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CENTRAL BORNEO: A BIBLIOGRAPHY

Jerome Rousseau

INTRODUCTION

Organization of the bibliography and sources

After introductory remarks on central Borneo and the relevant literature, this bibliography is divided into three sections.

i- The main section lists published references organized into topical sections. At the end of each section a cross-index identifies relevant items in other sections. Theses and dissertations are listed as published references even when they are not readily available. (In particular, special permission is required to consult and copy the theses of the Akademi Pemerintahan dalam Negeri, and a personal visit is necessary.)

ii- In a second part, the monthly reports of administrative officers published in the Sarawak Gazette are listed by region. This section covers the period 1870 to 1941.

iii- The third part describes archival material in various locations. Each section deals with a specific location, and within sections the material is organized chronologically.

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The index of authors covers all three sections.

I have collected references on central Borneo since 1969, when I was preparing for my fieldwork among the Kayan of the upper Rejang. Some references were found in bibliographies and other publications; many were found on the shelves of libraries, especially the Haddon and University Libraries in Cambridge, the Library of the Royal Anthropological Institute in London, the Library of the Sarawak Museum in Kuching, the McLennan Library at McGill University in Montréal, and, in Leiden, the Library of the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, the University Library, and the Library of the Museum voor Volkenkunde.

Of the bibliographies listed below (see p. 49ff.), the most important for this work have been B2, B10, B11, B24, B25, B26, B30, B35, B41, B42 and B47, as well as the bibliographic notes published regularly in the Borneo Research Bulletin. I have gone through a number of serials, in particular the *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, the *Borneo Research Bulletin*, the *Brunei Museum Journal*, the *Journal of the Indian Archipelago and Eastern Asia*, the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Straits Branch and Malayan/Malaysian Branch*, the *Sarawak Gazette* (up to 1966), the *Sarawak Museum Journal*, and the *Tijdschrift van het Koninklijk Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*. Indexes of other serials were also consulted.

The geographical, historical and socio-cultural specificity of central Borneo

Borneo is roughly circular, and the altitude rises as one goes inland. The major river basins radiate from the centre of Borneo, with Sabah occupying a somewhat peripheral position. Population density is greater on the coast and decreases towards the interior. With a few exceptions, the population of the interior is concentrated along the main navigable rivers. Insofar as the rivers are the major axes of communication, the history of Borneo has been subjected to centrifugal forces. Within each river basin, population density is highest

towards the coast, and this social pole is reinforced by the strategic position of coastal areas in external trade. These centrifugal tendencies can be demonstrated throughout the history of Borneo and more than ever now. They are one reason for the partition of Borneo into distinct political units (Map 1).

However, central Borneo is a distinct area with a unity of its own. The boundaries of central Borneo can be defined in terms of ecological and socio-cultural factors. Central Borneo is the area from which the Kayan, Mahakam, Murung, Kapuas, Rejang and Baram rivers originate. Geographically and socially, central Borneo is the area above the rapids. The core of central Borneo consists of the Apau Kayan, the upper Mahakam, the upper Rejang, and the upper Baram (Map 2). (With the exception of the Punan Penyawung, the groups of the Murung are part of the distinct cultural area of Central Kalimantan (Kalimantan Tengah)).¹ Central Borneo is populated by related ethnic groups who usually identify the Apau Kayan as their place of origin. Some of them have moved closer to coastal areas, especially in the Kayan and Baram basins.

Ethnic groups of central Borneo

What are the social and cultural characteristics of central Borneo groups? Hudson [837]² has proposed a preliminary classification of Borneo languages. The Kayan-Kenyah group (Kayan, Busang, Bahau, Kenyah, Mahakam-Kayan, Long-Glat, Penihing, Seputan and Penihing) is demographically, culturally and politically dominant in central Borneo. The other linguistic groups of central Borneo are the Apo Duat group (Kelabit and related groups), and the Rejang-Baram group (which includes the Kajang and related groups, as well as some nomadic groups); the Melanau, who are a coastal group, belong to the Rejang-Baram linguistic family. In terms of social organization, history, technology and economy, the Melanau clearly are *not* a central Borneo group. However, a section of this bibliography lists references on the Melanau which help us document their cultural relationships with the Kajang.

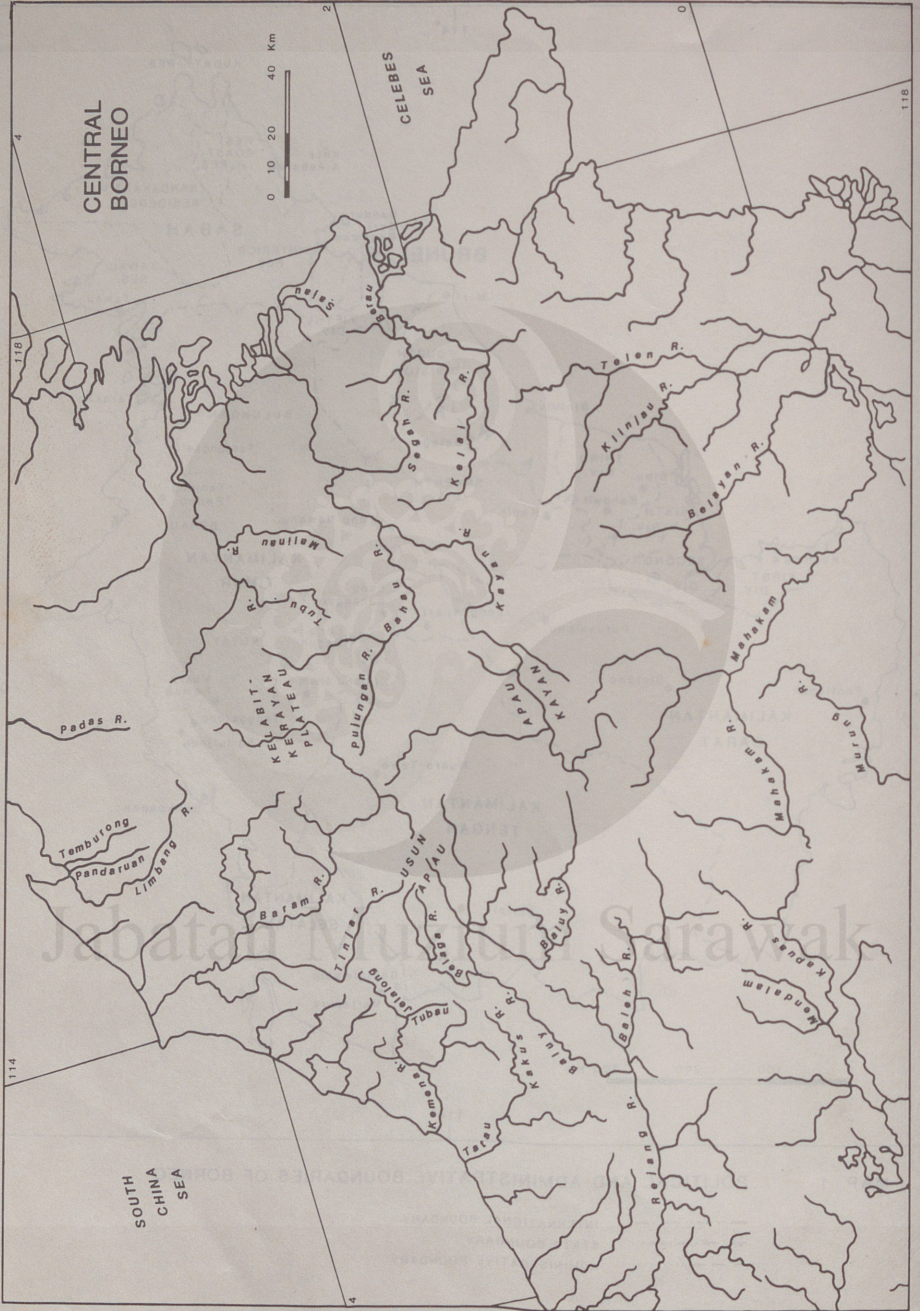
Besides language, the groups of central Borneo share a number of cultural features, e.g. religious beliefs and rituals, myths, songs, melodies and graphic patterns. Except among the nomads, central Borneo women are often extensively tattooed and have elongated earlobes. The men pierce a hole in the shell of the ear. Stratification and hereditary chiefship are characteristic of central Borneo agriculturalists. On technological and cultural grounds, they can be subdivided into Kayanic and Kenyah, Kajang and related groups, and Kelabitic. The presence of nomadic hunters-gatherers is also a characteristic of central Borneo. They are socially and culturally related to the agriculturalists.

The people of central Borneo are sometimes called 'Orang ulu', the people of the upper reaches of rivers. The designation is geographical rather than cultural. In the 1970s, there were, very roughly, 130,000 central Borneo people, of which about 40,000 lived in Sarawak, 90,000 in Kalimantan Timur, with about 2000 in Sabah and less than 1000 in Brunei. Other terms refer to central Borneo people: in the early Dutch literature 'Pari' included the Bahau and Kenyah [105] as well as a few other groups [145]. This term was obsolete



MAP 1 POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE BOUNDARIES OF BORNEO

- INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARY
- - - - - STATE BOUNDARY
- - - - - ADMINISTRATIVE BOUNDARY



by the end of the nineteenth century, and seems to have been used exclusively by a few authors, and not by Borneans. 'Klemantan' (or Kalamantan) was coined by Hose. He and Douglas, Pollard and Banks used it to refer to the central Borneo groups which they could not otherwise classify. The complete uselessness of the term was demonstrated by Leach [79].

Specific ethnonyms have also been used as generic terms for central Borneo people. Charles Brooke [17] included among the Melanau not only the coastal groups now known by that name, but also the Kajang and related groups (Kanowit, Tanjong, Kajaman, Punan, Sekapan), the Bakatan and Ukit (which were then nomadic or in the process of settling), the Kenyah, and the Kayan. This overly inclusive classification did not survive a closer acquaintance. In early accounts, 'Kayan' usually referred to all central Borneo people. 'Bahau' has the same meaning in the Mahakam, and 'Segai' in the Bulungan. 'Bahau' includes virtually all Mahakam agriculturalist from Long Iram to the upper reaches of the river; it also refers more specifically to Kayanic groups of the middle Mahakam. We can now turn to specific ethnic categories.

i - Kayanic and Kenyah groups

The Kayan and Kenyah have close cultural and historical relationships. They originate from the upper Kayan river area (or Apau Kayan) (Maps 2, 3 and 4). The Kayan migrated from the Apau Kayan to the upper Rejang, the Baram, the Mendalam (a tributary of the Kapuas) and the Mahakam. Except in the Mahakam, they are called 'Kayan'. In the Mahakam, they are known as 'Busang' or 'Bahau', except for one group, which kept the name 'Kayan'. Ironically, the latter's language was radically transformed under the influence of their Pin slaves, who belonged to the linguistic area of Kalimantan Tengah. To prevent confusion, I will refer to them as 'Mahakam-Kayan'. There are about 1,500 of them. The Kayan, Busang and Kayanic Bahau number about 25,000.

The Kayan are divided into local groups which keep their names as they migrate. These include Uma Aging, U. Apan, U. Baho, U. Baluy Jile, U. Baluy Lepu'e, U. Baluy Long Liko, U. Baluy Ukap, U. Bawang, U. Belun (Belor), U. Beluvu, U. Daro', U. Depe', U. Hawei, U. Hiban, U. Juman, U. Kahai, U. Kelejo, U. Laren, U. Leken, U. Lesong, U. Levuring, U. Luhai, U. Nyaving, U. Pagong, U. Pako', U. Pau, U. Pliau, U. San, U. Sang, U. Semuka, U. Suling, U. Tapo'. In the Mahakam the Busang include U. Asa, Bang Kelau, U. Luhai, U. Manok Kwe (or Lekue), U. Mehak, U. Pala, U. Palo', U. Sem, U. Suling, U. Tepai (Tepe), U. Tuan, U. Urut, U. Wak. The Melarang of the lower Kayan river also belong to the Kayan.

The Kayan are shifting cultivators of rice. Agricultural tasks are performed by cooperative groups whose members belong to several households. Their settlement patterns are dictated by a riverine orientation; fish is the main source of proteins, although wild boar and other land animals are also hunted. Pigs and chickens are raised for sacrificial purposes. The Kayan have a four-stratum system with the ruling group (*maren*, or *hipuy aya'*) from which hereditary chiefs are selected, lower aristocrats (*hipuy 'ok*), commoners (*pinyin*) and