their virtues; Chinese organizations, whatever their virtues, were intolerable because of their strength” (p. 61).

There were three kongsi wars (1822–1824, 1850–1854, 1884–1885), with a spillover in the Chinese uprising of 1857 in Sarawak. The first conflict comprised an attempt by the new Dutch regime to control the kongsis. This enterprise was aborted by the outbreak of the Java War in 1825, which diverted the attention of the colonial power away from Borneo. An uneasy peace prevailed in the Chinese Districts until mid-century. Meanwhile, the situation had been complicated by the advent of James Brooke in Sarawak (1839); it was feared that the Sultan of Sambas might have been tempted to turn to him for support.

Chapter Three deals with the period from 1850 to 1884/1885, when the last of the kongsis (Lanfang) ceased to exist. The point to be highlighted here, perhaps, is that the kongsi wars were not simply an outcome of Chinese resistance against the Dutch. On the contrary, there were complex ethnic and political alliances. After the demise of the kongsis, depopulation and impoverishment followed; it was only at the end of the century that

Chinese again began coming in significant numbers to West Borneo, and what drew them this time was not gold but new agricultural opportunities (p. 125).

In Chapter Four, on economic and demographic changes, it is noted that, since gold deposits were widespread but not rich, the need to open new sites had drawn Chinese miners further inland. Other Chinese moved into the interior to trade, particularly in forest products (jelutung, gutta-percha, rattan, illipé nuts, and lumber), which were West Borneo's most important exports, next to gold, in the mid-nineteenth century (p. 143). The main cash crops grown by Chinese smallholders were coconuts (with associated copra production), pepper, gambier, sago, and rubber. The Dutch authorities, fearful that the Chinese might deprive the indigenous population of their land, sought (somewhat ineffectually) to restrict Chinese access to land or to require them to reside in urban areas (pp. 158–60).

Chapter Five, which deals with community and political life, includes a section on the Chinese rebellion of 1912–1914 (pp. 176–83), which was provoked, not by nationalist activity in the wake of contemporary events in China, but by tax increases, corvée demands, and strict implementation of the requirement for Chinese to carry passes (p. 177).

Chapter Six looks at World War II and Indonesian independence. Following the “Pontianak Affair” of 23 October 1943, the Japanese engaged in a vicious reign of terror. A “massive, treasonous conspiracy” against the occupying power had been uncovered (p. 204), although the Allies themselves knew nothing of their supposed undercover contacts in West Borneo. The local Malay elite was wiped out. Other people were tortured and executed. The Chinese were “scapegoated” for wartime economic devastation, when in fact (the author says) it had been caused by the policies of the occupiers themselves. After the war seven Japanese were sentenced to death and five others to terms of imprisonment for their part in the massacre. When a memorial was dedicated in 1947, the estimated death toll was 1,500.

There was no enthusiasm for the Dutch restoration in 1945. The Chinese would “wait and see” and cooperate with whichever side, Dutch or Indonesian, was winning. Even after *merdeka*, the Chinese of West Kalimantan continued to regard China as their country; “it commanded all their allegiance” (p. 228). The economic base of the province changed very little; Chinese farmers maintained widespread control of productive land (p. 231).

Chapter Seven looks at a “community under duress.” Beginning in the 1950s, the author states, “measures from Jakarta upset the economic life and cultural institutions of the Chinese in West Kalimantan, as the new Indonesian state extended its authority throughout the region. Apart from limitations on various economic activities by non-citizens, the most far-reaching measures affected Chinese schools” (p. 236). The chapter also includes an analysis of the “Dayak raids” of 1967, which resulted in the expulsion of Chinese from rural areas (pp. 246–55).

Finally, perhaps the reviewer might be permitted to mention that, contrary to the assertion made on p. 243, the outbreak of the Brunei rebellion in 1962 did *not* cause the sultanate to withdraw from the Malaysia project. On the contrary, shaken by the uprising, Sultan Omar Ali Saifuddin III “saw in Malaysia the best hope for his and Brunei's future security.” At the end of December 1962 “he accepted the concept of Malaysia in principle,” negotiations continued for several months, and right until the last minute hope was not extinguished that Brunei would sign up (Graham Saunders, *A History of Brunei*, 1994:153–56).

To conclude, Dr. Heidhues's splendid book, intended as a contribution to the social and economic history of West Kalimantan since the mid-eighteenth century, is the culmination

of a lifetime's research on the province. *Goldiggers, Farmers, and Traders*, which deals with one of only four major concentrations of ethnic Chinese in Indonesia outside Java, is based largely on primary sources, although data deficiencies are frankly acknowledged; indeed, many aspects of the drama remain to be recounted. Nevertheless, this is not a volume which will be left to gather dust, but one to which readers will wish to return time and again. (A. V. M. Horton, Bordesley, Worcestershire, England)

***Iban Art: Sexual Selection and Severed Heads — Weaving, Sculpture, Tattooing and Other Arts of the Iban of Borneo*, by Michael Heppell, Limbang anak Melaka, and Enyan anak Usen (2005). Leiden/Amsterdam: C. Zwartenkot-Art Books/KIT Publishers, pp. 180, €55.00.**

In this wonderfully illustrated and colorful book, Heppell brings together disparate strands of thought on art, war, and sexual competition and choice to create a general argument of why art, primarily weaving, became so elaborate in Iban society. The chapters run through Iban culture and history, cosmology, weaving, carving, and tattooing. Given the weight placed on weaving, the book might well have been titled *Iban Weaving and Sexual Selection*, and it is unfortunate that the cover photo is of a tattooed “warrior” wearing a clouded leopard-skin jacket. A better cover might have showcased one of the beautiful *pua' kumbu'* woven by co-author Enyan anak Usen, but the press editors may have wanted something more visually romantic for their largely European audience than a “mere” blanket.

The purposes behind those blankets and other weavings are many, and illustrate the central role in Iban life that such items might have played: (1) “captur[ing] spirits, [and thus] protecting people from a teeming world of malevolence and misanthropy” (p. 37); serving as a protective barrier against malevolent spirits and as a medium for men seeking dreams from the spirit world (p. 46); “to reinforce curses” (p. 48); “to remove disturbing natural phenomena such as an eclipse” (p. 49); and for “mundane purposes” (p. 50). “Inciting” men to brave and risky deeds was, according to Heppell, the “most profound” of these (p. 50), and this forms part of his general thesis regarding the link between art and sexual competition and choice.

Heppell has obviously put a great deal of thought and energy into this effort (based in no small part on his field experience), from collecting the many color photos of art that greatly enhance the text to the writing of this wide-ranging narrative, which covers description, theory, and personal account. (I was pleased to learn that Heppell's first view of Sarawak was similar to my own, and at about the same time, from the deck of a ship in the early 1970s — he, on his way to conduct doctoral research in the Batang Ai, and I, a 10-year old boy, eyes wide from tales of White Rajahs and headhunters.) That being said, it is hard to decide if the book is meant principally as a serious scholarly treatise or something visually pleasing for the coffee table. It is perhaps best described as some combination of the two, but a scholarly thesis must hold up to much higher standards than a coffee-table book, and I must confess being not a little frustrated as I read through it. Heppell's technical and ritual renderings are largely consistent with what I know of Iban weaving and the like acquired secondarily in the field, though his reliance on South Kalimantan cosmological models (e.g., pp. 25–26) to interpret design among the Iban does not ring particularly true. I would,

however, defer to others to evaluate his descriptions and analyses of these things specifically as there are a number of issues that go beyond the art itself.

Despite having been published in the Netherlands, there are no references to primary or secondary Dutch sources in the various historical strands Heppell traces. He relies on such scholars as King (1993) and Pringle (1970) for references to Indonesian Borneo in history, though their work with Dutch archival materials was limited. This remains a severe limitation of English language scholarship on Borneo, and a particular weakness of those working in East Malaysia and Brunei. Although I know of no Dutch study of (what has unfortunately come to be known as) “Ibanic” art (largely because I have never looked), colonial officials were keen to create collections and often wrote about them. Even a cursory survey of the library at the KITLV in Leiden or the National Library in the Hague might have turned up some gems. In addition, I myself viewed a collection of material culture at the Museum Nusantara, Delft — Iban knock-offs from 1920s Nanga Badau in West Kalimantan. This might only have added to Heppell’s burden of having so much stuff to work through, but it points to the possibilities across the border.

This general ignorance of what lies over the border is not just limited to historical issues; for example, Heppell refers to women who came from “across the Sarawak/Kalimantan border on the Emperan River” (p. 63). From his nearby location in the upper Batang Ai (where mere tens of kilometers separate cross-border communities), it is likely that Heppell dutifully recorded in his fieldnotes that the women were from *ai’ emperan*, which he then translated literally as ‘Emperan River.’ But there is no such river, and never was. As I have been describing for 16 years in these pages and elsewhere, “the Emperan” refers to the relatively flat country between the uplands of the Empanang and Kantu’ rivers on the west, the Embaloh River on the east, the Kedang Hills to the north along the border, and the wide expanse of the Kapuas Lakes to the south. Thus, *ai’ emperan* refers to the waters or region of the Emperan, not a particular stream, just as *ai’ belanda* and *ai’ sarawak* referred historically to Dutch West Borneo and the Brooke territory, respectively.

I have numerous quibbles on various issues of Iban history, but will only touch on two points here in illustration: First, Heppell states that the Saribas and Skrang Iban had “virtually annihilated” the Undup Iban before the Brookes arrived. In fact, in the early 1800s, the Undup had fled their homeland, along with their Kantu’ allies, to seek protection from the sultan of Selimbau on the Kapuas River, only to return after James Brooke had pacified the Saribas and Skrang. Second, Heppell implies that the principal motivation for heads drove Iban to attack other Iban (p. 37), though an exploration of oral history shows that inter-Iban headhunting stemmed overwhelmingly from disputes gone awry. Even the Iban-Kantu’ wars, according to my sources in the Nanga Badau area of West Kalimantan, originated in adultery and the inevitable revenge. Benedict Sandin’s (1968) work also shows this quite clearly.

Along another vein, Heppell’s seemingly post-modern sensibility in including his chief informants and friends as co-authors is countered by his truly unfortunate reliance on the ethnographic present in describing the Iban over the period between the 1850s to the 1950s. It is not just that the use of the present tense may misrepresent the Iban today, the usual post-modern concern that may lead an unsophisticated reader to assume that is the way the Iban are now and always have been. It is more a matter of properly historicizing the themes Heppell deals with: What advantage does the present tense offer that is not better met by providing a proper historical context and not implying, even inadvertently, that the 100-

year period was somehow uniform throughout the Iban population? Certainly, he is limited by the collections at his disposal (which, like the one in Delft, were established during that long period), but the use of past tense to describe events of the past serves to highlight change and continuity to the present. It is not a trivial matter and only underscores Heppell's statement that "[h]istory ... [has] served the Iban poorly" (p. 165).

This is particularly telling as Heppell applies his present tense inconsistently. For example, "the Iban kept extensive genealogies. Though much has now been forgotten ..." (p. 25, my emphases); or it is missing entirely: For instance, "[s]urvival was an important concern of each Iban group" (p. 36); they "had no means of magnification" (p. 60); [b]y the end of the Second World War, *sungkit* threads were usually purchased rather than dyed" (p. 84); and "[m]ost women enjoyed a good romp, but some were choosy" (p. 113). He shifts entirely to past tense in describing events of the 1960s (p. 81) and in disparate paragraphs referring to his selected period (p. 85, 91, 99, 103). Furthermore, although he is really in his element in Chapter 5 as he describes cloth designs, their meaning, and how meaning and design names change as women copy and transport designs across river systems (pp. 73, 77), Heppell's rounding on Traude Gavin's work on contemporary Iban weaving (e.g., 2003) is a bit disconcerting, especially given the temporal differences that lie between their research. Has his reliance on the present tense for a long historical period led him to conflate his fictive present for Gavin's literal present (i.e., late 20th century)? He seems, at the outset, to be comparing apples and oranges as the reasons for weaving, not to mention materials and designs have changed so much since the 1950s. (Women throughout the Emperan today, for instance, routinely copy designs from *pua* acquired by their traveling husbands, and don't necessarily know or care about the design names. "Oh, it's a design from the Batang Rejang. I don't know what it's actually called," some have told me.)

Heppell's main scholarly thesis, and perhaps weakest part of the book, concerns the application of Darwinian sexual selection to Iban weaving and warfare. This was reflected in the "cyclical trinity" (p. 32) — headhunting, rice cultivation, and human fertility, with women being central to each. Indeed, according to Heppell, it was women's selection of lifelong mates that was critical as the burden fell on them "to choose men who are more likely to ensure their and their offspring's survival and will reinvigorate the family gene pool" (p. 32). As the nurturing, creative force in Iban society, it was women who were central to rice farming and, through their weaving, incited men to war.

For men, "heads enhanced survival" and served as "fitness indicators" (p. 36). Fitness refers to the biological condition of possessing qualities that have proved reproductively successful in the past and thus have been naturally selected. (The term "fitness" is occasionally used inconsistently, however; for example, "heads were required to demonstrate a man's fitness to marry" [p. 18], in this sense a synonym for "suitability" [also p. 95].) Men's incentives for successful headhunting were to enhance their status, both with young women for courtship and marriage and with other men for influence and authority (p. 41). But it was women's woven cloths that demanded that the men go to war (p. 43), while at the same time displaying the skill and intelligence of the women, qualities men would have looked for in mates (p. 92, 121, 166). As he states in a simple equation, "beautiful cloths = heads = primacy for sexual selection" (p. 167).

Heppell routinely asserts a link between weaving/headhunting and sexual selection; for example, regarding war jackets, an enemy would know the identity of the man's guardian spirit, and the quality of his genes as only great weavers could invoke powerful motifs, and his ancestors' success in headhunting as "great weavers marry successful headhunters" (p.

87). But this merely repeats the supposition with no real evidence presented. Surely the thesis is logical intuitively, but intuition is not proof, and this is coming from one who is sympathetic to such arguments. What would he have to show? For starters, that great weavers consistently married and reproduced with successful headhunters; second, that those skills were consistently transmitted culturally to their children; and third, that all that meant more children of higher quality regarding intelligence, etc. Much of this, however, goes far beyond the information available to any of us working in Borneo, especially for historical periods. The fact that the Iban expanded their territory rapidly in the 19th and early 20th centuries indirectly supports this notion, but only circumstantially. (The same applies to his assertion that tattooing “fast tracks a man to a girl’s lofty boudoir” [p. 115]. Do or did tattooed men enjoy more mating success? This may well be, but the claim is merely asserted, not supported with even indirect evidence.) Given these evidentiary problems, a good deal more caution in making such arguments should have been in order; otherwise, they become merely sociobiological “just-so stories,” of which we have plenty already.

Likewise, his more proximally connected statement that “[a]rtistic flair makes both males and females desirable” (p. 95) is equally asserted. “Flair” would have been one thing for the youth who were in the process of mate selection, but who made the more powerful cloths? If the great weavers were older and married, their weaving could not have signaled any sort of sexual selection. It was not the young, unmarried *indo’ dara* who produced the most powerful cloths or who had “their hands tattooed after the *ngar* ritual,” as such work was supernaturally dangerous and required considerable experience. Indeed, a woman’s weaving became, as she aged, paradoxically more simple in design (due to fading eyesight) and more powerful spiritually (p. 60). Contrary to Heppell’s claim, such weavers “were [not] the very women who [would] shine in the ‘sexual selection stakes’” (p. 109); they had made their choices years before. Obviously much more than sexual selection is going on.

That things of art are meant to attract our attention should not imply that they are all meant to attract mates; art is a form of communication, and as with language, we use art in multiple ways. That Iban weaving was costly and communicative should not be in doubt, but was sexual selection the primary force behind it? The only reference to evolutionary forces and art that Heppell cites is Geoffrey Miller’s (2000) book, *The Mating Mind*, in which he argues that virtually all art originated in and is replicated for mate competition and choice. This reliance on single sources is unfortunate as not only are there substantive criticisms of Miller’s general thesis, but also alternative hypotheses on the evolution of art that are thereby left unconsidered (e.g., Coe 2003). Likewise, though less seriously, he argues exclusively from Zahavi’s (1997) “handicap principle” concerning the energetically costly traits that nonetheless enhance mating success (e.g., the peacock’s tail or the bower bird’s elaborate bower). This ignores a growing strand of research in evolutionary anthropology on what is now termed “costly signaling,” stemming from Zahavi’s insight, which has been applied to such disparate things as hunting and religion (e.g., Bliege Bird et al. 2001; Hawkes and Bliege Bird 2002). (Curiously, Heppell does not cite Darwin’s seminal work [1989] on sexual selection, though he does reference, for other purposes, *The Origin of Species* [1909].)

Finally, the design of the text itself makes hard what should be smooth reading, having neither indentation to mark paragraphs nor section breaks to identify sometimes abrupt shifts in topic (e.g., pp. 83, 85, 86, 91, 99). Generally, Dutch graphic art is unparalleled in its creativity, but the press editors appear to have opted for form over function in the text

layout. In addition, the glossary is excessively short and does not include a large number of the terms used in the text (e.g., *engkudu* and *lemba*, p. 91; *anak umbong*, p. 93), rendering it less than useful for scholarly work. In other places in the text, Iban equivalents are not given (e.g., the *Parishia* tree, p. 131). This leaves one wondering further as to the scholarly versus coffee-table status of the book. Nonetheless, and with all the heavy caveats above, this is a truly beautiful volume, its chief attraction being both the full color pictures that such a book cannot do without and the author's extensive personal insight into the Iban world (Reed L. Wadley, Department of Anthropology, University of Missouri-Columbia, USA).

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Response to Reed Wadley's Review of *Iban Art*

There are two major themes in the book. First is the link between art, headhunting and sexual selection, the evidence for which is provided by the texts. The second theme relates to the decorating of flat surfaces and carving figures. Women are restricted to the former due to their "unpredictable nature." The evidence for the second theme is also provided by texts. As Limbang said about identifying powerful cloths: "Refer to the text! (*julok*)". Given that the texts are central, it is a pity that Professor Wadley totally ignores them in his

review. They have a lot to say about weaving, warfare and sexual selection. Instead, Professor Wadley asserts that I rely on a single source, in this case Geoffrey Miller's *The Mating Mind*, which is entirely peripheral to my argument. I reference Miller just over one page from the end of the book, stating: "In this regard, the Iban strongly illustrate Geoffrey Miller's thesis in his book *The Mating Mind* that the basic mechanism for the evolution of art was sexual selection." No more.

Professor Wadley asserts that I rely on South Kalimantan cosmological models to interpret Iban design. In fact, I refer to them only to suggest that the Iban appear to have traces of these creation myths, which leads to an understated theme of the book, that women, through their cloths, might have driven a major shift in Iban religious beliefs to one in which Singalang Burong took center stage. Iban cloth design is inspired from Panggau, which has little to do with South Kalimantan myths. (As a matter of interest, Batang Ai myths have the Iban starting their journey northwards from Ketapang in the south).

This is a book about Iban art with a touch about religion. Much of Professor Wadley's review skirts around the margins of the book.

He does, however, take to task the evolutionary approach of the book, which was always likely to be controversial, citing it as "perhaps the weakest part of the book." Essentially, he states that there is no evidence presented to support the thesis that weaving and headhunting have a function of sexual selection and gives his view of the kind of evidence required.

The evidence presented in the book is the texts, which Professor Wadley makes no mention of in his review. The texts present an ideal situation, but one which was followed by high ranking Iban. I had intended to pursue the idea in a paper, as the book was intended for a wider audience than the narrowly academic. But there is evidence available which would not require the kind of historical census that Professor Wadley indicates is necessary. The *tusut*, for example, are evidence — particularly in the Saribas where warriors constantly were married to great weavers. The *anak umbong*, after all, withdrew to her attic to weave and there to await her warrior hero to come and claim her. Another piece of evidence would be an inventory of *bilek* in any longhouse from the center to the *ulu* end. That would reveal that where there were heads, there were boxes full of weaving. In *ili bilek*, there were usually no heads and many households with no weaving. The *ulu bilek* were generally the most successful households, paying testimony to the basic argument of the book.

I talked of fitness indicators. I did so in a cultural sense. With the Iban, there are unfitness indicators which I would argue, indirectly support my case. They refer both to intelligence and physique. There are Iban who are very unlikely to marry due to intellectual or physical defects and, in the past, I would speculate, unlikely to mate. In the longhouse in which I did my fieldwork, there were a number (and at that time this was a longhouse very much in my anthropological present). There was an otherwise very attractive woman with a club foot living in an *ulu bilek*. She was openly called *agu'*. Her family ensured that no man visited her at night and she remained a virgin in her late thirties. There was an intellectually disadvantaged but physically strong male who certainly did want to visit *indu' dara'*. They rejected him, but he persisted. He was put away by the longhouse for his troubles. There was a blind woman and an intellectually disadvantaged woman, both of whom never married. The former remained a virgin, though the latter was visited by military personnel from time to time and had three illegitimate children. There was a man in his early twenties

with a genetically damaged hip who was also never able to *ngayap*. Interestingly, apart from the first mentioned woman, all the others came from *ili bilek*.

While the texts call for powerful cloths, you don't have to have woven one to demonstrate talent (and therefore intelligence). Mozart's talent was well-known by his teens, though his great works did not materialize until later. The bachelors, especially those from other longhouses, would examine the *kain* a young woman was wearing and would find it very easy to establish whether or not it had been woven by her.

I think that the Iban do present a good case for the exponents of the idea that the early function of art was as a marker of intelligence. The Iban have ritualized the requirement for cloths, which is the usual cultural response to something deemed very important, just as they had done with the requirements for heads. It is part of their genius.

Finally, one aspect about knowledge and scholarship, especially in the case of Dayak art, given how few people have written about it, is that it advances through people sharing information and through challenging what has been written if a person has evidence to the contrary. Professor Wadley, for example, finds that my technical and ritual renderings are largely consistent with what he knows of Iban weaving without mentioning the instances where they were not consistent so that we could all learn about inaccuracies or differentiation in the Emperan and elsewhere. At the end, after earlier "quibbles" have become "heavy *caveats*" he surprisingly finds some value in the author's "extensive personal insight into the Iban world." It is a pity that some indication of what that might be was not given in the review so that the less informed reader might be guided by someone who also has extensive insights into much the same Iban world as me (Michael Heppell).

Some Further Comments by Your Editor

Leaving aside the debate that Reed and Michael have joined here, I would like to take a somewhat different tack.

Reading Michael's book (and I had the pleasure to read several parts of it in draft some years ago, as well as the final published version more recently) raised in my mind, very vividly, the question of how does it come about that some communities produce impressive works of art? Why is it that at certain times and places a peoples' creative energies seem to overflow, materializing themselves, perhaps, in music or poetry, weaving, architecture, or metalwork? Or, possibly, in many forms at once?

As museum collections testify, Iban society, down through the early decades of the twentieth century, was remarkably creative, most especially, perhaps, in ikat weaving, but also in other art forms as well, including, not the least, although less accessible to non-Iban audiences, epics, ritual liturgy, and other oral poetic arts. How did this come about?

Historically, we know that the Iban, for a span of some three hundred years, were phenomenally successful, rapidly expanding in numbers and territorial extent across a large swath of west-central Borneo. There would seem to have been, as Heppell suggests, an aesthetic dimension to this success. Where Michael Heppell's book succeeds, I think, is in depicting a plausible connection between a once vigorously expansive society and the remarkable works of art its members produced. As he tells us, "before 1950, a close scrutiny of any longhouse, especially on a festive occasion, would be rewarded with decoration and many objects of great beauty. Arrive as an eligible bachelor or spinster and private museums would be yours to enjoy as you went from apartment to apartment enjoying the bidding of the occupants to come inside and eat" (p. 165).

The key to this connection, Heppell asserts, was that, at some point in the past, “the Iban ritualized their expansionist tendencies” (p. 21). This they did by making headhunting the focus of a ritual cult, hence the “severed heads” of the book’s subtitle. The taking of enemy heads was linked by means of ritual to agricultural and human fertility in what Heppell calls a “cyclical trinity,” involving, as its interconnected parts, head taking, rice growing, and life renewal. Art was an integral part of ritual and hence “inseparable from the religious ideas inspiring it” (p. 25). At the culmination of this cult were “great festivals celebrating a warrior’s achievement” in which the gods were invoked and became temporarily present. During these festivals, woven cloth, in particular, played a vital role. Pieces of cloth were hung from the gallery walls, covered offerings, and enveloped the shrines at which the gods were received. “Textiles [thus] link[ed] the Iban to their gods. Like a mirror catching the sun, textiles inform the Celestial Deities of some mortal activity that requires their involvement” (p. 41). Hence, they “were made to dazzle divine and human eyes” (p. 44). Their designs were “invested with meaning and energy” and were intended to capture the “power” of whatever they represented (p. 45). But, above all, Heppell argues, their effect was to incite men to acts of daring. At the same time, they exalted those who succeeded. “In the competitive world of the Iban, [art] was a sign of accomplishment” (p. 166).

Art also, Heppell maintains, brought talented men and women together. Every ambitious man sought a talented woman in marriage. Here, Heppell is certainly right that, even now, competence is highly regarded, however it is achieved and in whatever the field of endeavor. Inversely, except for the sake of humor, ineptitude is scorned. In the Saribas where I did my own fieldwork, lengthy genealogies are preserved, and these certainly suggest that competence, whether as a weaver, expert farmer, public speaker, or whatever, conferred marital advantages, and that these advantages generally accrued to entire family lines and became matters of utmost concern whenever marriages were contemplated. There were, of course, exceptions, for example, famous bards who were blind and so remained unmarried. Otherwise, certainly, families remembered and took pride in the talents and accomplishments of their genealogical forebears. Here, weaving, again, was closely linked to achieved status. As Heppell notes, once a woman completed a prestigious cloth, it became an heirloom and so an object of family wealth and spiritual power. Henceforth it was displayed on ritual occasions and its powerful designs testified not only to the skill of the woman who created it but to the past sponsorship by family members of important status-confirming rituals.

The Iban, as Heppell stresses, admire multitalented people. During my own fieldwork, my young son became a great admirer of the Tuai Rumah’s three sons, who were from 3 to 10 years older than he was and were all seemingly capable of doing everything a young boy might wish to do, such as capturing and making pets of wild animals. Once over several weeks, the Tuai Rumah, who was himself an exemplar of multi-competence, taught his three sons, with my own son looking on, how to build a canoe. He began with a lesson in how to select and prepare the best possible wood. This was followed by a series in how to carefully measure, fashion, and fit together each piece of the canoe so that the resulting *perau* was light in the water, but stable, a pleasure to handle as well as to look at. The basic message was that should you turn your hand to something, you should do it well, never indifferently, and strive to make the object something to be proud of, that others will admire. Artistic genius clearly lived on in the 1970s and 80s in the upper Paku.

The coming of white colonists and missionaries, Heppell writes, “heralded the death of Iban art.” Headhunting and territorial expansion were stopped and Iban were set against

Iban. “Western-style education and wealth were to be more important than hard work, courage and self-made art” (p. 167). Paid labor had no time for artistic talent. “The memory bank was quickly stripped bare by dealers buying for collectors and museums in the west seeking only the old” (p. 168). Young artists had no incentive to invest time in works of art, while, in any event, with religious conversion, “the inspiration for such works was slowly extinguished” (p. 168).

Today, the arts that Heppell describes in his book are fast disappearing¹ as is the former cultural setting that once sustained them. Several days before writing these comments, I received a poignant reminder of this in an email message from a very dear Iban friend. In his letter, the writer, Jantan Uambat, described a journey that he and his wife had just made to Tarum Longhouse, in the Saratok District, to pay their last respects, and that of my wife and myself, to a great Iban bard (*lemambang*) and master woodcarver, Renang anak Jabing, the son, too, of a renowned shaman, who, many years earlier, had been, for me, a major informant. The old riverside Tarum longhouse, of which I have still a faint memory, was years ago replaced by a severely barren concrete structure erected immediately alongside the main road. Jantan writes in his letter:

I entered the longhouse and was very, very surprised to see the coffin of our hero laid down on the *ruai* without a *sapat*. Nobody wept around him, not to say to chant the *sabak*. Only his poor wife who could not recognize anybody after her minor stroke sat quietly beside the middle post. I came in, shook hands with her, said a prayer...Then I went to the *bilik* where many friends of his sat...I was welcomed by the son...and expressed our sadness, my family’s and yours, over the passing away of the man.

I think there was no harm to have the *sapat*...It looked weird without [it]! Well, things change with modernization.

Indeed, they do. Until recently, grieving for the dead without a *sapat*, an enclosure made of ikat textiles to surround the deceased’s body, would have been unthinkable. Today, the Tarum Longhouse is Christian, as are virtually all other Iban longhouses in the Betong and Saratok Districts, and, indeed, Renang’s own son is a Protestant minister. Formerly, death was an occasion on which families brought out and displayed their beautifully woven heirloom cloths (*pua’ kumbu’*) in the construction of the *sapat*. During the nightlong vigil of *rabat*, a dirge singer, or *tukang sabak*, sat within this cloth enclosure and sang the *sabak*, the lament for the dead in which she described the journey of the dead person’s soul as it travels from the longhouse to the Afterworld. Mourners and family members sat all around the enclosure, some, because of grief, as close as possible, weeping, talking quietly among themselves, and listening to the dirge singer’s song. For many, the beauty of her words, and of the cloth through which her voice passed, was a source of profound comfort. As in other spheres of Iban life, art was once an integral part of grieving.

¹ See Vinson Sutlive’s Memorial to Datin Amar Margaret Linggi, a woman who devoted her considerable energies to reviving an interest in ikat weaving among Iban women in Sarawak.

While Heppell has chosen to couch his arguments in terms of “sexual selection,” history, to my mind, might well have offered a more appropriate framework. The flowering of Iban art was, after all, extremely short-lived in biological terms and depended upon a number of historically-circumscribed processes. Moreover, the question of why some communities foster creativity has long interested historians. To return to my original question, from the perspective of European history, a superb example of this interest may be found in Jacob Burckhardt’s *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, particularly its brilliant Part One, “The State as a Work of Art.” Here Burckhardt persuasively argues that the Italian city-states not only created conditions for a rebirth and outpouring of artistic creativity, but that the political order itself was objectified, made the object of reflection, both in the writings of its political theorists (such as Machiavelli), but, equally, in its art and architecture. The times, institutions, and art that Burckhardt deals with are, of course, very different than those that concern Heppell. In addition, as a European, Burckhardt is also interested in those elements of Renaissance innovation and creativity that still persist. For this latter perspective, we must wait, very probably, for some future Iban historian (Clifford Sather).

Anthony K. Samuel, *Contemporary Migration among the Dayak Iban in Sarawak. Kuching: Masgraphic Services (by the author), paperback, 2005, ISBN 983-42914-0-X. v+ 95pp. Maps, plates, tables, charts, appendix, bibliography, index.*

In this brief volume, the author, Anthony Kantan Samuel, an Iban policy specialist, of Saribas origin, who is currently Research Manager at the Sarawak Development Institute, reports on the findings of a study conducted in 2002–2003 of Iban rural-urban migrants living in so-called “squatter settlements” in the four main urban centers of Sarawak: Kuching, Miri, Sibul, and Bintulu. The original study was funded by the Malaysian Ministry of Science, Technology and Innovation and was carried out under the auspices of the Universiti Putra Malaysia.

The book is divided into seven chapters. Chapter One outlines the study’s objectives. While noting that in developing societies, rural-urban migration is generally concurrent with rapid economic growth, it is also oftentimes associated, the author observes, with urban poverty, social exclusion of the poor, and a “proliferation of squatter settlements.” These latter arise whenever “rapid urban growth outpace[s] the capacity [of society] to provide basic infrastructure and services,” most notably, adequate housing (p. 11). The plight of urban squatters is often made worse by policies that exclude them from their “right to the city” and treat them “as the cause rather than the victims of uncontrolled urbanization” (p. 11). In this light, in Chapter Two, the author notes that the Sarawak Lands and Surveys Department’s official definition of a “squatter” as a “person/persons who settles on public or private land without any title to the land or without any expressed permission or approval” (p. 19) is both negative and effectively places squatters outside the law. By contrast, he locates himself among those students of third-world urbanization who see the creation of squatter settlements as an essentially successful solution by the poor to an otherwise intractable scarcity of urban housing.

Chapter Three traces recent rural-urban migration in Sarawak based chiefly on the 1991 Malaysian census and a Statistics Department migration survey carried out in 1995. Unfortunately, data from the 2000 census were not used, nor does the author explicitly

relate data from these sources to his own study population. Nonetheless, the chapter contains much of interest. Like the rest of the developing world, recent urban population growth has been extremely rapid in Sarawak; between 1981 and 1991, the state's urban population grew at an average rate of 9.3 percent per annum. While some of this growth was "definitional," due to a redefinition of urban boundaries, the largest share came from an influx of rural migrants. Nearly all rural districts in Sarawak are experiencing out-migration, but in 1991 those with the highest proportional rates were Kanowit, Dalat, Meradong, Betong, Simunjau, Daro, Julau, and Bau. Not all of these districts are, of course, centers of Iban population. The Iban, however, formed the single largest group overall, making up in 1991 just under half (49.1%) of all rural-urban migrants (p. 40). The Iban predominated in Sibu, Miri, and Bintulu, but in Kuching, were outnumbered, first, by Bidayuh and, secondly, by Malay-Melanau. Almost half of all rural-urban migrants had secondary education. The percentage is lower, however, for the Iban, a fact reflected, the author argues, in patterns of employment. Thus, the Iban are disproportionately represented in urban construction (40.3%), and correspondingly underrepresented in retail trade, services, and manufacturing (p. 41).

As the author notes, migration is by no means a recent phenomenon for the Iban. *Pindah* and *bejalai* are well-established traditions, with histories that extend deep into the Iban past. Moreover, some rural communities were subject in recent years to state-sponsored resettlement, during Konfrontasi, for example, and for hydroelectric projects, and one interesting observation that the author makes is that former resettlement communities appear to be particularly prone to out-migration. Thus, rather than stabilizing rural population, resettlement appears to have had the opposite effect.

Chapter 4 briefly describes characteristics of the 852 respondents interviewed by the author during his original study in terms, for example, of age, education, and Division of origin. Chapter 5 describes the respondents' answers to questions concerning their reasons for migrating to an urban center, the problems of adjustment they encountered in doing so, and their attitudes toward urban life and possible future resettlement. Here many of the answers statistically tabulated by the author are difficult to interpret in the absence of anything remotely resembling in-depth urban ethnography. Some of these answers suggest, however, that origin-based social networks play a significant role as sources of job referrals and social support. Thus, almost half of the author's respondents (48%) reported that they experienced no difficulty finding a first job and three-quarters (76%) reported that they had no difficulty finding friends. Except for Kuching, a lack of jobs does not appear to be a serious problem. On the other hand, many reportedly found it difficult to improve their earnings and move out of low-paying jobs.

The principal reasons that migrants cited for moving from the countryside were "to find a better job," experience "a better life" — including a better life for their school-age children, "improve their income," and for "better amenities" (p. 64). The overwhelming majority (99.5%) felt that they had made the right decision; 98% thought their quality of life had improved, and 99.6% were satisfied with their place of residence (p. 69). These responses, again, however, are difficult to evaluate without knowing more about how the author's sample of respondents was selected and the conditions of life they left behind. Their answers to questions about the problems they encountered in taking up life in an urban squatter settlement suggest a far less rosy picture. For example, all reported having difficulty obtaining treated water (100%), and the great majority (96.4%) had difficulty obtaining electricity and access to public transportation (92%) (p. 68). One unambiguously

bright spot was education. Nearly all found schooling facilities accessible and the quality of education superior to that of rural schools. The other bright spot was income. By their own calculation, average monthly incomes rose following migration from RM 241 to RM 750 (p. 57).

Not surprisingly, perhaps, the one area in which an overwhelming majority of respondents (95.4%) refused to answer the author's interview questions concerned their participation in politics (p. 70). The results not only suggest a degree of mistrust of government, but also bear out this reviewer's own observations that most recent Iban urban migrants participate very little, if at all, in city politics, but, rather, continue to return to their home communities during elections to vote. In the Saribas, this return creates something of a temporary Gawai-like atmosphere that local politicians have long ago learned to exploit by providing their local supporters with Gawai-like longhouse entertainment. Having greater resources, the governing party has been particularly adept at this, with predictable results. Not surprising, too, respondents showed little enthusiasm for resettlement, particularly if it involves being moved into multiple-storey housing.

The volume concludes with a brief summary of findings (Chapter 6) and a conclusion (Chapter 7). A final Appendix lists the names of the 29 squatter settlements involved in the study. The volume is being privately distributed by its author at a price of RM50 (or US\$20), exclusive of mailing, and may be obtained by writing to Anthony K. Samuel, Sarawak Development Institute (SDI), AZAM Complex, Crookshank Rd., 93000 Kuching, Sarawak, Malaysia, or by email at ankasa@sarawak.com.my (Clifford Sather, Portland, Oregon, USA).

James Ritchie: *Who Gives A Dam! The Bakun Odyssey*. Kuching: Wisma Printing Sdn Bhd, 2005. 266 pages. RM 30.00. ISBN 983-42114-0-6.

There can be few people having an association with Sarawak who are not aware of the Bakun dam project and the controversy it has generated. The title of Ritchie's book — and the introduction — hold out the promise of an investigative exploration of the issues and some definitive answers to ongoing questions.

“Who really does give a Damn? Is it the Government or is it the Government's opponents? Can the Bakun Project open up Belaga and, while providing clean renewable power for the nation, bring development and progress to the rural areas? And why not Belaga?”

Ritchie has followed the events of the Bakun odyssey since the 1980s. Throughout the book he makes frequent mention of his personal friendship with, and the respect he is accorded by, the affected Orang Ulu groups. These anecdotal references, alongside the inclusion of messages from senior political figures at the start of the book convey the impression of an author who has the confidence of the main interest groups involved and who is able to move easily between them. The implication — that this endows him with the ability to present a balanced and impartial account — proved to be less convincing. Ritchie does not win any points by waiting till Chapter 19 before choosing to disclose that he was employed as a Government Public Relations Officer in the Sarawak Chief Minister's Office at the time of his 1998 visit to Bakun. While not a reason to dismiss the book, this sounds a caution.

However, read intelligently and with a critical eye on the interpretation provided by the author, this book does give a reasonable overview of the background and main players involved in the Bakun dam project. Being a relatively recent newcomer to Sarawak, with scant knowledge of the finer details of the Bakun project and no previous association with the affected parties or interest groups involved, it provided me with a useful introduction to the subject.

In the space of 22 chapters — all reasonably short — Ritchie takes the reader on a chronological journey extending from the regime of the White Rajahs through to the present day. To his credit, the characters speak with their own voices a good deal of the time, though Ritchie has an irritating habit of paraphrasing these quotations — often almost word for word. The inclusion of black and white photographs liberally interspersed with the text add human interest value and give some idea of the geographical terrain of the region. Although Ritchie includes a sketch map by Rousseau of the Balui region with its longhouses and rivers, I feel the book would benefit from a more comprehensive map of the affected region showing the actual territory that will be inundated by the Bakun Dam — perhaps alongside Rousseau's map for comparison.

It is abundantly apparent on reading that communication has been a major issue from the beginning of the project; for example, between government authorities and the affected groups, and between planners and the implementers of the project. Billy Abit's speech made in August 1995 (quoted on page 75), is ominously predictive of some of the problems that occurred.

...There must be continuing consultation and dialogue; the planners have to be prepared to come to the ground and not plan from afar according to what looks good to them; the implementers should also be on the ground gaining experience and knowledge of the Orang Ulu and their culture.

To be fair, the geographical distances and terrain, as well as the sheer number of the parties involved in such a vast undertaking, provide ample potential for misunderstandings along the way. It is also clear that there were other interest groups involved, with their own agendas, who added to the complications — including the media, NGOs, and environmental interest groups.

However, the perspective is hardly impartial. That Ritchie has an agenda becomes increasingly obvious as the storyline proceeds, advanced more by the use of selective reporting and quotations than scholarly argument. Case histories and statements from natives (and others) who can see the benefits of, or have already benefitted from, the Bakun project there are a-plenty. Voices of dissent or dissatisfaction are muted. Bare statements hint at deeper issues and problems associated with the resettlement scheme but the details are never explored.

Who Gives a Dam is unlikely to move the hearts and minds of those who have already taken up positions on the Bakun project. Still, I do not think it was written with that intent. Rather, I suspect Ritchie's appeal in writing is to the popular market and one of the aims is to mitigate the effects of negative publicity about Bakun disseminated previously by environmental groups, NGOs, and the like in the world media.

But the picture is confusing. At times we also have Ritchie the travel writer whose descriptions of exotic cultural practices seem designed more to promote the region as an adventure tourism destination.

...With the assistance of several young men, the other pigs were mounted on [sic] wooden edifice and one by one their throats cut. Dayong Keping Aran, who has inflicted a deep fatal wound on a large sow, quickly collected a mug full of blood and gulped it down. Mouth covered in blood, his body vibrating, Keping went into a trance and performed a war dance, waving his sword as the crescendo of voices increased. He wiped the blood from his mouth and offered some to the others but there was only one taker — Dayong Ake Lidak, a Lahanan from Long Pangai.

For about five minutes the dancing duo twirled their parangs, at times dangerously close to the onlookers, while prancing in front of the altar... (page 50).

And sometimes we have Ritchie the storyteller, in tones reminiscent of “Boys’ Adventure Stories,” seeming to set the scene for another rollicking yarn.

“A satisfaction prevails at having overcome the greatest obstacle in the Kayan confines,” Tuan Muda Charles Brooke said as he rubbed his hands with glee (page 2).

Besides inconsistency of style, what mars this book most for me are the barely concealed value judgments, the unsupported generalizations, and the sometimes ill-chosen or even offensive choice of language. The following passage, from the beginning of Chapter 6 contains multiple examples.

Even though many countries are not as generous, the Malaysian government had estimated that it would *fork out* as much as several hundred million Ringgit to assist the people affected by the hydroelectric dam... Ekran would also *fork out* between RM100 to RM120 million to assist the settlers... (page 181, my italics).

Farmers *fork out* fodder to animals. Used in the context of human relations the term suggests assistance given begrudgingly. Writing such as this wins no hearts and minds and does a disservice to all parties. I was also distracted by the numerous grammatical errors, spelling mistakes, and omitted words (sometimes several on one page). Such lack of attention to editorial detail seems incongruous in a writer of Ritchie’s professed caliber and experience.

The final chapters of the Bakun odyssey are still being lived out. History will have the final say. It may well be that the words of a senior member of the Batang Ai task force, speaking from hindsight of that earlier project, turn out to be prophetic.

At the end of the day people will not look at the engineering aspect of Bakun dam but rather how successful the resettlement turned out.

(Ann Appleton, Institute of East Asian Studies, UNIMAS, Kota Samarahan, Sarawak, Malaysia).

Pengembara, *Wanderer in Brunei Darussalam*. Marshall Cavendish (Malaysia) Sdn. Bhd., Shah Alam, Selangor, 2005; paperback; xvi + 112 pp.; map, illustrations; ISBN 983-3346-52-9; no price listed.

This slim volume, a copy of which was supplied to the reviewer by the author, comprises a collection of twenty-four articles which first appeared in the *Borneo Bulletin* between 1991 and 1993. "Pengembara" is the pen-name adopted by Christopher Hugh Gallop PIKB (b. 1931), who spent decades in the sultanate as a school principal before relocating to Penang in 1994. Fluent in Malay, Mr. Gallop successfully completed a master's degree in Malay Literature at USM in 2000. His publications include *Apabila Sungei Mengalir* (When the River Flows), a translation into English (1995) of an anthology of short stories by Malay writers. Mr. Gallop was invited to present the Annual MBRAS Lecture in Kuala Lumpur on 28 June 2003 (published in *JMBRAS* 2004), a mark of esteem which places him on a par with giants such as (to name a few) Professors Mary Turnbull (1986), K. G. Tregonning (1989), Zuraina Abdul Majid (1997), and Wang Gungwu (2000).

The book under notice here begins with a brief survey of Negara Brunei Darussalam, the *bumi bertuah* or lucky land. The main courses follow in quick succession. "The Wanderer" certainly roams far and wide, from one end of the state to the other, from remote islands to the jungle interior, anywhere off the beaten track (or on it, for that matter). A genial, tactful, self-effacing, and open-minded guide, he has a genuine love for Negara Brunei Darussalam and its inhabitants, manifested both in the book's dedication and in his gift for engaging with the local people and learning their stories. The author has nary a bad word to say about anyone. He pays handsome tribute to those who assisted him in his project and is generous (but never patronizing or cynical) in his appreciation of the abilities of others. In a sense he opens the eyes of the local inhabitants to their own country: sometimes an outside observer can detect things which otherwise would tend to be overlooked or taken for granted. Had he not already been a distinguished education officer, Pengembara would undoubtedly have made a splendid reporter.

Mr. Gallop's curiosity is unbounded. He ranges far and wide, covering history, art, architecture, economic activity (such as fishing), folk wisdom, Kedayan rafts, and Gurkha physical training. Chapter five furnishes a pen portrait of the Earl of Cranbrook, who visited the sultanate in 1989 in connection with the RGS/UBD Rainforest Project. There is even a fascinating piece (No 23) on car number plates. Pengembara wears his learning lightly; but, even so, there is plenty for the reader to discover. We are also given tips on correct pronunciation, such as "Be-LA-long" rather than "Bela-long" (p. 20). A particularly valuable feature of the book is the transcription of various plaques. Any novelist planning to use the sultanate as a backdrop might find the topographical information useful.

The present writer would certainly take issue with Pengembara on some points. The royal genealogy proffered in the first two chapters, for example, would have been fiercely contested by the late Robert Nicholl, among other historians; and it is believed that Pehin Ariff Mujun died on 21 September 1989 (*Borneo Bulletin*, 7.10.1989:25) rather than "in 1985" (p. 78). Tom Harrison suffered his fatal accident in 1976 rather than "ten years ago" as viewed from 1993 (p. 35). And the Hospital in Kuala Belait (p. 73) is named after the

“[Paduka] Seri Suri Begawan [Raja];” the word order “Suri Seri” used by Pengembara is an error, albeit a common one.

But the spirit of this book transcends such pedantry. Pengembara certainly *does* prove to be a “congenial travelling companion” (page xvi). More please (A. V. M. Horton, 180 Hither Green Lane, Bordesley, Worcestershire B98 9AZ, England).

Kamus Murut Timugon-Melayu dengan Ikhtisar Etnografi, 2004. Kota Kinabalu: Kadazandusun Language Foundation (KLF), xlii +1015 pp, ISBN 983-9325-32-9.

Although the purpose of this dictionary is to help Malay speakers learn the Timugon Murut language (and to a lesser extent to help Timugon Murut speakers improve their knowledge of Malay), it deserves a wider audience than this, since it represents an important contribution to our knowledge of one of the indigenous, Austronesian languages of Sabah. This is no pocket dictionary, but rather a solid, hardback volume comprising more than a thousand pages.

The Timugon Murut language is spoken by about 9,000 people who live in and around the Tenom valley in Sabah, Malaysia. It is one of twelve Murutic languages that are spoken across the southern region of Sabah and over the border in Kalimantan.¹

The dictionary began as a computerized database of lexical information started by the editors, Richard and Kielo Brewis, in 1983. It was greatly expanded between 1991 and 2001 by a native speaker of the language, Selipah Majius, who as project co-ordinator saw the project through to publication in 2004.

Timugon, like other Murutic languages, has a complex system of verb affixation. Verbs may be inflected by adding any of the 13 prefixes, 2 infixes and 5 suffixes known in the language to a root or stem. Typically, a verb has up to fifty different forms. The verb *ongoi* ‘go’ is cited as an example (p. 901), for after affixation it has more than 125 verbal and nominal forms derived from the single root. This verb also serves as an example of another feature of the language, that is, the presence of vowel harmony, whereby, the addition of a suffix such as *-an* can cause the root vowel (usually an /o/) to harmonize with the vowel of the affix. This can be seen, for example, in the way the verb *ongoi* ‘go’ plus the suffix *-an* becomes *angayan* ‘place, time of going’ (Introduction p. xxx).

Austronesian linguists will be delighted to know that there is an excellent outline (in Malay) of the Timugon verb system (pp. 905–35). Timugon is described as a VSO type language, with a five-way voice system. This means that the semantic role of a selected noun phrase is reflected in an affix that occurs on the verb. These affixes are:

Active voice signaled by the affix *(-u)m-* on the verb

Objective voice signaled by the suffix *-on*

Dative voice signaled by the suffix *-in*

¹ There is also a small group speaking a Murutic language, Okolod, in north Sarawak. In the past, the term Murut, which is generally agreed to mean ‘up-country’ or ‘hill people,’ was applied not only to speakers of Murutic languages in Sabah but also to speakers of a Kelabitic language in north Sarawak. The Sarawak “Muruts” now call themselves Lun Bawang, and speakers of a closely related Kelabitic dialect living in Sabah and Kalimantan call themselves Lundayeh.

Instrumental voice signaled by the prefix *pag-* plus reduplication
 Locative voice (which includes location, time and reason) signaled by the suffix *-an*.

Given these and other complexities of the Timugon language, careful thought went into the arrangement of the entries in the dictionary. The editors had two principal aims. The first was that it should be easy for the primary intended audience (i.e., Malay speakers) to access, and the second, that the dictionary arrangement should reflect the semantics of the Timugon language. The possible choices before the editors, and their reasons for selecting an essentially root-based approach over an alphabetical approach, are discussed at some length in the Introduction (pp. xxi–xlii).

The resulting format is certainly clear and easy to use. All major entries have the head word/root marked in bold and located in the left margin, while subentries also in bold are indented. Affixation is shown by a parsed version of the word in square brackets. Malay glosses are in italics. Each entry concludes with the cited word used in an example Timugon sentence along with a Malay translation. Words identified as borrowings from English, Arabic, Malay or local dialects are indicated by appropriate abbreviations (p.xxviii). Typical entries appear as follows:

inum

inuman [inum-an] *masa atau tempat minum*. **Inuman** nilo ra inasi giu' ra baloi ri Nayam. *Mereka minum tapai di rumah Nayam.*

This entry is followed by several more subentries based on the root **inum**.

In the following entry, Ig is the abbreviation for English.

Noos Ig nurse *jururawat*. Masaga' io mangandoi ra **noos** ru hospital. *Dia mahu bekerja sbg jururawat hospital.*

In order to help the user find Timugon equivalents for simple Malay glosses there is a Malay-Timugon index (pp. 843–97). While this may at times be a little cumbersome to use since many Malay words appear to have several Timugon equivalents (for example, Malay *besar* 'big,' 'large' has fourteen Timugon equivalents listed), it is undoubtedly a very useful addition to the dictionary and facilitates its use by non-Timugon speakers.

The appendix (pp. 899–1016) contains outlines (in Malay) of Timugon Murut phonology, grammar and ethnography, plus a glossary of terms used in the dictionary, and a short bibliography. I did notice that references to works by King and King 1984, and Smith 1984 (p. 900–1) have been omitted from the bibliography.²

This dictionary represents an important corpus of information on the Timugon Murut language. All who have had a hand in preparing it, from the editors and project co-ordinator to the Kadazandusun Language Foundation who have published it, and the Embassy of

² K. D. Smith, "The Languages of Sabah: A Tentative Lexicostatistical Classification" in King and King eds, 1984, pp.1–49. King, Julie K. and John W. King, *Languages of Sabah: A Survey Report*. 1984. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.

Finland in Kuala Lumpur who met the printing costs, are to be congratulated on a well-produced volume³ (Beatrice Clayre, Oxford, England.)

Anthony, Camilla et al., 2001. *Buuk Kalaja' Dois Boros Kadazandusun*. Kadazandusun Language Foundation. Kota Kinabalu. ISBN 983-9325-26-4. 45 pages.

Annot, Evelyn, 1996. *Mobooos, Mambasa' Om Monuat id Kadazandusun*. Kadazandusun Language Foundation. ISBN 983-9325-00-0. 32 pages.

Joumin, Roger (ed), 2003. *Mambasa' Om Mamarati Boros Kadazandusun*. Kadazandusun Language Foundation. Kota Kinabalu. ISBN 983-41366-0-6. 38 pages.

Lasimbang, Anne and Rufina Koyou, 2004. *I Buu Om I Bouvang*. ISBN 983-409431-0. 14 pages.

Lasimbang, Rita, 2001. Kota Kinabalu. *A Beginner's Dictionary: English-Malay-Kadazandusun*. ISBN 983-9325-20-5. 88 pages.

The Kadazandusun Language Foundation (KLF) is a nonprofit research institute for the preservation and promotion of various indigenous languages of Sabah and Labuan, including Kadazandusun.

Their workbook for preschool children, *Buuk Kalaja' Dois Boros Kadazandusun*, is one of a series of publications by the (KLF) designed to introduce children, in home, preschool, or school settings to early learning of Kadazandusun language skills. The authors of this attractively designed workbook have a dual intent. On one hand, they have put together a sequence of language activities designed to teach basic reading and writing skills to young learners, but also, through the choice of content, they further their mission to sustain an awareness of Kadazandusun culture, custom and practice in succeeding generations. The language activities were pretested by local teachers and employ a variety of techniques for interactive and engaging learning. Based on picture stimuli of clear line drawings by an indigenous illustrator, children are invited to complete texts at a word, phrase, and sentence level or, in some instances, compose their own text based on models. The intention is that adults, whether family members or preschool teachers, will explore the activities first through talking with the children, and then will progressively extend speaking and listening activities into reading and writing, so that children can complete the workbook with increasing independence. The authors have been careful to include game-like and problem-solving elements in the activities, and in a number of cases, kinaesthetic activities such as selecting, cutting, and pasting that give children the satisfaction of individual achievement in personalizing their workbook. The variety will prevent boredom and the rote disengagement that is often created by workbooks which overuse repetition of the same activity type in the mistaken belief that frequent repetition of the same mechanical model will consolidate learning. In these activities, children are invited to think, make choices, and

³ The *Kamus Murut Timugon-Melayu* and other publications of the KLF may be ordered through the following website: Sabahtourguide.com. The dictionary costs 100 RM plus 16 RM overseas postage. The KLF mailing address is: P.O. Box 420, 89507 Penampang, Sabah, Malaysia.

effectively to multitask while manipulating the language, and it is this multitasking which will enable them to process language fully and thus retain it for active use rather than mere passive recognition.

Copying, labeling, close completion and matching are all stock-in-trade activities of the language course book writer and all are effectively deployed here, but many of the pages have an additional strength of appeal which would make them of interest to children even if language learning were not the prime purpose. For example, making logical associations of pairs, verbalizing the solution to a maze activity, responding by using codes and symbols are all likely to appeal to emergent readers and writers whether in the mother-tongue or a further acquired language. The cultural content is a skillful blend of internationalism and local heritage, across a range of themes and topics. Thus, regional agricultural practice is depicted alongside more universal forms, festivals are likewise local and multicultural, and house styles, musical instruments, foodstuffs, and cooking implements are depicted across a wide range of the international and the indigenous. This will further the KLF's aim to valorize and thus sustain the traditional and local while promoting its viability and its right to persist in the global context. The cultural content is thereby "normalized" for children through discovery activities that are not overly didactic.

Moboos, Mambasa' om Monuat is for older primary-school age children, and the increased sophistication of the topics and themes is appropriate to the target group. As the content takes a step up, so does the linguistic range; while the preschool book is restricted to third person forms, the primary workbook prepares children for participating in conversation through simple but well-structured contextualized dialogues. These can be encoded as writing activities in comic strip format and then enacted in role-play. There is scope for inventive teachers to use these dialogues for further communicative activities apart from the text. The preschool workbook is largely restricted to noun vocabulary and simple subject/verb/object sentences, whereas this book for older children includes later-acquired language elements such as the use of prepositions. However, there is also some thought given to the need to revisit prior learning. The same intercultural focus prevails in this little volume, with local costume, game artifacts and foodstuffs given equal status alongside western cultural phenomena such as Batman and the birthday cake.

Among the KLF's series for schools is *Mambasa' Om Mamarati Boros Kadazandusun*, a collection of stories and related activities for junior school children in 4th, 5th, and 6th grade classes. Here, receptive language is at whole-text level, through the medium of stories of progressively increasing length and linguistic complexity. These are retellings of traditional tales or updated adaptations of narratives set in indigenous contexts — cultural awareness-raising again at work here. Children will read these for pleasure, but beneath their surface appeal as engaging stories, the writers have "sewn" progressive coverage of language forms and features. Having enjoyed the story for its own sake, children rework their reading and apply the language content through short sets of activities based on each story. As with the earlier workbooks, these have been constructed with some variety and engagement in mind. There are multiple choice comprehension questions, predicates of sentences to be completed by the learner, more open-ended questions where a variety of answers is possible (thus allowing learners of differing experience and ability to respond at their own level). If further titles along similar lines are contemplated for future publication, it would be useful to widen the activity types further. For example, once children had succeeded with activities that are based on decoding meanings contained within the text, it would be possible to include some more demanding activities that encouraged them to make

their own meanings by working beyond the text, while making use of elements within the story, or from earlier texts. Prompts for such activities might be rubrics such as “*If you saw someone in trouble while swimming, what would you do?*” or “*Imagine you were one of the harvesters. Write your diary for the day.*” Some older and abler pupils may be able to turn narrative stories such as these into a dialogue, perhaps for a radio play, or a performance for younger learners.

Stories have great cultural capital among indigenous communities whose traditional practices and values are under threat. In mixed-language communities, it is socially useful to make use of these traditional stories as cultural warp and weft. To this end, parallel language versions are desirable, and have status either as mother-tongue resources or as teaching aids for the learning of additional languages. This is the case for the first of what the PACOS Trust hopes will be a trendsetting series of dual or trilingual (Kadazandusun, Malay, English) editions, their story of *The Tortoise and the Bear (I Buu Om I Bouvang / Si Kura-kura dan Si Beruang)*. The attractive, colorful illustrations offer plenty of scope for shared reading accompanied by rich questioning, either in a mother-tongue or an additional language learning setting. The pictures provide a stimulus for questions both within and beyond the text, and skilful teachers will see their full potential. For example, questions such as “*What do you think will happen next?*” can frequently precede the turning of the page in a shared reading. It is interesting to reflect, as a European reader of these Bornean stories, that cultural norms are not universal — sometimes, as in the story where the bear meets a violent end — moral lessons are learned in different ways which would be unacceptably uncomfortable in other traditions.

An associated author has also produced an English-Malay-Kadazandusun dictionary, *A Beginner's Dictionary: English-Malay-Kadazandusun*, which will be of benefit to learners of the language, especially those making use of the other texts in this review, as it includes the same topics and lexis, and uses, in many instances, the same illustrations by Langkawit, who is a well-known Sabah cartoonist. The dictionary is suitable for adult learners as well as children, and is arranged thematically rather than alphabetically.

The work of the KLF in producing and supporting this range of publications helps to reinforce the important message that intercultural understanding and effective language learning are inextricably linked (Malcolm Hope, Schools Adviser for Modern Languages, Oxford, UK).

ABSTRACTS 2006

Cheah Boon-Kheng, 2006, The Left-Wing Movement in Malaya, Singapore and Borneo in the 1960s: An Era of Hope or Devil's Decade? *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies*, 7(4):634-49.

The 1960s was a period of leftwing resurgence in the world. As Britain was disengaging from its empire, the ethnically plural societies she had generated within her protectorates and colonies in Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak, North Borneo and Brunei threw up anti-colonial movements that began struggling towards self-determination and national independence. These movements manifested the ideologies of communism, socialism, nationalism and communalism. As British imperialism began planning its retreat, the competition for power among the local movements became intense. In Malaya, the largest of the five colonial territories, the communist party launched an armed rebellion in 1948 in the name of national liberation and independence, but made little headway. As Singapore and Malaya were closely linked and ruled, Britain introduced emergency rule in both territories. Most leftwing parties disappeared. Nationalist and communalist parties in Malaya emerged and eventually succeeded in securing national independence from Britain in 1957. Singapore was given a measure of limited self-government in 1955, while Sarawak, North Borneo and Brunei were gradually awakened towards self-government. Leftwing parties re-surfaced in Malaya, and in Singapore, Sarawak, North Borneo and Brunei in the 1950s and 1960s, and made some headway in parliamentary elections. This paper presents a historical account of their resurgence, which was, however, short-lived.

Cleary, D. F., 2004, Assessing the Use of Butterflies as Indicators of Logging in Borneo at Three Taxonomic Levels. *Journal of Economic Entomology*, 97(2):429-35.

Logging is an issue of major conservation concern. Less than 5% of tropical forests are currently protected, and many of these are in so-called "paper parks." Many species may therefore depend on exploited forests, and management decisions concerning these forests will be a major determinant of their survival. An important aspect of forest management will entail the use of reliable, practical, and inexpensive indicator taxa to monitor exploitation. Here, butterflies are proposed as such indicators. Species, generic, and subfamily richness was significantly higher in logged than unlogged forest and community composition differed significantly at all three taxonomic levels (species, genus, and subfamily). Richness estimators were, furthermore, highly correlated among all three taxonomic levels. Significant individual indicator taxa were found at all three taxonomic levels, but the best overall taxa (highest indicator values) were found at the generic level and included the butterfly genera *Ragadia* and *Paralaxita* as indicators of unlogged forest and the genera *Ypthima*, *Allotinus*, and *Athyma* as indicators of logged forest. The use of genera instead of species presents a number of practical advantages. Identification is faster, easier, and more reliable. Genera can, furthermore, usually be identified "on the wing," thereby preventing accidental mortality due to capture.

Harwell, Emily Evans, 2000, The Un-natural History of Culture: Ethnicity, Tradition and Territorial Conflicts in West Kalimantan, Indonesia, 1800-1997. Ph.D. thesis, Yale.

Struggles over valuable natural resources are characterized not only by conflicts over resource control, but also fundamental contests over meaning and value. In defining access rights, opponents' narratives frequently challenge definitions of indigenosity, citizenship, modernity, and tradition in order to construct contrasting identities of "rightsholders" and "encroachers." These creative identities constantly shift, articulating with new political and economic conditions to re-imagine pasts, presents and futures — with obvious implications for both the fate of resources and the well-being of resource-dependent communities. Investigation of these shifting identities and their ties to livelihoods and resources is relevant to theorizing on the nature of both nationhood and culture, as well as contributing to literature on property and agrarian studies. In Indonesian Borneo, heated negotiation over control of forest and fish resources of the highly productive flooded forests of the West Kalimantan Kapuas Lakes illustrates how narratives of rights and identity have become increasingly ethnically polarized. This study uses archival records to chart colonial and independent states' involvement in re-defining the ethnicity of Malay and Iban populations, and their consequent racially-defined entitlements. Contemporary ethnographic fieldwork illuminates the complexities of local practices of Iban and Malay identities within this history of state intervention, and traces the connections between identity, livelihoods, memory and territory under changing political, social and economic conditions. The designation of the lakes as the Danau Sentarum Wildlife Reserve and the subsequent involvement of an internationally funded Community-Based Conservation project brought new layers of resource claims to the region, and the discursive practices of this project are investigated to expose ties to other hegemonic representations of culture and customary practice. Finally, multiple interpretations of dramatic perturbations such as widespread wildfires and ethnic violence are analyzed to expose their discursive links to everyday representations of local culture, links that suggest implications for reinventing the past and proposing solutions for the future. Although narratives of identity have increasingly emphasized firmly bounded ethnicities, the study nevertheless emphasizes the persistent complexity of everyday experience of identity and livelihood, leaving open the possibility for new alternatives (Source: Robert L. Winzeler, "Borneo Dissertations Project: An International Interdisciplinary Bibliography," at www2.library.unr.edu; reproduced here by permission of Dr. Harwell).

Huang, S. S., A. K. Hassan, K. E. Choo, M. I. Ibrahim, and T. M. Davis, 2004, Prevalence and Predictors of *Helicobacter pylori* Infection in Children and Adults from the Penan Ethnic Minority of Malaysian Borneo. *The American Journal of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene* 71(4):444–50.

To determine the prevalence of *Helicobacter pylori* antigen carriage in stool in the Penan ethnic minority in Malaysian Borneo, we studied 295 Penans 0.6–89.0 years of age from 1) the remote Limbang Division, 2) Mulu regional center, and 3) Belaga village. Overall, 37.7% of the subjects tested positive. Peak prevalence was reached by 10 years of age. There were no differences in age, sex, body mass index, and socioeconomic/domestic variables between antigen-positive and antigen-negative subjects. In a logistic regression analysis, subjects from Limbang were least likely to be antigen-positive (odds ratio [OR] = 0.23, 95% confidence interval [CI] = 0.12-0.44 versus other sites, $P < 0.001$). Availability of a flushing toilet was protective against *H. pylori* carriage

(OR = 0.51, 95% CI = 0.27–0.95, P = 0.031). Infection with *H. pylori* among the Penan was less than reported in other low socioeconomic groups. The lowest prevalence in the most remote setting suggests that the infection has been a recent arrival in previously isolated communities.

Hurles, M. E., B. C. Sykes, M. A. Jobling, and P. Forster, 2005, The Dual Origin of the Malagasy in Island Southeast Asia and East Africa: Evidence from Maternal and Paternal Lineages. *American Journal of Human Genetics*, 76(5):894–901.

Linguistic and archaeological evidence about the origins of the Malagasy, the indigenous peoples of Madagascar, points to mixed African and Indonesian ancestry. By contrast, genetic evidence about the origins of the Malagasy has hitherto remained partial and imprecise. We defined 26 Y-chromosomal lineages by typing 44 Y-chromosomal polymorphisms in 362 males from four different ethnic groups from Madagascar and 10 potential ancestral populations in Island Southeast Asia and the Pacific. We also compared mitochondrial sequence diversity in the Malagasy with a manually curated database of 19,371 hypervariable segment I sequences, incorporating both published and unpublished data. We could attribute every maternal and paternal lineage found in the Malagasy to a likely geographic origin. Here, we demonstrate approximately equal African and Indonesian contributions to both paternal and maternal Malagasy lineages. The most likely origin of the Asia-derived paternal lineages found in the Malagasy is Borneo. This agrees strikingly with the linguistic evidence that the languages spoken around the Barito River in southern Borneo are the closest extant relatives of Malagasy languages. As a result of their equally balanced admixed ancestry, the Malagasy may represent an ideal population in which to identify loci underlying complex traits of both anthropological and medical interest.

Kiyono Yoshiyuki, Hastaniah, and Miyakuni Kiyoshi, 2003, Height Growth Relationships in Secondary Plant Communities in Kalimantan for Forestry Projects under the Clean Development Mechanism of COP 7. *Bulletin of the Forestry and Forest Products Research Institute*, Vol.2–No.1 (No.386):43–51.

We classified the secondary vegetation of degraded ecosystems in the humid tropics of Indonesian Borneo (Kalimantan) into 5 plant communities and analyzed their overstory height growth. Each community had a different growth curve, although the status of the soils was considered to be less variable. Overstory height was similar among plant communities during the initial stages of their establishment, but 2 or 3 years later, communities of trees (including species of small trees up to about 10 m. high) were obviously taller than communities of shrubs and short grasses. The mean annual increment in overstory height, which is considered to be an index of the increase in biomass, varied with community type and age. Forest establishment in areas where shrubs and short-grass communities have become established may greatly increase overall carbon-fixation rates by vegetation. For forestry projects under the clean development mechanism (CDM), sites where there are shrub and short-grass communities are considered to be most suitable, provided that fire prevention is done properly, because shrubs and short grasses are burned easily.

Kiyono Yoshiyuki and Hastaniah, 2005, Patterns of Slash-and-Burn Land Use and Their Effects on Forest Succession — Swidden-Land Forests in Borneo. *Bulletin of the Forestry and Forest Products Research Institute* Vol.4–No.4 (No.397):259–82.

To evaluate the impact of increased numbers of pyrophytic tree species on succession and the role of pyrophytic tree stands as carbon sinks and reservoirs, the floristic composition and bioeconomics of swidden-land forests were studied in lowland and lower montane Borneo. For our survey of stand floristic composition, 218 secondary forests were chosen in 4 regions including 2 remote areas; most forests were fallowed stands. In 2 of these forests, stand biomass was estimated. The floristic composition of swidden-land forests was characterized by a lack or low density of dipterocarps and the successional ascendance of pyrophytic tree species less vulnerable to felling and fire and with high sprouting capacity such as *Schima wallichii*, *Vitex pinnata*, *Peronema canescens*, and *Vernonia arborea*. In remote areas, pioneer trees with fruiting and functioning seed dispersal mechanisms were also dominant. Dipterocarps other than *Shorea balangeran* were not found or were sparse in the fallowed land, which resulted from swidden agriculture, although dipterocarps were the most dominant species in the original vegetation of lowland and lower montane Borneo. MAI (mean annual increment) values of 3.26 and 3.61 Mg ha⁻¹ year⁻¹ of biomass were estimated in a *Schima wallichii* fallowed stand, versus 6.46 Mg ha⁻¹ year⁻¹ in a *Peronema canescens* stand. Equivalent MAI values were estimated in fallowed pyrophytic tree stands in South Sumatra (3.85–10.62 Mg ha⁻¹ year⁻¹); the mean of these MAI estimates is not significantly different from the mean MAI of planted forests of non-fast-growing trees, 10.71 ± 7.18 (mean and standard deviation) Mg ha⁻¹ year⁻¹ (range, 1.90–18.80) under similar climate conditions. Because a relatively few hardy tree species selected by the people of the region have replaced the original tree species in the fallowed forests, young sprouts from tree stumps of pyrophytic species may rapidly close the canopy when slash-and-burn fields are fallowed.

Kusuma, Indah D., 2005, Economic Valuation of Natural Resource Management: A Case Study of the Benuaq Dayak Tribe in Kalimantan, Indonesia. Ph.D. dissertation, Louisiana State University and Agricultural & Mechanical College, 180 pages.

The unavailability of total economic values of indigenous people in Indonesia, both in the short and long term, has created the rejection of their existence in the forest area. The purpose of this study is to estimate the total economic value of sustainable forest management conducted by indigenous tribes in Indonesia using total economic value concepts. The tribe's total economic value is expressed by estimating the use value, indirect use value and non-use value. The study used benefit transfer and survey methods using questionnaires to estimate the tribe's total economic value. The estimated total economic value of the Benuaq Dayak of U.S. \$6,025.88 per hectare per year was calculated by summing the direct use value (U.S. \$0.028 per hectare per year), indirect use value (U.S. \$3,156 per hectare per year), and non-use value (U.S. \$2,870 per hectare per year). The research hypothesis that the Benuaq Dayak's sustainable resource management has economic value is supported. The research predicted that the estimated total economic value of the Benuaq Dayak's management might create a new perception of the tribe, the private companies, and the government.

Sheil, D. and N. Liswanti, 2006, Scoring the Importance of Tropical Forest Landscapes with Local People: Patterns and Insights. *Environmental Management* 38(1):126–36.

Good natural resource management is scarce in many remote tropical regions. Improved management requires better local consultation, but accessing and understanding the preferences and concerns of stakeholders can be difficult. Scoring, where items are numerically rated in relation to each other is simple and seems applicable even in situations where capacity and funds are limited, but managers rarely use such methods. Here we investigate scoring with seven indigenous communities threatened by forest loss in Kalimantan, Indonesia. We aimed to clarify the forest's multifaceted importance, using replication, cross-check exercises, and interviews. Results are sometimes surprising, but generally explained by additional investigation that sometimes provides new insights. The consistency of scoring results increases in line with community literacy and wealth. Various benefits and pitfalls are identified and examined. Aside from revealing and clarifying local preferences, scoring has unexplored potential as a quantitative technique. Scoring is an underappreciated management tool with wide potential.

Velde, Paul van der. 2006. *A Lifelong Passion: P. J. Veth (1814-1895) and the Dutch East Indies*. Leiden: KITLV. VKI series, No 234. ISBN 90-6718-264-8.

“Anyone who is not astonished at Professor Veth's knowledge knows nothing about knowledge.” Thus spoke Multatuli, one of the most important anti-colonial writers (*Max Havelaar*) of modern Dutch history.

P.J. Veth was the man who discovered Multatuli, and he himself was a remarkable pamphleteer. With his great knowledge of the Dutch-Indies, Veth played an influential role in shaping the Dutch identity; without the Dutch-Indies, the 19th-century Netherlands would be unthinkable.

Paul van der Velde describes the turbulent life of Veth, and his passion to get the Dutch-Indies accepted as an adult partner. He was the scourge of the conservative Netherlands, and his role in the literary and political circles of his time was quite remarkable. He was one of the most eminent Dutch scholars with an international reputation. *A Lifelong Passion* gives a vivid insight into the life of this exceptional 19th century man. Paul van der Velde is a historian. He is Secretary of the International Convention of Asia Scholars (ICAS) and he is working on a biography of Jacob Haafner (Source: www.kitlv.nl).

Webb K. E., N. J. Horton, and D. L. Katz, 2005, Parental IQ and Cognitive Development of Malnourished Indonesian Children. *European Journal of Clinical Nutrition* 59(4):618–20.

A cross-sectional study of children in West Kalimantan, Indonesia, was conducted to examine the relationship between malnutrition history, child IQ, school attendance, socioeconomic status, parental education and parental IQ. In unadjusted analyses, severely stunted children had significantly lower IQ scores than mild-moderately stunted children. This effect was significant when stunting, school attendance and parental education were included in multivariable models but was attenuated when parental IQ was included. Our research underscores the importance of accounting for parental IQ as a critical covariate when modeling the association between childhood stunting and IQ.

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which is available online, aimed to provide citizens with an additional source of information and to play a positive role in the nation-building process. Malay, Jawi and Chinese language editions are scheduled in due course (*BBO* Sa.1.7.2006:h3.htm).

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Nick Garbutt is Special Lecturer in Wildlife Photography at Nottingham University; twice winner of the BBC “Wildlife Photographer of the Year” competition. J. Cede Prudente is a professional conservationist and photographer. Sir David Attenborough requires no introduction.

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UK DOCTORAL RESEARCH ON BORNEO (IN PROGRESS)

There is no change from last year in the “current postgraduate directory” (see *BRB* 2005:308).

One new research project of possible relevance is:

Harlina Sharif: “Malay Mosque Architecture: Origins and Influences.” Ph.D. (Art History). University of London: SOAS. Supervisor: Dr. Elizabeth Moore. Initial registration: 2006 (*ASEASUK News*, No 40, Autumn 2006:43).

ENDNOTES

No entries dated 2006 appear in the Winzeler database of Borneo dissertations (as of 1 February 2007).

On the same date the latest available issue of the *Sabah Society Journal* was that for 2004.

On Thursday 19 January 2006 twenty-two writers signed a Memorandum of Understanding with the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka (DBP, or Language and Literature Bureau) in NBD. The forthcoming books include *Sidang Burung* (Birds’ Conference), a novel by Muslim Burmat; a collection of poems entitled *Istighfar* (Forgiveness) by Haji Mohd Jais Haji Mohd; and *Dang Gelagah Ketulangan* by Aminah Haji Momin, a senior language officer at the DBP (*Borneo Bulletin*, online, F.20.1.2006:h7.htm).

There were also to be five scholarly works, namely: *Fonologi Dialek Melayu Brunei: Satu Analisis Berdasarkan Teori Standard Fonologi Generatif* (Brunei Malay Dialect Phonology: An Analysis Based on Standard Generative Phonology), by Dr. Mataim bin Bakar; *Fungsi Sastra* (Functions of Literature), by Ampuan Dr. Haji Brahim bin Ampuan Haji Tengah; *Al-Quran Penawar Histeria* (The Quran: An Antidote to Hysteria), by Dr. Haji Muhamad Adi Zaky bin Haji Matasim; *Adverbial: Satu Tinjauan dari Sudut Wacana* [thus]¹ (Adverbial: An Observation from a Dialogue [thus] Perspective), by Dr. Azmi bin Abdullah; and *Preposisi Bahasa Dusun dan Bahasa Melayu* (Prepositions of Dusun and Malay Language), by Dr. Aini binti Haji Karim.

The remaining fourteen titles comprised picture books for children. The aim was to build a culture of reading among the young generation (*BBO* F.20.1.2006:h7.htm).

A book entitled *Possession: Treatment and Prevention* (*Kerasukan: Merawat dan Mencegahnya*) written by the State Mufti, Pehin Dato Ustaz Haji Abdul Aziz, was put on sale at his office on Saturday 4 February 2006 at a cover price of NBD\$5.00. Evil spirits are aiming to deviate the *ummah* from Islamic teachings. This book, therefore, describes ways and means to eliminate such phantoms and to protect people from becoming possessed in the first place. Information is provided for persons who treat the victims (*BBSO* 5.2.2006:h3.htm). The first two editions sold out within days (*BBO* M.10.4.2006:h24.htm).

Shukri Zain: Pioneer of Modern Islamic Poetry in Brunei Darussalam (211 pp), by Dr. Arif Karkhi Abukhudairi, an Associate Professor of Literature at Universiti Brunei Darussalam, is written in Arabic and was published in Cairo in January 2006 by the Maktabat Al-Adab (*BBSO* Su.26.2.2006:h13.htm).

¹ Not in *Kamus Dewan* or *Kamus Times*.

IPA Jurnal (No 15) was launched on Saturday 25 February 2006 at Rimba by D. P. Haji Eusoff Agaki bin Haji Ismail, Deputy Minister. This issue of the Civil Service Institute's journal comprises seven papers, including one on "The Impact of Quality Control Circles" by DH Siti Mariam binti Awang Haji Md Jaafar; "Training Needs Analysis: A Study on Multinational Pharmaceutical Company" [*sic*] by Awang Aminuddin bin Awang Haji Buntar; "The Art of Management" by Dayang Hajjah Ilyasuriani binti DP AH Hamdani; and "Mewujudkan Budaya Kerja yang Cekap lagi Mantap menurut Perspektif Islam" by Dr. Khaerudin Rofi'i (*BBSO* Su.26.2.2006:h14.htm).

On 1 April 2006 the Ministry of Home Affairs issued a *Strategic Planning Book* (2005–25). The aim was to clarify the mission and values of the ministry by creating a Strategic Planning blueprint in line with the principles of national development. It was to be a point of reference for all staff at the Ministry for the next twenty years. The Ministry's vision (insofar as the report is comprehensible) includes national unity, peace, security, and capability in national defense, as well as balanced socio-economic development (*BBSO* Su.2.4.2006:h16.htm).

A book entitled *Makanan Halal Sumber Pembentukan Syakhsiah Mulia* was launched by the Islamic Dakwah Centre of the Ministry of Religious Affairs, NBD, on Tuesday 11 April 2006 in conjunction with *Maulud*. Islam takes food consumption very seriously, differentiating sharply between *halal* and *haram* varieties. The volume under review is a compilation of information taken from the *Quran* and *ahadith*, along with comments and analysis to enable readers to get a better understanding of the points at issue (*BBO* W.12.4.2006:h20.htm).

On Monday 22 May 2006 HRH the Crown Prince officiated at the *Mushaf Brunei 2006* reprinting ceremony at the Government Printing Department, Prime Minister's Office. The sacred volume is to be used in religious schools in the sultanate (*BBO* Tu.23.5.2006:h4.htm).

The *Mushaf*, i.e., the *Holy Quran* handwritten by a *khat* (special Jawi writing) expert, was originally published in 1992 to coincide with celebrations surrounding the Silver Jubilee of His Majesty's accession to the throne (*PBA* 21.10.1992:1; *PBA* 24.3.1999:1; Mani 1993:96).

On Tuesday 30 May HRH Princess Hajjah Rashidah Sa'adatul Bolkiah and her husband launched a **compact disc**, entitled *Rentak 914* (Volume 2), a compilation album comprising fifteen of NBD's most requested locally-composed songs, issued by Pelangi Network, a radio station in NBD. Singers featured on the album include Awangku Amilin, Putri Norizah, and various others. The first volume was released in 2004 (*BBO* Th.1.6.2006:h12.htm).

In June 2006 the DBP held a **mini book fair** at their library in Bandar Seri Begawan. The aim was to inculcate a "reading culture" and to "develop good reading habits." Discounts of 10–50 percent were being offered on books. The DBP operates libraries elsewhere in the sultanate, namely at Kampong Pandan (Kuala Belait), Muara Town, Lorong Bolkiah (Seria), Jalan Padang (Kuala Belait), Kampong Sungai Basong Tutong and Gadong Baru Temburong (*BBO* Tu.20.6.2006:h14.htm).

A **compact disc** entitled *Dirgahayu 60* was issued on Friday 30 June 2006 in conjunction with the sixtieth anniversary of the birth of HM Sultan Hassanal Bolkiah, Sultan and *Yang Di-Pertuan* of Negara Brunei Darussalam. Pehin Haji Adanan bin BPSK Mohd Yussof, Minister of Home Affairs, argued that music is an effective medium for conveying messages to the listener; these songs, he said, would generate loyalty as well as love for the Ruler, country and motherland. The

album comprises thirteen tracks, including *Lagu Nasyid Puja Usia* by Ustaz Haji Abdul Kadir and *Lagu Dirgahayu* by the late Haji Idris Haji Mohammad (*BBO* Sa.1.7.2006:h17.htm).

On Saturday 6 July 2006 *Sutera 2006* was launched by the Information Department. *Sutera*, the Malay word for 'silk', is also an acronym for *Sambutan Ulang Tahun Keputeraan*. This volume reportedly contained information about the events lined up for the **festivities in the four districts marking the sixtieth anniversary of His Majesty's birth**; features about the previous year's carnival; and lists of administrative committee members. It also included messages of goodwill from members of the public. Eight types of poster were also available (*BBSO* 9.7.2006:h13.htm).

On Monday 31 July 2006 **Malaysia, Indonesia and NBD agreed to look into the possibility of facilitating a freer movement of books** among them. Datuk Seri Hishammuddin Tun Hussein, the Minister of Education in Malaysia, said this was decided at a ministerial-level meeting in Indonesia. It is also hoped to strengthen the international status of the Malay language (*BBO* F.4.8.2006: h8.htm).

On Thursday 14 September 2006 twenty-six local writers signed a Memorandum of Agreement with the Director of Language and Literature Bureau, Dr Mataim bin Bakar, to have their books published. **Three novels, one book of knowledge, and twenty-one story books were to be published by the DBP** in its effort to become the biggest publishing agent for local writers in the Sultanate. Among the established authors involved are Dato Paduka Awang Haji Muslim, Awang Haji Mohd Salleh bin Abdul Latif and Awang Haji Sawal bin Rajab (*BBO* F.15.9.2006:h34.htm).

On Tuesday 14 November 2006 Pengiran Dato Dr. Haji Mohammad, Deputy Minister of Education, opened a two-day seminar on the theme of "Understanding the Past, Strengthening National Identity" at the UBD Chancellor Hall. He argued that **historians need to write more about Brunei's economy prior to the commercial discovery of oil in 1929**. The youth of today is so used to the easy lifestyle, he explained, that they are unable to understand the hardship of the pre-oil era. The Minister's main concern seems to be to encourage Malay entrepreneurship in the present day (*BBO* Th.16.11.2006:h18.htm).

On Tuesday 21 November 2006 the *Borneo Bulletin* online reported the launch of *www.e-huawang.com*, **NBD's own Chinese language website**. In a press conference, Mr Michael Jan and Mr Sim Chong Siang, the persons in charge, said the idea of the website was to serve as a link for PRC investors in NBD following the cementing of ties between the two countries. The website, the first of its kind, was created solely for the purpose of promoting NBD. It also contains valuable information on Chinese non-governmental organizations in the sultanate and daily news relating to the country. Prominent figures in the local Chinese community are featured. It also has links to the RTB-Chinese channel as well as information for investors on the manufacturing, agricultural, fishing, and farming sectors. The website had been more than three months in preparation and will be constantly upgraded (*BBO* Tu.21.11.2006:h25.htm).

On Wednesday 29 November 2006 the Survey Department launched *Buku Panduan Sempadan Mukim dan Kampung Negara Brunei Darussalam*, a guidebook to define clearly the borders of mukim and villages as part of a **drive to expand the use of the Geographical Information System (GIS)**. The guidebook will help community leaders identify their area's borders and ensure

better administration. In conjunction with the **World GIS Day**, which NBD was celebrating for the first time, Pehin Dato Abdullah (Minister of Development) called on the Survey Department and other agencies to play a proactive role in implementing GIS in the country (*BBO* Th.30.11.2006:h4.htm).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am particularly grateful to Professor Sather for assistance with the preparation of this bibliography. Thanks also to Dr. Roger Kershaw and Professor R.H.W. Reece.